

R. W. Emerson on Women Emancipation



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Abstract

This article is the repertoire of the critical analysis of Emerson's writings on women's movement. Numerous articles have been written on the aspect of women emancipation thus making it difficult to write something new and unique. This article tries its best to present Emerson's writings in a very objective and down to earth manner. For this purpose, Emerson's various essays, poems and journals have been taken for literary analysis. In these works, Emerson has fought for the equal rights to property and the right to vote of women. He has argued for the equal footing between man and woman and that a woman should not be treated as a property or an object of a man. He believes a woman should be allowed to enter into explicit and recorded partnership with her husband regarding property.

Keywords: Feminism, Subjugation, Emancipation, Gender Equality, Discrimination, Voting Rights, Abolitionism.

Introduction

"Slavery it is that makes slavery; freedom, freedom. The slavery of women happened when the men were slaves of kings" (Sacks 167) were the prophetic words spoken from the platform of the Women's Rights Convention in Boston on September 20, 1855. With these words, Emerson spelled out the inalienable link between the march of democracy and the rights of women to suffrage, education, property and public life. Through this historic address Emerson not only put the weight of his name in support of women's rights, but also like a sincere public intellectual aware of the deep seated misogyny of the democratic polity took it as a responsibility to dispel some of the popular prejudices against women's rights. His categorical refutation of the three fundamental objections against women's suffrage, namely—"first, a want of practical wisdom; second, a too purely ideal view; and, third, danger of contamination" (165) not only exposed the unfounded nature of these prejudices but also forcefully argued that the denial of suffrage was incompatible with the legal rights of women as citizens in a democracy:

I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs. But it is they and not we that are to determine it. Let the laws be purged of every barbarous remainder, every barbarous impediment to women. Let the public donations for education be equally shared by them, let them enter a school as freely as a church, let them have and hold and give their property as men do theirs. And in a few years it will easily appear whether they wish a voice in making the laws that are to govern them. If you do refuse them a vote, you will also refuse to tax them – according to our Teutonic principle, no representation, no tax. (166)

Review of Literature

Musaicum Books presents the unique collection of essays of Emerson in *The Essential Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* (2018). It contains various essays and addresses like Man the Reformer, The American Scholar, The Transcendentalist, An Address in Divinity College, Literary Ethics, Lecture on The Times and The Conservative. Emerson's writings were radical and way ahead of his time. Emerson proclaimed many of the tenets of Transcendentalism against a more conventional Unitarian theology. He argued that moral intuition is a better guide to the moral sentiment than religious doctrine, and insisted upon the presence of true moral sentiment in each individual, while discounting the necessity of belief in the historical miracles of Jesus.

Len Gougeon in his article "Emerson and the Woman Question: The Evolution of His Thought" (1988) writes that Emerson's involvement with the women's movement, though, was initiated at a later phase in his life culminated to an unambiguous support. He was committed to social reform his entire life and sought for a comprehensive reform in American society. He objected to the organizational structure of reform as organizations tend to compromise the independence of an individual.

Hence, he believed that change should come from within. Emerson advocated that women should have the right to vote, hold property and enjoy the full benefits of a citizen.

Aim of the Study

The aim of this paper is to bring forth the writings of Emerson who through his essays, addresses and poems fought intensely against various social evils and tried his utmost to reform the

American society. Emerson contributed a lot to the emancipation of the American mind. Emerson always spoke out for the oppressed and the exploited. Not only did he oppose against the issue of slavery but also fought for the rights of women after seeing their contribution to anti-slavery movement. He subsequently became the Vice President of the New England Women's Suffrage Union.

Though the 1855 address is regarded as Emerson's first public pronouncement in support of the rights of women, it was by no means the first testament of his sympathy with the cause of women's rights. As early as 1850, Paulina Wright Davis, one of the pioneers of the women's rights movement solicited Emerson's support for the Women's Rights Convention to be held at Worcester, Massachusetts. Emerson's response to this call for support is significant because while he agreed on the issue of political and civil wrongs of women and went to the extent of supporting every franchise of women and allowing the organizers to use his name for the convention. He writes: ". . . you are at liberty if you wish it to use my name as one of the inviters of the convention" (Myerson 360). But he declined to attend the Convention on the ground of his disagreement regarding the mode of obtaining redress. Emerson clarified that he regretted that "it is not rather a private meeting of thoughtful persons sincerely interested, instead of what a public meeting is pretty sure to be a heartless noise which we are all ashamed of when it is over." (Myerson 360)

