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To Harrison Gray Otis Blake

February 6, 1857

Concord Feb. 6th 57

Mr. Blake,

I will come to you on Friday Feb. 13th, with that lecture.¹ You may call it “The Wild”–or “Walking” or both–which-ever you choose. I told Brown² that it had not been much altered since I read it in Worcester, but now I think of it, much of it must have been new to you, because, having since divided it into two, I am able to read what before I omitted.³ Nevertheless, I should like to have it understood by those whom it concerns, that^a I am invited to read in public (if it be so) what I have already read, in part, to a private audience.⁴

Henry D. Thoreau.

Correspondent: Harrison Gray Otis Blake (1816-1898), son of Francis and Eliza Chandler Blake of Worcester, Massachusetts, graduated from Harvard University in 1835 and from the Harvard Divinity School in 1838. Though he preached occasionally in 1838 and 1839, Blake never became a minister. In 1839 he opened a school for boys in Charlestown; after leaving that school, he taught sporadically until 1857. Blake was married twice: to Sarah Chandler Ward (1817-1846), daughter of Samuel and Sarah Chandler Ward, in 1840, and to Nancy Pope Howe Conant (1828-1872), daughter of Jacob and Betsy Pope Conant, in 1852. More than a friend, Blake was a disciple who received T’s most elaborate and philosophical letters. After T’s death, Blake edited four volumes of extracts from T’s Journal from the manuscripts Sophia Thoreau bequeathed him.

¹ T read “Walking, or the Wild” at Brinley Hall in Worcester on February 13.

² Theophilus Brown (1811-1879), T’s friend from Worcester (see p. 256, correspondent note).

³ T read an early version of “Walking, or the Wild” on May 31, 1851, for a private audience at Blake’s Worcester school. By May 1852, he had expanded the lecture to 163 pages but kept intact the two-part structure. He had read the lecture three times in late 1856 and early 1857: at Eagleswood, near Perth Amboy, New Jersey, on November 2, 1856; in Amherst, New Hampshire, on December 18, 1856; and in Fitchburg, Massachusetts, on February 3, 1857.

⁴ T's decision to lecture in Worcester came after repeated requests from Blake. In fall 1856, Blake had invited him to read "What Shall It Profit," although he had delivered it at the Worcester Lyceum in January 1855. On November 19, 1856, T expressed his reluctance to repeat the lecture but equivocated (*Cor* 2 2018, p. 483). Apparently Blake wrote to encourage him, and on December 31 T sent a straightforward refusal: "I think that it will not be worth the while for me to come to Worcester to lecture at all this year. It will be better to wait till I am—perhaps unfortunately—more in that line. My writing has not taken the shape of lectures, and therefore I should be obliged to read one of 3 or 4 old lectures the best of which I have read to some of your auditors before" (*Cor* 2 2018, p. 523). Blake apparently asked again in the new year, this time naming "Walking, or the Wild," which T had revised substantially in the six years since he had read it at Blake's school.

Copy-text: MSC by Harrison Gray Otis Blake (NN-BGC)

Digital Image: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/b2c4df80-562f-0132-8887-58d385a7bbd0>

Published: *FL* 1894, 355; *FL* 1906, 303; *Cor* 1958, 465; *Spiritual Seeker* 2004, 147

Editor's Note

Following his copy of T's letter, including the signature, Blake wrote:

[I have made this copy of a note of Thoreau to-day, Oct. 28, 1892, in order to give the original, as an autograph, to Mr. Samuel Putnam of the firm of Putnam, Davis, & Co., Worcester, Mass^{us}. Later. From the original, the signature had been cut out Nov. 16, 1878, for Mrs. George A. Thatcher of Bangor a relative or connexion of Thoreau, I am confident. H. G. O. Blake.]

Alteration

A change appearing in the manuscript copy is reported below; it could be either a faithful representation of the original manuscript or an error made and corrected by the copyist.

that] *preceded by cancelled* that

FEBRUARY 1857

3

From Ticknor and Fields

February 16, 1857

H. D Thoreau Esq

Cr.

