

Notes

Introduction: The Province of Public Intellectualism: Emerson, Du Bois, Emotion, and Reform Writing

1. For information on specific references to Emerson in Du Bois's writing as well as a survey of intellectual connections critics have made between them, see Patterson, chapter 7, especially pp. 159–165.
2. Gougeon also notes that “despite the strong presence of the affective, emotional element in Emerson's writings, as witnessed especially in such essays and poems as ‘Love,’ ‘Friendship,’ and ‘Give All to Love,’ as well as his numerous and often passionate anti-slavery addresses, this important element of Emerson's work and life has been largely ignored, or even denied” (*Virtue's Hero*, 12). For exceptions to this trend, see pp. 200–201, especially note 28. Gougeon's study, *Emerson & Eros: The Making of a Cultural Hero*, draws on the work of Carl Jung, Sigmund Freud, Erich Neumann, Joseph Campbell, Mircea Eliade, and Norman O. Brown to facilitate a “psychomythic approach to Emerson that takes into account his emotional, affective, mystical, and intuitional side” (13). I share Gougeon's view that critics have undervalued the emotional elements of Emerson's work, although my affective-cognitive approach to these elements differs from Gougeon's psychomythicism.
3. An important exception is Edward J. Blum's *W.E.B. Du Bois, American Prophet*. Blum examines the creative and often highly emotional qualities of Du Bois's writings on spirituality, countering and complicating the long-held views of Du Bois as atheist or agnostic in matters of religion. By and large, however, Du Bois's scholars have ignored or resisted addressing the role of emotion as both a thematic and narrative dimension of his writing.
4. I do not mean to imply the existence of a consensus among theorists and researchers. Multifaceted and hotly contested debates

about what constitutes an emotion and how its expressions or manifestations should be interpreted are ongoing both within and across disciplines, and the various strands of argument are too lengthy and complexly woven to explicate here. The language I use to describe the affective and cognitive elements I see and examine in Emerson's and Du Bois's writing is taken from Jenefer Robinson, whose book *Deeper than Reason: Emotion and its Role in Literature, Music, and Art* offers the most thorough and accessible summary I have found of the study of emotion in the humanities, social sciences, and cognitive sciences. See especially pp. 69–70 as well as chapters 1, 2, and 3 in their entirety.

5. Throughout this book, when I refer to audience, I do not mean actual persons. I mean either authorial audience (the author's ideal or implied reader) or narrative audience (the observer position within the narrative that actual readers may assume). In other words, my arguments about how audiences may engage a text take place solely in the realm of narrative, and I offer no conclusions from a cultural studies or sociological standpoint about how flesh-and-blood readers of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries may have responded to Emerson's and Du Bois's reform writings. In this regard, I follow the model of audience and reader response offered by Peter J. Rabinowitz and James Phelan in service of a rhetorical approach to narrative. See Phelan, *Experiencing Fiction*, p. 4.
6. See Phelan, "Narratives in Contest," pp. 166–168.
7. Fiction and poetry fare somewhat differently (some might say better) than nonfiction in this regard, particularly in the hands of literature scholars who, by dint of disciplinary training or intellectual interest, may be more apt to investigate a text's formal qualities and narrative characteristics—although even they generally shine their critical lights first and most brightly on its thematic components. One of my premises is that the affective and cognitive dimensions of reform in nineteenth-century American literature and culture remain largely unexplored in part because most critics rely on an explanatory model for behavior that more or less mirrors the Standard Social Science Model (SSSM)—a model that assumes most traits and behaviors are learned rather than innate and that external influences outpace genetic inheritance in determining how individuals perceive and interact with their world. Underwritten by these usually tacit assumptions, extant scholarship approaches reform as a broadly defined rhetorical or literary mode shaped by impulses, both conventional and subversive, that are the product

- of social, political, and economic actualities—a mode that requires and rewards interpretation based on a hermeneutics of cultural work.
8. One could point, for example, to the long line of insightful studies of sentimentality's relation to reform in antebellum U.S. literature and culture. Though here again, when the texts under scrutiny are nonfictional, thematic inquiry takes precedence over analysis of narrative form (indeed it is rare to find the latter considered at all).
 9. There is a substantial body of criticism on autobiographical narratives by writers whose race, ethnicity, gender, sexuality, or some intersection thereof, puts them on the margins of mainstream U.S. culture. For the most part, however, such criticism focuses either on individual autobiographers or multiple writers working from a broad range of subject positions. See especially Anderson; Freedman; Gilmore; Holden; Miller; Olney; and Smith and Watson.
 10. As Lisa Zunshine argues: "one of the crucial insights offered by cognitive psychologists is that by thus parsing the world and narrowing the scope of relevant interpretations of a given phenomenon, our cognitive adaptations enable us to contemplate an infinitely rich array of interpretations within that scope" (14).
 11. Some ToM critics hypothesize that we derive pleasure from our self-awareness of the mindreading process—this act of exploring emotions and states of mind that differ from our own—and that we use fiction as means to exercise, test, and affirm our own cognitive abilities. See Zunshine, pp. 17–18.
 12. For a more comprehensive account of possible sources for Du Bois, see Reed. pp. 100–108. Reed subsequently dismisses most of these sources and also undercuts the notion that Du Boisian double consciousness resulted primarily from the influences of Emerson and James. He argues that Du Bois's concept is best understood as a product of neo-Lamarckian social science and (more significantly) the "discursive and ideological patterns" of a cohort of "university-trained, reform-oriented, typically eastern intellectuals who mainly came to maturity during the last years of the nineteenth century and the first years of the twentieth and who shared a loosely defined outlook and intellectual and political *problematique*." See Reed, pp. 107–125.
 13. I do admit to a particular interest in how early the term itself may have been in circulation within the broader nineteenth-century American reading public. It appears in narrative accounts of certain

