

*'May We Put Forth Our Leaves':
Rhetoric in the School Journal of
Mary Ware Allen, Student of
Margaret Fuller, 1837-1838*

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BEFORE BECOMING a prominent New England intellectual and European correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, Margaret Fuller (1810-50) was a school teacher in Rhode Island. Diaries kept by students at Providence's Greene Street School, where she taught between 1837 and 1839, provide a glimpse of her interest in women writers and how she encouraged her students to write.

Of the young men and women who studied with Fuller at the Greene Street School, Mary Ware Allen was among the most intellectually mature and literate students. Allen was almost nineteen years old when she arrived at the school in December of 1837, and one of the oldest students in Fuller's charge. For the next nine months, Allen wrote a daily school journal that provides a sophisticated record of her school life and her experiences with Fuller's teaching. Although Allen's journal has been published in small

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excerpts since the early 1900s, the complete manuscripts have been seen by only a handful of Fuller scholars. Long kept by descendants of Allen's husband, Dr. Joshua Johnson, Allen's journal was donated to the American Antiquarian Society in 2001 with many of the Allen-Johnson family's letters, journals, and other papers.

Allen's is not the only Greene Street School journal that has been published, but it is the most articulate. Of the journals of women who studied with Fuller at the Greene Street School, sections from three have appeared in print: those of Ann Frances Brown, Hannah ('Anna') Gale, and Evelina Metcalf. Each journal offers a different view of the school. Ann Brown's journal is twice as long as Allen's, eight volumes, but she was only twelve years old when Allen arrived, and she took less advanced courses with Fuller. A cheerful and talented girl, Brown noted the events and routines of school life but offered few evaluations of the curriculum. Because of its length, Brown's journal has been skillfully excerpted for publication by Laraine Fergenson (the unpublished material largely contains repetitious accounts of daily activities). The published excerpts of Metcalf's two volumes contain rather undeveloped entries. Hannah Gale, a leading personality at the school and Allen's best friend, was not as strong a writer as Allen despite her ebullient temperament. There is a tinge of obligation in her entries, as if she would rather be doing something else. One volume of Gale's journals remains.¹ In contrast to Metcalf and Gale, Mary Ware Allen genuinely liked to write. Her journal shows someone working hard to craft her language and enjoying experimenting with the rhetorical principles she learned in class.

One of the most valuable aspects of the journal is Allen's sympathetic portrait of Margaret Fuller. In contrast to accounts of

1. See Laraine R. Fergenson, 'Margaret Fuller as a Teacher in Providence: The School Journal of Ann Brown,' *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1991): 59-118; Daniel Shealy, 'Margaret Fuller and Her "Maiden": Evelina Metcalf's 1838 School Journal,' *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1996): 41-65; Frank Shuffelton, 'Margaret Fuller at the Greene Street School: The Journal of Evelina Metcalf,' *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1985): 29-46; and Paula Kopacz, 'The School Journal of Hannah (Anna) Gale,' *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1996): 67-113.

Fuller's severity,² Allen's journal often shows Fuller at play with ideas, joking with her students, and making wry commentaries about the course reading. Almost as soon as she arrived at the school, Allen began to identify with Fuller as an inspirational figure who could help her develop her own potentialities.

In this sense, the journal offers an important snapshot of a pivotal moment in the growth of women's influence in education in the United States. Fuller spoke often about famous women writers and thinkers and asked her students to conduct research on such figures. In addition, the school's headmaster, Hiram Fuller (no relation to Margaret), read to the entire school selections from writers such as Felicia Hemans, Lydia Sigourney, and Lydia Maria Child. Although Hiram did not think of himself as contributing to a revolutionary moment in American education (and neither, apparently, did Margaret at this period of her life), his enthusiasm for women's literary talent and his school's emphasis on student journal writing put the Greene Street School at the forefront of national secondary school reform.

Finally, one of the most intriguing elements of the journal is its record of the growth of Allen's rhetorical consciousness. Towards the second half of her time with Fuller, Allen became aware that her expressive skills were developing. Particularly as she discussed the means by which writers achieve the effects of modesty, Allen started to develop a mature, intellectual style of her own, derived from both masculine and feminine rhetorical models. Although recent critical discussions of Fuller's 'conversational' pedagogy have tended to frame her feminism as a clear alternative to masculine ways of thinking and doing,³ her approach was also

2. In letters to her parents on December 20, 1837, and January 1, 1838, Allen herself acknowledged that she was slightly afraid of Fuller. See Harriet Hall Johnson, 'Margaret Fuller as Known by Her Scholars,' *Christian Register* (April 21, 1910): 427-29; reprint, Joel Myerson, ed., *Critical Essays on Margaret Fuller* (Boston: G. K. Hall, 1980), 134-40. See also Henry L. Greene, 'The Greene St. School of Providence, and Its Teachers,' *Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society* 6.4 (January 1899): 199-219.

3. See Annette Kolodny, 'Inventing a Feminist Discourse: Rhetoric and Resistance in Margaret Fuller's *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*,' *New Literary History* 25 (1994): 355-82. Also, Sandra Gustafson, 'Choosing a Medium: Margaret Fuller and the Forms of Sentiment,' *American Quarterly* 47 (March 1995): 34-66.

clearly indebted to a progressive humanism embodied by thinkers such as Plato, Amos Bronson Alcott, and William Ellery Channing, to name only a few. Like Fuller, Allen was fascinated by Richard Whately's *Rhetoric* textbook, enjoyed listening to the boys' declamation class, and felt that there was something for her to learn there. At the same time, Allen carefully studied female authors and learned to appreciate the 'elegance' that Fuller claimed for the domain of women's writing (2.54-55).⁴ Although Allen herself clearly identified with women's gender roles, her journal accounts regarding her developing literary identity show that she borrowed from a variety of rhetorical traditions.

Like the early fiction of Lydia Maria Child or Harriet Beecher Stowe, whose work often sought to normalize America's awkward state of social transformation in the 1830s, Allen's journal has a deceptively easy manner. Although it could be argued that Allen's journal simply reflects the voice of an earnest student who held to the conventional views of her economic and social station, such an interpretation overlooks both the radical lack of consensus among the Unitarian gentry at the time, as well as Allen's skill at brokering the tensions of her era. Particularly as it is reflected in her entries on rhetoric, a synthetic art of psychology and literary form, perhaps the greatest yield of Allen's journal is its record of a young woman learning to conduct herself with expressive grace in an age of uncertainty.

Mary Ware Allen and the Greene Street School

Even before Mary Ware Allen met Fuller, Allen was steeped in the educational ethos of New England's Unitarian elite. Unitarians believed that Jesus was a teacher—divinely gifted, but not identical to God—and they held that his words were rationally

4. All quotations from the journals of Mary Ware Allen in the introduction will appear with volume and page numbers. For example, (2.54) means volume 2, page 54. The journal and the other Allen family papers are catalogued in the Allen-Johnson Family Papers, 1759-1992, American Antiquarian Society (AAS), in Worcester, Massachusetts. Unless noted otherwise, all quotations from correspondence come from the Allen-Johnson Papers.



Figure 1. Photograph of Mary Ware Allen (Johnson) as an adult. Allen-Johnson Family Papers, 1759-1992. Box 32, folder 6. Courtesy American Antiquarian Society.

accessible tools to help all people improve their spiritual lives. Because the New England Unitarians' God resembled a benevolent instructor rather than the inscrutable overlord of Jonathan Edwards, education was an important part of the Unitarians' theological vision.⁵ In contrast to the strict Calvinist view of salvation (which held that even people who did good deeds might not be saved), Unitarians tended to believe that God sent Jesus to teach people how to be saved and how to improve themselves in his eyes.

In addition to being Unitarians, both of Allen's parents were also teachers, and her mother came from one of the most prestigious families in Boston. Allen's father was the respected minister, Joseph Allen, and her mother, Lucy Clark Ware, was the daughter of Henry Ware, Sr., the Harvard divinity professor. Late in life, Mary Ware Allen's only surviving child, Harriet Hall Johnson, boasted that it was a family tradition that all the children, boys and girls, learn French and Latin at an early age.⁶ For over twenty years, Allen's parents ran a small school at their home in Northborough, Massachusetts. As a result of this exposure, many of the Allen family children taught school for a living, teaching being a common short- and long-term vocation.⁷ In addition to absorbing the educational habits of her family, Mary was also sent to

5. For those unfamiliar with New England religious controversies, concise discussions of the significance of Unitarian belief are hard to find. Aside from clearly listing the basic tenets of Unitarianism, William Ellery Channing's 1819 sermon on the ordination of Jared Sparks is important because his non-combative tone conveys the spirit of the movement. See William Ellery Channing, 'Sermon Delivered on the Ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks in the First Independent Church of Baltimore on May 5, 1819' (Baltimore: B. Edes, 1819; reprint, *The Works of William Ellery Channing*, 6 vols. [Boston: American Unitarian Association, 1903], 3:59-103. My understanding of Unitarianism has also been assisted by several of Conrad Wright's books on the topic, especially *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1955), and *The Liberal Christians: Essays on Unitarian History* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1970). See also David B. Parke, ed., *The Epic of Unitarianism: Original Writings from the History of Liberal Religion* (Boston: Starr King Press, 1957); and Daniel Walker Howe, *The Unitarian Conscience: Harvard Moral Philosophy, 1805-1861* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970).

6. Harriet Hall Johnson, 'My Grandparents [Joseph Allen and Lucy Ware Allen] and Your Grandfather [Joshua Jewett Johnson],' 32-35. Written for Harriet Hall Johnson's children in 1928. Manuscript photostat. 44 pages. Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

7. Mary Ware Allen returned to her parents' home in August 1838 to assist as a teacher at their school. Soon after, in 1840, she married Joshua Johnson, a local doctor, and they continued to live in central Massachusetts. Because of her husband's profession, Mary did



Figure 2. The Greene Street School.

several high quality Massachusetts private schools in Brookline, Boston, and Northampton.

When Mary Ware Allen arrived at the Greene Street School in December 1837, about 150 students were enrolled and it was one of the most expensive schools in the area.⁸ The school's new building, supported by Providence's literary elite, had opened the previous June with great fanfare. Ralph Waldo Emerson gave the

not have to teach, as many of her friends did. With the exception of Harriet (born May 16, 1842), five of their children (and one adopted girl) died before reaching the age of fifteen, usually of dysentery or diphtheria. See Elizabeth Waterhouse Allen, *Memorial of Joseph and Lucy Clark Allen by Their Children* (Boston: George Ellis, 1891), 20–30.

8. Hiram Fuller ran four school terms per year, ranging in length from ten to fourteen weeks depending on the season. For the girls, Hiram charged \$12 per term for upper English education, plus a dollar per language, or a \$15 flat rate for everything, which included drawing lessons in the afternoon (Mary Ware Allen to Lucy Clark Ware Allen, December 9, 1837). The tuition was similar to the nearby Moses Brown Quaker School, whose fees for upper-level education many wealthy Quakers felt was rather high. See Rayner Wickersham Kelsey, *Centennial History of the Moses Brown School, 1819–1919* (Providence: Moses Brown School, 1919), 60. According to Ralph Waldo Emerson, Hiram expected that the school would probably be profitable enough for him to retire to Europe in five years. See Ralph Waldo Emerson, *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson, 1835–1838*, ed. William H. Gilman et al., 16 vols. (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1960–82), 5:419.

opening address. Because Hiram Fuller, the school's twenty-three-year-old headmaster, charged a high tuition, he was able to afford a modern library and a talented faculty. He hired Margaret Fuller to teach upper-level courses in philosophy, poetry, history, Latin, and French at one thousand dollars a year, three or four times the salary of a typical female New England schoolteacher. In addition to Hiram and Margaret Fuller, there were two other faculty members. Twenty-one-year-old Miss Frances Aborn taught the lower-level classes, particularly mathematics. Aborn also attended afternoon French classes as a student with Mary Ware Allen. Mrs. Georgianna Nias, born in England and divorced, taught French, dance, and drawing.⁹

Each morning began with a school-wide assembly at which Hiram Fuller read an edifying literary fragment from the Bible, a celebrated writer, or a student journal. Students then broke up into separate rooms for their courses. Allen began with Latin recitation every morning except Wednesday. She then had history and French classes on Tuesday and Thursday, sometimes

9. For background on the Greene Street School, see articles by Johnson and Greene in note 2, as well as the published student journals listed in note 1. A recent essay emphasizing Greene Street's journal-keeping practices as a pedagogical alternative to physical punishment is Lesley Ginsberg, "Our Children Are Our Best Works": Mary Ware Allen's Transcendental Education, in Peter Benes and Jane Montague Benes, eds., *The Worlds of Children, 1620-1920: Annual Proceedings of the Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife, 2002* (Boston: Boston University, 2004), 78-92. See also Judith Albert Strong's many articles on the topic. Strong occasionally gets some basic facts incorrect, such as writing that Hiram Fuller was from Halifax, Nova Scotia (actually, Halifax, Massachusetts); noting that Allen was sixteen when she went to Greene Street (nineteen years old); and claiming that Alcott did not practice physical discipline at his school (he did), but her research in this area is extensive: 'Margaret Fuller and Mary Ware Allen: "In Youth an Insatiate Student"—A Certain Kind of Friendship,' *Tboreau Quarterly Journal* 12 (July 1980): 9-22; 'Margaret Fuller's Row at the Greene Street School: Early Female Education in Providence, 1837-1839,' *Rhode Island History* 42 (May 1983): 43-55; 'Transition in Transcendental Education: The Schools of Bronson Alcott and Hiram Fuller,' *Educational Studies* 11 (Fall 1980): 209-19; 'The Allen School: An Alternative Nineteenth-Century Education, 1819-1852,' *Harvard Educational Review* 51 (1981): 565-76; 'Transcendental School Journals in Nineteenth-Century America,' *Journal of Psychobiology* 9 (Summer 1981): 106-26; "Another" Woman in the Nineteenth Century: Lucy Clark Ware Allen, 1791-1866,' typescript, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS; 'Lucy Clark Ware Allen: A Dutiful Daughter's Education,' *Vitae Scholasticae* 4 (Spring/Fall 1985): 155-62; 'The Debate in Women's Studies: Contradictory Role Models in the Nineteenth Century—Margaret Fuller and Elizabeth Peabody,' *Women's Studies International Forum* 12 (1989): 463-73.

Mary Ware Allen's Class Schedule

(HF=Hiram Fuller; MF=Margaret Fuller; GN=Georgianna Nias)

<i>Monday</i>	<i>Tuesday</i>	<i>Wednesday</i>	<i>Thursday</i>	<i>Friday</i>
Assembly (HF)	Assembly	Assembly	Assembly	Assembly
Latin (MF)	Latin	Rhetoric (MF)	Latin	Latin
Comp. & Poetry (MF)	History (MF)	Moral Science (MF)	History	Moral Science
		<u>Lunch</u>		
Drawing (GN)	French (GN & MF) Sewing (GN)	Drawing (Natural Philosophy in summer with MF)	French Sewing	Comp. & Poetry, or Public Reading (MF) & Boys' Declamation, or Dancing & Drawing (GN)

with sewing classes in the afternoons. Wednesday was one of her favorite days, with courses in rhetoric and moral philosophy with Margaret Fuller, and drawing with Mrs. Nias after lunch. Allen's Wednesday entries, in which she discusses her classes in moral philosophy and rhetoric, are generally the longest entries in her journal, sometimes reaching nineteen pages.

Derived from the teaching practices of Bronson Alcott's experimental Temple School in Boston, one of the centerpieces of the Greene Street School's pedagogy was daily writing in a school journal, in which students were to reflect upon their learning each day.¹⁰ Once a week, Hiram would read aloud from students' journals at assembly, a practice that caused alarm among the students, despite the fact he did it to praise their growth as writers. As Alcott had done, Hiram also used their journals very successfully as advertising for the school. Visitors would be given student journals to read as proof of the school's quality (4.115). When Mary Ware Allen arrived at the school, she was surprised to learn that the journals circulated so publicly. She initially found the idea 'repugnant' (1.10). After reading a few of her friends' entries, she noticed that many wrote obsequious tributes to the faculty and

10. Upon their first day of school, Greene Street School students were issued blank journals. Each of Allen's contains 144 pages, measures about 5 1/4 by 7 1/2 inches, and has the words 'SCHOOL JOURNAL.' stamped in gold on the front, although the covers vary in color.

the high quality of the school. Unimpressed by the display, she wrote to her mother, 'I am afraid the teachers will not get much flattery from me.'¹¹ She was unprepared for Margaret Fuller.

Margaret Fuller's Humanism

Mary Ware Allen was intrigued by Fuller from the first class she had with her, and her respect for her teacher only grew over the following months. Although Fuller was plagued by headaches, poor health, and family anxieties during this period, she usually brightened in class when discussing ideas. Unfortunately, most accounts of student life have emphasized her angrier moments, when she acted like a judgmental parent. Allen wrote to her parents that Fuller could 'cut us up into bits' with a sarcastic remark or look.¹² Another student wrote in her journal that if they did not pay attention in class, Fuller threatened that she would 'look like a *dragon* to us.'¹³ In one instance, after the students did not recite well in rhetoric class, Fuller caused one of them to run from the room in a hysterical fit of sobbing (3.51). Six girls, including Allen, wrote a letter of protest to Fuller. Fuller graciously apologized to them in a letter, and insisted that she loved them.¹⁴ As Allen's journal makes clear, however, such events were not typical. Rather, as Allen remarked on her first day, she felt that, 'I shall like very much to recite to Miss Fuller, she makes every-thing so plain and interesting' (1.1).