In a/c with Ticknor & Fields

1856

Decr 31 By Copy't. on 240 Walden 36.00

" 12 Concord River 9.00

\$45.00

1857 Dr.

Febry 16 Cash Check \$45.00

Boston Febry 16/57

Dear Sir

Enclosed we beg to hand our check for Forty Five Dollars, in accordance with above statement.¹ Please acknowledge its receipt.

And oblige

Your obd^t servants.

Ticknor & Fields

Clark

Correspondent: William Davis Ticknor (1810-1864) was the son of William and Betsey Ellis Ticknor. A Boston book publisher, Ticknor published works by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and Alfred Tennyson in addition to T's *Walden*. He came to Boston in 1827 and, in 1832, after a brief time at a bank, joined John Allen and Timothy Harrington Carter to form Allen and Ticknor. Two years later Ticknor became sole owner of the firm, named simply William D. Ticknor. In 1843, Ticknor took on James T. Fields as a partner, and the firm became known as William D. Ticknor and Company. The firm's imprint was "Ticknor and Fields" from May 1854 on, but that did not become the company's formal name until May 1864. James T. Fields (1817-1881) was the son of Michael and Margaret Beck Fields of Portsmouth, New Hampshire. Though he wrote poetry and sketches, Fields was best known as a publisher, editor, and social host. In 1850 Fields married Eliza Josephine Willard (1831-1851), daughter of Simon and Eliza Adams Willard of Boston. In 1854 he married Annie Adams (1834-1915), daughter of Zabdiel and Sarah Holland Adams. Annie Fields was a celebrated

hostess and friend to many of the most prominent writers of the time.

¹ This is the copyright (i.e., royalties) statement from Ticknor and Fields for copies of T's books sold during the accounting period ending December 31, 1856. Ticknor and Fields published *Walden* on August 9, 1854. *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* was published by James Munroe in 1849; the book sold poorly and on October 28, 1853, the publisher sent T the unsold stock, amounting to 256 bound copies and 450 in sheets (see *Cor 2* 2018, pp. 177-178). From time to time Ticknor and Fields requested copies of *A Week* from T, probably to sell in their retail shop; on February 27, 1857, the company requests a dozen copies (see p. 11), and on December 15, 1858, it sends T a check for fifteen copies sold and reports that they still have seventeen copies on hand (see p. 179).

According to Michael Winship, the Ticknor and Fields statement is "in standard form for double-entry accounting" (email message to the editor, April 8, 2014). In the upper portion of the statement, dated "1856," T's account is credited with a total of 45 dollars ("Cr."). The company's payment of February 16 in the portion of the statement dated "1857" makes him a debtor ("Dr.") to the account in the same amount as the credit.

Copy-text: Facsimile of ALS, letter book copy (MH-H, MS Am 2030.2 [56], p. 637)

Published: *Cor* 1958, 465-466

Editor's Note

The copy-text is bound in a Ticknor and Fields letter book.

From Unknown Correspondent

February 17, 1857

Buffalo Feb 17th 1857

Henry D. Thoreau Esq

Concord

Mass

My Dear Sir

I came home from Cleveland and found yours of the 7th inst.¹ I had an idea the map of Superior & Michⁿ 2
{*MS torn*}

¹ The February 7, 1857, letter from T to which the writer is responding is not extant.

² The writer may refer to a map of Lake Superior and the northern

part of Lake Michigan that appears in *Colton's General Atlas* (New York: J. H. Colton and Company, 1857). George Woolworth Colton was responsible for the maps and plans in this publication. T took maps of Maine published by J. H. Colton on his 1853 and 1857 excursions in Maine. He complains about their unreliability in the accounts of both trips; see *Maine Woods* 1972, pp. 94 and 279-280.

Copy-text: AL (MH-H, MS Am 278.5 [13f, p. 168])

Digital Image: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:13614153?n=77>

Published: Cor 1958, 466

Editor's Note

The document also contains other material in T's hand.

From Thomas Cholmondeley

February 22, 1857

Feb. 22. Town.^a

1857.