What is evident from these two different positions taken by Emerson within a span of five years is that while he shared sympathy for the cause upheld by the early feminists of his time, his own position regarding the methods and political course of the rights of women as a social reform evolved gradually. Emerson's evolution from a reticent sympathizer of the women's rights movement to a more vocal defender of their rights where he shed some of his earlier dilemmas about the entry of women into the sphere of politics shows not only his free thinking and self-critical approach to question concerning social reforms but also a modernist appraisal of values and principles in the light of the demands of a changing society. A critical assessment of Emerson's contribution to the women rights movement in America should take into account the sensitive personal journey that he undertook in the realm of his thoughts and social and personal experiences that informed his positions in the course of the journey.

Emerson's sympathy for the women's movement was not unexpected as most women members of his family were strong and independent

women and advocates of anti-slavery legislation. His wife Lidian Emerson was an activist of both the anti-slavery movement as well as the women's right movement. Emerson's early views about women were developed in close association with women who were intellectually accomplished in their own rights. Two women merit special mention in this regard for intellectually moulding his ideas about women which coloured his political positions regarding the role and status of women.

In the 1855 lecture "Woman" he argued: "Women are by this and their social influence, the civilizers of mankind. What is civilization? I answer the power of good women." (Sacks 159). His position regarding the corrupting influence of politics on women had slightly modified and instead of using this argument as a rider against women's rights he shifted the onus of this corruption over to the political system arguing "that only accuses our existing politics, shows how barbarous we are". (165)

The first woman to have influenced him greatly was his aunt Mary Moody Emerson whose Calvinistic beliefs and religious intellectual moorings greatly impressed upon her nephew. She was herself a prolific writer and is regarded to be one of the accomplished early American women writers whose vast body of religious and quasi-philosophical personal journals and letters have become a source of considerable interest for modern feminist scholarship. Emerson's letters to her aunt show that her influence on his intellectual being fall within the trope of the muse and the poet. Mary Emerson with her idealistic vision of a Christian American exhorted Emerson in one of her letters as to how one human being could torment another and also be capable of abstract love of God. It was apparently Mary Emerson who asked Emerson's wife Lidian to draw his attention from the elysian muses and join the abolitionist cause and take the gauge of slavery.

Emerson himself felt indebted to her aunt for inspiring in him what Phyllis Cole in his book calls "a culture of Puritan vision through ancestral stories." (11) Cole also explains, citing from Elizabeth Peabody's obituary to Mary Emerson that she used all her energies in rearing her nephews and to a great extent sacrificed her own literary vocation. Mary Emerson often inspired her nephews Charles and Waldo to take up causes which she found closer to her faith, anti-slavery positions being the foremost among them. It is evident that she was promoting her nephews as mouthpieces of her own ideas in a society which did not encourage women to express themselves publicly. The impact of this puritan vision of mingling tradition and universal good with almost self-abnegating humility created a paradigm of feminine essence which continued to inform Emerson's own understanding of women's issues. His often repeated trope of the woman's vocation of being the nurturer and refined civilizer of humanity has the unmistakable touch of the paradigm of feminine essence that got inscribed in his mind through the agency of his aunt.

Emerson's early influences, especially that of Mary Moody Emerson and Margaret Fuller paved

the way for his association with the women's rights movement. But what we will also witness is that his early pronouncements on women's rights movements which were deeply coloured by the idealistic principles nurtured during his long association with both these fascinating women will make him controversial by modern feminist standards. However, one cannot exonerate Emerson for the statements he made by passing the burden of the responsibility to the two women with whom he shared these ideological agreements.