In a fortuitous coincidence for Allen, on her second day of attendance, Fuller formed a rhetoric class, which concluded just two days before Allen left the following August. The course would become Allen's favorite over the following nine months (and apparently Fuller's, too), serving as the intellectual nexus of Fuller's courses in history, moral philosophy, English composition, and foreign languages. For example, Fuller's comments about Greek

11. Mary Ware Allen to Lucy Clark Ware Allen, December 9, 1837, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

12. Johnson, 'Margaret Fuller as Known by Her Scholars,' 135.

13. Fergenson, 'Margaret Fuller as a Teacher in Providence,' 80.

14. Johnson, 'Margaret Fuller as Known by Her Scholars,' 136-37.

or Roman history frequently turn to discussions of persuasion, motive, and the role of the passions in religious and political belief. Similarly, when Allen approvingly quotes a passage from Madame de Staël's *Corinne* or Felicia Hemans's poetry, she shows the aesthetic preferences for understatement and double entendre that she discusses in her rhetoric commentaries. Although the following abbreviated edition of her journal focuses mainly on her Wednesday entries (philosophy and rhetoric), some passages from other subjects have also been included to give a sense of the interconnections rhetoric had with her other courses.¹⁵

Like her rhetoric class, her English class had a very broad domain. One of the historically noteworthy aspects of the journal is Allen's remark that her English poetry class had no proper name. A synthetic English course in reading, writing, and speaking was not yet a standard part of United States secondary education. Allen confesses in her journal that she really did not know what the name of Monday and Friday's 'poetry' class should be called (2.13). She had to write for it, sometimes on poetic terms, sometimes on historical topics such as the lives of famous kings. Every other week on Friday afternoons, Allen attended the boys' declamations, but in her 'poetry' class on summer Friday afternoons they would also read selections aloud under Margaret Fuller's tutelage (4.48). These practices of public speech, such as public reading, were not thought of as oratory, even though they were practiced during the same time slot the boys would declaim.

Allen's rhetorical training was also greatly shaped by her reading in French, particularly Madame de Staël. In the afternoons, after studying grammar and literary excerpts with Nias, she would spend the remainder of the day translating and discussing de Staël's *Corinne* with Margaret Fuller.¹⁶ *Corinne* is one of the

15. It is anticipated that Allen's entire journal will be published online in a hypertext edition linked to the catalogue of the American Antiquarian Society.

16. Madame de Staël, *Corinne, or Italy*, trans. Aviel H. Goldberger (1807; reprint, New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1987). While studying with Nias, Allen read Jean François Marmontel's 1822 moral tale, 'La Bonne Mère' ('The Good Mother'), in which a wise mother teaches her daughter how to distinguish between the affections of a dandy

important texts of the Romantic movement because de Staël celebrated the passions of the artist and rejected classicism as a code of art based on timeless rules. The novel describes the broken love affair of Corinne, a highly gifted French poet, with Oswald, an Englishman of lesser talent. In addition to being a historical tour of Italian culture, the first half of the novel expresses an intense appreciation for natural beauty (as opposed to classical forms), which Allen remarks upon several times in her school journal. Before leaving the school, Allen made it about halfway through de Staël's novel, the sections detailing the young couple's tour through Italy. Although Allen did not explicitly discuss de Staël's feminist significance in her journal, she found the reading intellectually very engaging and beautiful. She was particularly struck by de Staël's handling of the contrasts between the beauties of Rome and its unhealthy air. She translates Oswald's reply to Corinne: 'I love this invisible danger, this danger under the form of the sweetest impressions. If death is, as I believe, only an appeal to a happier existence, why should not the perfume of the flowers, the shade of beautiful trees, the refreshing breath of the evening, be charged with bringing us the news?' (3.31). As she demonstrates in her rhetoric entries, Allen was drawn to the subtleties of irony and understatement.

and that of a good man; Jacques Bénigne Bossuet's 1687 funeral sermon, 'Oraison Funibre de Louis de Bourbon,' which argues that greatness is nothing without piety; François Fénelon, *Télémaque* (1699), a discussion of the proper education of a prince; and Jacques-Henri Bernardine de Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (1788), the story of two children who grow up together on the exotic island of Mauritius, and whose love for each other ends with Virginia's drowning. Allen also took Latin with Fuller, but she had little to say about it other than to comment about its difficulty. She quickly advanced from Charles Dexter Cleveland's *First Lessons in Latin Upon a New Plan* (Boston: Carter, Hendee and Babcock, 1831) to the school's middle-level class in Joseph Dana's *Liber Primus* (Boston: Charles Ewer, 1818), Charles Knapp Dillaway's *Colloquies of Erasmus* (Boston: J. H. A. Frost, Lincoln and Edmands, 1833), and Benjamin Gould's *Adam's Latin Grammar* (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, Wilkins, 1832). By summer, she graduated to the most advanced class, translating Virgil's *Aeneid* (edition unknown). She apparently absorbed a respect for technical proficiency. Just prior to her departure from the school, she jokingly envisioned 'beating' Latin grammar into the heads of her winter students when she returned to teach at the Allen school (4.116).

The psychological machinery behind literary production also received treatment in Margaret Fuller's discussions of Greek and Roman history. Allen's course texts were *Pinnock's Improved Editions* of Oliver Goldsmith's Greek and Roman histories. The Pinnock editions present mild religious prejudices against the Persians ('the Asiatics adopted a religion of *fear*, and worshiped their Gods rather to avert evil, than procure good'), and occasionally criticize the early Greek tribes for barbaric practices.¹⁷ Pinnock's texts undertake the Christianizing mission of presenting early Greek and Roman history as spiritual anticipations of a Christian epoch. In class, Margaret Fuller supplemented discussions of Alexander the Great with readings from Plutarch's *Lives*, and she too tended to present Alexander and Socrates as enlightened people who would have been Christians in a later age (3.45-46). While helping her students understand the motives of different cultures, however, Fuller often made startling admissions, such as her suspicion that had she been born a man, she would have found it difficult to refuse a duel (1.111-12). In another instance, Fuller also challenged her students to consider the justice of stoning national traitors:

An account was given of an Athenian senator named Lyciadas, who was stoned to death for daring to propose to a surrender, while witnessing from the shores of Salamis, the flames that were consuming Athens. His wife and children met with the same fate from the women. Miss Fuller thought they might have spared his wife, but if she had been there brought up as they were—with all the pride and love of country which the Athenians possessed, she feared she should not only have thrown one stone at Lyciadas for such a mean proposition, but some dozens. It would, she said, be wrong for those brought under the influence of Christianity, as we are, but for the Athenians to show their love of country in such a way, she thought justifiable. (1.110-11)

17. In a December 25, 1837, letter from Lucy Clark Ware Allen to Mary Ware Allen held at the Northborough (Mass.) Historical Society, Lucy responds to her daughter's request to send copies of Pinnock's histories. See Oliver Goldsmith, *Pinnock's Improved Edition of Dr. Goldsmith's History of Greece, abridged for the use of schools . . . Revised, Corrected, and Very Considerably Enlarged . . .* (Philadelphia: F. W. Greenough, 1835), 34, 60. Also, William Grimshaw, ed. *Goldsmith's Roman History* (Philadelphia: John Grigg, 1835).

Allen's self-effacing attempt to refrain from judgment in this passage is characteristic of her journal throughout. As the daughter of a Unitarian minister, she had been brought up hearing stories of the persecutions of the early Christians. Her uncle William Ware's recent novels, *Zenobia* and *Probus*, which Allen read, discussed them at length.¹⁸ Rather than rushing to demonize the practices of non-Christian people, however, Allen tries her best to understand them. Even though Allen betrays some anxiety about Fuller's confession that she might have been an active participant in an execution, Allen seems to accept Fuller's explanation of the past with cautious respect.

A course that presented an ethical system with which Allen felt more comfortable was her reading in Francis Wayland's recently published *Elements of Moral Science* (1835).¹⁹ In a letter to her parents just before Christmas, she proudly announced that she was studying from the college edition of Wayland, rather than the abridged academy version that the Allens had recently purchased at home in Northborough. Wayland (then president of Brown University) wrote the *Elements* as a modern replacement for William Paley's *Moral Philosophy* (1785), the standard college text of the early Republic.²⁰ Wayland's book is basically a course in Christian ethics. He begins with a discussion of 'Theoretical Ethics,' which culminates in a lengthy analysis of the difference between natural and revealed religion and the role of the Old and New Testament in describing duty. He then goes on to discuss the 'Practical Ethics,' which include duties to God, and duties to man. The sections on 'man' discuss questions of human liberty

18. William Ware, *Zenobia: or The Fall of Palmyra. In Letters of L. Manlius Piso, from Palmyra, to his Friend Marcus Curtius at Roma* (Boston: Joseph Francis, 1838). See also his *Probus, or Rome in the Third Century. Letters from Lucius M. Piso from Rome to Fausta, Daughter of Gracchus, at Palmyra* (Boston: Joseph Francis, 1838). Excerpts from *Zenobia* were first published in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* from March to May 1836. Excerpts from *Probus* appeared in the *Knickerbocker* from March to July 1838.

19. Francis Wayland, *The Elements of Moral Science* (Boston: Gould, Kendall, and Lincoln, 1835).

20. William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* (London: Printed for R. Faulder, 1785).

and slavery, the rights of property, justice, oaths, chastity, marriage, government, and benevolence to others. During her nine months at Greene Street, Allen read the middle two hundred pages of the text, the sections between 'revealed religion' and 'oaths.'

Allen's comments about her reading in ethics are interesting because she frequently notes when Fuller disagreed with Wayland. Disputing that the 'revealed' religion of Christianity had improved the world more than the 'natural' religion of pagans, Fuller wryly said that 'she thought that the world is no better than it used to be, and she hoped it was no worse' (1.28). Fuller would elaborate this idea in her lecture to the Coliseum Club three months later.²¹ Fuller also could not agree with Wayland's Calvinist doctrine that God had no responsibility to mankind. Rather, Fuller thought, 'if there was a God, He was in some manner under obligation to us—we had a certain claim on Him—and if he did not fulfill it, she thought it would be inconsistent with his character as a Father' (1.144). Fuller's logic in this passage is taken nearly verbatim from William Ellery Channing's 1819 Baltimore sermon, the Unitarian doctrine of the Lord as a benevolent father.

As Fuller's comment suggests, Fuller and Allen's training in mainstream Unitarian thought greatly shaped their literary disposition. Because Unitarians envisioned God as kind and encouraging, they tried to cultivate a temperament of moderation and tolerance. They did not want to indulge in sectarian bickering about dogma, preferring simply to hold more generally, in Channing's phrase, 'to that which is good' about Christ's teachings and works.²² Margaret Fuller showed her appreciation of the rhetorical face of this eclectic theology when she recommended Channing to her students during rhetoric class as an example of

21. See Charles Capper, *Margaret Fuller: An American Romantic Life*, 2 vols. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992–2007), 1: 243. See also Tess Hoffman, 'Miss Fuller Among the Literary Lions: Two Essays Read at "The Coliseum" in 1838,' *Studies in the American Renaissance* (1988): 37–53.

22. Channing quotes Romans 12:9. See Channing, 'Sermon Delivered on the Ordination of Rev. Jared Sparks,' 3:59, 102.

one of the few writers who was able to take a very broad view of an issue and 'hold it up' to make it understandable (1.22-23).

The theological commitments of Allen's history and moral philosophy texts were complimented in her rhetoric manual, Richard Whately's 1828 *Elements of Rhetoric*.²³ Although Whately's text does not provoke much interest today, it differed significantly from its belletristic predecessors, Hugh Blair's 1783 *Rhetoric*, and George Campbell's 1776 *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, both of which continued to be used through the mid-nineteenth century.²⁴ Whately's text is unique because it is a debater's text, particularly designed to give Christian ministers the skills to win tough disputes among nonbelievers. As a general argumentative manual, however, the text is uneven. Douglas Ehninger notes that Whately's ecclesiastical orientation limits the text because almost all of its illustrations are directed toward proving views of the past (namely, the divinity of Christ's example), rather than deliberating about paths to take in an uncertain future.²⁵ Despite this parochial focus, the text is an unusually lively school text. In contrast to some of the drier rhetoric manuals of its day, Whately does not flinch from giving students all the tools they might need when facing unscrupulous opponents. Whately gives directions about how to shift burdens of proof to one's advantage, how to delay getting to the point, and how to speak obscurely as a means of covering up one's vulnerable points (2.82-84).²⁶ Allen wrote that Whately's text, and Fuller's glosses of it, gave her 'deep pleasure,' and she credited it as the single class that most developed her 'thinking powers' (4.132; 4.37).

23. As Annette Kolodny notes, Allen was probably reading from a Boston reprint of the third London edition of the text: Richard Whately, *Elements of Rhetoric* (London, 1828; Boston: Hilliard, Gray, 1833; reprint, Douglas Ehninger, ed., Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1963). Kolodny, 'Inventing a Feminist Discourse,' 367.

24. Hugh Blair, *Lectures on Rhetoric and Belles Lettres* (London: 1783; reprint, Harold F. Harding, ed., Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1965). George Campbell, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (London, 1776; reprint, Lloyd F. Bitzer, ed., Carbondale: University of Southern Illinois Press, 1963).

25. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), xi.

26. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), xxxix, 65, 112, 265-74.

In her compelling analysis of the influence of Whately's *Rhetoric* on Fuller's feminist manifestos of the 1840s, Annette Kolodny notes that one of the most important elements of Whately's text was his general advice that it is better to convince rather than persuade, a remark that Allen emphasized in her journal (1.89).²⁷ Grasping the cognitive machinery behind this technique, Allen noted that Fuller told her students that trying to convince people 'gratifies their pride' instead of wounding it (1.89).

Allen found this explicitly psychological approach to literary style exciting and new. During discussion of the ways a speaker appeals to different audiences, Allen was intrigued by Fuller's quotation from Coleridge that 'If you wish to win the soul of a little man or little woman, leave them with a high opinion of themselves,—but if you wish to win the regard of a noble man or woman, leave them with a high opinion of you' (1.141). When illustrating people's natural tendencies toward self-love, Fuller surprised Allen with a quotation from La Rochefoucauld:

"There is something in the misfortunes of our dearest friends, that does not displease us."²⁸ I thought it meant, that we were pleased to have an opportunity to show our friendship, which is so faithfully tried in seasons of adversity, but Miss F—said she feared he who made that remark was not so disinterested, as to intend that—She said we were naturally pleased to be superior to others, and their misfortunes gave us an opportunity. I hope such feelings are not common, but I fear they are too much so. (1.117)

Allen's charming delicacy at acknowledging a troubling aspect of human nature is both sincere and highly stylized. On one level, Allen candidly shows her embarrassment for having formerly held an unsophisticated view of human friendship. On another level, however, Allen rhetorically emphasizes her mistake by imitating

27. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), 36; 175–87. Kolodny, 'Inventing a Feminist Discourse,' 356, 375–79.

28. François La Rochefoucauld, *The Maxims of La Rochefoucauld* (New York: Random House, 1959), maxim #583. Allen uses double quotation marks in her text.

both La Rochefoucauld and Fuller's style of understatement, *littotes*, the technique of amplification by saying less than is meant ('not displease us,' 'not so disinterested').²⁹ Allen gracefully avoids the liability of the direct claim that *I learned that people can be brutally selfish*. From the standpoint of a class-based aesthetics of taste (where use-value is often subordinated to values of form), one of the most appealing aspects of her character in the passage is Allen's movement toward an educated virtue from a blind idealism. In this sense, Allen's journal shows her learning how to play the role of a humble student that earns her respect, at least among those of her social class.³⁰

As this entry shows, Allen was drawn to rhetoric for instructions about the proper disclosure and illustration of character, or, as the term is usually called in that discipline, *ethos*. The second section of Whately's text is a sustained discussion of how character plays a role in persuasion. As Whately notes (following Quintilian), the successful orator should strive to be virtuous, but much more is meant than a moralistic caveat to do-goodism.³¹ Rather, pursuing the insight that teaching by example can be more effective than teaching by precept, the ancients developed a complex discourse about the power relations that shape how people 'read' one another. Whately, drawing on this tradition, discusses the ways speakers can show themselves to more favorable advantage to different groups of listeners, and he frankly addresses how people of genuine integrity can undermine their cause by mishandling the way they appear to their audience. In terms of crafting her own rhetorical ethos, Allen seems to have paid particular attention to Whately's advice that a 'gentle and conciliatory manner' is most appropriate for those who claim to be teachers.³²

29. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), 180-200.

30. For a sustained examination of the class basis of taste and education, see Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1984), and *Reproduction in Education, Society, and Culture* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1977).

31. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), 6.

32. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), 209.

Allen was impressed by Whately's psychological discussion of style, which focuses on achieving perspicuity and energy. On the whole, Whately recommends techniques that contribute to what language historian Kenneth Cmiel has called the 'middling style' in America, such as the cultivation of short sentences, the preference for Saxon words over Latinate ones, the use of concrete language, the dangers of being too metaphorical, and the placement of the writer's greatest emphasis toward the beginning of a sentence.³³ Throughout his chapter on style, Whately closely follows one of the rare innovations in rhetorical theory, Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric*, which discusses the psychology of why some literary techniques seem livelier and more direct than others (the term Campbell coined was 'vivacy'). Whately's extension of Campbell was his advice about how to achieve the opposite of energy and perspicuity when the occasion demanded it, such as when a lawyer seeks to minimize the offensiveness of a client's crime. Allen declared that these were 'the easiest and most interesting' lessons that they had, presumably because Whately described the logic behind poetic diction (2.121-25). Interestingly, when Whately criticized the use of loose periodic clauses—especially those marked with dashes and which are found throughout Allen's journal—Allen did not refrain from continuing to employ them in her journal. Although she laughed to admit that schoolgirls tend to underline too many words in a sentence to convey a false emphasis, she apparently decided that the frequent use of dashes was an acceptable part of her writing style, at least in manuscript.

Conversation and Dialectic

Fuller's strategies for teaching rhetoric were unusual for her era because she clearly trained her students in dialectic. Peter Ramus's influential removal of dialectic, or systematic analysis, from

33. Kenneth Cmiel, *Democratic Eloquence: The Fight Over Popular Speech in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: W. Morrow, 1990).

rhetoric stunted the discipline for nearly three hundred years, much to the dismay of later rhetoricians who found that dialectic and *inventio* (the creative work of choosing one's argument) were legitimate—if not foundational—elements of studying persuasive discourse.³⁴ One of Margaret Fuller's unique additions to discussions of the course reading in rhetoric was her effort to put dialectic back into the rhetoric curriculum by assigning complex words for her students to define. In rhetoric class, after student recitation of the night's reading in Whately, Fuller would ask her students for the definitions of abstract terms such as 'philosophy,' 'poetry,' and 'logic.' She also led her students through the investigation of related terms such as the difference between 'feeling' and 'sentiment' or the 'terrifying' and the 'horrible' (1.88; 4.127). These discussions, which took up more class time than recitation of the reading, are explicitly analytic in nature, encouraging students to create—and defend—fine distinctions in meaning on their own.