medical conditions as early as the 1820s, roughly two decades before Emerson first mentioned it in “The Transcendentalist,” and almost eighty years prior to Du Bois’s initial use of the term in an 1897 article for *The Atlantic Monthly* titled “The Strivings of the Negro People” (which he subsequently reworked for publication as part of *The Souls of Black Folk*). In the antebellum medical studies of Emerson’s time and the postbellum psychological research of Du Bois’s, double consciousness was one of several designations for a condition in which a patient seemed to shift between two different lives or states of being, each accompanied by its own personality and set of memories but neither possessing direct knowledge or awareness of the other’s existence. Such cases were not only described in medical and psychology journals but also given extensive attention in the popular press—newspaper accounts sometimes referred to the condition as “split personality” or “alternating selves”—and it is no stretch to assume that Emerson and Du Bois were aware of the existence of these other narratives of double consciousness when they formulated their own. No doubt they also were aware that some segments of their audiences were familiar with the term as a reference to an actual physiological and psychological condition.

14. Emile Zola’s article “*J’Accuse!*”—essentially an open letter to the president of France—appeared in the Paris literary newspaper *L’Aurore* on January 13, 1898, challenging the 1894 arrest and conviction for treason of Captain Alfred Dreyfus, a French military officer. Dreyfus was a Jew, and his racial identity was seen by many as the primary motivation for the arrest and conviction (Ferdinand Esterhazy, an infantry officer, actually committed the crime). Zola’s article prompted widespread public outrage and condemnation of those involved in Dreyfus’s prosecution and the cover-up of Esterhazy’s guilt—outrage that in turn prompted a backlash by right-wing extremists who rioted and broke the windows of Jewish-owned stores in Paris. The day after Zola’s article appeared, *L’Aurore* published under the heading “*Protestation des Intellectuals*” a list of professors, writers, and members of *L’Académie française* who supported Zola and Dreyfus and called for a new trial. After an 1899 retrial—in which he was again found guilty but then pardoned and released from custody—Dreyfus finally was exonerated in 1906, reinstated in the army, and awarded the Legion of Honor. Zola, who had fled to England to avoid imprisonment on charges of libel, eventually returned to France but died under suspicious circumstances in 1902. Some historians argue he was killed by

- anti-Jewish extremists who blocked up the chimney of his house, causing death by asphyxiation.
15. The claim could be made that, in focusing on Emerson and Du Bois to the exclusion of other possible candidates, I have participated, albeit indirectly, in the very practice of ranking and measuring—of deciding who’s in and who’s out—I claim to want to avoid. My point, though, is that it should be possible—it needs to be possible—to compare how individuals conceptualize public intellectualism without perforce making arguments or drawing conclusions about how well those individuals fit the category of “public intellectual”—or, better yet, without assuming in the first place that, as critics, the construction and maintenance of such a category should be our most important concern. One drawback of such categorization is that it very often serves as proxy lamentation for the loss of status perceived by those individuals doing the ranking and measuring. For these commentators, one might suppose with no great difficulty that the notion of the contemporary-public-intellectual-as-impotent is a reflection of concern for their own role vis-à-vis the rapidly changing world in which they live, think, write, and speak. In corollary fashion, one does not have to look too closely at unfavorable judgments of public intellectuals to see how they serve as placeholders for broader anxiety about U.S. cultural declension. For examples of such commentary, see Jacoby and Posner.
 16. Among current critics, Posner offers the most substantial polemic in this vein.
 17. In taking this approach, I wish not to deny the significance of professional or social identity but to avoid the inflexibility of categorization that results, whether intended or not, from the group- and class-based approaches that inflect most current criticism of intellectuals and the work they do. Such approaches may differ in theoretical sophistication, tone, and intended audience, but all pursue similar goals: to rank or measure intellectuals against each other; to tell us something of the professional space they inhabit; to assess their function as an elite group or collection of discrete subgroups within a social matrix.
 18. See Bender, *Intellect and Public Life: Essays on the Social History of Academic Intellectuals in the United States*, pp. 3–4. Those familiar with Pierre Bourdieu’s work on intellectual cultures will recognize its affinity with the scholarship I am describing here. Specifically, Bourdieu’s *Homo Academicus* (1988) offers an approach to the relation between intellectual cultures and broader

society that is similar in many ways to the line of inquiry that Bender and other social-intellectual historians began to formulate and pursue in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

19. Emerson also memorialized Waldo in the 1847 poem "Threnody," which I have examined elsewhere but do not include here because of this study's exclusive focus on nonfictional prose narratives.
20. In studying public intellectualism and the affective-cognitive experience of racial difference, one of my objectives is to add a more personalized, emotional dimension to the story of what Habermas has famously termed "the structural transformation of the public sphere" (85). The origins of the public intellectual, as Habermas and others have argued, can be located in the eighteenth century as private citizens began to participate in a rapidly expanding print culture that had developed apart from the control of either the state or the church and had not yet become fully subject to market forces. Within this culture, educated private citizens (usually those owning property) wrote on matters of both politics and literature for a rapidly proliferating bourgeois reading public; in essence, these writers and their readers formed a sphere in which political engagement and, by extension, class identity were enhanced by their shared literary education and their common participation in literary praxis.

