

**A School for Autodidacts**

In the last decades of the nineteenth century, a distinctively American type of individual emerged, the “autodidact” or “self-educator.” Many of these individuals, despite a lack of formal schooling or none at all, increased their store of knowledge throughout a lifetime. Methods of self-learning included reading, listening to lectures, participating in discussions, engaging in debates, conducting experiments, etc. Autodidacts learned alone or in a variety of settings, for example, in Sunday school classes, social settlement houses, teacher institutes, women’s clubs, laboratories, university extension programs, and summer schools. One of the most prestigious schools founded to offer challenging intellectual fare to autodidactic philosophers occurred in a one-room schoolhouse in Concord, Massachusetts. In the following paper, Debra Corcoran traces the inception, growth, and demise of this fascinating school where leading New England intellectuals and St. Louis Hegelians guided learners along the paths of modern philosophic thought.

—Ed.

**An Experimental One-room School:**

**The Concord Summer School of Philosophy, 1879-1888**

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**Introduction**

In the 1870s, notable American artist Winslow Homer painted *The Country School* (1871) and *Snap the Whip* (1872), both of which seem to idealize the era of the one-room schoolhouse. Homer’s paintings remind later generations that the one-room school stood at the heart of education in the United States. In 1994, historian Wayne Fuller described the one-room schoolhouse, “with flag flying and belfry reaching the sky,” as having remained the nation’s “most enduring symbol of education and the traditional values it once embraced.”<sup>1</sup>

Country schools dotted the rolling New England countryside; but in 1879 in Concord, Massachusetts, stood a unique one-room schoolhouse—an experimental school established especially for adults and called the Concord Summer School of Philosophy. Like many early educational institutions, it started out in a home, Orchard House, where educationist and school founder Amos Bronson Alcott lived; his daughter, Louisa May, wrote *Little Women*; and William Torrey Harris, philosopher and St. Louis public school leader, later took up residence. After the school’s initial success, philanthropist Elizabeth Thompson donated a thousand dollars for the construction of a “plain but convenient structure,”<sup>2</sup> called Hillside Chapel. It had only one room but could accommodate up to one hundred and fifty people.

According to the *Chicago Tribune*, Alcott mentioned his dream of turning his apple orchard into a classic academic grove.<sup>3</sup> In *Concord Days*, he referred to Plato as owning “an orchard adjoining the Academy. In process of time, this orchard was much enlarged . . . to maintain the quiet and tranquility of a philosophical life.”<sup>4</sup> His vision became reality when he founded the Concord school, operating in his yard until 1888. When its doors closed and its teachers and students had all passed away, historians almost forgot about it. Editors J. Wesley Null and Diane Ravitch mentioned it in 2006 in *Forgotten Heroes of American Education*; but they suggested that the school was unsuccessful because its co-founder, Harris, had been unable to gain popular support for the school despite nine years of hard work.<sup>5</sup> Yet was the school really unsuccessful? This study answers that question. It does not delve deeply into the forms of philosophy presented at the school, it does not examine the lives of the lecturers, and it does not discuss the school’s role in the evolution of university extension work. Instead, it reexamines the school from multiple and sometimes contradictory viewpoints, a method of inquiry that perhaps best characterized the instructional practices of the school. I argue that the school embodied anticipated dreams, accomplished goals, unexpected achievements, and lasting impacts.

### **Anticipated Dreams**

The rural town of Concord seemed a perfect site for an experimental school. Between 1835 and 1880, the village nurtured a cultural revolution when literary figures Bronson Alcott, Ralph

Waldo Emerson, Henry David Thoreau, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Louisa May Alcott resided there. Concord was the home of transcendentalism. Pre-Civil War transcendentalists emphasized individual, inner spiritual renewal whereas the post-Civil War philosophers supported social and political institutions.<sup>6</sup>

Historian Franklin B. Sanborn wrote that the notion of the school originated in 1840 when Emerson and Alcott lived only a mile apart.<sup>7</sup> Emerson, Alcott's life-long friend, helped plant the seed of a potential school, but the idea also had a basis in New England's traditional admiration for self-education. Another influence was Alcott's practice of taking "whirlwind talking tours" through the Midwest like his 1875 visit to twenty-eight cities in five months.<sup>8</sup> There he met a number of people in intellectual circles, such as Dr. Hiram K. Jones, physician and lecturer on Plato. Dr. Jones visited Concord in 1878 and supported the idea of forming a group to study philosophical subjects.<sup>9</sup>