Dear Thoreau

You see I've *saved* this letter which is the best I ever wrote you (for I burnt the rest) & posted it in Town. For Rome being so uncertain a Post I thought 'better wait till I get to Town'; & send it properly.¹

I am just going now on an expedition to search^e for a little cottage somewhere in Kent or Sussex where I may henceforth dwell & endeavour to gather a little moss. I hope to get a few acres of land with it on lease—for as to *buying*, it is almost out of the question They ask about £500^a an acre now for anything like decent land[⌘]^a in England. In fact land is worth too much. It is a shame. I suppose I could buy a good *farm* in NewEngland for £2000^a couldnt I? I should'nt wonder if I was to settle in NewEngland after all—for the ties which hold me here are very slender.

However if I *do* succeed in getting my cottage in Kent remember there will be a room for you there, & as much as ever you can eat & drink. I am staying in town with my

[⌘]I mean within hail of Town—for I dont want to settle finally in Wales or Yorkshire^a

brother Reginald² who is a painter, & has very agreeable rooms. He is very good to me & trots me out to see people whom otherwise I should scarcely be able to meet.

I heard Maurice³ preach today in Lincolns Inn. It was on Faith, Hope & Charity.⁴ He explained that this Charity is not human—but Divine—and to be enjoyed in communion with God. It was a good & strictly orthodox sermon, & not extempore in any sense. I called at John Chapmans⁵ the other day, but he was out, being they said engaged in one of the Hospitals— He has turned Doctor it seems— The fact is I fear that Chapman has done himself mischief by publishing books containing ‘new views & philosophy’⁶ which the English from the Lord to the Cabman hate & sneer at. The very beggars in the streets are all conservatives except on the subject of their sores. To speculate on thought in this country is *ruin*. & sure to lead—if pursued long enough—to the Queens Bench or Bedlam.⁷ I am persuaded that the Turks & the chinese are *nothing* to us. Perhaps we are more like the Japanese than any other people— I mean as regards what Swedenborg would call “our interiors.”⁸ The prophets prophesy as they did among the antient Hebrews & the smooth prophets bear away the bells.⁹

I met Spedding¹⁰ the other day & had much talk with him—but nothing *real*—but he is a good man & in expression like your Alcott.¹¹ He is now bringing out his Bacon the work of his whole life.

Fare well
Ever yrs Thos Chol^{ley}.

Correspondent: Thomas Cholmondeley (1823-1864), son of Charles Cowper and Mary Heber Cholmondeley of Condover, Salop, England, first arrived in Concord in September 1854, with letters of introduction to Emerson. At Emerson’s suggestion he lodged with the Thoreaus. He stayed for over two months, and he and T became good friends. Cholmondeley had traveled to New Zealand in 1850 and lived for a year on New Zealand’s South Island in a colony begun by the Canterbury Association, of which his uncle, William Henry Hugh, third Marquess of Cholmondeley, had been a founding member. He afterwards published *Ultima Thule; or, Thoughts*

Suggested by a Residence in New Zealand. Between his visits to Concord in 1854 and the winter of 1858-1859, he served in the Crimean War as a major in the First Administrative Battalion of the Shropshire Rifle Volunteers. In 1855, he sent T a handsome gift of books on Eastern religion and philosophy. In 1863, as a condition of inheriting the family mansion, Condover Hall, Cholmondeley changed his surname to Owen. In 1864 he married Victoria Alexandrina Cotes (1840-1918), daughter of John and Louisa Cope Cotes; he died on their honeymoon in Florence.

¹ Enclosed with this letter was one dated December 16, 1856, that Cholmondeley had written while he was in Rome but “*saved*” to send from London (see *Cor* 2 2018, pp. 496-507). Following his signature, Cholmondeley wrote, “Posted in London February 22, 1857.”

² Reginald Cholmondeley (1826-1896) graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1849. In 1867 he married Alice Mary Egerton (1836-1868), daughter of William Tatton (First Baron Egerton) and Charlotte Loftus Egerton. He was later a friend of Mark Twain’s.

³ Frederick Denison Maurice (1805-1872) graduated from Cambridge in 1827. Although he was ordained in 1830 he continued to write and teach. In 1854 he founded the Working Men’s College in London and assumed the position of principal.