After the 1855 address, Emerson's next public pronouncement on women's rights came in 1867 in the form of the lecture titled "Progress of Culture" in the Phi Beta Kappa Society in Harvard University. Here he heralded the women's right movement that had ushered in a new era of emancipation for women as a testimony of the advancement of the American nation. In this lecture one notices a perceptible change in Emerson's attitude towards some of the concerns and doubts about the practical social consequence of women's rights which were manifest in his earlier pronouncements. Len Gougeon in his article "Emerson and The Woman Question: The Evolution of His Thought" argues that this shift was the result of a number of factors which dispelled most of the doubts that Emerson had regarding the corrupting influence of politics on women in public life. He enumerated the factors as the heightened women's participation in the anti-slavery movement and their unselfish defence of the Union cause. As Emerson moved from place to place during the early days of Civil war in 1862 he could witness the humane service provided by thousands of women in the capacity of nurses, teachers, administrators and inspectors which, according to Gougeon convinced Emerson that his earlier apprehensions about the corruption of women's nobler sentiments by public realm was unfounded. In this entire period of fourteen years although Emerson did not give any public speech directly addressing the women's question but his whole-hearted acknowledgement of the service of women to the Unions' cause were replete in several addresses that he gave in the intermittent period. In the Smithsonian lecture delivered on January 31, 1862 which was later published as "American Civilization" in the Atlantic Monthly in April 1862, he delineated two models of American Civilization—one progressive based on free states and the other on slave states. Interestingly, in his definition of the free states he emphasised the right position of women in society as a necessary and inalienable feature. In his 1863 address called the "Fortune of the Republic" he acknowledged that women have shown "tender patriotism" and "inexhaustible charity" which in essence was a clear refutation of his earlier reservations regarding women in public life.

The crowning moment for Emerson's unqualified support for the women's movement came in 1869 when he agreed, despite his life long aversion for organisations, to be the Vice President of the New England Women's Suffrage Association. In 1869, women activists requested him to speak on the Woman Question which he wholeheartedly

entertained and made statements about women's noted capacity in public life that was witnessed during the antislavery movement and connected the fate of the movement with that of the final struggle for women's rights which he believed was the logical progressive culmination of the antislavery movement. This speech was later reported in detail in the Boston Post on May 27, 1869: "The claim now pressed by woman is a claim nothing less than all, than her share in all. She asks for her property, she asks for her rights, for her vote; she asks for her share in education, for her share in all the institutions of the society, for her half of the whole world; and to this she is entitled". (Mudge 210)

Emerson's contribution to the woman's movement needs to be seen as an intervention in an era which was fundamentally different from the modern age. As a major figure of the American renaissance, Emerson associated with the women's movement from an epistemic standpoint which was mired with the misogynist prejudices of a previous era. His early positions especially the letter to Paulina Davis in 1850 and the "Woman" lecture of 1855 show that as a public intellectual he envisioned the movement for equal rights of women from an idealist position and was unsure of its practical and moral consequences. But in the formative years of women's participation in the abolitionist struggles during the civil war Emerson made a substantive reassessment of the moral principles which he applied on women from the practical experience gained during the civil war. The change that one witnesses in Emerson's position, manifested by his acceptance of the Vice Presidentship of the New England Women's Suffrage Association shows that unlike the earlier Emerson who saw the entire women's movement through the prism of moral sentiments, gradually shifted towards the realization of social reform being a collective project. The collective project, Emerson explained in his 1869 lecture, is not merely a moral exercise in the realm of thought that appeals to a generation of people but a painstaking process that involves democratic participation with the goal of building institutions and changing corrupt institutions.

Emerson always appreciated the requirement for change in the world, but was against any sudden and violent changes. He wanted the transition to be smooth and without dissension. He made his thoughts clear in the essay "Beauty" in "The Conduct of Life". When there is a discord in music then it is necessary to lower down the intermediate note to accord again. So also many movements and reforms fail because they all occur suddenly. Hence he recognizes the difficulty of forcing seemingly radical changes on society but supports the view that change should come in degrees. He says:

All that is a little harshly claimed by progressive parties may easily come to be conceded without question. All that is thus the circumstances may be easily imagined in which women may speak, vote, argue a cause, legislate and drive a coach and all the most naturally in the world, if only it comes by degrees. (*The Complete Prose works of Ralph Waldo Emerson* 564)