The question of autonomy in eighteenth-century American print culture remains open for debate. For two different accounts, see Warner and Rice. Warner offers support for Habermas's claims, arguing that print culture first allowed private citizens to participate in political discourse but that the freedom to be critical of the state soon caused the collapse of the culture itself. Rice is less sympathetic to Habermas, arguing that the rapid rise of print culture may have led to a measure of autonomy from church and state, but that it did so only by transforming texts from political commentary to economic commodity. What matters most for purposes of this study is not the extent of autonomy from church, state, and market forces that existed for writers in the eighteenth-century public sphere, or even the extent to which private citizens participated in print culture, but rather the fact that autonomy and privacy existed as ideals against which later writers such as Emerson and Du Bois measured the development of their own positions within the public sphere.

Much later in the nineteenth century, as capitalist-driven print media began to isolate politics as the particular domain of journalism and market forces sent the old bourgeois reading public

into decline, something like our modern concept of the public intellectual emerged. The structural transformations of the public sphere in the nineteenth century eventually replaced the old model in which private, learned citizens spoke to each other about political and literary matters with a new one in which particular groups (professional writers, lecturers, journalists, editors, professors) were assigned the task of providing everyone else with political, literary, and cultural commentary. Such transformation, by linking intellectualism with public status, both solidified the credibility of public figures as commentators and distanced them from the very culture upon which they were supposed to comment.

Showing why and how Emerson and Du Bois sought to overcome that distance—the fact that both chose to write publicly about their personal losses and that each found it compelling to interpolate such experiences into his emerging intellectual and political philosophy—is a crucial element of the book’s fourth chapter. This chapter shows how Emerson and Du Bois interpreted and shaped their respective roles as representative and representing figures and how both invoked the experience of loss to exemplify and explore—for themselves and their audiences—the emotional implications of speaking and writing in the public sphere.

By articulating the motivations for and implications of each man’s efforts to write publicly about personal loss, intimacy, attachment, and detachment, this chapter offers the beginnings of a theory of the relation of public intellectualism and emotion that works across the fields of intellectual and social history, biography, mourning theory, and literary studies to provide a comparative map of how Emerson and Du Bois understood their emerging subject positions as public intellectuals, a map that serves as a prescription of sorts for how public intellectuals must think and write in order to communicate their visions of social change and maintain their status as representative and representing figures within the public sphere.

1 Race: You’ll Know It When You Feel It

1. Unless otherwise noted, all page numbers for Du Bois’s work refer to *Du Bois: Writings*, Library of America edition, 1986.
2. In chapter 4 of *English Traits*, Emerson describes both the allure and the enigma of racial categorization: “We anticipate in the doctrine of race something like that law of physiology, that, whatever bone, muscle, or essential organ is found in one healthy individual, the same part or organ may be found in or near the same place

in its congener; and we look to find in the son every mental and moral property that existed in the ancestor. In race, it is not the broad shoulders, or litness, or stature that give advantage, but a symmetry that reaches as far as to the wit. Then the miracle and renown begin. Then we first care to examine the pedigree, and copy heedfully the training,—what food they ate, what nursing, school, and exercises they had, which resulted in this mother-wit, delicacy of thought, and robust wisdom. How came such men as King Alfred, and Roger Bacon, William of Wykeham, Walter Raleigh, Philip Syndey, Issac Newton, William Shakespeare, George Chapman, Francis Bacon, George Herbert, Henry Vane, to exist here? What made these delicate natures? Was it the air? Was it the sea? Was it the parentage? For it is certain that these men are samples of their contemporaries. The hearing ear is always found close to the speaking tongue; and no genius can long or often utter any thing which is not invited and gladly entertained by men around him” (25–26). Later in the same chapter, Emerson speculates on the impermanence and potential fluidity of racial categories across time and space: “These limitations of the formidable doctrine of race suggest others which threaten to undermine it, as not sufficiently based. The fixity or inconvertibleness of races as we see them, is a weak argument for the eternity of these frail boundaries, since all our historical period is a point to the duration in which nature has wrought. Any the least and solitariest fact in our natural history, such as the melioration of fruits and of animal stocks, has the worth of a *power* in the opportunity of geologic periods. Moreover, though we flatter the self-love of men and nations by the legend of pure races, all our experiences is of the gradation and resolution of races, and strange resemblances meet us every where. It need not puzzle us that Malay and Papuan, Celt and Roman, Saxon and Tartar, should mix, when we see the rudiments of tier and baboon in our human form, and know that the barriers of races are not so firm, but that some spray sprinkles us from the antediluvian seas” (27). For a summary of the diverse and often contradictory assertions Emerson makes about race throughout *English Traits*, see Newfield, pp. 190–195; and Patterson, pp. 132–147. For a survey of his views on race, rights, and nationalism, see Patterson, chapter 6.

3. Unless otherwise noted, all page numbers refer to the Address as it appears in Gougeon and Myerson’s *Emerson’s Antislavery Writings*, Len Gougeon and Joel Myerson, eds. New Haven: Yale UP, 1995.