⁴ Maurice’s sermon was on the theological virtues named by St. Paul: “And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these *is* charity” (1 Cor. 13:13).

⁵ John Chapman (1821-1894) was an English publisher best known for bringing George Eliot (Mary Ann Evans) to the public’s attention; he published Eliot’s translation of David Friedrich Strauss’s *Life of Jesus* in 1846. Earlier in his career, he worked as a watchmaker and also studied medicine before becoming a publisher in 1844. He published many American writers, as well as English authors such as James Martineau and Herbert Spencer. In 1851 Chapman purchased the *Westminster Review* and Eliot edited it behind the scenes for two years. In 1857 he obtained a medical degree and then devoted himself primarily to medicine.

⁶ Which titles Cholmondeley has in mind are not known, but Chapman had published James Anthony Froude’s book *The Nemesis of Faith* (1849), an autobiographical novel that dramatized Froude’s rejection of the Anglo-Catholic Oxford Movement and Froude’s eventual abandonment of his religious career. In addition to Eliot’s translation of Strauss’s *Life of Jesus*, Chapman published Herbert Spencer’s *Social Statistics* (1851), several volumes of James Martineau, and two controversial books by Francis William Newman, *The Soul: Her Sorrows and Her Aspirations* (1849) and *Phases of Faith* (1850).

⁷ The Queen’s Bench (King’s Bench when a king reigns), which

dates from the thirteenth century, was “a court of record and the supreme court of common law in the United Kingdom” (*OED*). “Bedlam” is the common name for Bethlem Royal Hospital, the first hospital for the mentally ill in England. Founded in 1247, it was located in Bishopsgate, but in 1815 it was relocated to St. George’s Fields; see *Encyclopaedia Britannica Online*, s.v. “Bedlam.”

⁸ Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772) was a Swedish philosopher and theologian whose writings strongly influenced Henry James Sr. and other New England intellectuals. The term *interiors* comes from Swedenborg’s late, mystical writings about a spiritual world. Many of his descriptions in *De Caelo et ejus Mirabilibus et de Inferno, ex Auditibus et Visis* (1758; translated by [John Clowes], with revisions, as *A Treatise concerning Heaven and Its Wonders, and Also concerning Hell: Being a Relation of Things Heard and Seen* [Boston, 1825]) elaborate on definitions of the internal and external man, of interiors and exteriors. In the section titled “That there is a Correspondence of all Things of Heaven with all Things of Man,” Swedenborg discusses the internal and external man:

From these considerations it may also be seen what the internal man is, and what the external, viz. that the internal is what is called the spiritual man, and the external what is called the natural man; also, that the one is distinct from the other, as heaven is distinct from the world; likewise, that all things which are done and exist in the external or natural man, are done and exist from the internal or spiritual man. (p. 53)

In a later section, “Concerning the Wise and the Simple in Heaven,” he describes the relationship of interiors and exteriors:

The interiors of man cannot be formed except in heaven, but the exteriors are formed in the world; when the interiors are formed in heaven, then they flow-in into the exteriors which are from the world, and form them to correspondence, that is, to act in unity with them; when this is effected, man sees and perceives from an interior principle. (p. 207)

⁹ To bear away the bell means “to carry off the prize” or “to be the best.” The phrase may refer to “a golden or silver bell sometimes given as the prize in races and other contests” (*OED*).

¹⁰ James Spedding (1808-1881), son of John and Sarah Gibson Spedding, graduated from Trinity College, Cambridge, in 1831. A friend of Tennyson’s, Thackeray’s, and others, Spedding entered the Colonial Service but resigned in 1841 and thereafter devoted himself to a complete edition of Bacon’s life and works: *The Works of Francis Bacon*, ed. James Spedding, Robert Leslie Ellis, and Douglas Denon Heath, 14 vols. (London, 1857-1874).

¹¹ Cholmondeley had met Amos Bronson Alcott when he visited Concord.