As she showed later in her Boston Conversations of the 1840s, Fuller was committed to a Socratic method that sharpened students' thought through interplay and dialogue with their mentor. Noting this unique emphasis, Allen refers to almost all the classes she took with Fuller as conversations. Fuller was emphatic that the purpose of studying definitions was to learn to create them, not simply to memorize them: '[Miss Fuller] often says she does not wish us to adopt her opinions, unless we choose—They are different from those of many, and she likes we should know what they are, that we may be able to understand her. She wishes us to examine them, think about them, and compare them with others—and then decide which to adopt' (2.128).

34. See, for example, Petrus Ramus, *Arguments in Rhetoric Against Quintilian: Translation and Text of Peter Ramus's Rhetoricae Distinctiones in Quintilianum* (1549; reprint, trans. Carole Newlands, DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986). Ramus makes the same point in his works on dialectic, and the divisions of the liberal arts. See also Thomas Knoles, Rick Kennedy, and Lucia Zaucha Knoles, *Student Notebooks at Colonial Harvard: Manuscripts and Educational Practice, 1650-1740* (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 2003).

Similarly, both in and out of rhetoric class, Fuller also asked her students to analyze the significance of myths, such as Cupid and Psyche, and try to understand them as primal allegories of human experience. On one level, Fuller used the raw materials of myth as cognitive exercises that obliged her students to articulate their perceptions of latent and manifest content. For Fuller, the value of myth was not simply the acquisition of stories about the past; it was the habit of interpreting the past for oneself. Allen wrote that Fuller told her students that she did not want them to memorize their lessons by 'heart.' Rather, Fuller 'wanted us to get our lessons by *mind*' (1.4). In contrast to presenting rhetoric as merely a discipline of literary ornamentation, Fuller imagined it as intrinsic to thought itself.

In addition to cognitive training, Fuller's use of myth in class may have had more personal significance as well. As Robert Richardson has shown, Fuller believed that myth had a practical bearing on people's lives.³⁵ She imagined that people actually faced the same moral universe as Orpheus or Daphne, or, as in her case, Prometheus. She saw great strength for women in Greek myth—believing it represented their contribution to Greek culture more accurately than men's history—and she felt that it was important for her female students to study this archive of human freedom.

Feminism

As Charles Capper notes, because most of Fuller's students became respectable New England mothers and teachers rather than iconoclastic writers and activists, her direct effect on them is hard to assess.³⁶ It would be a mistake, however, to measure Fuller's legacy by the number of radicals she made of her students. Rather, Fuller encouraged a strong spirit of curiosity and independent thought. For example, some of the correspondence of

35. Robert D. Richardson, Jr., 'Margaret Fuller and Myth,' *Prospects* 4 (1979): 169–84.

36. Capper, *Margaret Fuller*, 1: 236.

Fuller's students just after they left the Greene Street School shows them wrestling with the ideas that would later appear in Fuller's essay, 'The Great Lawsuit.' Responding to Mary Ware Allen's suggestion that she read 'Women's Mission,' Adeline Brown wrote back to her that

There is more in woman than she knows of. I believe we have very many capacities that slumber & sleep, and which we could turn to much account if we would rouse them from their hiding place. Nothing saddens me more than to hear gentlemen (as I often do) tell of women's influence, and then think how little she exerts it—how little she cares for it—how often she will waste its power upon the 'play things of an hour'—I certainly think this is a subject that demands serious thought and continued attention—there is much to be done—if we can see our way clear, let it not be said of us 'he said he would go, but went not.'—I wonder if all this will interest you—but I am only communicating to you, the thoughts your letter aroused—³⁷

In discussions with her friend, Allen was obviously grappling with the progressive thoughts of her age, inspiring Brown to think politically about women's role in society. Adeline Brown herself went on to found a large school in Providence that in 1846 had fifty-eight boys, many girls, and twelve to sixteen teachers.³⁸ Margaret Fuller's influence as a female intellectual leader seems clear, especially understood in the context of social reform that had gripped New England since Angelina and Sarah Grimké's speaking tour of 1837–38.

Rather than look for evidence of a tradition of radicalism passing from Margaret Fuller to her students, it is important to recognize the legacy of a strong independence of thought. In a letter written to her mother just prior to her marriage, Allen expressed her discomfort with radical feminism, but her evaluation of the women's rights movement is suggestive of Fuller-esque judgment.

37. Adeline Brown to Mary Ware Allen, March 1, 1840, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

38. Adeline Brown to Mary Ware Allen, November 19, 1846, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

After attending an antislavery meeting that took a surprising turn, Allen wrote:

It was a pleasant meeting, but I could not agree with all they said—They were loud in their praises & approbation of Abby Kelly—One had just been introduced to her, and another would go a great distance to see her—She is coming to Hingham this summer & Uncle Lincoln has invited her to make his house her home—Some things that were said about Women's Rights were good, but others went farther than I would go, inasmuch as they advocated loudly her speaking in public.—I liked what Miss Anna Thaxter said better than what any of the others said—Among other things, she said she thought Women had the right place now—she only had to stand more erect in it—She advocated however, I believe, her public speaking—If she meant what I at first thought she did, she agreed with our feelings, but from something that was said afterwards I thought she might have meant that the late struggle which has been made on behalf of Women, had given her the right place, for it had authorized her to speak & act as she saw fit.³⁹

Although clearly uncomfortable with sanctioning women's public speech (at least while writing to her mother), the twenty-one-year-old Allen was associating with the most radical people of her generation. She takes for granted that the role of women had significantly changed in recent years. What probably would have made Fuller most proud, however, was Allen's ability to measure the new movement against her own thoughts. Although she was attending an antislavery meeting, she was not bragging. Nine years later, Allen casually informed her brother, Edward, about some fugitive slaves from Georgia whom she had stay at her house on their way north to Canada.⁴⁰ Although many Unitarians could make similar claims, the Allen-Johnson family tradition of actively teaching their beliefs set them apart.

39. Mary Ware Allen to Lucy Clark Ware Allen, July 4, 1840, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

40. Mary Ware Allen to Edward Allen, February 18, 1849, Allen-Johnson Papers, AAS.

On the last day of the summer term of 1838, when she knew she was about to leave the school forever, Allen said her good-bye to her journal in a moving tribute to her teachers. Although she may not have known it, Margaret Fuller was already planning to leave due to poor health and exhaustion. Fuller would be replaced in December 1838 by Sarah Jacobs, and the school itself would close within a year due to declining enrollment. The experiment of the school was ending. Invoking the gospel of Matthew, Allen compared the minds of the scholars to seeds thrown among thorns and stony places that the teachers would no longer be able to tend:

The seed is deposited—the sower need not remain in the field to watch the growth of the grain—he must go forth to other duties—other labors—but the sun will shed down upon the soul, his bright warm rays—the gentle showers will descend and the seed will spring up and bear fruit—‘first the blade, then the ear, after that the full grown corn in the ear.’ So let it be with us who are now to depart from the husbandman’s care. May we put forth our leaves, and imbibe every ray of light, every soft drop of the shower, that comes to warm and refresh and strengthen our minds. (4.140–41)

Allen knew that her rhetorical flourish was allowing her to fill up the final pages of her journal, and when she wrote, ‘may we put forth our leaves,’ she was also referring to her writing.

A Note on Our Editorial Method

There is no silent editing in this transcription. All editorial comments, dates, and clarifying information that are not in the original source have been put inside square brackets [] or in footnotes. Ellipses within brackets [. . .] indicate excised material. Volume and page numbers have been inserted to help orient readers. For example, [2.13] indicates volume 2, page 13. Abbreviations are coded in the following manner: MWA indicates Mary Ware Allen; HF indicates Hiram Fuller; MF indicates Margaret Fuller. Unless otherwise noted, all underlinings, ↓text↓ insertions, or

crossed-out material are by Mary Ware Allen. Since both Hiram and Margaret make minimal editing comments, an underlining, strikeout, or insertion followed by [HF] or [MF] simply means that those editorial marks were made by that person. Allen sometimes revises her text after seeing Hiram and Margaret's corrections. Where these secondary revisions are obvious, we have noted such revisions with square brackets.

Hyphenated line endings are not noted unless they break on a new page. Allen often makes period marks that look like dashes. To present readers with a typescript that holds closely to the original text, this edition transcribes dashes even when it is likely that Allen intended to signify a period. Because Allen uses double quotation marks, we have retained them in the transcription, although the style of the *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* uses single quotation marks.

We have retained Allen's own spelling.

The Transcript

[Volume 1]

Decr 19 [1837][Tuesday] [1.1] This is the first day of my attending the Greene Street School, and it has past [*sic*] more pleasantly than I expected the first day would, with but little to do. I find it is one of the rules of the school to keep a journal, and though I do not think I should like to do it, it will be a very useful exercise. I have not done much to-day, except to hear the different recitations, and to look about me. [. . .] I think I shall like very much to recite to Miss Fuller, she makes every-thing so plain and interesting.

Decr 20. [1837][Wednesday] [. . .] [1.2] Miss Fuller formed a class in Rhetoric this morning, which I have joined, and which I hope will be interesting and useful. It depends a great deal on ourselves to make it so, indeed Miss Fuller said that a great deal would depend on the freedom with which we should express our thoughts. She wished us to let no false modesty restrain us, for true modesty consisted not in being ashamed that other [1.3] people should

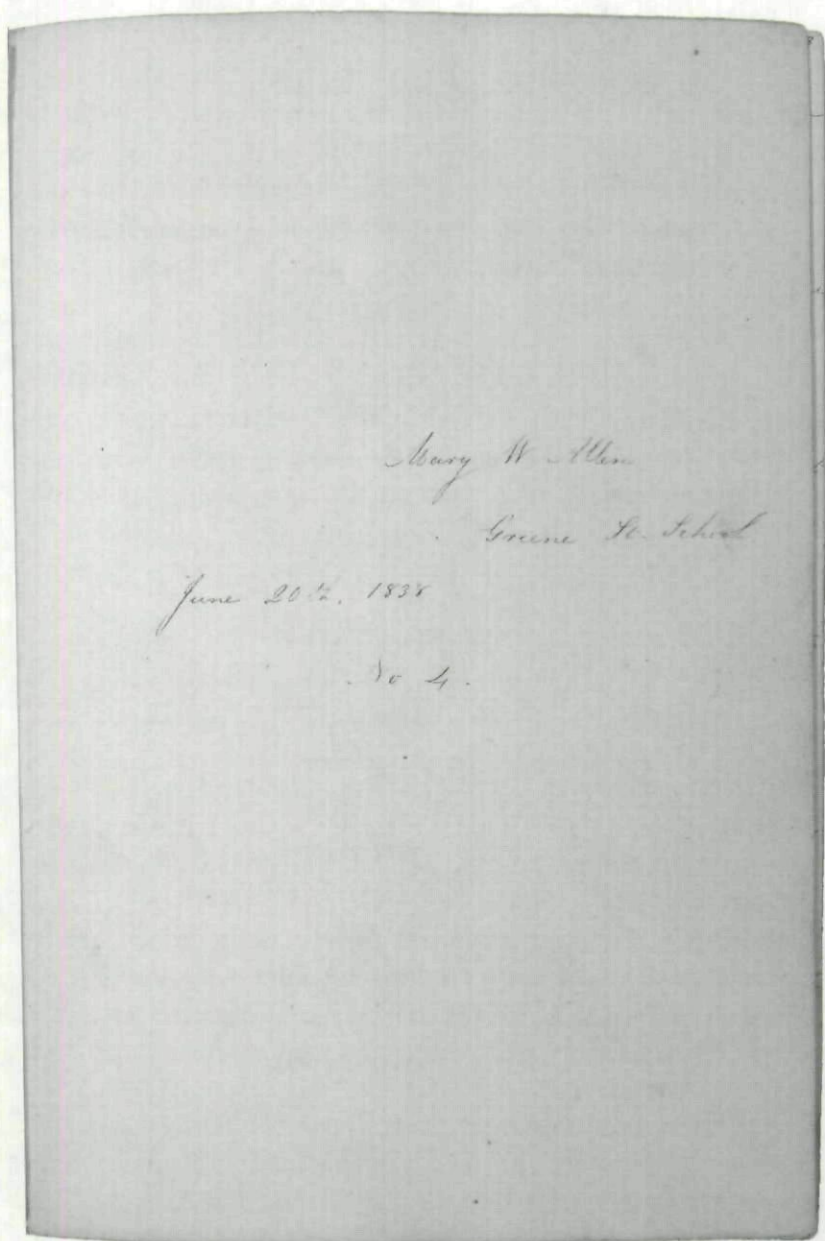


Figure 3. The fourth journal volume opened to show Allen's signature and the way she identified the second, third, and fourth volumes.

know our ignorance, but in being ashamed of the ignorance itself. It is a very true definition, but one which I had never thought of. She said a great difficulty, even with many fine minds, was a want of freedom to express their thoughts—that many minds were so profound, that it was hard to get at them—every thing seemed bun'ed up—while from many persons of shallower minds, the thoughts flowed with the greatest ease. She asked us the meaning of the word philosophy—said she presumed but a very few of us could give a correct definition, though we ~~were~~ frequently used it. We agreed that it was a knowledge of the nature of any thing, of its internal properties—that knowledge which leads to classification. There can be a philosophy of any thing—of any kind of study—a philosophy of Rhetoric, a philosophy of Arithmetic &c. One of the class asked if we were to get our lessons by heart—Miss Fuller said she never wished us to get our lessons by heart, as that expression is commonly understood, [1.4] for nothing could be farther from getting it by heart—it was oftener only getting it by body—the heart had nothing to ↓do↓ with it. No, she wanted us to get our lessons by mind—to give our minds and souls to the work. If there were any who thought they could not do this, who did not feel an interest~~ed~~ in it, who did not feel willing to answer her questions, and to open their minds to her, she wished them to leave the class—it would not displease her, she wished they would do it, even if there were only two left who really felt interested[. . .]

Dec 27th [1837] [Wednesday] Mr. Fuller read to us this morning, one of my favorite chapters—the sixth of Matthew, containing a part of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. After the prayer he made, the class in Rhetoric was called, which I thought was to recite the last in the morning, consequently, my lesson was not so well prepared as it ought to have been. We had definitions to write of the words Philosophy, Rhetoric, and Logic. Most of the class had prepared them, and Miss Fuller read them to us. Those who had not prepared them, she did not excuse, but said they

must bring them the next time. There was a remark made in the lesson to which Miss Fuller objected, namely, that Rhetoric comprehended all prose composition, to the exclusion of poetry. Miss Fuller thought there were fine rhetorical compositions in poetry, as well as in prose. The writer of the work we study, Mr. Whately, recommends that same kind of exercises in composition, that we have in [1.10] this school.⁴¹ He recommends the writing from remembrance, an account of any book we read, any interesting conversation we hear, or of any interesting events that take place. This is precisely the method that is adopted in this school, and I am now convinced that it is the best. I have overcome my repugnance to writing a journal, and find it, what I did not expect, a pleasant, as well as useful exercise. It has, as Miss Fuller said to me the other day, when she saw what I had written on the first page, all the advantages of writing a composition without the danger of acquiring a stiff and formal manner of expressing oneself, which is usually seen in common school compositions. Composition! what a dreaded word that is to most scholars, when some subject is given out for them to write on. In vain they rack their poor brains in search of something to write which will be original, and perhaps after repeated efforts they are obliged to give up in despair. Some, love to write, and perform their task to the satisfaction of their teacher, but the number is small, and too often they appear with no composition at all. If teachers would [1.11] oftener do as Miss Fuller does, read an interesting story for their scholars to write from remembrance, it would be more useful as well as pleasanter to them. [. . .]

Jan^y 3rd [1838] [Wednesday] [. . .] [1.22] The class in Rhetoric was the first to recite this morning, and it was a very interesting

41. Whately, *Rhetoric* (1963 ed.), 21-26. Whately's advice stems from his concern that student writing develop naturally from real-life situations. His philosophy is part of the backlash against stilted forms of elocution where schoolboys were taught to mouth speeches they did not understand. He felt that students writing on topics they understood would aid communication.

recitation to me—I do not mean the recitation itself, as that was not particularly good, but the conversation that it gave rise to. Miss Fuller wants us to bring a definition of poetry next time. She said that she had a definition that suited herself, but it was a good many years before she could find one. I am sure I cannot find one in a week, for I never thought any thing about it. She promised to tell us her definition, after we have given her ours. In our lesson it was remarked that it was better for an unpracticed writer or speaker to take but one or two branches of a subject, when a large one was proposed, and thus, as by a microscope, enable us to see a small space very distinctly. Miss Fuller said there were but very few who were capable of taking a telescopic view of a subject. She mentioned Mr. Webster and Dr. Channing, as being ↓able↓ to grasp a subject, and hold it up so that it can be distinctly seen.⁴² A person of the most common capacity, feels, after hearing either of them, that he has understood what he has heard. It is as if a person held up a globe—we feel after [1.23] seeing it, that we know something about the earth—we see it distinctly as a whole, but we cannot of course see every country on it, and understand all about it. The micro↓sco↓pic view of a subject, I should think might be compared to a map of some particular country. [. . .]