4. See Du Bois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study*.
5. For a comprehensive history of the Academy, see Moss's *The American Negro Academy*.
6. I am assuming an ideal African American audience comprising readers whose intellect and education would more or less match that of the members of the American Negro Academy—readers of the type Du Bois later would designate as the Talented Tenth.
7. For more on Emerson and reform, see Buell's *Emerson* (especially chapter 6), Field's *Ralph Waldo Emerson* (especially chapter 6), Garvey's *The Emerson Dilemma*, Gougeon's *Virtue's Hero*, and Richardson's *Emerson: The Mind on Fire* (especially chapters 66 and 85). For a thorough literary-historical account of how antebellum U.S. writers dealt with issues of slavery, see Sundquist's *Empire and Slavery in American Literature, 1820–1865*. For general introductions to antislavery movements in the United States and abroad, see Bender's *The Antislavery Debate* and Davis's *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture*. For discussions of Emerson's concept of race and his ideological standing vis-à-vis debates over rights for African Americans, see Newfield's *The Emerson Effect* and Patterson's, *From Emerson to King*.
8. Gougeon and Myerson, xv–xvi. See *Journals and Miscellaneous Notebooks of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (JMN), William H. Gilman et al., eds. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1960–1982, 5: 437.
9. *Ibid.*, xxvi–xxvii.
10. *Ibid.*, xxxi.
11. *Ibid.*, xxvii.
12. Gougeon characterizes the importance of the 1844 West Indies Emancipation Address thusly: “There can be little doubt that on 1 August 1844, Ralph Waldo Emerson made the transition from philosophical antislavery to active abolitionism” (*ibid.*, xxx). See also Gougeon, *Emerson & Eros*, chapter 5.
13. Gougeon and Myerson, xxviii–xxix.
14. In theoretical or abstract models of emotion as an affective-cognitive process, change may or may not occur as a result of cognitive monitoring and evaluation. In Emerson's “Address,” narrative presentations of the cognitive phase nearly always give rise to some kind of change, usually involving both beliefs and behavior.

2 Double Consciousness: It's More Than What You Think

1. See especially Theophus Smith's *Conjuring Culture: Biblical Formations of Black America*; Theresa Martinez's “19th-Century

- Double Consciousness of Du Bois and 20th-Century Mestiza Consciousness of Gloria Anzaldúa”; Stephen H. Browne’s “Du Bois, Double-Consciousness, and the Modern City,” in *Rhetoric and Community*, ed. J. Michael Hogan, pp. 75–92; Gene Santoro’s biography of Charles Mingus, *Myself When I am Real*; Suzan-Lori Parks’s “The America Play”; and Carol Becker and Romi Crawford’s “An Interview with Paul D. Miller a.k.a. DJ Spooky—That Subliminal Kid.”
2. For a comprehensive literary-historical account and textual analysis of *The Souls of Black Folk*, see chapter 5 of Sundquist’s *To Wake the Nations*. For an analysis of the elitist elements of Du Bois’s thought, see Reed, chapter 5. For a comparative reading of intellectual links between Du Boisian and Emersonian double consciousness, see Patterson, chapters 6 and 7. For a refutation of possible links between Du Bois and Emerson (as well as between Du Bois and William James), see Reed, chapter 7, especially pp. 99–105. For an account of Emerson’s and Du Bois’s respective contributions to American pragmatism, see West, chapters 1 and 4.
 3. See Reed, chapter 7, especially pp. 92–99. Reed emphasizes intellectual history and political science; he gives little attention to the reception of double consciousness beyond these fields.
 4. Unless otherwise noted, all page numbers for “The Transcendentalist” refer to *Emerson: Essays and Poems*, Library of America edition, 1996.
 5. Patterson reads Emersonian double consciousness in light of his critique of Lockean property rights and as a key element of what she argues is his theory of political obligation. Buell, taking a slightly different approach to similar issues, argues that the essay’s elaboration on Kant’s refutation of Locke is valuable less for its philosophical content than for its performance of some of the political and ethical dilemmas associated with the critique of materialism. See Patterson, pp. 152–153; and Buell, *Emerson*, pp. 202–207.
 6. For details of Buell’s summary, see his “Emerson’s Fate,” pp. 12–20.
 7. Buell singles out and quotes as follows the work of Richardson and Robinson, both of whom he sees as exemplifying aspects of this position: “Richardson places his discussion of the essay immediately after a chapter on Emerson’s antislavery addresses, characterizing ‘Fate’ as ‘a vigorous affirmation of freedom, more effective than earlier statements because it does not dismiss the power of circumstance, determinism, materialism, experience, Calvinism, and evil’ (Richardson, 500). Robinson refuses to discuss ‘Fate’ without reference to the neglected essay that immediately follows it in

The Conduct of Life, ‘Power,’ stressing that ‘the most telling, and least understood, aspect of Emerson’s later work was his strategy of defining fate against power’ (Robinson, 135). But Emerson’s discourse of limits itself Robinson characterizes as an assertive political intervention, not a confession of cosmic humility: ‘To speak of fate in [boosteristic] America amounted to a form of political dissent’ (Robinson, 136). Here Robinson seeks, as it were, to save Emerson from the Emersonians—not only those modern scholars who have read ‘Fate’ very differently but also the Anglo-American Victorians, both middlebrow and gentry, who hitched their rhetorical wagons to Emerson’s star by embracing him as an apologist for cosmic and capitalist optimism.” For the full discussion, see Buell, “Emerson’s Fate,” p. 16.

3 Losing Your Head: Why Du Bois and Emerson (Mostly) Like John Brown

1. For an account of McVeigh’s self-identification with Brown, see Michel and Herbeck. For a concise summary and analysis of the development and different phases of the John Brown myth, see Trodd and Stauffer, pp. 1–33.
2. For readers who may not be entirely familiar with the events leading up to Brown’s raid or the details of the raid itself, I offer the following capsule summary. It is distilled from a range of sources, most notably Qaurles, Redpath, Reynolds, and Sanborn. John Brown’s raid on Harpers Ferry was part of a larger plan to establish a fortified, defensible base of operations somewhere in the Blue Ridge Mountains. In his vision, the arms and ammunition taken from the arsenal would be used to foster insurrections among the slave populations of Virginia—insurrections that would, he hoped, lead to wide-scale resistance and mass escapes by slaves throughout the South. Brown and his men would use their stronghold not only to aid escapees on their way North via the Underground Railroad to Canada but also to counter any efforts on the part of southern slave-catchers to recapture and return fugitives.