His own views on the feminist movement were marked by a certain amount of uncertainty and hesitation. His support did not gather the momentum and intensity from the beginning and his support to the women's rights came only by degrees. Even though the feminist movement gathered intensity in the forties of the nineteenth century in America, the idea was not altogether unknown earlier. Benjamin Franklin had already expressed the view that women were intellectually inferior because of the limitations imposed on them by tradition. Even though Franklin confines women's role to the home, we see through his writings that Franklin believed women could be just as intellectually accomplished as men and that in doing so, women would benefit those around them, particularly their families. Further Thomas Paine had published a plea on behalf of the under-privileged sex in the Pennsylvania Magazine in 1775 suggesting that there is disparity in the intellectual abilities of men and women as men are provided with favorable opportunities. The feminist ideas were further reflected in Charles Brockden Brown especially in his *Alcuin: A Dialogue*, although considered a minor work, is studied attentively by modern critics in an effort to dissect Brown's feminism. In this fictional exchange between a man and a woman, arguments both for and against political and educational equality of the sexes are presented. Despite such spirited pioneering efforts for the restitution of women's wrongs, their inferior social status with the idea that by nature women were not fit for intellectual pursuits still prevailed.

In the beginning of the nineteenth century the status of the American women, whether single or married, was considerably low. Legally all of them were considered minors. The married women were not independent of their husband, and the single women were assigned under the guardianship of relatives. The right of property of a married woman was strictly restricted and she needed her husband's approval to make a will, sign a contract or witness a deed. To make matters worse it was also impossible for any women to obtain a divorce from the husband even though he indulged in extra-marital affairs. Further, women were also not allowed to hold office or exercise franchise. There was discrimination even in the field of education. Terming girls as delicate and suitable to work at home, the curriculum was less weighty than in the boys' schools and education was way too expensive for the rich only to get enrolled in.

Emerson initially did not express much interest in the feminist movement as his conception of women was from an ideal standpoint. He thought of her as a good angel whose gentle and kind influence makes home a shrine of sanctity and sentiment. He placed her on a pedestal, holding that her natural predisposition makes home the proper sphere of her influence rather than taking part in any meeting or congregation. In 1841 entry in his Journal he wrote that: "woman should not be expected to write or fight or build or compose scores; she does all by inspiring men to do all. The poet finds her eyes anticipating his entire ode, the sculptor his god, the architect his

house. She looks at it. She is the requiring genius. (*Journals VI* 134)

Emerson delivered his lecture on "Manners" in 1841-42 at Tremont Temple in which he specifically referred to feminism and explained his attitude towards the movement. He observed that man's will should prevail in "the open air and the fields, the street and public chambers", but he should "yield or divide the scepter at the door of the house." (*The Complete Prose Works* 128) On the question of more rights for women, he stated:

Our American institutions have been friendly to her, and at this moment, I esteem it a chief felicity of this country, that it excels in women. A certain awkward consciousness of inferiority in the men may give rise to the new chivalry on behalf of Women's Right. Certainly let her be as much better placed in the laws and in social forms as the most zealous reformer can ask, but I confide so entirely in her inspiring and musical nature, that I believe only herself can show us how she shall be served. (128)

Two observations can be made from this otherwise elusive speech. First Emerson did not agree to the fact that the rights of a woman in the prevailing society was inappropriate because he believed that the society was friendly towards her; yet, on the other hand, he maintained that if women demanded more rights, then it should be fulfilled. In other words, he recognized the fact that women should decide for themselves what they wanted. His view of woman possessing "inspiring and musical nature" made him trust that she could be depended to make the best choice keeping in mind the good of society.

In the meanwhile his friend Margaret Fuller had become a passionate advocate of the rights of women. She was unable to convince Emerson about the predicament of women to be inferior and miserable. After a talk with her in March, he noted in his Journal: "The conversation turned upon the state and duties of woman . . . For me, today, woman is not a degraded person with duties forgotten, but a docile daughter of God with her face heavenward endeavoring to hear the divine word and to convey it to me." (*Journals VI* 369)

Thereafter he noted in his Journal that a woman will only determine her duties and it is incorrect on the part of a man to interfere and prescribe her duties:

To me it sounded hoarsely the attempt to prescribe didactically to woman her duties. Man can never tell woman what her duties are: he will certainly end in describing a man in female attire, as Harriet Martineau, a masculine woman, solved her problem of woman. No. Woman only can tell heights of feminine nature, and the only way in which man can help her, is by observing woman reverently. (*Journals VI* 378)

The same view, that nothing is wrong with the position of woman, is echoed in an entry in Emerson's Journal in May 1843:

It is folly to imagine that there can be anything very bad in the position of woman compared with that of man at any time: for since every woman is

a man's daughter, and every man is a woman's son, every woman is too near to man, was too recently a man, than that possibly any wide disparity can be. As is the man will be the woman; and as is the woman, the man. (*Journals V1* 405)

This argument writes Adapa Ramakrishna Rao in *Emerson and Social reform* was hardly accepted by the feminists as they were, "not concerned so much with the closeness between man and woman in terms of timeless spiritual relationship as with the wide gulf that separated the two sexes in matters of economic, political, educational and social rights and privileges". (63)

In July 1843 Emerson published in *The Dial*, Margaret Fuller's article "The Great Law Suit" which was on women's rights. He wrote a letter to her, informing her that Thoreau, Mrs. Sophia Ripley and Ellery Channing praised the article, and added his own appreciation: "I think the piece very proper and noble and itself quite an important fact in the history of woman: good for its wit, excellent for its character . . . It will teach us all to revise our habits of thinking on this head. (Capper 121)

In August of 1850 Emerson was urged by Paulina Davis to stand as a sponsor to the Women's Rights Convention in Worcester, Massachusetts which was held soon after the Seneca Falls Convention on women's rights in 1848. In a letter on September 18, 1850 Emerson wrote:

The fact of the political and civil wrongs of woman I deny not. If women feel wronged, then they are wronged. But the mode of obtaining redress, namely a public convention called by women is not very agreeable to me, and the things to be agitated for do not seem to me the best. Perhaps I am superstitious and traditional, but whilst I should vote for every franchise for women, vote that they should hold property and vote, yes and be eligible to all offices as men whilst I should vote thus, if women asked, or if men denied it these things, I should not wish women to wish political functions, nor, if granted assume them. I imagine that a woman whom all men would feel to be the best, would decline such privileges if offered and feel them to be obstacles to her legitimate influence. (*The Selected Letters* 359-360)

Emerson is ready to support the feminists when they demand for rights of property and vote. But because of his romantic idea of woman he does not want to see a woman getting drawn into the corrupt practices of politics. He does not want a woman to lose her natural affection and elegance. Len Gougeon in his *Pragmatic Idealist in Action* states:

Emerson's reservations here have nothing to do with the right of women to vote, hold property or public office, or generally enjoy the full benefits of citizenship. Rather, he fears that a public role might debase, or even erase, femininity's high virtues. As one biographer notes, Emerson "hoped that women would not after all wish an equal share with men in public affairs", for "his imagination balked when he pictured women with masculine aggressiveness wrangling in public". (205)

Hence public protest did not appear to him to be the correct means to bring about reform of a social evil. Further he held the view that there are other important things that women should focus their attention on rather than agitating. "Emerson's philosophy rested on the primacy of self-renovation and character-formation and he considered women's demands for the redress of material grievances as relatively unimportant." (*Emerson and Social Reform* 65) Hence he declined the invitation to attend the Women's Rights Worcester Convention saying that the meeting would be nothing than a futile noisy gathering. He was gracious enough to let Mrs. Davis use his name as one of the inviters of the Convention. He did this not to stand in the way of any rights that the women wanted. Emerson declined a similar invitation to attend another Women's Rights Convention in Worcester on October 7, 1851. He wrote to Lucy Stone of Concord that he would be preoccupied in his work and that he was not sure if he has the right words to address the meeting. Emerson recorded in his Journal on October 14, 1851:

I think that, as long as women do not have equal rights to property and the right to vote, they are not on the right footing. But this woman grew out of the savage and military period when woman could not defend herself and was therefore assigned to some man who was paid for being her guardian. Now in a more tranquil and decorous times she should be allowed to enter into explicit and recorded partnership with her husband regarding property. (Porte 431) But he would not personally participate in public agitation for feminism and speech-making as means to cure social evils. Emerson noted:

I do not think a woman's convention, called in the spirit of this at Worcester, can much avail. It is an attempt to manufacture public opinion and of course repels all persons who love the simple and direct method. I find the evils real and great... if it were possible to repair the rottenness of nature, to provide a rejuvenescence, all were well and no specific reform and no legislation would be needed. For, as soon as you have a sound and beautiful woman... all falls into place, the men are magnetized, heaven opens and no lawyer need be called in to prepare a clause, for woman moulds the lawgiver. I should therefore advise that the Woman's Convention should be holden in the Sculpture Gallery, that this high remedy might be suggested. (Porte 431)