Jan^y 10th [1838] [Wednesday] [. . .] [1.34] The class in Rhetoric was the first to recite—We did not recite well. Miss Fuller had requested us each to bring a definition of poetry, and most of us brought one, but some had forgotten, some had misunderstood, and some did not know what to write—but Miss Fuller, wisely, does not admit any such excuses, and those who do not comply with her requests at one time, are obliged to at another. This is as it should be. Miss Fuller said we might not all be able to perceive any use in this study, because we did not see that we could ever apply it to the common affairs of life, and we might never be able

42. Daniel Webster (1782–1852), senator from New Hampshire, particularly well known for his powers of explication in his 1831 ‘Second Reply to Foote’s Resolution.’ William Ellery Channing (1780–1842), see introduction and note 5.

to make use of it ↓in↓ a party, or in real life, but it would strengthen our minds. Too many suppose that a study is of no use unless we can apply it, but it is a mistaken idea. A person who has been educated in this way, studying nothing that will not be of immediate use to him, may go to a lecture, as many [1.35] will go to Mr. Everett's this evening—but what will he gain?⁴³ Perhaps his greatest motive in going is vanity—he goes, that he may say he was there, and perhaps when he comes away, he knows who else was there—and perhaps can repeat a few anecdotes that were related. Miss Fuller said we should consider it a duty we owe our Maker, to cultivate our intellectual and moral natures. What she said to me reminded me of what my mother said to me a short time since—that the intellectual and moral parts of our being, are the only parts that will never die—that we can go on improving them forever, and that we should endeavour to prepare them for that endless state of being, by cultivating them as much as possible. Miss Fuller said we should be accountable for all the opportunities we had slighted, at the bar of God. An appalling thought, which is often repeated, but which does not seem to produce the desirable effect, for if it did, we should manifest it in our lives. She said too, that our reward would not be so great in heaven, if we did not cultivate our intellects—that however good we might be, in one sense of the word, that would not be sufficient, [1.36] if we slighted our advantages. She said a great deal more, which I wish I could remember well enough to write, for it interested me very much [. . .]

Jan^y 17th [1838] [Wednesday] [1.51] There was no reading this morning, and the Rhetoric class was called immediately after school began. The lesson was long, and I had dreaded the recitation of it,

43. There were two Everetts giving lectures at this time in Providence. Alexander Everett (1790–1847), editor of the *North American Review* from 1829 to 1835, was giving a lecture series on the French Revolution at Franklin Hall and Roger Williams House during January and February (*Providence Journal*, January 18, 1838). Edward Everett (1794–1865) was at this time governor of Massachusetts, and famous for his skills as a lecturer and ceremonial orator. Hannah Gale remarks that she saw Edward Everett's lecture on 'Public Improvement' two weeks later (Kopacz, 'School Journal,' 90). Drawing on his classical education, Everett argued at length that Africa was the cradle of science.

but it was easier and pleasanter than I expected. The lesson led to some conversation on the proofs of the existence of a God—Abner Kneeland,⁴⁴ and his opinions were discussed—Mr. Whately's celebrated tract, proving, by the same arguments that infidels use with respect to the existence of Jesus Christ, that ~~there was~~ no such person as Buonaparte [*sic*] ever existed, was mentioned as an example of his theory—to refute a Fallacy, by bringing forward a parallel one where it leads to an absurdity—Thus, no one would believe by his tract that Napoleon never existed, for it is absurd. the proofs of his existence are too evident to be refuted. Yet many deny the existence of Christ, who can bring forward no better arguments, but in fact, the same. I wonder such persons do [1.52] not deny that Alexander, or any other hero of ancient times, never lived.

Miss Fuller gave us her definition of poetry, and wished us to record what we could remember of it, in our journals. I am almost afraid to write it, lest it should not be correct, and I cannot remember all she said, though I listened attentively. I will write what I can, and if it is not correct, I hope I shall be excused.

Poetry, she said, is that which may be expressed by the fine arts. It requires the regularity and strength of architecture—the grace of sculpture—the coloring of painting—and the exquisite sweetness of music—these combine and make poetry. It clothes the thoughts of the soul, in beautiful language, and by means of imagery, works upon the feelings. By imagery, is meant the bringing up of images with which we are familiar, as those drawn from nature. There are many kinds of poetry—Epic—in which the heroic deeds of great men are described, as in the Iliad of Homer. Lyric, chiefly religious and patriotic poetry, and is more particularly addressed to the feelings. [1.53] It consists, in general, of short pieces, for the soul when it ascends the highest, is not able to

44. Abner Kneeland (1774–1844) was a freethinking Universalist minister who in 1816 began publishing essays that doubted the divine origin of the scriptures. The Transcendentalists defended him when he was briefly jailed in 1838. In addition to his controversial religious ideas, Kneeland advocated birth control and the abolition of private property.

[word undecipherable] the longest flights—Dramatic poetry, is that in which some circumstance is described, not as a whole, with all the attending particulars as in a novel, but by taking some particular crisis, and causing it to be described by the individuals who are supposed to have taken part in it. Satirical, is the lowest kind of poetry, and is a ridicule of persons or things. Satire has often a good object in view—namely, to prevent folly, by holding it up to ridicule—but it is too often perverted, and made to gratify the lowest desires of our nature. Verse, is the natural garb of poetry, though not an indispensable accompaniment as many suppose. In ancient times when poetry was young, poets used to recite or sing their productions, and took the form of verse to assist their memory, besides its being more harmonious.

I wish I could write more of what Miss Fuller said, but I cannot. She wishes us to write definitions of the words imagination and ideality, for the next time, which I think will be more [1.54] difficult than the definition of poetry. She says we must try, and if our definitions are not correct, the exercise will be useful to us, and I fully believe it, and shall try to do my best.

Jan 19th. [1838] [Friday] [. . .] [1.66] In our poetry class to-day, those who were appointed read their pieces very well. Some of the poets were described, among whom were Wordsworth Cowper and Burns.⁴⁵ Miss Fuller asked the class to repeat an anecdote she had related [written over relating] to them about Wordsworth. None of them remembered it, and she was so much discouraged that she said it would do no good to repeat it again, for they would only forget again. But as some of us had never heard it, she kindly repeated it, requesting no one to remain [1.67] in the room who did not feel interested to hear it. When Wordsworth's father died, he was engaged in a tedious law-suit; which if his son had chosen

45. William Wordsworth (1770–1850), William Cowper (1731–1800), and Robert Burns (1759–96). Cowper wrote *Olney Hymns* (1779), famous for the phrase 'God moves in a mysterious way,' and his mock epic poem, *The Task*. Robert Burns, famous for his *Scottish Airs* and poems, was read several times by Hiram Fuller at morning assembly.

to continue, would have left him (had he gained it) in possession of a handsome estate. He however did not feel inclined to involve himself in its perplexities, for his mind was more intent on literary pursuits, than on the acquisition of wealth. He therefore gave it up, and retired to a cottage in Westmoreland which he owned, put on a suit of grey, and divided his time between literary pursuits, and gardening. The person who had gained the property Wordsworth had so nobly resigned, not long since died, and the heir to it, gave it up to Wordsworth. I believe it was the Earl of Lonsdale who had been engaged in it with Wordsworth's father.

Miss Fuller told us a little fact concerning Mr. Benton [correction in MF's hand, replacing 'Bentham' for 'Benton,' and adds in margin: 'Jeremy Bentham'], a great wit, which interested me very much.⁴⁶ Though very witty, he was so fond of tête à têtes, that he caused a room to be built which would hold but two, that he might enjoy the society of one person, undisturbed.

Jan 24th. [1838] [Wednesday] [. . .] [I.76] Our class in Rhetoric recited this morning. We carried in our definitions of imagination and ideality, which Miss Fuller read and criticised, and then [I.77] gave us her definitions. I was interested in them, but fear I cannot give a good account of them as she wished us to do, before our next recitation. I understood fully, I believe, her definitions of Imagination, and I thought I did that of Ideality, but on trying to write it after I came out of the class, I found I could recall but a few words. I think the idea is in my head, but I cannot get it out. I don't know what I shall do if I do not get it out and dress it up in some form—I shall be ashamed to go without it, and sorry to displease Miss Fuller. Perhaps it will come to me, in some midnight hour, at least, I hope it will.

We had a very pleasant conversation with Miss Fuller after school this morning—She spoke upon what woman could do—said she should like to see a woman every thing she might be, in

46. Jeremy Bentham (1748–1832) was an English jurist who became interested in legal reform. His theories of utilitarianism were very influential on John Stuart Mill.

intellect and character. She said that Mr. Alexander Everett told her the evening before, that he thought the chief literature of this country, would be in the hands of women, in the course of fifty years.⁴⁷ I am afraid if he speaks truly, there [1.78] must be a great change.

[Allen returned home to care for her sick mother for almost two months. She missed the conclusion of the winter term at the end of the first week in March. The spring term began on March 12, a week before Allen returned. Ed.]

March 21st. [1838] Wednesday [. . .] [1.88] I joined the Rhetoric class this morning, though I had prepared no lesson. I am sorry to have lost so much, in this important study. The class brought in definitions, or rather answers to these questions—"what is the difference between propriety and dignity?" "between feeling and sentiment?" Many of the class had not prepared answers, which displeased Miss Fuller. She said she wished us to have no false shame—not to disobey her because we feared we should not succeed, but to try to do our best, and not be discouraged if we do not give correct definitions. It is for our good, not hers, she asks it, and as she neither finds fault with, or [1.89] ridicules us when we are wrong, I know not why we should not be willing to do such a little thing, to show our gratitude to her, if not for our own improvement.

The subject of the lesson was Persuasion, and it was said that men love better to be convinced than persuaded—The former gratifies their pride, the latter wounds it. Imagination, was said to be an important qualification for the study of History. It is not often, Miss Fuller said, rightly appreciated—it is taken in a bad sense—but rightly considered, it is one of God's greatest gifts to man. Imagination can be depraved, as well as other gifts, but it ought to be cultivated and improved. I do not suppose every one

47. Alexander Everett. See note 43.

receives from Nature, an equal share of imagination. Miss Fuller said it was difficult for us to imagine such a person as Cleopatra. She was more beautiful than any one we have ever seen—and of a different style of beauty from any we have ever seen—brought up among a different kind of people, and in a style of regal magnificence, with which we are wholly unacquainted— [1.90]—She had a great deal of pride and vanity—possessed many kind and affectionate feelings, but also a ferocity which is difficult to conceive of, in a woman.

I wish I could remember more of what Miss Fuller says. I think when I hear her, I shall be able to write a great deal, but I find it very difficult to recall it to my mind with sufficient distinctness to record it. [...]

March 22. [1838] [Thursday] [. . .] [1.97] Miss Fuller told us the story of Psyche, which I was very glad to hear, as it is often alluded to.⁴⁸ Psyche means the soul, and the moral seemed to be that if the soul is not contented and grateful for the blessings it enjoys, but seeks for those which are forbidden—seeks to gratify an unhallowed curiosity, and to look at those things which it is forbidden to see—that soul shall lose the happiness it before enjoyed. As Mrs Child makes Plato say in her “Philothea” “my soul, like Psyche bending over the sleeping Eros, is too curious to examine, by its own feeble [1.98] taper, the lineaments of the divinity whereby it hath been blessed.”⁴⁹

48. Fuller was probably speaking extemporarily. However, she may have referred to the version from *Mythological Fables. Translated by Dryden, Pope, Congreve, Addison, and Others. Prepared Expressly for the Use of Youth. In One Volume* (New York: W. E. Dean, 1837), 249–66. This collection of myths was often used at the Greene Street School.

49. Lydia Maria Child (1802–80) was a leading figure in the antislavery movement from the 1830s onward. She wrote several romances in the 1820s and 1830s, all of which feature strong women. *Philothea* (1836) describes two friends: Philothea, the granddaughter of Anaxagoras, and Eudora. Philothea is virtuous and simple. Eudora, after being tutored by Pericles’s mistress, Aspasia, becomes ambitious and reckless, and she foolishly consents to a meeting with the rake, Alcibiades. Both girls endure the exile and death of their guardians during Pericles’s rule. Philothea eventually marries, and Eudora reforms her ways. Philothea and her husband both die prematurely, after having seen Platonic visions of a better world. Eudora is discovered to be a Persian princess, and regains the love of her youth, Philaemon. In honor of Eudora’s mentor, they name their daughter Philothea.

Miss Fuller after requesting us to speak louder in the class, gave us a rule which she said was once given to her, and had done her a great deal of good. As near as I can remember it was this—"Suffer not yourself to be governed by your fears—they are mean masters." I suppose it is true that many, including myself, are often governed by false shame. Still I must think that extreme better than the other. [. . .]

March 27th [1838] Tuesday. [. . .] [1.110] Our History lesson this morning was about the victory of the Greeks over the Persians at Platea, and in several other battles. So completely were they conquered, that scarcely a man was left of the five millions Xerxes brought into Greece, to carry back the news of their defeat into Persia. An account was given [1.111] of an Athenian senator named Lyciadas, who was stoned to death for daring to propose to a surrender, while witnessing from the shores of Salamis, the flames that were consuming Athens. His wife and children met with the same fate from the women. Miss Fuller thought they might have spared his wife, but if she had been there brought up as they were—with all the pride and love of country which the Athenians possessed, she feared she should not only have thrown one stone at Lyciadas for such a mean proposition, but some dozens. It would, she said, be wrong for those brought under the influence of Christianity, as we are, but for the Athenians to show their love of country in such a way, she thought justifiable.

Something was said respecting the different traits of character shown by the three chief men of Athens at that time. Miltiades was renowned for military skill, Themistocles for his valor, and Aristides for his wisdom. Miss Fuller asked [1.112] us which we would rather possess, wisdom or valor, for many possessed the one without the other—We agreed in choosing wisdom, without which valor would be but of little use. There is a kind of courage which some have, which leads them to seek danger, though they often have none of real courage, which is that which would lead them to do right, in spite of opposition. They

would rather stand up in a duel as a mark for a human being to shoot at, than to run the risk of being called a coward. Miss Fuller said she thought it required more moral courage to refuse a challenge, than to do almost anything else. She always feared that if she was a man, she should not possess enough to do it. It was so difficult to be branded with the name of coward, that she did not wonder so many accepted a challenge—I do not think any one who felt a deep sense of his responsibility, would so mock his Creator, and trifle with his life, as to accept a challenge—How can he dare, unbidden, to rush into the presence of an [I.113] offended God and Judge. Surely, that is the height of false courage—It is not the death of his body that he need fear—that is but trifling—but so to trifle with his immortal soul! How can one so trifle with a jewel? [. . .]

March 28th [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [I.115] Our recitation in Rhetoric this morning was very interesting. It was on the conduct of an address to the feelings. The first thing mentioned in the lesson was to avoid entering into a direct detail of circumstances—not to describe the whole, but only some striking part. ~~She~~ ↓ Miss Fuller ↓ amused us very much by telling us in a roundabout way some go to tell a very little thing—They will relate the most minute circumstances—tell every thing that is in the least connected with what they wish to describe. If they wish to relate an anecdote concerning any one, they tell his whole history—when and where he was born, how many brothers and sisters he had, &c. &c, and after all these preliminary remarks, come to the point, which perhaps after all, is not very sharp. Miss F—said it was very important to learn to select the most interesting parts of [I.116] a story, and omit those less so, if we wished to be listened to with interest and attention. The principles of selection, she said, were like clothes neatly arranged in drawers, so that what is wanted can be easily obtained, while the contrary may be compared to a basket of clothes where every thing is piled up together, and you get hold of many wrong things, before coming to the right one.

When Miss F—made this comparison, I compared my mind to a rag bag—full of odds and ends—some useful things in it perhaps, but surrounded by rubbish, so they are not found without much difficulty.

Another means of heightening any emotion is by comparison—by comparing something we wish to present in a favorable point of view, with something that is inferior to it, though still it should be something striking. It should be something that is already regarded with favor by the audience, that thus they may be prepared to receive with still greater favor the thing presented to them. It was said that if we wish to affect men by the misfortunes of others, we [1.117] must put the case to themselves—ask them how they should feel if such an injury had been done to them—and that is the surest way to excite our sympathy—We are selfish beings, and naturally care more for our own, than for others' good. We are apt to feel more the slightest injury done to ourselves, than the greatest misfortune of others—Miss Fuller quoted a sentence from a French writer which as nearly as I can remember, is this "There is something in the misfortunes of our dearest friends, that does not displease us."⁵⁰ I thought it meant, that we were pleased to have an opportunity to show our friendship, which is so faithfully tried in seasons of adversity, but Miss F—said she feared he who made that remark was not so disinterested, as to intend that—She said we were naturally pleased to be superior to others, and their ['their' has been written over the word 'other'] misfortunes gave us an opportunity. I hope such feelings are not common, but I fear they are too much so. [. .]

[1.119] As in exciting sympathy for others, we put the case to ourselves, or to our audience, so in leading them to contemplate their faults, we must show them like faults in others—How natural that is! It is only another form of selfishness, which leads us to do it, and it is what, I suspect, most persons do, if they wish to produce much effect—The striking example of Nathan's parable

50. François La Rochefoucauld; see note 28.

to David was given as an instance in our lesson, ~~and it afforded a very striking one~~. Our Savior well understood that principle of our nature, for he often reproved the Jews [1.120] by means of a parable, and led them to condemn themselves.⁵¹ One very striking instance was in the parable of the vineyard which was let to husbandmen, while the owner went into a far country.⁵² We had some very interesting conversation upon the character of David, and also upon the study of the Bible. Miss F—said David's character had always been to her a striking illustration of the dangers of prosperity—While David was in adversity, when he was obliged to flee for his life from Saul, and afterwards from Absalom, he felt his dependence on God, and served him faithfully—but afterwards, when his kingdom was in peace, and all outward things seemed prosperous—he forgot the God, who gave him all, and ceased to serve Him as he had done.⁵³ It appears, however, that he repented, for many of his Psalms are filled with the deepest expressions of penitence and suffering.

Miss Fuller said she had thought of forming a Bible class from this school, consisting of the larger scholars. I really wish [1.121] she would, for I feel very much the need for a more intimate knowledge of that Book, which is the way to everlasting life and happiness [. . .]

[1.122] The (tone of feeling) ↓methods↓ [parenthesis and insertion by HF] which a speaker should use (in endeavoring) to excite his audience, may be two ↓fold↓. The first by being very much excited himself—the second, by seeming to try to conceal his emotion. The latter method is generally the most successful, for an audience is generally moved to sympathy, when they see a speaker endeavor to stifle his feelings, and appear calm. Mr. Whately spoke of this, as being an art, but Miss Fuller said it was frequently natural, and was much more likely to be successful when it was so.

51. 2 Samuel 12.

52. The parable of the husbandmen occurs in several gospels of the New Testament: Matthew 20; Mark 12; Luke 20.

53. 2 Samuel 13-20.