Brown had been ready as early as 1858 to begin his attack, having raised what he believed to be sufficient funds and recruited a small but experienced band of men willing to sacrifice themselves to bring about the end of the slave system. He was compelled to wait nearly an entire year, however, when it became known that one of the men had leaked word of the raid and threatened to expose all the conspirators. Once he felt the threat of exposure had

passed, Brown began his preparations by renting a farm on the Maryland side of the Potomac, just across the river from Harpers Ferry. He spent the summer and early fall of 1859 drilling his men and slowly gathering arms and supplies. The one-year wait had a devastating effect on his recruiting efforts, however, and many of the men he had counted on to form his “army” of abolitionists had come to doubt the possibilities of success and never followed through on their original promises to join him.

When the attack finally did commence—on October 16, 1859—it was carried out by only twenty-one men: sixteen whites, including two of Brown’s sons, and five blacks. (Another band of supporters was to join the original twenty-one after the initial assault.) The party reached Harpers Ferry before dawn, cutting the telegraph wires on their way, and were able to capture the federal arsenal and armory with minimal resistance. Having secured their position, Brown’s party waited for the word of the attack to spread and for slaves and sympathetic whites to join them. Unfortunately for Brown and his men, the large-scale uprising he imagined never materialized. Even the small band of supporters Brown had counted on to join the party after the initial attack arrived far too late to be of any help; its members were, in fact, cut down by local Harpers Ferry militia before ever reaching his position. Members of the militia then began firing on Brown’s party, which remained in control of the arsenal but with little hope of achieving their ultimate goal. Recognizing the dire nature of his situation, Brown sent one of his sons out under a white truce flag to meet with the townspeople and reach some kind of settlement. The crowd of citizens and militia members were too angry for negotiation, and they fired on and killed the son. Eight more of Brown’s party would be killed in the subsequent fighting, though they still managed to hold their position.

By this point, news of the raid had been communicated to President Buchanan, who immediately sent a force of one hundred marines under the command of Col. Robert E. Lee to recapture the arsenal. The marines arrived on October 17 and were able to subdue the remaining members of Brown’s party by the following day; however, before the fighting was done, two of his men were killed, including both his sons; seven were captured; and five escaped. Brown himself was wounded, and, shortly thereafter, he and the other prisoners were removed to Charlestown, Virginia, for trial. The trial was a national sensation, lasting from October 27 to November 4, and provoking extreme reactions—from sympathetic

support to condemnation. As nearly everyone expected, Brown and his coconspirators were found guilty of treason and executed on December 2.

3. Buell, "Emerson's Fate," p. 21.
4. Writing biographies of John Brown is a cottage industry among scholars, journalists, activists, and intellectuals that commenced almost immediately after the execution and, despite periodic lulls, shows no signs of stopping: from James Redpath's 1860 *Echoes of Harper's Ferry*, an edited collection of speeches, letters, and other responses to Brown and his actions, to Benjamin Quarles's 1972 *Blacks on John Brown*, an edited collection of writings specifically authored by African Americans; from F.B. Sanborn's 1885 *The Life and Letters of John Brown, Liberator of Kansas, and Martyr of Virginia* to, most recently, Reynolds's 2005 biography *John Brown, Abolitionist: The Man Who Killed Slavery, Sparked the Civil War, and Seeded Civil Rights*.

An especially interesting feature of the Brown biographical tradition is that it serves as a kind of barometer of pressures points in U.S. racial history. Periods when the publishing (or republishing) of biographies peaks tend to coincide with moments when issues of race are most pressing and divisive: first in the immediate aftermath of the raid itself, when the fires of abolition went from warm to white-hot; then in the 1880s, when the failed promise of Reconstruction and the rise of Jim Crow brought about a new round of soul-searching among those who had hoped the South would accept an integrated society; then again in the early years of the twentieth century, when race riots and lynching became more and more commonplace (even as historians looked back upon the Civil War years for heroes to celebrate); and yet again in the 1960s and early 1970s, following the emergence of the Civil Rights movement, the black arts movement, and the creation of black and ethnic studies programs at colleges and universities throughout the country. Indeed, one could make a convincing case that what we say about John Brown—and when we say it—reveals as much about the state of U.S. race relations as about the man himself.

5. Reynolds, pp. 215–216.
6. See Stauffer, pp. 35–37. Stauffer takes Emerson's main contribution to radical abolition to be aesthetic rather than political, although he does argue that Emerson's aesthetic innovations run parallel to the revolutionary racial politics of Brown, Smith, McCune Smith, and Douglass. Stauffer's comprehensive and provocative account of the alliance among these four men—two white, two black—is