At first, Alcott and Emerson envisioned founding a university. Emerson's letter to his close friend, journalist Margaret Fuller, said that he—along with Alcott, George Ripley, Henry Hedge, and Theodore Parker—would instruct young men for a semester.<sup>10</sup> Another contributor was Harris, promoter of German idealist Georg W.F. Hegel. Harris was editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, the first American journal in the English-speaking world devoted to speculative philosophy.<sup>11</sup> Harris played a major role in the school's founding.

There was to be no specific Concord school where all minds came to a consensus.<sup>12</sup> Instead, Alcott hoped the school would attract speakers who expressed a broad spectrum of perspectives on universal topics by reflecting on the philosophies of Plato, Hegel, and others. He and the other founders would arrange lecturers so that they had both unity and freedom as well as connections with literature, art, and nature.<sup>13</sup>

A visit to the schoolhouse might lead one to infer what was important to its founders. Alcott reasoned that decoration was inessential since only a holy life, not what the eye sees, is true beauty. As he explained in his 1882 "Salutatory Address," the school was not about grandeur but about philosophers as lovers of truth.<sup>14</sup> Ideas, not things, were at the heart of the founders' principles. Reflecting these beliefs, the Concord schoolhouse was like an ordinary one-room schoolhouse sparsely decorated inside and out.

Yet unlike the traditional one-room school where local boys and girls learned reading, writing, and arithmetic, the founders of the Concord school envisioned a venue for open-minded

lecturers and students from across America. It was hoped that participants would convene for instruction by conference and conversation on “universal” topics that allowed for individual interpretation.<sup>15</sup> Similar to the traditional one-room school, the Concord school had no official affiliation with a Protestant denomination. Looking back, Alcott stated, “The School . . . aimed to show that philosophy was really the doctrine of life, of living nobly and well, and that it was a practical thing.”<sup>16</sup>

The founders planned for the school to operate daily, except Sunday, for five weeks, from nine to eleven in the morning and then between three and five in the afternoon. There would be no preliminary examination and no limitation as to sex, age, or residence. The one requirement was that the students complete registration in advance and pay five dollars for the entire course. Alcott served as dean; S. H. Emery, Jr. (William T. Harris’s former student) was the director and presiding officer; F. B. Sanborn was secretary and treasurer; and Harris, the expert on Hegelianism.<sup>17</sup>

### **Accomplished Goals**

What school founders dream can be very different from what is realized, yet in this case there was a close match between what the founders imagined and the goals they achieved. One goal was to create a setting where lecturers and respondents could speak in intimate tones, denoting the equality of those who sought philosophical truth. Equality was also evident in Raymond Bridgman’s description of the school’s arrangements. He noted that the school had a slightly elevated platform so that presenters could be seen but not so tall that they were elevated above the audience.<sup>18</sup> Alcott sought to strip philosophy of any assumed pomposity. He acknowledged that for many people the word philosophy “acquired a certain pretentious meaning.” He hoped the school would prove to have a different purpose to different individuals.<sup>19</sup> Another astute visitor, Hester (Hunt) Poole, wrote,

Within [the school] nothing disturbs the eye or the mind. Severely plain, the only decorations are plaster busts of older and later lovers of wisdom. . . . In the centre of the platform sits the lecturer, reading from notes or speaking in conversational tones. At the right of the teacher sits Miss [Elizabeth] Peabody, ever ready to say a pertinent or suggestive word, and F. B. Sanborn, reformer, editor and author. . . . At the left is always seen the Dean of the Faculty, Mr. Alcott, upon whose brow the blossoms of eighty-three years have lightly faded into autumn wreaths.<sup>20</sup>

Poole's description conjures up images of a room where thoughts, not objects, filled the space. The fact that individuals gathered in one small location to share an experience built camaraderie among them and intimacy with the subject matter.