Miss Fuller gave us some account of Lord Edward Fitzgerald and Robert Emmet, two Irish Patriots.⁵⁴ Ireland had long been subject [1.123] to despotic power, and they resolved to do something to free her from it. They accordingly excited a rebellion, which did no good, and cost these unfortunate young men their lives. Fitzgerald was killed while fighting in defense of his country, and Emmet was only spared to end his days on a ↓the↓ [HF?] scaffold. He was permitted to speak before the blow was given, and he made one of the most eloquent appeals to posterity that is now on record. Miss Fuller said she would read it to us if she could procure it. Lord Fitzgerald had been lately married, and Emmet at the time of his death, was engaged to a young lady, who, it was said, was never seen to smile again—She lived many years, and died at last of a broken heart.

After we had recited, Miss Fuller was asked for the interpretations of the Paint King, which she gave us.⁵⁵ The scholars did not seem to think it much of an interpretation, and did not appear satisfied. I was perfectly so, for though it was simple like [1.124] "Columbus' egg," yet I had not thought of it before.⁵⁶ The Paint King is represented as pulling "fair Ellen" to pieces in order to renew her charms on the canvass [*sic*]. It is a sport of

54. Lord Fitzgerald (1763–98) fought in the American Revolution, and thereafter went to France to support the French Revolution. Later, he attempted to solicit French aid for Irish independence, and was captured and died in custody. Robert Emmet (1773–1803), a member of the United Irishmen, led a failed insurrection to capture Dublin Castle in 1803. He was captured and hanged two months later. In contrast to Allen's belief that Emmet's fiancée, Sarah, died of a broken heart, she actually married a British officer two years later.

55. They had read Washington Allston's 1813 poem, 'The Paint King,' reprinted in George Barrell Cheever, *American Common-Place Book of Poetry* (Boston: Carter and Hendee, 1831). The energetic but rather convoluted poem is an allegory of the relation of art to life along the lines of the story of Pygmalion and Galatea.

56. The story of Columbus's egg comes from Washington Irving's 1828 biography of Columbus: At a dinner party upon his return from the Americas, Columbus was challenged by a guest who argued that if Columbus had not discovered the New World, someone else would have. Columbus picked up an egg and asked if any present were capable of making it stand on end. No one was able to do it, but Columbus, by first tapping the end of the egg on the table and flattening it, managed to make it stand without falling over. Washington Irving, *The Life and Voyages of Columbus. The Works of Washington Irving*, 10 vols. (New York: George D. Sproul, 1848), 8: 180.

fancy, and represents the feelings with which a painter regards a beautiful object. He analyses it, and examines the different parts, that out of them, he [*sic*] may form another whole. He feels that Nature is beautiful, but that Art is the consummation of nature—I am sorry I have tried to write this, and I will write no more for I feel that I cannot do it justice—though I think I understand it.

I have written so much concerning our Rhetoric lesson, that I fear I have not much time left for that in Wayland's Moral Science which was equally so [underlined by HF]. We spent an hour on each, and were surprised that it passed away so soon. We agreed that we had had two intellectual feasts.

Our subject was Prayer—its nature, obligation, and utility. [. . .]

[1.125] The feelings with which we should pray, were spoken of, and the last mentioned was "a soul at peace with all mankind." We said a good deal upon that point—namely, what it was, to be at peace with all mankind. After a high standard [1.126] had been shown, Miss Fuller asked us if we knew any who thought we had a soul at peace with all. I thought not at first, but after a few moments thought, I changed my opinion, and felt that there [were] two or three, and I don't know but more—yes, I think more—among my friends, have attained to that happy state of mind. I cannot, to be sure, see their minds, but I can see the beautiful consistency of their conduct—I can see and feel the influence they exert over others, and I feel that I do them no more than justice, to ascribe to them this heavenly state of mind.

One subject which we touched upon in connection with our lesson, was the good that the rich may do. When we had enumerated all we could think of, Miss Fuller said that she saw that we had the common idea, that a person can do good, only by promoting the interests of religion—We must remember that God is not only a moral Being, but He is Wisdom itself, and that [1.127] he is not only well pleased when we promote the cause of morality and religion, but equally so, when we advance the cause of education—for the more the intellectual powers are cultivated, the

nearer we approach the standard of perfection. Therefore the rich can not only do good by promoting the spread of the Gospel, by assisting Bible societies, and Missionary Societies, but also by founding schools, colleges, &c. and doing all they can to improve the minds of the community. It is strange how little the rich do to assist their poorer brethren—They too often spend their time in eagerly acquiring more wealth, without asking themselves, what good it will do them. They sacrifice their ease, domestic happiness, literary pursuits, and alas! often their souls, to the demon of avarice. [. . .]

March 30th. [1838] Friday [. . .] [1.129] We had a very pleasant time in the Poetry class. Miss Fuller fulfilled her promise of giving us some account of the ancient entertainment of Masques—She said that nowadays, people thought they did a great deal for their friends, if they took a square piece of paper, and wrote on it an invitation to come on such an evening, and when they came, provided them with plenty of good things to eat and drink—but in olden times, people used to do still more—They used to invite a party of their most agreeable [*sic*] friends to come and see them, and while they were sitting around a table, perhaps a wooden castle would suddenly appear, filled with armed men, who would challenge the guests to a fight, and a mock battle would take [1.130] place—Or perhaps a number of nymphs [underlined by HF] or goddesses would appear—or they would take some character, and perform some part, to the great interest of the spectators—Such amusements are not known now—Miss Fuller said she approved of them very highly, for they exercised the ingenuity, and any thing is useful that does that—In this age, and especially in this country, amusements are not as common as they used to be—It is not best to have too many amusements, but if we had more popular amusements, it seems to me, there would be less crime—less avarice—less of that money making spirit, that prevails so extensively. People would meet oftener together, and would naturally learn to care less for themselves, and more for each other. Miss

Fuller said she highly approved of music and dancing, as amusements for young people, when not carried to excess, and made occasions for display, as they too often are—She said a great deal about amusements &c.—which I have not time to write. [. . .]

April 4th. [1838] Wednesday [. . .] [1.138] We had an interesting recitation in Rhetoric this morning, though I thought not quite so much as the last [. . .] The subject of our lesson was the disposition of the hearers toward the Speaker. The speaker should endeavour to conciliate the audience, and agree with them as far as is in his power. Thus the Apostles, always began their exhortations to the Jews, by alluding to the Prophets, for whom they felt so much veneration. Paul in his celebrated address to the Athenians, begins by commending them for their respect for religion,⁵⁷ though Mr. Whately says that our common [1.139] translation, is likely to convey a different idea—for instead of “too superstitious”—it should be “very much disposed to the worship of Divine Beings.”

It was said in our lesson, that it was much easier to convince the uneducated classes than the more cultivated—They would not understand a long chain of reasoning which the cultivated require, but are satisfied with an appeal to the feelings.

Vanity has a very unfavorable effect upon the Orator—more so than upon any other profession—and he should be more anxious to impress upon his hearers what is right, and what he believes to be true, than to win public applause—This reminds me of what Mr. Fuller said yesterday, and which I neglected to mention in my bonny details. He began by saying that it would do us all, and particularly the young ladies, much good to read a book called “Display,” a book I read some years ago, but do not remember much about it.⁵⁸ [. . .]

57. Acts 17:22.

58. Jane Taylor (1783–1824) was a writer of children’s books, most famous for writing ‘Twinkle Twinkle Little Star,’ which appeared in a collection of nursery rhymes in 1806. *Display, a Tale* (1815), contrasts two girls, Emily Grey and Elizabeth Palmer. Emily is plain and sensible; Elizabeth is addicted to superficial display. Emily is tutored by an unorthodox Methodist family, the Leddenhursts, in the ways of virtue and religion. The plot revolves around Elizabeth learning how to be happy while leading a humble religious life.

[1.140] It was said in our Rhetoric lesson that people are generally very jealous lest a speaker should address us as if he supposed us very ignorant on the subjects he addressed to us. On the other hand he must be careful not to address them as if they were well acquainted with a subject, when they are not, for in that way, they will not produce ~~near~~ [HF] so strong an impression. Miss Fuller told us a remark of the celebrated Coleridge, [1.141] which was this "If you wish to win the soul of a little man or little woman, leave them with a high opinion of themselves—but if you wish to win the regard of a noble man or woman, leave them with a high opinion of you." Coleridge was a great talker, and a most delightful man in conversation—He would often talk for hours, and enchain every one—even those who were too uncultivated to appreciate what he said—She related an anecdote, which he often told of himself, and which is mentioned in his "Table Talk"—He once when travelling, met with a man at a public house, who appeared to be very intelligent—or at least was very attentive to what he said, though he made no reply, except to nod his head occasionally in a very solemn manner, as if he fully appreciated and agreed with what was said. Coleridge conversed with him for some time, until at last a plate of dumplings were brought in, when the man, who [1.142] had before been so silent, exclaimed in a delighted tone, "Them's the jockeys for me." It must have been quite a shock to Coleridge, who had for so long a time, been wasting his words, "on the desert air." I fancy he did not say much more to the gentleman, but quietly left him to his dumplings.⁵⁹

Our recitation in Moral Science was the conclusion of the chapter on Prayer, and was, as our former lesson was, very interesting, though some things, which are unmentionable, happened to mar the enjoyment. There was much said about a trustful spirit—a spirit of perfect submission to our Creator's will—strong faith that He will order all things for the best—a feeling

59. 'Scale of Animal Being,' in *Specimens of the Table Talk of the Late Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, 2 vols. (London: John Murray, 1835), 1: 79.

that though we see many things which seem to us mysterious—incomprehensible—yet that eventually we shall see why events are ordered as we see they are. Here, “we see through a glass darkly.”⁶⁰ [. . .]

[1.143] Miss F—did not agree with Dr Wayland in what he said respecting our relation to God—He said that God was under no obligation to do any thing for us—she thought [1.144] if there was a God, He was in some manner under obligation to us—we had a certain claim on Him—and if He did not fulfill it, she thought it would be inconsistent with His character as a Father.⁶¹ I hardly know which view I can take, but I feel that we of ourselves do nothing to deserve the least of the favors daily and hourly bestowed on us. God in his infinite mercy, looks upon us in love, invites us to draw near to Him, and is to us a Father. He is, I should suppose under the same obligations to us, that our earthly parents are [. . .]

[Volume 2]

April 10th. [1838] Tuesday. [. . .] [2.17] Our History lesson was a continuation of the first Peloponnesian War [correction by HF], and, though not very interesting in itself, it was made so by Miss Fuller. She told us the names of some of the most distinguished women of Greece—There were but few, for the customs of the times did not permit them to [2.18] mingle much with society. One of them was Sappho, who was a native of Lesbos. She loved Phaon, for he ↓at↓ [inserted by HF] first loved her, but he soon grew tired of her, and left her for another, which broke the poor maiden’s heart, so that she took the “lover’s leap,” as it is called—jumped from a rock into the sea. This act has afforded as subject for many pictures. She used to write poetry, and was quite a celebrated and talented woman. Another distinguished woman was Aspasia, the wife of Pericles, whose society was sought by all the

60. 1 Corinthians 13:12.

61. Fuller’s objection is a basic tenet of Unitarian belief. See introduction.

learned philosophers of Athens. Some very interesting accounts are given of her in Philothea, though that is only fiction. The other woman whom Miss Fuller mentioned was Leontium, a pupil of Epicurus, and one with whom he loved to converse—Miss Fuller was surprised that we knew nothing of these women, and I was ashamed that I did not, as I often have cause to be ashamed of my ignorance. Shame, however, though it may do some good, is not of itself, sufficient. [2.19] We must feel ambition to learn those things of which we are ignorant, if we wish to overcome ↓supply↓—our deficiencies. [HF has penciled a '+' in the margin, and underlined the words 'overcome' and 'deficiencies.' In response, MWA inserted 'supply—' and added the following statement in the margin of the page: 'We cannot overcome a deficiency—it is something wanting, which must be supplied'. [. . .]

[2.20] Miss Fuller told us, as she often does, an ancient fable—“Apollo used often to leave his celestial abode among the gods, and descend among mortals, spending his time in the very undignified pursuit of making love to whoever would listen to him. He was often successful in winning young ladies' [apostrophe by HF] hearts, but here and there he found one not quite so favorably inclined. Daphne was a young lady, who loved to leave society and all its charms to wander alone in the woods—Apollo met her there, and used often to converse with her—and became very much in love with her. He was very agreeable, and Daphne loved to converse with [2.21] him, and he spoke on any subject except love. To that she would not listen, for though she admired, she could not love him. He endeavored in every way to gain her affections, but when he spoke of it, she would immediately leave. him. [sic] One day when she left him, he thought he would follow her, and he ran after her a long time, till she became very much frightened lest he should overtake her, and prayed to the gods to prevent him from it. Suddenly she felt her feet sinking into the earth, while her head was raised higher, and she felt bark growing over, and branches and twigs growing out from every part of her body.

The beautiful Daphne was transformed into a Laurel tree, and Apollo, though he could no longer hope to overtake her, or win her, continued to love her, and from that time, poets and musicians have been crowned with laurel, as they are under the particular favor of Apollo. Miss Fuller told us a moral to this fable, which I will not write, but will try to practice [the numeral 2 is written above 'practice' by MWA] and remember [the numeral 1 is written above 'remember' by MWA]. [. . .]

April 11th. [1838] [Wednesday] [. . .] [2.23] Our Rhetoric class was called directly after reading, and I am sorry to say that our lesson was not very well recited, at least by myself. I thought I had prepared it, but I found myself mistaken.

The subject was a continuation of the one last week—"on the disposition of the [2.24] hearers toward the speaker." [. . .] Miss Fuller told us that many said "the majority is always right," and asked us if we believed it, which we did not—others say "the minority is always right," which we did not think true—Another, "the [2.25] majority is apt to be right in the long run," we thought more likely to be true—Miss F—said that truth was generally supported by the minority at first, for there ↓are↓ [inserted by HF] but few whose minds are always alive to the truth, and ready to search for it, and when they at first make known a new truth, the many are apt to ridicule it, and it takes a long time to remove their prejudices. Almost every new thing is ridiculed at first.

Miss Fuller told us the origin of the duel. That vile practice had its origin from a religious feeling,—a strong trust in God's overruling Providence. It was used to settle differences between individuals, instead of settling them before a court. The people had ~~so~~ [MWA has written 'a' over the word 'so'] strong ~~a~~ confidence that God would order the event, and that he who deserved punishment, would fall. It was used at last as a means of preventing slander—and not merely to revenge the immediate provocation. [. . .]

[2.26] Miss Fuller read our definitions of enthusiasm and fanaticism, tact and talent [HF underlined letters; MWA corrected spelling in response]. As some confounded talent with genius, she

wished us the next time to define genius, and tell the difference between that and talent—also to write a definition of consistency. I wish our conduct might be a sufficient definition, but fear if it were analysed, it would not be.

Our lesson in “Moral Science” was on the observance of the Sabbath—I liked what Miss Fuller said on this subject, as it accorded with my previous notions. She asked [2.27] each of us separately, if we thought it a duty to attend public worship on that day. We thought it was while young, and afterwards if ↓our↓ example was of any consequence. She asked us if we thought it right to absent ourselves merely from choice—not because we had some reason for staying at home—because we thought that in solitude we could better commune with our own hearts and with God, and do more to fit ourselves for the eternal Sabbath—but because we were slightly indisposed—because we had an interesting book to read, or a letter to write, or some other trifling thing to occupy our time. Of course we thought in such a case it would not be right. I do not remember ever having such feelings—I have always been accustomed to go up to the house of God, with “the multitude of those who keep holy time,” and I have always loved it. But still, I do not think it absolutely wrong to stay away—and often, perhaps, it is better, if we feel that by going, we are, as Miss Fuller says, telling a lie—appearing to worship [2.28] God while our hearts are far from him.

A great deal was said about Sunday reading, and it is a subject which has been much written and talked about. Miss Fuller thought it better to let a child read mere story books, if by withholding them, the child ↓conceives↓ [inserted by HF] a disgust for Sunday, and a dislike for reading. Perhaps it would be better to indulge a very small child in that way, but it seems to me that they may be early taught to make a distinction. I never remember when I was a child, taking up a book on Sunday to read, without first asking whether it was a proper book, and on going away from home, I was surprised to see other little girls read the same books

as they did other days. I suppose their parents had a different opinion on that subject, from mine. [. . .]

April 12th. [1838] Thursday. [. . .] [2.37] Miss Fuller told us an amusing story of Pan, the god of inanimate nature. He is represented with the head of a man, and the feet of a goat—showing, that while he loved to frisk about, and climb over rocks, he still had some human feelings, and enjoyed the wild scenery ~~in~~ among which he was continually roving. He was Nature uncultivated by Art. He had a great many attendants, among whom were Silenus, the Satyrs, the Fauns—or wild gay spirits of the country—Termini—gods presiding over fences—and many others. [2.38] In his rambles he could not avoid seeing the nymphs [*sic*], the attendants of Diana, goddess of chastity, who also lived in the woods, and these Fauns and Satyrs had many adventures with these nymphs. They were continually falling in love with these beautiful damsels. [*sic*] to whom it was not very agreeable, for they had many tastes and feelings above their admirers. They loved to wander in the woods, and sit for hours on a rock with their feet in the water, which would surely give a consumption to one of our modern fair ones.

When these coarse and ~~will~~ ~~un~~refined gods attempted to win the favor of these fastidious nymphs, they felt as would a romantic and refined young lady of our days, when wooed [moved?] by one of opposite feelings.

One of these nymphs, who was of a more pensive cast than her sisters, and who used often to wander far from them, that she might enjoy her own thoughts undisturbed, was one day met by Pan. He was pleased with her appearance, and attempted to speak [2.39] to her. She did not like his appearance, and attempted to run from him, but he had goats feet, and though for a time she kept beyond reach of him, she soon found her strength failing her, and that he was fast gaining upon her. Seeing a stream near her, she cried in her distress to Diana, begging her assistance in reaching that stream of water—she would ask no more—At that

moment Pan reached her, and as he put forth his hands to reach her, she suddenly grew cold, and he felt her dissolving in his arms—She soon dissolved entirely away, and became a little stream running, into the larger one—So her prayer was granted, and she who had always loved so well to wander in the woods, and by murmuring streams, was fated forever to remain there—She could indulge her ruling passion after death. But Pan—let young men beware lest they, like him, pursue objects, which though beautiful at first, may, when attained, dissolve into a mere nothing.