- a pathbreaking contribution to the study of abolition and a singularly insightful analysis of the interracial dynamics of radical antislavery reform. His recovery of the remarkable (and remarkably influential) James McCune Smith is especially important for the field of African American studies.
7. Emerson, "Speech at a Meeting to Aid John Brown's Family" (November 18, 1859). See Gougeon and Myerson, pp. 117–118. Unless otherwise noted, all references are to the text of the speech as it appears in this collection. Emerson, *Letters*, volume 5, 178.
 8. See Du Bois, *The Autobiography of W.E.B. Du Bois*, p. 259.
 9. See Aptheker, pp. 99–107.
 10. Villard and Du Bois had a tense relationship prior to the publications of their respective biographies. In a 1905 article, Du Bois had indirectly implicated Villard (who wrote for and owned *The Nation* and *The Evening Post*) in a series of bribery charges he leveled at Booker T. Washington in which Du Bois accused Washington of paying for favorable coverage from various newspapers and magazines. See *ibid.*, p. 91. Villard published an anonymous and extremely negative review (most certainly written by himself) of Du Bois's biography that appeared in *The Nation*. See Lewis, pp. 360–361.
 11. See Broderick and Rudwick.
 12. See Oates, Marable, and Rampersad.
 13. See Aptheker, p. 90. Aptheker cites Quarles's *Blacks on John Brown* as a source for his account of Ransom's speech.
 14. Aptheker notes that the 1962 edition of *John Brown*, published to coincide with the one-hundredth anniversary of the announcement of the Emancipation Proclamation, received overwhelmingly positive responses from reviewers in the black press while the commercial white press largely ignored it. See *ibid.*, p. 106.
 15. Villard's biography benefited from the marketing muscle of its publisher Houghton Mifflin. Du Bois's publisher, Jacobs & Company, was much less energetic in its promotional efforts.
 16. For the most insightful readings of Brown-as-Christ, see Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, pp. 597–602, and Cain, pp. 319–323. Both Sundquist and Cain note that Du Bois presents Brown as a militant Christlike figure; Sundquist offers a broader context for Du Bois's use of this trope, arguing that Brown's Christian militancy was important to Du Bois because of "the power of worldwide revolt that spoke through him" and that his meaning extends far beyond the sphere of African American abolition. See Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, p. 598.

17. See Sundquist, *To Wake the Nations*, pp. 606–609.
18. See Stauffer, pp. 45–60.
19. See Cain, pp. 327–328.
20. Emerson, “John Brown” (January 6, 1860). See Gougeon and Myerson, p. 123. Unless otherwise noted, all references are to the text of the speech as it appears in this collection.
21. See Bush, “Emerson, John Brown, and ‘Doing the Word,’” in *The Emerson Dilemma*, ed. Garvey, pp. 205–208.
22. See Reynolds, pp. 221–223.
23. See Emerson, *Letters*, volume 5, 178.

4 Intimate Attachments: Fathers, Sons, and Public Intellectuals

1. Cayton, *Emerson's Emergence*, p. 150.
2. Gougeon, *Emerson & Eros*, p. 4.
3. *Letters*, 3: 6.
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Letters*, 3: 9–10.
6. *JMN*, 8: 163–165.
7. The poem “Threnody,” which appeared in 1847, three years after the essay “Experience,” adds several dimensions to the characterization of Waldo, all of which humanize and otherwise complicate the essay’s decidedly unsentimental vision of him as a “beautiful estate,” as well as its description of his loss as a “great inconvenience” that leaves Emerson “neither better nor worse” (*Ralph Waldo Emerson, Essays and Poems*, Joel Porte, ed., New York: Library of America, 1996, pp. 472–473; all subsequent references to “Experience” and “Threnody” are to this edition and will be cited as *EP*, followed by the page number). In “Threnody,” he constructs the father-son bond as more intimate than in “Experience,” and his use of sentimentality is comparable in revealing ways to that of Du Bois. The poem is a polished collection of a series of verses Emerson began working on almost immediately following Waldo’s death—they are referred to as “rude dirges” in an 1844 letter exchange with Margaret Fuller—and many of the lines included in the final published version are lifted verbatim from his letters and journals (*JMN*, 8:56; *Letters*, 3:7–10). Emerson biographer Robert Richardson may be overstating the case when he calls “Threnody” “one of the great elegies in English, and a poem in which Emerson rivals the Milton whose ‘Lycidas’ he had known by heart for so long” (359). But the poem

does possess an epic quality and most certainly affirms the capacity of the individual to overcome the anguish and pain of death. The opening stanza acknowledges, as in “Experience,” that a loss has occurred, but there is a distinct longing for the child’s return and a sense of melancholy that decidedly contradicts the essay’s assertion that the father was not touched by the son’s loss:

The South-wind brings
 Life, sunshine, and desire,
 And on every mount and meadow
 Breathes aromatic fire;
 But over the dead he has no power,
 The lost, the lost, he cannot restore;
 And, looking over the hills, I mourn
 The darling who shall not return. (*EP*, 1167)

Moreover, Waldo is given multiple, vibrant identities in the poem, in contrast to the one-dimensional status of property assigned to him in “Experience.”

8. *Letters*, 3: 8.
9. *JMN*, 8: 164–165.
10. *Letters*, 3: 6.
11. *Letters*, 3: 7.
12. *JMN*, 8: 163.
13. The full text of the letter reads: “My dear brother, My little Waldo died this evening. He was attacked by the scarletina on Monday night. Little Ellen has the eruption today but is not yet seriously sick. But what shall I say of my Boy? Farewell & Farewell! Lidian is very well, & Mother. Your affectionate brother—Waldo.” See *Letters*, 3: 6. A day later, in response to an earlier letter from Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, Emerson wrote: “Thanks for your kind invitation, my friend, but the most severe of all afflictions has befallen me, in the death of my boy. He has been ill since Monday of what is called Scarlet Fever & died last night & with him has departed all that is glad & festal & almost all that is social even, for me, from this world. My second child is also sick, but I cannot in a lifetime incur another such loss. Farwell. R.W. Emerson.” See *Letters*, 3: 8. That same day, he wrote in a similar vein to Caroline Sturgis: “My little boy died last night, my little wonderful boy. You too have seen him & loved him. But you can never know how much daily & nightly blessedness was lodged in the child. I saw him always & felt him everywhere. On Sunday I carried him to see the new church & organ. & on Sunday we shall lay his sweet body in the ground. You will also grieve for him.