Two Ancient Greek symbols were displayed in the school—an engraving of the “School of Athens” and a bust of Plato. Also on display were busts of Emerson and Alcott.<sup>21</sup> One can only speculate about why these objects were exhibited. Did Emerson and Alcott equate themselves with great thinkers or consider themselves devout students? Was there something incongruous about the formality of the classic busts against the modest backdrop? Perhaps the busts referred to an everlasting alliance between two good friends. Or were they reminders that people over the centuries continued to speculate on the same universal matters? Was this a veiled way to render the scholarly more comfortable or applicable to daily life? The answers to such questions cannot be found in the extant documents related to the school.

Poole recognized a second important goal of the school: to provide a forum for the free exchange of ideas. She wrote that primarily the school offered “the interchange of thought among its originators” who sought truth “by questioning the attractions and intuitions of the soul.”<sup>22</sup> A July 30, 1880, *New York Times* reporter who visited the school called Alcott's approach conversational. Alcott freely spoke, and students questioned. Intuition guided Alcott. He never wrote down what he would say but spoke as the moment moved him. Alcott believed in what he called “an open, candid soul.”<sup>23</sup> The August 2, 1880, *New York Times* reported that Alcott once said, “I do not bring my subject with me; I expect to find it here. I am to draw it out of you, and you are to draw it out of me.”<sup>24</sup>

Alcott's use of conversation was not just a personal mannerism, it was a choice. He believed that self-cultivation through talk could inspire social, personal, and literary achievements.<sup>25</sup> He never presumed to have all the answers or to find final answers. He hoped to elicit ideas and then lay them out for further speculation. He did not tell his students what to think but trusted that they would discover and uncover learning that was relevant for them. Rabbi Henry Berkowitz viewed the school as being a “. . . conversation on serious topics, the lectures serving merely as a text for discussion . . . . [The founders] sought not an absolute unity of opinion, but a general agreement in the manner of viewing philosophic truth, and applying it to the problems of life.”<sup>26</sup> In fact, the founders arranged lectures so that there was both unity yet freedom among them, as well as connections with literature, art, and nature. The lectures did not need to conform to

others, and there was no specific “Concord School of Philosophy” where all minds came to a consensus.<sup>27</sup>

Central to the free exchange of ideas was a third goal: to include influential literature, history, religion, art, and other works as springboards for discussion. Yet the school was far from haphazard as a *Springfield Republican* journalist realized. He acknowledged that the school had never planned to be “a mere parade ground for hobbies and strange opinions,” but a whole course of carefully planned lectures and conversations.<sup>28</sup> By design, each lecture began with an introduction demonstrating the connection between philosophy and another discipline or topic. Presentations ranged broadly including, for example, the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Thoreau, Kant, Goethe, Hegel, and Plato; and topics such as nature, the unconscious mind, science, philanthropy, woman’s suffrage, and Buddhism.<sup>29</sup> Sanborn wrote that the variety of subjects presented at Concord showed the scope was broad, not narrow. He noted how the “rich diversity of opinion” from those who spoke at the platform proved the faculty did not enforce a particular sect or philosophical stance.<sup>30</sup> In 1879, a frail Emerson spoke on memory, and in 1882, Harris introduced a course on Hegelian philosophy—a very deliberate action which greatly impacted who and why people attended the school. According to Snider, Harris “was preparing the right time and manner of his great Departure from the St. Louis Public Schools to a new career purely philosophical.” With Emerson dead and Alcott aging, Harris seized “the right psychologic moment” to bridge old philosophy and new.<sup>31</sup>

The school received a good deal of coverage from journalists, some of whom valued neither the school’s goals nor its implementation. They often dropped into the building once a week, sat at a distance, and stayed for an hour in order to construct a theory as to what the school was and would become. On occasion they buttressed their impressions with lecturers’ summaries of their presentations. Some questioned the school’s worthiness and practicality. For example, on August 12, 1884, a reporter from the *Chicago Tribune* stated that the school dabbled in speculations and topics which no one really understood or had any interest in, and offered no practical suggestions.<sup>32</sup> Three years later, a reporter from the same newspaper asked why the school persisted in “digging into the misty past with its imperfect records and unsatisfying results” when there were current problems.<sup>33</sup>