[2.40] Miss Fuller also told us about the Fata Morgana,⁶² which under the form of a beautiful young lady with flowing golden hair lured on many young men, until they found themselves in a wilderness, when the lady discovered herself to be an old woman, who wore false golden hair. Do not too many pursue shadows even vain as this? Do not too many pursue a phantom for a long time, lured on by external appearances—by the graceful form, and fascinating air—till, when far from friends, having left their counsel—they seize the phantom, and find it to be an object of disgust, instead of that which they supposed—Let us all serve under the true standard of Happiness, and beware of that which wears false colours. [. . .]

April 18th. [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [2.51] Our recitation in Rhetoric was very pleasant, and was recited better than the last. The subject was Perspicuity. It was said that a speaker should endeavour to suit the character of his audience, and not make his remarks so obscure as to force their attention for a long time. Some more easily understand what is said to them, than others, but it is necessary to explain gradually to them, while others are incapable of long attention, but understand what is explained in few words. Miss Fuller gave us two rules of Miss Edgeworth's, with regard to

62. Another term for Morgan La Fey, King Arthur's sister with supernatural powers. Fata Morgana is a mirage caused by cold air pooling in a distant valley, which can make the mountain above look like a castle floating on the air.

attention.⁶³ The first was to “give your whole mind to a subject before it, whatever that subject may be,” the other, “a readiness to turn the attention fully and rapidly from one subject to another.” Miss F. mentioned a number of persons whom she said had the last named quality to a remarkable degree—Julian the Apostate, Julius Cesar, Buonaparte, Alcibiades, Webster, and Lord Chancellor Brougham, were among the persons she mentioned.⁶⁴ She gave us some account of the [2.52] manner in which the last named person spends his time, by which I should think he was fast destroying both his mind and body. He is accustomed in the morning to attend to his public duties, which are very arduous—at three or four he generally dines with some dinner party, where he is the life of all—he returns home, and engages in his literary pursuits until evening when he frequently attends a supper party, which keeps him out till two or three, in the morning, and the rest of the night is spent in preparing his law cases for the morning. Surely such a man needs at least one day of rest of the seven. By the course he pursues, he scarcely allows himself any time for sleep—that sweet soother of all cares—Miss F—says he probably would have done better what he did, if it had been less.

Our own country man, Webster,⁶⁵ is also remarkable for his powers of attention—“He gives his whole mind to what he is [2.53] about,” and I dare say while he is hunting and fishing, of which I believe he is very fond, he gives his whole mind to it. Miss F—said he was very fond of amusements, and by his occasionally

63. Maria Edgeworth (1768–1849) was a profoundly influential novelist and author of didactic literature for children. Her educational works include *Practical Education* (1798), *The Parent's Assistant* (1796–1800), *Moral Tales* (1801), *Popular Tales* (1804), and *Harry and Lucy Concluded* (1825).

64. Flavius Claudius Julian (331–63) was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers in 360. He was known for reforming the tax system and protecting pagan worship (i.e., ‘the Apostate’). Alcibiades (450–404 BC), noted for his handsomeness, was allegedly Socrates’s lover in his youth. He subsequently led an irregular military and political career, fighting on behalf of Athens, Sparta, and Persia. He was eventually assassinated by the Persians (Allen read a very unflattering portrait of him as a heterosexual rake in Child’s *Philothea*). Henry Peter Brougham (1778–1868) was a scientist, Parliamentarian, and social reformer.

65. Daniel Webster (1782–1852); see note 42.

giving himself up to them, he preserved his wonderful powers of mind [. . . .]

[2.54] Miss Fuller said a good deal about the writings of distinguished females. Many French women have distinguished themselves as writers—many too, who were not remarkable for intellectual powers. It was said in France, that in order to speak the French language with true elegance, it was only necessary to associate with the court ladies. She mentioned Madame de Sevigné, as a most accomplished letter writer. Her daughter was married and went from her, and Madame de Sevigné used to write to her every day. Her letters have been collected and published in 18 volumes, I believe. They contain a great deal of gossip, but are remarkable for the elegance with which they are expressed. Madame de Genlis, was a celebrated French woman, and governess of the present king of France—an office usually given to men. Lady Mary Wortley Montague [*sic*], was another accomplished letter writer, though in many other respects, she was very deficient.⁶⁶ She was ~~a~~ noted [2.55] for her inattention to a very important part of a ladies [*sic*] duties—neatness. But she was very fascinating, and drew around her many admirers—At twenty one, she had eighteen, [word scratched out] suitors, and was so much at a loss what to do, that she drew lots—but he who fell to her lot did not prove a worthy husband. She did not live happily with him, or deserve to, for choosing in such a manner. Miss Fuller said that women's writings were more delicate, more elegant, more sprightly, than those of the other sex. Miss Fuller told us we should try to do all well, that we attempted to do at all. We should not however do it from vanity, but from a higher motive. We should feel that whatever

66. Marie Sévigné (1626–96), widowed in 1651, became a renowned member of Paris literary circles. She is best known for her letters to her second husband, who was stationed in Provence, which record the social life of the court of Louis XIV. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu (1689–1762), an English Bluestocking, was noted for her letters written while living in Turkey, France, and Italy. Stéphanie-Félicité, Comtesse de Genlis (1746–1830), was a writer, educator, and governess for Louis Philippe, who became king of France in 1830. Her novel teaching methods included using magic lantern slides for teaching history, and taking walks to teach botany.

is worthy of our attempting to do at all, is worthy of having pains bestowed on it.

Miss Fuller read our definitions of genius, & consistency, and requested us to write for the next time, definitions of—"a good understanding"—"what do you mean by reason? what is the [2.56] difference between that and understanding?" She also wishes us to write a list of such persons as we think have genius, and those who have talent.

We had a very pleasant recitation in Moral Science—The subject was the duty of reciprocity—though Miss F—does not like that word—It showed our duties to our fellow beings—that though ~~every one~~ we are constituted with a desire to be happy, and with a right to make ourselves as happy as possible, yet we have no right to make ourselves happy, by abridging one particle of our neighbor's happiness. We are all too apt to consider ourselves first, and I am afraid what Miss Fuller said, is too true, that we cannot let a week pass over us, without being tempted at least to be selfish.

Miss Fuller asked us if we thought the command to love our neighbors as ourselves, was intended to be understood literally [*sic*]—We thought not—for it would [2.57] be impossible to love all alike. It cannot be the intention of the Creator that we should—for he has given us dear friends—and planted in our hearts undying affection for them. Can it be, that He intends we should feel the same degree of affection for all? If so, how greatly are we all going astray—if so, what an amount of unhappiness is prepared for us by Him who is the source of happiness. If we loved all, as we do our friends, we should never be free from the deepest sorrow. When our friends weep, we weep—their sorrows we feel as our own—and as some of our fellow beings are always in the deepest sorrow, we should also feel it, if we loved all alike. But no one can for a moment, render that interpretation to so plain a command—It is evident that the meaning of it is, that we should love them well enough to treat them well, remembering that we all have one common Father.

We are very often placed in circumstances when it is very difficult to determine what [2.58] ought to be done. Miss Fuller imagined a very common case—that of two persons striving to obtain the friendship of a third. She wished us to tell her ↓the↓ duties each had to perform, if she and I, were both desirous to obtain the love of Sarah Humphry, while Sarah preferred me, (a most unlikely thing.) She thought she should be very strongly tempted to take every possible opportunity to show her superiority to me. She should be tempted to prove herself more amiable and accomplished, and if I had any good qualities, to endeavour to throw them into the shade. Her duty would be to resist these temptations, and never, in any unjust manner, do any thing to diminish Sarah's love for me. My duty, in such a case, would be to try to throw all Miss Fuller's good qualities into the best possible light, and never take advantage of Sarah Humphrey's [*sic*] preference for me, by making Miss F—appear to disadvantage, but on the contrary try to make Sarah love her as much as she does me. (I do not think [2.59] it would be very hard.) Sarah's duty would be to treat Miss F—with the greatest kindness and attention, and never let her feel how much she preferred me. She should not, however, show any deceit, or profess to love either of us, more than she really did. I think also, she would need humility, to help her bear up under such a load of honours. Miss Fuller made this case very amusing, by her manner of supposing it.

A great deal was said upon the subject of ridicule in the class, and most of us felt that it was very unpleasant to be ridiculed, all, I believe, but two, felt that it would annoy them to be the subject of ridicule. Those two, thought they should feel above caring for it. I wish I could feel so, but think it is impossible that I should, for hardly any little thing could annoy me more, than the feeling that I was made a subject of ridicule, either by my ennemies [*sic*] or friends. Miss Fuller said such a feeling ought not to be encouraged. [. . .]

April 25th [1838] Wednesday [. . .] [2.81] Our class in Rhetoric recited this morning. Our lesson was a continuation of the last

lesson ~~lesson~~ on Perspicuity. It was very short and easy, and did not give rise to as much conversation as usual. It was said that even in Sophistry, perspicuity of style was desirable, for the object is not to use obscure language but to mislead the hearers—not to render it [2.82] what they cannot understand, for if that is the case, the speaker will not be likely to produce the effect he wishes. [. . .]

[2.84] Our definitions of understanding and reason were brought in. I found them much more difficult to write than I had expected. Miss Fuller did not seem very well satisfied with them, and said she did not expect to be, for they were difficult. Some of us brought in lists of persons of genius and talent. Mine was quite a long list but a very imperfect one, as I expected it would be, for my knowledge of the persons I mentioned, is very limited, and I judged only by general impressions, [*sic*] Many whom I put on the list of Talent, Miss Fuller removed to a higher station, and also removed some from the high rank I had given them as persons of genius.

Miss Fuller gave us an account of a beautiful picture, and engraving of which, [2.85] she saw when she was last in Boston. It represents the ascension of the virgin Mary into heaven, upborne by cherubs. Many of her friends on earth are gazing after her, entreating her assistance with looks of anguish depicted on their faces, while angelic forms are beckoning to her from the skies. Miss Fuller said every part of the picture was perfect. The first object that strikes you, is the picture of the Virgin herself, but after gazing for a long time on her, you cast your eyes above and below, and see the other figures beautiful of the kind. The great variety of expressions is very pleasing. Those on earth exhibit every vanity of passion and emotion in their countenances—they are beautiful—but it is earthly beauty. The cherubs around Mary, are the pictures of innocence—they have little expression of any thing else in their faces—but the expression of that is perfect. The angels above, are represented as such beings ought [2.86] to be—the perfection of every thing high and noble. Their countenances beam with pure and lofty feelings, as they welcome the

blessed Virgin to her heavenly home. She combines in her face all these expressions at the same time. She is both of earth and heaven—for she has not yet left her earthly home, long enough to lose all traces of it, while she has caught a glimpse of heavenly glories, and the light of that blissful region, illumines her face.

I was very much interested in the account of this picture, and hope at some time, to have an opportunity to see it. It seems as ↓if↓ [MWA has inserted the word 'if' above HF's caret] I can imagine how it looks, and I would like to see if the picture corresponds with my imagination.

Our recitation in Moral Science was on the "nature of personal liberty." Every human being is a distinct system, independent of all others. He has a body given to him, for the wants of which [2.87] he is obliged to provide—and sometimes, alas! so forgets every thing else, as to provide for that alone—But he has an understanding given him, which should teach him better—it is given him to assist him in discovering truth—He also has passion given him, to enable him to obtain what he wishes in order to render himself happy—a conscience, to tell him how far to act, and a will to enable him to act. Each individual posses [*sic*] these, and alone has a right to them. He may use his own, as much as pleases, so long as it interferes with the rights of no others—but no one has a right to control over others, except in certain cases. A parent has a right over the person of his child, so long as he is a child—and each one has a right, for a sufficient remuneration to put himself under the control of another, but that right should never be exercised with severity. [2.88] Miss Fuller asked us what we thought would be our duty if we had parents who were unwilling to have us do what we felt that we ought to do. She supposed a number of cases—one of which was a young man—possessing talents of a high order—who had the most anxious desire to cultivate these talents, ↓but↓ who could not do it, without neglecting a family dependant [*sic*] on him. What would be his duty in such as case? We were about equally divided in our opinions. I thought if it was me ↓I↓ [inserted by HF], I should stay with my family,

but no one can tell till called to the trial—and then they ↓he↓ [inserted by HF] must be guided by circumstances, and their own feelings, and by earnest prayer.

Another instance Miss Fuller mentioned was from real life. She knows a family of young ladies who are very desirous to improve themselves, and who are very conscientious, and desirous to do their duty. Their father is very worldly, though he [2.89] pretends to be religious, and he wishes his daughters to do many things they disapprove, as visiting and receiving visits from those whose society they feel to be productive of more harm than good to them—and being guilty of the too common sin of telling white lies—tho' I cannot see how any lies can be white. It is their father, who wishes them to do this, and it is very hard to decide what their duty ought to be. I think, however, they have performed their duty—for they have looked to a higher Father, than their imperfect earthly one, and have done what they felt was their duty to him. Though their earthly father frowns—He will smile upon them, and though here, they have much to contend with, and their path through life is rough and stony—yet “they will in no wise lose their reward.” [. . .]

May 2nd. [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [2.121] Our class in Rhetoric was called immediately after Miss Fuller came in, and I enjoyed the recitation very much, as I always do, if I get my lesson decently. It was a long one, but very easy to understand. It was upon energy of style—or as Dr. Campbell terms it, vivacity.⁶⁷ This energy must depend on three things—The choice of words, their number and arrangement. Aristotle divides the choice of words into two classes, which he calls by two Greek words which I could not read, but which Dr. Whateley [*sic*] told me signified those

67. George Campbell's *Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1776) was a highly innovative text that addressed the theory of effective speech. See introduction. Campbell's influence was so great that more than one hundred years later, William James approvingly quoted from Campbell's account of the mind in his discussion of the 'stream of thought' chapter in *The Principles of Psychology*, Frederick Burkhardt et al., eds., 3 vols. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 1: 261.

words which may be termed proper, appropriate, or ordinary, or those words which are exactly opposite ↓to↓ those qualities, and which include all [2.122] metaphorical language. Speakers or writers should generally use those words which convey to the mind the most distinct impression. A comparison was made of those words more or less distinct, to objects more or less remote. If we see a man near us, we are convinced easily who it is,—we see the features, and can easily recognise the individual—if at a little distance, we still can see that it is a man—further still, we can merely discern some object, without being able to tell what it is—So it is with terms—we may by the use of very general terms, still be able to understand in a degree, but not so fully, as by the use of more simple terms.

Still it is better sometimes to use more general terms, as when we wish to give less, instead of greater force to what we say,—as we speak of the execution of a criminal, without designating the particular mode in which it took [2.123] place. Young and inexperienced speakers, are very apt to use terms that are too general, considering those in common use—those which are the most simple, as being vulgar.

The metaphorical style, is much used, and is the only kind of ornamental style, suitable for an orator. The simile or comparison, is beautiful in poetry, but if an orator wishes to use it, he should bring it as nearly as possible to the form of a metaphor. Those metaphors which conduce most to energy of style, are such as illustrate an intellectual by a sensible object. We can better understand what is hidden, if it can be compared to that which is visible. Often however, sensible objects are illustrated by intellect, and it is often very forcible. We speaking of a raging torrent, of a furious storm—and by applying to the torrent, and to the storm, an attribute of the mind, we render what we say very forcible—Many such expressions, are so common, as to [2.124] have lost their metaphorical signification, and become proper terms. But where such metaphors are employed, as are unhackneyed, they add much strength and originality to what is said. Many

words, which were originally metaphors, have entirely lost their former signification, and are considered chiefly in their assumed sense. Of this class are the words reflection, source, ardor, ruminate &c.

A few words of caution were given us, with regard to mixing metaphors. "Addison has been censured for speaking of bridling in his muse, who longs to launch into a nobler strain"—"an act," his critic says, "which cannot be restrained by a bridle."

Our lesson concludes by saying that "young writers, of genius, ought especially to be admonished to ask themselves frequently, not whether this or that is a striking expression, but whether it makes the meaning more striking than another phrase would."

[2.125] Our lesson was one of the easiest and most interesting we have ever had, and by most of the class was pretty well recited. After the recitation, Miss Fuller gave us her definitions of genius and talent—reason and understanding. I was so much interested in what she said of genius and talent, that I wanted she should defer giving us the other definitions till next week, and almost asked her to, but I thought it would be hardly proper, so I kept still, and was equally interested in the others. It seemed when I heard her, that I could write a great deal of what was said, even the very words she used, but it is always more difficult to do that, than I think at the time, it will be, and I shall be glad, if I can give the slightest outline of what she said, without mistake. I will try not to say what she did not say, even if I do not succeed well in saying what she did say.

[2.126] The soul, she said, comprehends two things,—the mind and the heart—the mind relates to intellectual, the heart to spiritual cultivation. Genius comprehends necessarily both of these—talent ↓often↓ includes both, but not necessarily. Genius easily sees and comprehends what is laid before it—it readily grasps a subject, and applies it to whatever use it pleases. Genius is intuitive—talent is ready—genius is creative—talent is active—genius has more, and talent less of originality. Both need cultivating and improving. Genius is possessed by the few,—talent by the many.

The mind, of a person of genius creates for its own use, that of talent, uses and improves what is already made. Genius finds the materials, or rather, creates them—and talent, after they are fitted and prepared, uses them, and often, from these materials, forms a beautiful structure. [2.127]

Understanding, Miss Fuller said, if I rightly understood her, is the operation of the mind on subjects of practical life—on those which are presented to the senses. It comprehends the lower operations of the mind, on daily, outward life. Reason, judges of the laws, which govern things purely spiritual.

She said that we might say a person was handsome and agreeable [*sic*], and every one would understand her—but if she should say, such a person, has uttered a beautiful sentiment, and therefore has a fine mind, we should not understand what she said, unless we used a ↓our↓ ['our' is written above 'a' by HF or MF] reason, and judged by what we ourselves, knew of this person. We should reason from what we had heard her say, and if it agreed with what others, who said she had a fine mind, had heard her say we should become convinced of it. I hope I am correct in this, but fear I'm not—

[2.128] Miss Fuller said, as she always does, that she did not wish us to adopt these definitions, merely because she gave them to us—she wished us to examine and judge for ourselves. We should now know what she meant when she used those terms. She often says she does not wish us to adopt her opinions, unless we choose—They are different from those of many, and she likes we should know what they are, that we may be able to understand her. She wishes us to examine them, think about them, and compare them with others—and then decide which to adopt. I have never thought much about the subjects she defined to-day, but I liked her definitions, and feel inclined to adopt them, but I must read and think more than I have yet, before forming an opinion on those subjects.