R.W.E.” See *Letters*, 3: 8–9. In a letter to Fuller dated February 2, 1842, Emerson writes: “Dear Margaret, I am not going to write you a letter but only to say in reply to your request, that we are finding again our hands & feet after our dull & dreadful dream which does *not* leave us where it found us. Lidian, Elizabeth, & I recite chronicles words & tones of our fair boy & magnify our lost treasure to extort if we can the secretest wormwood of the grief, & see how bad is the worst. Meantime the sun rises & the winds blow Nature seems to have forgotten that she has crushed her sweetest creation and perhaps would admonish us that as this Child’s attention could never be fasted on any death, but proceeded still to enliven the new toy, so we children must have no retrospect, but illuminate the new hour if possible with an undiminished stream of rays. Waldo E.” See *Letters*, 3: 9.

14. In “Threnody,” Waldo Emerson is assigned the roles of sentimental icon and nascent public intellectual, and he is presented as a figure with the capacity to capture and hold the attention of an audience beyond his immediate family. Whereas “Experience” describes him as a “beautiful estate,” “Threnody” casts him as a child-prophet who, like Du Bois’s son, has a broad-based appeal:

And whither now, my truant and wise sweet,
 O, whither tend they feet?
 I had the right, few days ago,
 Thy steps to watch, thy place to know;
 How have I forfeited the right?
 Hast thou forgot me in a new delight?
 I hearken for they household cheer,
 O eloquent child!
 Whose voice, an equal messenger,
 Conveyed thy meaning mild.
 What though the pains and joys
 Whereof it spoke were toys
 Fitting his age and ken,
 Yet fairest dames and bearded men,
 Who heard the sweet request,
 So gentle, wise, and grave,
 Bended with joy to his behest,
 And let the world’s affairs go by,
 Awhile to share his cordial game,
 Or mend his wicker wagon-frame,
 Still plotting how their hungry ear
 That winsome voice again might hear;

For his lips could well pronounce
 Words that were persuasions. (*EP*, 1168)

As in Du Bois's "First-Born," the tropes of voice and intellect recur throughout "Threnody"; Emerson provides a sentimental portrait of an ideal child who is both typical infant and exceptional future leader: the content of his speech may be appropriate for his "age and ken," but there is no mistaking the maturity of its timbre and its ability to persuade all auditors, women and men, young and old, to heed his message. Emerson ascribes to Waldo the same heightened sense of virtue, precocious charisma, and preternatural wisdom Du Bois associates with Burghardt. And, as "Threnody" unfolds, Waldo is given additional sentimental mantles—"gracious boy," "chieftain" of his playmates, "captain" of the schoolyard, "child of paradise"—all of which serve to expand in striking fashion the one-dimensional view of the child in "Experience."

Most intriguing and telling is not so much the different approaches "Experience" and "Threnody" seem to take with regard to the personal experience of loss—the former dissociating father from son in the coldest of terms and the latter reinscribing that relation with highly sentimental language—but rather what those approaches allow in both a personal and a public sense. The combination of essay and poem permits Emerson to both satisfy the imperatives of his intellectual program—to speak of Waldo's death as evidence of a larger philosophical dilemma regarding the difficulties of perception and self-knowledge—and to construct a more human and intimate memorial to his son.

15. *JMN*, 8: 165–166.
16. *JMN*, 7: 166.
17. *Letters*, 3: 235–236.
18. *JMN*, 7: 458.
19. In the July 1842 issue of *The Dial*, of which Emerson served as editor, there appeared a story by Charles King Newcomb in which the author modeled a child character named Dolon on Emerson's son Waldo. Newcomb, who had discussed Waldo's death with both Ralph and Lidian and had asked Lidian for letters detailing the boy's appearance, described his fictional character thusly: "a beautiful boy, with long auburn-brown hair, a fair and delicate complexion, light blue eyes, and eyelids which at the side-view lay gently-heavily folded over his eyes, as if the eyes were homes, like heaven air, for two little heavenly fairies, like a spring-fountain in the fresh meadows for little fishes, and the lids were curtains

which opened them to the world and covered them from mortal sight. like a cave opening into a forest, and the eyes seemed inlets into the boy's being, and one could find him there as Dolon found fairies, and men find God, in the air, which was so like his eyes, only they were like a soul which had taken the eye for a form. We do not see the expression in eyes, when we look at them for it a second time; for when we first look, the spiritual in the eye suggests a form to us, and then we look as on a form for the type of the form that is created within us, and spirit is not to be bodily seen." *The Dial*, III (July 1842), p. 116. Emerson's publication of Newcomb's story, less than six months after the boy's death, shows he was interested in the possibilities of representing Waldo to a wider audience—even if he was not yet prepared to do so himself.

20. *Letters*, 3: 235–236.
21. *Ibid.*, pp. 235–239. Emerson refers to *Notes of Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornden*, 1842: pp. 19–20.
22. See Lewis, pp. 193–201.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 344.
24. See *ibid.*, p. 227.
25. See Porte, Packer, Lopez, Richardson, and Robinson.
26. Du Bois, *Du Bois: Writings*, p. 509.
27. *Ibid.*, pp. 507–508.
28. Zamir, p. 190.
29. Rampersad, "Slavery and the Literary Imagination," pp. 120–121.
30. Byerman, pp. 30–31.
31. See "How To Be a (Sentimental) Race Man: Mourning and Passing in W.E.B. Du Bois's *The Souls of Black Folk*," in *Boys Don't Cry?: Men and Emotions in America* Milette Shamir and Jennifer Travis, eds. New York: Columbia UP, 2002: pp. 106–123.