However, with time, Emerson's romantic stand on women gradually weakened and Mrs. Paulina Davis, at last could successfully persuade him to deliver his lecture before the Women's Rights Convention held in Boston in 1855. Emerson delivered his lecture "Woman." Emerson began his lecture by repeating his belief that:

...women are the civiliziers of mankind and arbiters of taste. He considered the power of affection and sentiment as their "starry crown and humility" their main strength. Admitting that the position occupied by women in any society is an indication of the degree of its civilizations, he referred to the deification of the Virgin Mary in the Catholic Church and the observance of equality between the sexes in

Quaker communities. (*Emerson and Social reform* 66-67)

Referring to the specific question of the feminist movement for new rights, Emerson declared that women have an unquestionable right to their own property, and he suggested that if they demand votes, offices and political equality with men, they must not be refused. However, he expressed the fear, that politics might lead the women to develop such traits as dishonesty, deceit and misconduct, or in Emerson's words "unsexing and contamination" (Sacks 165) like some of the fairest names in the country, in literature and law had gone into Congress and come out dishonoured. Emerson, however, observed and said:

I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs. But it is they and not we that are to determine it. Let the laws be purged of every barbarous reminder, every barbarous impediment to women... If you do refuse them a vote, you will also refuse to tax them—according to our Teutonic principle, no representation, no tax," (Sacks 166).

When Emerson eventually became an active abolitionist and was more involved in establishing women's rights, he had many opportunities of watching women as champions of social justice and he was of the opinion that their participation in the public life of the country would lead to social improvement. In a speech which Emerson wrote after the Civil War and which perhaps was never read, Emerson repeated some of his beliefs on feminism. Less clear is the origin and purpose of the manuscript titled "Discours Manque Woman" which Edward Waldo Emerson described as "written after the war" (Bosco 16) probably in 1865 and which he partially printed as an appendix to "Woman":

Her gifts make her the refiner and civilizer of her mate. Civilization is her work . . . her activity in putting an end to Slavery, and in serving the Hospitals of the Sanitary Commission in the war, and in the labors of the Freedman's Bureau, have opened her eyes to larger rights and duties. They claim now her full rights of all kinds,—to education, to employment, to equal laws of property and equal rights in marriage and in the exercise of the professions and of suffrage. Well, now in this country, we are suffering much and fearing more from the abuse of the ballot and from fraudulent and purchased votes. And now, at the moment when committees are investigating and reporting the election frauds, woman asks for her vote. It is the remedy at the hour of need. She is to purify and civilize the voting, as she has the schools, the hospitals and the drawing-rooms . . . we have ourselves seen the great political enterprise of our times, the abolition of Slavery in America, undertaken by a society whose executive committee was composed of men and women, and which held together until this object was attained. (*The Later Lectures* 17)

His faith in the civilizing influence of woman remained constant and it led him to hope that she might even purify contemporary politics by her innate

goodness. In the month of May in 1869 in Boston at the New England Women Suffrage Association meet, Emerson delivered a remarkable speech with a strong resemblance to the 1865 speech:

The claim now pressed by woman, he declares, is a claim for nothing less than all, than her share in all. She asks for her property; she asks for her rights, for her vote; she asks for her share in education, for her share in all the institutions of society, for her half of the whole world; and to this she is entitled. (Mudge 210)

On May 27, "The Boston Daily Advertiser" reported that with his consent Emerson was elected as Vice-President of the New England Women's Suffrage Union. For the rest of his life Emerson remained dedicated to the cause of woman.

The women's movement had not immediately evoked Emerson's passion to the pitch and participation. His advocacy began with a troubled concern, moved to a limited commitment and ended up with a strong and robust support. Emerson's philosophy of self-reliant individualism had always prompted him to recognize the right of a woman to decide for herself and whatever is good for her individual growth and that he never withdrew from his original thought of woman as a refiner and civilizer of man who improves society by improving men. Emerson's belief in her inborn elegance and refinement made it difficult for him to watch her aggressively taking part in public. Yet he supported the feminist demands because as he himself explained, he did not wish to stand in the way of any right. The growth and progress of each individual personality requires freedom and the right of self-determination, and these the individualist Emerson was ever willing to uphold.

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