[2.129] The subject of our lesson in Moral Science, was the oft discussed topic of Slavery. That subject which is now agitating

the whole community—which has set at variance the North and the South, which has caused so many deeds of violence and shame to be perpetrated in our happy country—was made very interesting by Dr. Wayland and Miss Fuller—though I must say that Miss F—did much more to make it so, than the aforesaid gentleman. He scattered the seeds, from which she brought us beautiful flowers.

The subject was personal liberty, which may be violated by the individual or by society. Liberty as violated by the individual, was the subject of to-day's conversation. It was a very interesting one to me, and I would gladly record much more of it, than I shall be able to do, on account of time.

Slavery is an unjust violation of [2.130] other men's rights and privileges. We are all created, as was said in our other lesson, with certain rights, both of body and mind, which no one has a right to deprive us of. We have bodies, and souls—and in the case of slave [*sic*], their bodily slavery, is nothing compared to that in which their souls are held. They must not be taught—that is contrary to law—and he who teaches a slave the mere rudiments of learning, has broken ↓the↓ law of that country whose Constitution begins by asserting it as “self evident that all men are born free and equal.” The affections of the slave are crushed—he may one day be happy as a slave can be, with his wife and children—the next, they may be separated, never again to meet in this world—And what is generally the slave's hope of another? That faith which should be given them, to soften, if possible, the [2.131] trials of their situation, is ~~too~~ often denied them. Their relation to their masters, is too often as Dr. Wayland says, only a modification of the relation which exists between man and beast.⁶⁸

68. Although Wayland's text voices strongly antislavery views, it should be noted that in the spectrum of antislavery opinion, Wayland did not consider himself an 'abolitionist,' the term used for those associated with William Lloyd Garrison and doctrines of immediate emancipation. See the series of open letters which critique Wayland's views on the topic in the *Providence Journal*, especially March 23, 1838. Note also Allen's resistance to being associated with 'abolitionists' even though she holds antislavery beliefs.

Miss Fuller says that though the bodily suffering of the slave is great, and such as it is a shame that man should ever inflict on man, yet she could bear the view of that, if it were not for their mental and moral degradation. That view of their situation distresses her very much.

She said if there were no other argument against slavery, she should be convinced that it was wrong, from the effect it has on slave holders. The Southerners pride themselves on their honor, but it is generally a false honor. They are ready to show it at the least provocation by fighting a duel—They pride themselves too, upon their generosity, and they sometimes show what they call [2.132] generosity, by lavishing their wealth, which they know not how to value, upon any object that they happen to fancy, while, in daily transactions, many of them, display much meanness. Miss Fuller related some anecdotes, which proved it, and had I chosen, I might have added some facts, but I thought it was not best.

The slave holders do not value their property, as they ought, for they know not how hard it comes. Money flows into their purses, from the toil and tears of their slaves, and they never dream of all that is suffered, to enable them to enjoy their luxuries. I do not think I could bear to hear slave holders called by the opprobrious epithets many bestow upon them. Even if it were not contrary to the gospel spirit to judge so harshly our brothers—still policy,—a regard for the interest of those whose cause is so earnestly pleaded, should, I think, bridle the [2.133] tongue. I pity the slave holder, for many are truly honorable men—kind masters, and would perhaps be glad, if they could see any way to do it, [to] liberate their slaves.

Almost every one who goes to the South, comes back with favorable ideas of slavery, but that is, to me, no argument in favor of it. The happiness of the slave, is too much the happiness of a well-fed and well-treated brute, to be regarded with much complacency. Though I am not an abolitionist, in the common sense, yet I from my heart long to see this dark stain wiped off from the face of this country.

Miss Fuller put to us a question, which was once asked our Saviour—"who is your neighbor?" That question led to much interesting conversation—Some of us thought our neighbours were those who lived nearest us, and that is the sense in which it is often [2.134] used. Others thought it was every body—but we finally concluded that all were our neighbors in whom we had an interest, and to whom we could do any good—whether they lived far from, or near us. [. .]

[2.135] A few days ago, Miss Fuller said in the History class, that there was a beautiful walk not far from here, but she would not tell where it was, for she said she found it herself before she had been here a fortnight, and she thought those who had always lived here, might have found it long ago. She however consented to go with those of us who live [on] the other side of the bridge, and those who remain here at noon. We went to-day, and had a most delightful walk—one of the pleasantest I ever took. [. .]

[2.137] Miss Fuller was very delightful as she always is, and by her pleasant conversation, added very much to our enjoyment. I think if all teachers would do as she does, interest themselves out of school in their scholars, they would gain in love, what they lose in time, or in dignity. [. .]

[Volume 3]

May 9th. [1838] Wednesday. [. .] [3.19] Our Rhetoric lesson was a continuation of Energy. [. .] Dr. Whately told us that many thought those eloquent who used a great many high flown words—They [3.20] ↓thought↓ it very energetic, and said the speaker had a great command of language—but in reality language had a great command over him, and that such a style was far from being energetic. It often conveyed more sound than meaning. Miss Fuller said such a style always disgusted her—she could not bear to hear so many high flown words, without arrangement, and seemingly only for show. Dr. Whately said two things in this lesson, with which Miss Fuller did not agree—one was that it was better to please the greater than the lesser number—the other,

that a profuse style is a worse fault than the opposite extreme. Miss Fuller thinks it is not so bad a fault in young writers, as it shows that they have many thoughts—but still it is very important that they should learn to contract, and leave out those words [3.21] which are of no use. [. .]

There was some conversation about Madame Vestris a celebrated dancer.⁶⁹ Miss Fuller said she has seen her, and that some of her movements were astonishing—She did not like to see them, only so far [3.22] as it showed what an ascendancy the mind can obtain over the body. She is a very large woman—yet her motions are light and elastic, and she performed with the greatest ease, some very difficult steps.

After we came out of the class, which was just before recess, Mr. Fuller read the last of my old journal—I never felt so unpleasantly at hearing it read, as I did then. [. .]

Our lesson in Moral Science was interesting, though not quite so much so as usual. The subject of it was the violation of personal liberty by society. There was a good deal said about trial by jury—about liberty of the press &c—Miss Fuller told us some things about the censorship of the press which were new to me. I did not know the press was restricted to such a degree as she said it was—Here it seems hardly to be restrained enough—every one can write what they please, and they too often please to write what they ought not—Persons and things are attacked, and as it were cut to pieces by the press, and it is so common, that it almost ceases to be cared for. The press ought to be restrained in a degree, for great harm may come from its being allowed too much freedom. In Italy, Miss Fuller said, [3.24] the people cannot pour forth their natural feeling by means of the press—If they write any thing for publication, it must be carefully examined, and all offensive passages, such as breathe forth the natural longing of the soul after liberty—with allusions to their former glory—are

69. Lucia Vestris (1797–1856) was born in Britain but married a French dancer at the age of sixteen. She separated from him, returned to England, and became famous for her roles in *The Haunted Tower* and *Paul Pry* in the 1820s.

struck out. I should think they would rebel against such oppression—it is bad enough to cramp the body—the mind should be left free. [. . .]

[3.25] Miss Fuller said in the Rhetoric class that she hoped we should get through Energy and Elegance this term—then we should not only be able to persuade—but we could do it in a perspicuous, energetic, and elegant manner. She said one thing that I forgot to mention in its place—it was with regard to the use of adjectives—Many think it elegant to use a great many—they think it adds force to what is said. She said it was a great fault of hers when quite young and inexperienced, and though when her father corrected her, she took pains to correct herself, it was not because she herself was convinced, but because she yielded to his superior judgement, which had since become her own. Every thing with her, as she was a young lady of very decided feelings, was either perfectly beautiful, splendid, elegant—or supremely [3.26] disgusting, frightful, or some such decided expression. [. . .]

May 16th. [1838] Wednesday. [3.51] A cloud hangs over our usually happy school room this morning, though none of it is to be seen in the heavens.⁷⁰ The sun shines brightly and beautifully, but he smiles not on happy faces. When he looks in at our windows, it is like shining through a mist. He shines not into our hearts, for his progress there is stopped by tears—tears in the Greene St. School! tears in the eyes of the Greene St. Scholars! And yet no misfortune has befallen us, except what we have brought on ourselves by our poor recitations. When I first came [3.52] into school this morning, I felt, I know not why, sad,—and a few tears came, unbidden, and without cause, into my eyes. Mr. Fuller read to us some of Moore's sweet melodies, and when he had finished, I felt better. When we went into the Rhetoric class, I feared we should have a poor recitation. There was not that happy, smiling

70. Allen writes this entry after her Rhetoric lesson, where Juliet Graves broke down in a fit of sobs after being closely questioned by Margaret Fuller. See introduction.

look that we have when we are conscious that our lessons are well prepared. The grave appearance of the class was enough to drive our lessons out of our head, or if not so bad as that, to frighten them from the ends of our tongues. We recited poorly—Miss Fuller, our kind, faithful, patient teacher, was displeased—and we were sad. Our recess was gloomy indeed, for instead of smiles we saw on every side, tears. I am wrong in saying on every side, for it was not quite so [3.53] bad as that—but there were many, and they damped our usual happiness. Mr. Taylor⁷¹ was here, and played beautifully on the piano, which was a relief to us—for music is always sweet, even when it falls on a sad heart.

The other lessons of this morning, I believe were not recited well, and both Mr. and Miss Fuller seemed displeased and sad. [. . .]

[3.55] I cannot say much ↓of↓ [inserted by MF] our lessons—Our Rhetoric was a continuation of Energy. There was a great deal said on conciseness of style, for Dr. Whately said, as he has ~~said~~ ↓done↓ before, that the opposite was very common among young writers. Those, he says, who are desirous of energetic brevity should aim at what may be called a suggestive style—such as will put the reader into the same train of thought as the writer. Miss Fuller said that was her favorite style when she was very young. She used to keep a list of those authors whose style she [3.56] called suggestive, though she had never heard the term used by others. She used then to be very impatient of those authors who said every thing that could be said on that subject, without leaving any thing for the thoughts of the reader.

The arrangement of words may be made very conducive to Energy. Our language does not admit of so great freedom as many others—but it admits of some, and we should avail ourselves of it as much as possible. The Latin language afforded a much greater liberty to the speaker and writer—and indeed all the ancient languages afforded more than the modern. We are obliged to mark the emphatic words by the voice or by italics, which in Latin

⁷¹ Richard 'Dick' Taylor was a very talented and eccentric pianist of the Boston-Worcester-Providence triangle.

would be indicated by the place they held in the sentence. A modern writer should endeavor to arrange his words so [3.57] that there may be as little need as possible of underscoring or italics. I believe young ladies—boarding school misses in particular—are noted for underscoring. Miss Fuller said it was because there was so little that was of any consequence in their letters that they wished to point out what they thought was, lest others should not be wise enough to discover it.

Our lesson in Moral Science was on the manner in which the right of property may be violated by the individual. She says this part of the subject will be useful to us, though it is ↓not↓ so interesting as what has gone before. She said many women had suffered by not understanding the rights of property, and we ought to endeavour to learn something about it. [. . .]

[Margaret Fuller was absent for several days to attend the installation of new pastors at a church on Cape Cod.]

May 30th. [1838] Wednesday.[. . .] [3.94] Many of the Rhetoric class were absent this morning, and but few of those who were there, had prepared their lesson. Miss Fuller was not pleased, for she said no amusement ought to interfere with our duties. It is a fortnight since we have recited, and that is time enough to learn any lesson. [. . .]

[3.96] Miss Fuller reviewed some of our definitions to-day, to see how well they were remembered. She wishes us at our next recitation, which will be the first in next term, to bring her a specimen of Poetry, and also one of Prose, that she may see what we call Poetry—what our ideas of it are. She asked us the meanings of Rhetoric, Logic, Poetry, Ideality, Dignity—I believe those are all, and I suppose at our next recitation, she will ask us some [3.97] more. I hope we shall be able to give them in such a manner as to please her, for she has taken a great deal of pains to have us understand them, and it is ungrateful to her, as well as hurtful to ourselves, not to take pains to remember them—[. . .]

[There was a weeklong break between terms.]

[Volume 4]

June 20th [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [4.3] I was very glad to enter the Rhetoric class again, as it is a long time since we have recited that lesson, and very long since we have had a good recitation. The subject of our lesson was Elegance—a short chapter, for Dr. Whately said that most of the rules which would apply to Energy, would also apply to Elegance, though the former must never be sacrificed for the latter in Prose writings. The object of Poetry is to give pleasure, and as elegant and decorated language usually gives pleasure, it should be studied by the poet.

Dr. Adam Smith in his essay on the imitative arts has compared dancing, with the ordinary movement of walking.⁷² A person may show grace in either, but to appear to show it in walking, would be disgusting, while a display of it, is one of the professed objects of dancing. Singing bears the same relation to speaking and poetry to prose, that dancing does to walking. For as walking is our ordinary [4.4] method of movement, so speaking ↓is↓ the most natural way of expressing our feelings ↓in conversation↓ and prose the natural way of expressing them in writing. Miss Fuller said that Dancing was a kind of poetry, and in nations where it has been most perfected, it has been used to express the feelings of the mind. She spoke of two Spanish dances—the Fandango—and Bolero, the former which, expresses happiness—the latter love. She also gave us a description of the ballet, which she had done before, tho' not so fully, when we ↓were↓ reading Corinne. It is a dance performed on the stage, in which the actors represent the passions and emotions of the characters they represent, by steps instead of words. She gave us a very interesting description of the ballet of Jason and Medea. I must retain the description in my memory, for want of time to record it here.

72. Adam Smith, author of *On the Wealth of Nations* (1776), was one of the Scottish Common Sense Philosophers.

Miss Fuller requested us, at our last recitation, to bring her to-day a specimen of poetry and of prose. A few had complied with her request, [4.5] but as they all had not, she deferred reading them till next time.

She spoke of novel reading in the class—said she highly approved of reading some ↓novels↓ [inserted by MF], for it cultivated our tastes and imaginations—but too many, dissipated the mind, and gave us bad habits of reading, besides a distaste for any other kind. It is best, she said to consult those who are older and wiser before reading a novel, as we are not capable of judging for ourselves. [. . .]

[4.6] There was a new class formed to-day in Herschel's elements of Natural Philosophy,⁷³ which I joined. I think it will be very interesting and useful, for it contains much that we ought to know respecting the wonderful works of God. [. . .]

[A ten-day gap in entries. Harriet Hall, the aunt with whom Allen lived in Providence, died suddenly. Very close to the Halls, Fuller took her first Christian communion with the grieving family at this time.]

July 11th. [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [4.37] Our class in Rhetoric~~k~~ was called soon after I came in. It is only the second time I have recited ↓in it↓ this term, and I was glad to seat myself again in one of my favorite classes—I think Rhetoric has done more for me than any of my studies—At first it was difficult, but as we have proceeded, it has become both easier and more interesting. The chief use it has been to me, has been in cultivating my thinking powers. They need very much more, before they become what they ought to be, but I think the definitions we have been obliged to write, have done me much good, though at the time they were hard.

73. John Frederick William Herschel, *A Preliminary Discourse on the Study of Natural Philosophy* (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea, 1831). Allen has very little to say about this class in the following months.

[4.38] Our lesson was upon Elocution—the chapter we learned for to-day on the best manner of acquiring a good habit of reading aloud. He says we should pay more attention to what we read, than to the manner of reading it, or to the tones of our voice. A natural manner of reading is the best. It is very pleasant to hear good reading, but how rare—How much oftener we hear an affected or careless reader. Miss Fuller says that even many who have very cultivated minds, are very poor readers, but she thinks it is the duty of every one, to try to read and write their own language with ease and elegance—She thinks Dr Whately says rather too much about our not thinking any thing about our manner of reading, for though that should be secondary, yet she thinks it almost impossible for any one who is attempting to acquire a good manner of reading, to pay no attention to his manner. (I think any one would know I had been studying Rhetoric, from the Perspicuity, Energy and Elegance of the last sentence, and indeed from most of the sentences in my journal.)

Miss Fuller asked us some general ques- [4.39] tions, that she might see if we had gained any thing from the book—I suspect she was satisfied with our answers to her very easy questions, as she found no fault. She has given us some definitions for next week—Analysis, Synthesis, and Criticise ↓m.↓ [MF has placed an ‘m’ over the final ‘e’]. She has also promised to give us again her definition of Poetry, if we will remind her of it.

Our class in Herschel’s Elements of Philosophy was called soon after recess. It is the first time I have met with it, & I enjoyed it very much. We merely read the lesson and talk about it. The book is written in such a beautiful style, that if we pay attention to it, it must do us good, as well as the sentiments it contains—If I had time I would write some account of to-day’s lesson, but I am rather tardy in my journal, on account of the number of studies of this morning, and I shall not be able to say so much as I wish of any of them. We ~~carried~~ ↓gave↓ Miss Fuller a list of the Physical sciences, and talked a little about them. She wishes us for next week to make out a list of those sciences which relate to man’s

[4.40] outward nature—another of those which bear no relation to man—and another of those which belong to the soul—of man's spiritual nature. [. . .]

July 18th. [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [4.58] We gave Miss Fuller our definitions of Analysis, Synthesis, and Criticism—Many seemed to think Criticism was merely fault finding—but Miss Fuller said it was the close examination of any thing, in order to discover its beauties or defects—Judgment, which some confounded with criticism, is the decision passed upon them.

At recess Miss Fuller asked me to take her Grammar class, as she was so hoarse that it was an exertion to her to speak—I felt willing to take it, if it would oblige her, though I did not feel at all competent, for it is a long time since I have attended to English Grammar. It recited directly after recess, and I heard it as well as I could, but I was so confused, that I had to contradict myself two or three times, and hesitated at words which if I had been going to recite I should have thought nothing of. I thought the class would think me a very ↓in↓competent [‘in’ added by HF or MF] teacher. [. . .]