Conclusion Theory of Mind and the Color Line

1. As Lisa Zunshine puts it, a cognitive ability such as ToM cannot be conceptualized or studied "in isolation from its human embodiment and historically and culturally concrete expression" (37).
2. Individuals on the autism spectrum constitute an important exception to this generalization insofar as the constraints on their mindreading capacity may be far greater (or of a different nature) than those of the non-autistic population. For a pathbreaking and highly accessible study of the relation between autism spectrum

disorders (ASD) and Theory of Mind, see Simon Baron-Cohen's *Mindblindness: An Essay on Autism and Theory of Mind*.

3. See especially Dunbar.
4. See especially Cosmides and Tooby; Donald; and LeDoux.
5. For a more comprehensive account of the relevant empirical research (as well as a much more extensive and imaginative discussion of mind-reading-in-practice than I have provided), see Zunshine, pp. 27–35.
6. See *Maria W. Stewart: America's First Black Woman Political Writer, Essays and Speeches*, edited and introduced by Marilyn Richardson. All references to Stewart's writings are to this edition and will be noted parenthetically in the text. The pamphlet was included in Stewart's 1835 collection *Productions Of Maria W. Stewart*, Boston: Published By Friends of Freedom and Virtue. Stewart is not unique among nineteenth-century figures in casting white-black distinctions in terms of nationality. David Walker, Stewart's mentor and associate, and Frederick Douglass, among others, follow a similar strategy.
7. See Stewart, Preface, p. xiii.
8. See especially Grasso, Peterson, and Romero for insightful readings of Stewart's work. All three critics emphasize the evangelical quality of Stewart's reform writings and her abiding interest in issues of both gender and racial inequality. Grasso offers an intriguing analysis of Stewart's selective targeting of emotions, especially anger, in an attempt to provoke her audiences to act in service of reform. Peterson provides a thorough contextualization of Stewart's life and work, associating her with both contemporary activists such as Sojourner Truth and fellow spiritual autobiographers such as Jarena Lee. Romero explicates the gender politics of literary history that have relegated Stewart and other black women writers to the margins of early black nationalism, despite considerable evidence of the central role they played in constructing this tradition of thought and activism. See also Richardson's Introduction to her edited collection of Stewart's essays and speeches for biographical information on Stewart and an overview of the content and rhetorical strategies of her work.

The relative dearth of scholarship on Stewart is due also to the brevity of her career: most of her work was published in the three-year period from 1831 to 1833, after which she retired from the public sphere until 1879 when she published *Meditations From the Pen of Mrs. Maria W. Stewart*, a collection of reprinted materials from the 1830s that included a brief autobiographical piece describing her experiences during the Civil War years.

9. Stewart's call for "I can't" to be replaced by "I will" could also be seen as an antecedent of the strategy and slogan employed by the Obama campaign in the 2008 presidential election: "Yes We Can."
10. There is general agreement among scholars that Stewart was deeply influenced by Walker's vision of and commitment to race reform. Both were intensely religious and drew frequently on biblical references and theological arguments in their work. Walker's *Appeal*, first published in 1829, is perhaps the most direct and scathing attack on slavery to appear during the antebellum period, and it served as a key source of inspiration for Stewart who referenced Walker and his ideas multiple times in her own writings. His critique of Jeffersonian notions of black inferiority and his methodic dismantling of pro-slavery arguments, both biblical and scientific, incurred the wrath of Southerners who passed laws banning the dissemination of his work and purportedly put a bounty on his head. Walker's sudden and unexplained death in 1830 raised suspicions about a Southern assassination plot, but no evidence has ever been uncovered to offer support for such a theory. Stewart memorialized him as a heroic martyr-figure whom she would be happy to join in death if it would further the cause of abolition. Still, her militancy differs from his: not so much in fervency (she is equally passionate) as in designation. While Stewart certainly targets Southern slaveholding culture, her calls for change tend to be directed inwards—toward the free black community—to a greater extent than Walker's. Stewart's work also is somewhat less prophetic than Walker's, and her references to possible future changes in the racial landscape have less of an insurrectionist, apocalyptic feel than his. Indeed, Walker's predilection for an apocalyptic (and, at times, almost mystical) discourse of militant resistance and revolution is another telling point of similarity between his life and work and that of John Brown.
11. See Santamarina for a counterargument that addresses Stewart's concept of head-work as part of a long-standing tradition in black women's autobiographical writing of defending the importance of wage labor. Santamarina contends that extant scholarship on nineteenth-century African American women activists, in focusing on ideals and ideologies of racial uplift, has overlooked or ignored the extent to which such discourse is inextricably bound up with arguments that recognize and even celebrate physical labor as a source of virtue and independence.

12. See especially Reddy; Carruthers, Laurence, and Stich; Baron-Cohen; and Hirschfeld and Gelman.
13. See Fanon, p. 218. In conceptualizing head-work as she does, Stewart anticipates in more elaborate fashion what Fanon calls the desire to be considered not as “merely here-and-now, sealed into thingness” but as being “for somewhere else and for something else” and battling “for the creation of a human world—that is a world of reciprocal recognitions.” She also anticipates the task Homi Bhabha, following Fanon, describes as “breaking the time-barrier of a culturally collusive ‘present.’” See Bhabha, pp. 764–781.
14. See Bhabha, p. 4. Bhabha’s postcolonial-inspired approach to multiculturalism has much in common with the arguments advanced by scholars interested in education reform and critical pedagogy. I refer specifically to the concept of transformative multiculturalism described by Michael Vavrus: “Transformation is not bound to a human relations notion of cultural deficits and cultural understanding, where expected behaviors of marginalized populations are externally directed... By making conventional views of U.S. history and educational practices problematic, transformation resists White assimilationist conceptions of social change in favor of concern over social justice and equity” (6–7).

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