Copy-text: ALS (NN-BGC)

Digital Image: <https://digitalcollections.nypl.org/items/6a1c72e0-7a5c-0132-cbaf-58d385a7bbdo>

Published: "T and Cholmondeley" 1893, 751-752; *Cor* 1958, 466-467

Editor's Note

search] *PE*; seach in *MS*

Author's Alterations

Town.] *added*

£500] £ *interlined above*

land[✕]] [✕] *interlined above*

£2000] £ *interlined above* 2000

[✕]I mean . . . Yorkshire] *added vertically in margin*

From John Burt

February 23, 1857

Bellvale Feb 23/57

Dear Sir

If I was on a Lyceum Lecture Committee I would use my greatest efforts to engage you to deliver a Lecture as I perceive your name is among a list published a short time since. But as I do not occupy any such influential position in this community I suppose I will have to forego for the present a long cherished wish to see and hear you. To compensate however for this deprivation I would most respectfully solicit your Autograph.

I have read your Hermit Life and also a very appropriate Fourth of July Oration on Slavery in Massachusetts.¹ To say that I greatly admired both would be but an inadequate expression

A compliance with the above request will be gratefully remembered by

Yours Truly
John Burt
Bellvale
Orange Co
N.Y.

Correspondent: John Burt (1835-1902), son of Stephen Augustus and Paulina Fairfield Burt, graduated from Union College in Schenectady, New York, in 1857 and took a law degree from the Albany Law School in the same year. In 1861 he married Mary Elizabeth Hammond (1835-1886), daughter of Henry R. and Eliza Elmore Hammond. Burt served in the Civil War and then returned to his law practice.

¹ "Hermit Life" is *Walden*. T delivered "Slavery in Massachusetts" at a rally sponsored by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Framingham on July 4, 1854, and the address was published in three places in 1854 (see *Reform Papers* 1973, pp. 331-333).

Copy-text: ALS (MH-H, MS Am 278.5 [13f, p. 171])

Digital Image: <http://nrs.harvard.edu/urn-3:FHCL.HOUGH:13614153?n=73>

Published: *Cor* 1958, 468

To John Burt

February 26, 1857

Concord Feb. 26th

1857

"Herein is the tragedy; that men doing outrage to their proper natures, even those called wise & good, lend themselves to perform the office of inferior and brutal ones. Hence come war and slavery in; and what else may not come in by this opening?"

A Week on the Concord & Merrimack Rivers—p 137¹

Henry D. Thoreau

Correspondent: See p. 10.

¹ T here sends the autograph requested by Burt (see the previous letter). He responds to Burt's praise of the address with an apt quotation from *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* (*A Week* 1980, pp. 131-132).

Copy-text: ALS (MWIW-C, Am. MSS. 1857 Feb 26)

Published: *Cor* 1958, 469

Editor's Note

This letter is addressed "John Burt, Esq / Bellvale / Orange Co. / N.Y.," postmarked "Concord Mass 26 Feb," and endorsed "Henry D. Thoreau / Feby 26, 1857."

BETWEEN MARCH 2 AND AUGUST 31, 1857 11

From Ticknor and Fields

February 27, 1857

Boston. 27 Feb 1857

H. D. Thoreau Esq

Concord Mass

Dear Sir

Please send us as soon as convenient twelve copies of the "Week &c" on sale¹ and oblige

Truly Yours

Ticknor & Co

per J. R. Osgood²

Correspondent: See p. 3.

¹ In fall 1853 T had received 706 unsold copies of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* from the book's publisher, James Munroe (see *Cor* 2 2018, pp. 177-178). From time to time Ticknor and Fields requested copies of the book from T, probably to sell in their retail shop; see pp. 3 and 179.

² James Ripley Osgood (1836-1892), son of Edward and Abigail Dana Osgood, graduated from Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, in 1854; the next year he became a clerk with Ticknor and Fields. In 1864 he became a partner in the firm. Osgood later was a partner with Henry Houghton before forming his own company.

Copy-text: Facsimile of ALS, letter book copy (MH-H, MS Am 2030.2 [56], p. 660)

Published: *Cor* 1958, 469

Editor's Note

The copy-text is bound in a Ticknor and Fields letter book.