[4.59] Our lesson in Moral Science was uncommonly interesting—The subject was “Veracity with regard to the Past and Present.” It is natural for a human being to speak the truth—it is equally natural for him to believe what he hears. Miss Fuller asked us if we did not find it very difficult always to speak the exact truth. Of course we should not tell a real lie, but there are a thousand little ways of deceiving by looks and actions, and even by words, for if we speak the truth, it may be in such a tone as to create a wrong impression, or we may leave out important facts—exaggerate some circumstances and extenuate others—This we are in continual danger of doing, and we should be constantly on the watch, lest we leave a wrong impression, where we least [4.60] intend it. Some have acquired such a habit of saying what is not true, that they hardly know how to speak the truth. [. . .]

I forgot to speak of a subject connected with our Rhetoric, which has so much connection with this, that I cannot entirely pass it by. It is necessary for an Orator to be a virtuous man, in order to produce an effect on his audience. There was a difference [4.62] of opinion in our little class, as there is abroad. Some said he ought to be—that did not prove that he was—some thought he could not, for instance, speak of the happiness derived from the practice of virtue unless he felt it—Miss Fuller said that a love of virtue, and hatred of vice were natural to man, and a person might extol the one without really feeling it, and condemn the other while practising it. It showed she said, of what his mind was capable—but who can respect such a person. We should be very careful lest in our private conversation we give utterance to feelings as our own, which we have never felt—Who does not admire a perfectly sincere character—and yet how rarely they are found. It has been my privilege to pass most of my days with such—with those whose every word and look ~~you~~ might be depended upon, and who would neither deceive \Downarrow or [inserted by HF or MF] flatter to gain a point. Such a person was that dear aunt who has gone, where her sincerity will be rewarded—where there is all sincerity—all truth—for no veil can there obstruct the sight—soul speaks to soul. [. . .]

July 25 [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [4.77] Our Rhetoric class was unusually interesting this morning—The lesson itself was not peculiarly so—it was a continuation of the same subject—good reading and speaking.

After our recitation, Miss F. gave us her definition of poetry—She said it was the expression of what is beautiful and sublime in nature. There are but two things in the universe—poetry and philosophy—Poetry looks at the beauty of things, and gives nature a language—[4.78] philosophy examines their nature and properties. Philosophy is analysis—poetry is synthesis—There may be, Miss F—said, a philosophy of poetry—but there is no poetry of philosophy. And yet the philosopher must \Downarrow if \Downarrow he views

things aright, feel a great deal of poetry—He can see a great deal of meaning and depth in what is regarded by others as merely beautiful—and that must give an additional beauty in his eyes. This earth, is to the poet, an emblem of our animal nature—the trees and plants with which it is clothed are the thoughts and feelings which adorn that nature—the clouds which hang over us, are the shadows of life—the showers which fall are its ~~lighter~~ afflictions, which refresh and purify the heart—the whirlwinds and tempests represent the heavy afflictions of life, which after they [*sic*] first blighting effects have passed by, leave traces of the good they have done. The hail storms & tornados represent the fiercer passions of men_____

I cannot find any words—so I will close my account of Miss Fuller's very delightful conversation—I would give ~~an~~ great deal, if I could say more about it. [. . .]

[4.98] Aug. 1st. [1838] Wednesday. [. . .] [4.99] Our lesson was a continuation of Elocution nothing very new or interesting. ~~He~~ ↓Dr. Whately↓ condemned entirely the declamaetion at boys' schools. Miss Fuller said she could not agree with him, for she thought it was oftimes very useful. Some, she said, might learn, without that instruction, to speak in public, but the cases were rare. Louis Boutelle, formerly of this school, was mentioned as possessing a great genius for speaking. His gestures are so perfect and so natural & appropriate, that Miss F—said they might serve as a model for professed speakers. He spoke a piece at the Grotto, called Defiance to Death,⁷⁴ written by Mr Albert G. Greene of this city, and it was astonishing that so small a boy,

74. On May 29, the entire school celebrated May Day at the northernmost edge of Providence's Blackstone Park, in an area called 'the Grotto,' an enchanting area that still exists. One of the literary selections read that day was Albert G. Greene's poem, 'Defiance to Death,' which was published in the April 1838 issue of *The Knickerbocker* under the title, 'The Baron's Last Banquet.' Packed with Ossianic excess, the poem describes the dying reverie of Baron Rudiger (a character presumably taken from the *Nibelungenlied*), mortally wounded on the field, as he envisions his vassal warriors preparing for another battle. As the baron defies death, imagining himself to be still in firm command of his war throne, death takes him.

could make his voice heard to such a [4.100] distance in the open air. Boys who have not such a genius, need to be taught to speak, and in order to speak intelligently and well, they should select pieces which they understand.

Miss Fuller talked some more with us about poetry. She said poetry addressed itself to the soul of man—Now the soul consists of two parts—the mind and the heart—therefore poetry addressed itself by turns to each. Miss F—asked us to tell her whose poetry addressed the mind, and whose the heart—But few poets were mentioned—Scott, & Milton as addressing the mind—Bryant & Mrs. Hemans, the heart.⁷⁵ Miss F—said she wished she could ask us about the great poets—but we were not ready for it yet. Poetry addresses itself to the outward and inward nature of man. Comparison adds very much to the beauty of poetry—indeed it is essential—Nature speaks to us in true poetry, and comparisons drawn from nature add very much to the beauty of the poetry which is expressed by words—If we want to see [4.101] and feel true poetry, we should go out and read it amidst [*sic*] God's works. Many eminent poets were once plough boys, or followed occupations which led them to be much in the open air & there they imbibed the spirit of poetry.

Miss Fuller said a great deal that was interesting, as usual—but which, as usual, I cannot express in my journal. She said we had done very well, considering there were two ladies in the room looking at & hearing us. [. . .]

Soon after recess our class in Herschel's Philosophy was called. The chapter we read was very interesting—Many used to think that all sublunary things are in a state of decay and change—that the world is becoming paralysed with age, and that men are [4.102] growing inferior both in intellectual and bodily stature—but time has shown that it is not the case, and that our present

75. Sir Walter Scott (1771–1832), the author of *Waverley*, began the English vogue for historical romance. John Milton (1608–74), author of *Paradise Lost*. William Cullen Bryant (1794–1878) was a famous American nature poet. Felicia Hemans (1793–1835) was a very influential English poet, known mainly for her sentimental style.

state will compare well with the state of the world thousands of years ago. Though much appears to be lost, nothing in nature really is lost. The flower blossoms and dies—its leaves fall on the ground, become a part of the soil, and then spring up with renewed beauty. When any thing is ground to powder and scattered to the wind each particle appears to be lost, but it is not so—each is saved, and incorporated with something else, continually performing its part in the work of Nature—so that, as Miss Fuller said, a particle of matter may lie concealed for a thousand years—it may then be taken from its hiding place, and for another thousand years, be continually changing its place, and doing much good—now forming a part of one substance and now of another, and then perhaps lie down to rest again. How beautiful it is that of all God has made, not one particle will be lost—each has its appropriate place. [. . .] [4.104] We were called from this concord of sweet sounds, into our class in Moral Science—Our subject was, “veracity with regard to the future”—concerning promises. It is not well to promise more than we can perform; but we should be very careful not to break our promises. It hurts ourselves, if it does not other people. We should always think before we make a promise, whether we can consistently perform it or not. Miss F—spoke of a way in which promises are often exacted from others—by telling them some trifling thing, with the injunction not to tell. These secrets are hardly ever important enough to be worth keeping, and it is provoking to have such a load of them on ones mind, which had better be stored more usefully. She said she never would make such promises, and if she was asked not to tell any thing, always said she should use her own discretion—she certainly [4.105] would not tell where it would do any harm. If we would always obey the golden rule, there would be no need of such promises.[. . .]

[4.126] Aug. 8th [1838] [Wednesday] [. . .] [4.127] We gave Miss Fuller our definitions of terrible and horrible, and the difference [4.128] between them. She thought we seemed to have an idea of

the difference, and was very well pleased with our definitions. She asked me last Wednesday to give her to-day a list of all the words we had defined since we began—As nearly as I can remember they were these. Poetry, Imagination, Ideality, Reason, Understanding, Genius, Talent, Tact, Dignity, Propriety, Feeling, Sentiment, Analysis, Synthesis, Criticism, Terrible and Horrible. She reviewed us in the definitions to-day to see what idea we had of them. I was very glad she did, though we were not so free and unrestrained as we should have been, had no one been in the room. Poetry we have discussed for two weeks—therefore there was not much said about it this morning; Imagination is the power we possessing [*sic*] of bringing any thing before the mind, which is not before the eyes. We can make it either more or less beautiful than it really is. In exercising the imagination, we compare those things we have not, to those we have seen, that is, though we imagine [4.129] many things we have not seen, yet we can only do it by thinking of those we have seen. Imagination is of great assistance in reading History, for if we can make a picture in our minds of the passing events, we shall much better understand it, as well as feel more interest in it. It is however, as Dr. Whately says, ↓difficult for a beginner↓ to imagine scenes so very different from any we are accustomed to—It requires a great deal of knowledge of the customs and manners of the nations about whom we are reading. We ought to exercise our imagination, and yet not exercise it too much, otherwise for if we do, we shall fall into the habit of indulging ourselves in idle reverie.

Ideality is a power of the mind by which it creates ideas not so much connected with outward things as imagination—It is that by which we discover the law of beauty—Miss Fuller said we could not see beautiful objects without feeling the law that governed them—the power that was working to make them thus beautiful. We may not often be [4.130] sensible of the feeling, but it exists notwithstanding. I cannot say as much about ideality as I could wish, though I was obliged to define it in the class. I think I understand it.

Reason and Understanding are the next—Understanding is applied to things outward—reason to things inward or spiritual. By our understanding we learn the outward forms of life—by reason, the inward principles that should guide us. Both have reference to the mind more than to the heart—It seems to me, from Miss Fuller's definition, that understanding and imagination bear the same relation to the mind—reason and ideality—I may not be correct—but that was the impression I received—imagination & understanding applied more directly to material things—ideality and reason exercised by the powers within on spiritual subjects—that is subjects which we perceive with the mental eye.

I wish I could write what I wish, but I can find no words.

[4.131] Genius, Talent, and Tact—Genius is that power of the mind, which creates for its own use, and is independent, in part, of what other minds have done. A person of genius depends not on outward things for instruction, but goes on, or I should say, begins for himself, and would go on by himself, if no one interfered. But too many, who are considered, and consider themselves geniuses, think there is nothing more to be done, and are very unwilling to apply themselves, or make any exertion to improve. Talent is much more common than genius, and almost every one possesses it in some degree or of some kind. Talent is not like genius creative, but it is active—It applies to some use, that which genius has created. Tact is that power which teaches us what means we ought to take, in order to obtain a desired end. If it were not for the tact so many possess, who have neither genius or talent, they would find it difficult to get along in the world—but tact—a quick perception [4.132] of what ought to ↓be↓ said or done, and when it ought to be said or done, has helped many through the world, who had nothing else.

I feel so dissatisfied [*sic*] with the definitions I have already given, that I believe I shall say nothing about the rest.

We finished our Rhetoric to-day—it is to be reviewed next term, by the class. Miss Fuller has advised me to review it also, after I go home. I shall always think of this class with deep pleasure, as having

been the birth place of many thoughts and feelings, before unknown. I have enjoyed it much, very much, and this morning when I left it for the last time, I could not refrain from a parting tear. [. . .]

Miss Fuller could not make our lesson [in Moral Science] as [4.134] long as usual, for her heart was sad. She had just received a letter from home which is enough of itself to drive all other thoughts out of one's head—but this letter contained sad news to our dear teacher, for it told her that her dear, her only sister is very much out of health, and, as her brother expressed himself, "gradually fading away." I felt for her, but at such a time what can earthly sympathy avail? It may gratify the sad heart, but One alone can stretch forth his hand to heal. May He be with our dear, dear teacher, and restore her sister to her fond and anxious heart. [. . .]

Aug. 10th. [1838] Friday. [4.140] And do I now for the last time open this book? for the last time give utterance, in this school, to the thoughts and feelings of my heart? I know not what to say, for I hardly know how I feel. I do not feel as if it were indeed the last time. I have so long connected almost every thing I did, or said, or felt, with this place—with these teachers—these scholars—that I cannot feel as if that connection was to be dissolved—as if I was no more to meet them in the light of a scholar or school mate—I cannot, I will not cease to regard my dear teachers, as teachers. Will they not still be teachers? Will not, ought not their instructions to extend beyond this hall—beyond our recitation rooms? It must be so, or their labour would be in vain—It is useless to spend time and strength in sowing seeds among the thorns, or scattering ↓them↓ by the way side, or depositing them in stony places—let them rather be sown in good ground, and spring up and bear fruit an hundred fold. The seed is deposited—the sower need not remain in the field to watch the growth of the grain—he must go forth [4.141] to other duties—other labors—but the sun will shed down upon the soul, his bright warm rays—the gentle showers will descend and the seed will spring up and

bear fruit—"first the blade, then the ear, after that the full grown corn in the ear."⁷⁶ So let it be with us who are now to depart from the husbandman's care. May we put forth our leaves, and imbibe every ray of light, every soft drop of the shower, that comes to warm and refresh and strengthen our minds. May we do all that is in our power to prepare both our minds and hearts for that better land which is their home—may we strive to render our souls in some small degree worthy of that everlasting kingdom. This school is a help to us, but its influence must not stop here, or we might as well never have come. [. . .]

[4.143] What shall I say to my kind and much loved teachers. I cannot speak to them of my feelings—they may suppose me cool and indifferent—but my heart is full—too full for words or tears. I would speak if I could—but I cannot,

For words are weak & most to seek
When wanted fifty-fold,
And then if silence will not speak,
Or trembling lip and changing cheek,
There's nothing told.⁷⁷

76. Mark 4:28. Some of the agricultural motifs of this entry may have been proposed by Hiram Fuller, who began the day by reading from Hemans's 'Parting of Summer' (as noted in Ann Brown's journal). Felicia Hemans, *The Poetical Works of Mrs. Felicia Hemans: Complete in One Volume with a Critical Preface* (Philadelphia: Thomas T. Ashe, 1836), 308.

77. Allen is quoting a passage from Sir Henry Taylor's five-hundred-page dramatic poem, first published in London in 1834: *Sir Philip van Artevelde, a Dramatic Romance in Two Parts*, 2 vols. (Boston: J. Munroe and Co., 1835). In his preface Taylor describes his formidable poem as 'two plays with an interlude,' and he goes on to criticize Romantic poets for their lack of subject matter, their passion-driven heroes, and their unrealistic vision (he names Byron and Shelley). The plot of Taylor's poem comes from Jean Froissart's account of Philip van Artevelde, who leads the town of Ghent in an insurrection against the Earl of Flanders in the late fourteenth century. Because of intense factionalization, Artevelde is beset by traitors on every side, loses his wife, and eventually drowns during the final battle against the French king. The quotation comes from the interlude at the end of the first book, the 'Lay of Elena,' which describes Elena's birth in Italy and her passage from idealistic maidenhood to marriage with the wrong man, the Duke of Bourbon. The quotation is a reference to her blighted life in a foreign land after marriage. Later in book 2, however, she regains some happiness as Artevelde's virtuous confidante just prior to his death.

Aug. 11th Friday. And do I now for the last time give this book for the last time your utterance, in this school, to the thoughts and feelings of my heart. I know not what to say, for I hardly know how I feel. I do not feel as if it were indeed the last time. I have so long connected almost every thing I did, or taught, or felt, with this place - with these teachers - these scholars, that I cannot feel as if that connection was to be dissolved, as if I was no more to meet them in the light of a scholar or school mate. I cannot, I will not cease to regard my dear teachers, as teachers. Will they not still be teachers? Will not, ought not their instructions to extend beyond this hall, beyond our recitation room? It must be so, or their labors would be in vain. It is useless to spend time and strength in sowing seeds among the thorns, or scattering ^{them} by the way side, or depositing them in stony places. Let them rather be sown in good ground, and spring up and bear fruit an hundred fold. The seed if deposited - the sower need not remain in the field to watch the growth of the grain. he must go forth

Figure 4. The pages from Allen's journal from which the quotation that titles this article is taken. Volume 4: 140-41, opening for August 10, 1838. Octavo Vol. 26.

to their duties - their labors, but the sun
will shed down upon the soil, his bright
wisdom say - the gentle showers will descend
and the seed will spring up and bear
fruit - first the blade then the ear, after
that the full grown corn in the ear.

So let it be with us who are now to depart
from the husbandman's care. May we put
forth our leaves, and invite every ray of
light, every soft drop of the shower, that
can to warm and refresh and strengthen
our minds. May we do all that is in
our power to prepare both our minds and
hearts for that better land which is their
home. May we strive to render our souls
in some small degree worthy of that
everlasting kingdom. This school is a help
to us but its influence must not stop
here, or we might as well never have come.

When we turned our adieu this morn-
ing Mr. Fuller said he could never say
much on the last day of the term - He
could not do justice to his own feelings or
those of his scholars. Many of us were to
separate to-day, never more to meet in this
world - but we shall all meet again in

[4.144] What can I say to my beloved friends and school mates. The love I bear them is sincere and deep—I came here a stranger, & they took me in—they have been kind, too kind to me—I do not, I sincerely feel that I do not deserve half the kindness I have received here, but I am grateful for it, and it shall be my future endeavour ~~to try~~ to deserve it.

It is not only to living & breathing friends that I am to say farewell. That piano, which has so often said such sweet things—the time-piece above it, which has reminded us of the progress of time—the urn from which we have drawn waters that caused us to thirst again—the library, from which we have drawn living waters—the forms above, especially of Him who was the “Harp of the North,”⁷⁸ and who have looked down upon us with the same fixed gaze ever since I first entered these walls moving not, speaking not—this desk, this chair, which I have so long occupied, & which will soon have I hope, a more worthy occupant—our Hall—our recitation rooms—“All ye loved ones, fare thee well” I want to say more, but I cannot soil the white page opposite, and I have only room to say to thee, my scrawled, yet precious journal—Farewell.

⁷⁸. Although Allen seems to be referring to God by capitalizing ‘Him,’ the ‘Harp of the North’ is a reference to Sir Walter Scott, whose bust sat above the library bookcase.

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