To Augustus Adams

Between March 2 and August 31, 1857

Mr Adams

Please call at the Oyster Saloon called^a Hamblen's—or some thing like it a few rods from Causeway Street nearly opposite {*illegible*} Board Planing establishment¹ ({*illegible*} Friend's street) {*illegible*} a hundred^a of {*illegible*} to

12 BETWEEN MARCH 2 AND AUGUST 31, 1857

their office {illegible}18 {illegible} up in a newspaper I {illegible} that yester afternoon at {illegible} client-

If {illegible} it the {illegible}^e

HDT

Correspondent: Augustus Adams (1810-1878), son of Joseph and Mehitable Hildreth Adams, operated an express service from Concord to the City Tavern in Boston. In 1835 he married Martha Baird (1811-1885), daughter of Lewis and Lucy Wesson Baird of Shrewsbury, Massachusetts.

¹ The business directory of the *Boston Directory for the Year 1857*. . . (Boston, 1857) lists two locations for B. Hamblen under "Oysters," 19 Merrimac and 19 Batterymarch (p. 413); in the list of names of Boston's inhabitants he is identified as "Benj. Hamblen" (p. 160). T's directions to Adams suggest that he is referring to Hamblen's Merrimac Street location. In Colton's 1857 map of Boston, Causeway Street intersects with Merrimac, and Friend Street is four blocks away from Merrimac. The *Boston Directory* lists a planing machine factory, W. E. Cornell and Co., at the corner of Merrimac and Causeway (p. 417).

Copy-text: ALS draft (NNPM, MA 1302:30)

Published: *Companion* 1964, 216

Editor's Notes

The copy-text, including the alterations, is in pencil. The document, a single leaf, is waxed to p. [3] of MS Volume 24 of T's Journal (NNPM, MA 1302:30), in the middle of an entry dated July 31, 1857. The document also contains a long addition to the Journal entry; a draft of T's June 23, 1857, letter to Blake (see pp. 58-59); and an address in T's hand, "Librarian of Harvard University". Much of this very faint pencilled draft is illegible. PE supplies the date "Between March 2 and August 31, 1857" based on the other contents of the document.

There may be a connection between this draft and the draft dated July 3, 1857, in which T, writing for his father, tells a client who has not paid his bill: "The express man has already called twice with it but you were out- He will call again" (p. 61).

If . . . {illegible} PE; possibly cancelled in MS

Author's Alterations

called] preceded by cancelled (I think it is

hundred] preceded by way interlined with a caret and cancelled

MARCH 1857

13

To Mary H. Brown

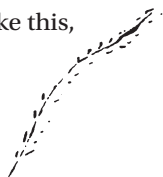
March 8, 1857

Concord Mar. 8th

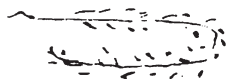
1857

Miss Brown

I send you at last, by the same mail with this the Climbing Fern, (*Lygodium palmatum*)¹ which I trust will arrive in good condition. If you hold the inner paper up to the light you will see best how to open it.² Its natural attitude is somewhat like this, as
it runs over
some plant:



But I think it is most conveniently preserved in this form^e



on a long sheet of paper—

The Climbing Fern would have been a pretty name for some delicate Indian maiden—

Please give my regards & thanks to your mother, and to the rest of your family, if they chance to be with you—

Henry D. Thoreau

Correspondent: Mary H. Brown (1842-1935) was the daughter of Addison and Ann Wetherbee Brown of Brattleboro, Vermont. She had two marriages, first to Dennie W. Farr (1840-1864), who died in the Civil War, and then to Augustus T. Dunton (1825-1912), son of Thomas and Waity Kent Dunton.

In a letter of January 25, 1855, Mary Brown's mother, Ann Wetherbee Brown, had invited T to stay with her family during a trip to Brattleboro that she believed he was planning for the summer of 1855 (see *Cor 2* 2018, p. 303). T replied on February 1 that although he was not thinking of such a trip, he would remember her invitation (see *Cor 2* 2018, p. 313). On September 1, 1856, T wrote to Bronson Alcott, proposing to visit him in Walpole, New Hampshire, and to spend time in Brattleboro along the way (see *Cor 2* 2018, pp. 458-

(continued...)

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