## Unexpected Achievements

Despite the criticism of some journalists, the Concord school had unanticipated achievements. One was the quality of the presenters, many of whom were the most prestigious leaders in higher education. Emerson was perhaps the most famous although he rarely took part in the school's exercises due to failing health. The August 5, 1879, *New York Times* reported that when the legendary figure spoke on memory, the school building was so crowded that the audience moved to the Congregational Church. Even there, people stood in ninety-degree heat to hear him.<sup>34</sup>

Many other influential educators traveled the rambling, country roads to Concord, for example, President John Bascom of the University of Wisconsin, Professor George S. Morris of Johns Hopkins, Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia, William James of Harvard, James McCosh of Princeton, and Noah Porter of Yale.<sup>35</sup> Given such presenters, it was no surprise that the newspapers lauded the school.<sup>36</sup> On August 20, 1879, for instance, an editorial in the *New York Times* called the school the "first serious attempt in the United States to concentrate attention upon purely philosophical studies."<sup>37</sup> A year later, a *Times* reporter remarked that the Concord movement embraced "the broad, common sense that goes with a wholesome life."<sup>38</sup> And on August 7, 1888, the *Times* stated that the Concord school had become "the trysting-place for thinkers" where many highly-qualified professors—all with varied backgrounds, knowledge, and interests—addressed students in the school.<sup>39</sup> In Snider's mind, never before had such a large cadre of eminent individuals ever gathered for such personal ideological exchanges and special training.<sup>40</sup> He said that association with the school often led to heightened fame for individuals already considered distinguished and gave fleeting celebrity to some who were less well known.<sup>41</sup>

Other reporters agreed with these assessments. According to the August 1, 1879, *Springfield Republican*, for instance, never before had such a group of teachers and their disciples come together.<sup>42</sup> On April 17, 1880, the *New York Times* wrote that Concord was "a kind of intellectual Mecca." Newspapers also noted the widespread interest in the school. Audiences traveled from states in New England, the Mid-Atlantic, and the Midwest. After Massachusetts, Illinois sent the most visitors.<sup>43</sup> In July 15, 1881, the *Times* reported that the school was so popular townspeople complained about the annual summer parade of students who disturbed the

“simplicity” of their normally “quiet town.”<sup>44</sup> Even Alcott’s daughter, Louisa May, recorded in her journal that the town swarmed with budding philosophers who roosted like hens on her doorstep.<sup>45</sup>

Without question, some attendees attended the school to hear their favorite speakers, including the ever popular Harris. Others came because of the fame of Emerson and the Alcotts. Still others came due to the general historic and literary fame of Concord. Many people probably appeared because they were curious while others may have wanted to be associated with the intellectual elite. Brown wrote that it was “the thing” to have a ticket to the school for the first couple of seasons and to be known as someone who could “seem to comprehend.”<sup>46</sup>



Figure 1: The restored Concord Summer School of Philosophy housed in a rustic building called Hillside Chapel; photo by Anna Corcoran.

A second unanticipated achievement was “the cross-pollenization of two important American philosophical movements: New England transcendentalism and . . . St. Louis idealism.”<sup>47</sup>

Unfortunate events that led to this philosophical shift included Emerson's death and Alcott's paralytic stroke, both of which occurred in 1882. On July 20, 1882, the *New York Times* reported that a solemn "sea of quiet and thoughtful people" intentionally wound past Emerson's home on their way to the opening session at the school.<sup>48</sup> Alcott survived the stroke, and although he lived on for a number of years, he was no longer at the center of the school's operation. He could stand but not walk. He understood what was said to him but could not order his words to respond. As described by the March 16, 1887, *Chicago Tribune*, he had become an invalid who sat at a sunlit window and waved a friendly signal to anyone who passed. This was a rather tragic ending for a once vibrant man who thrived on face-to-face conversation.<sup>49</sup>

With Alcott so incapacitated, Harris was left to carry the weight of the lectures with support from others. His programs on "Goethe's Genius and Work" in 1885, courses on Dante and Plato in 1886, and a program on Aristotle in 1887 all drew interest, especially from midwestern attendees. Dorothy Rogers, author of *America's First Women Philosophers*, reasoned that if either Emerson or Alcott had solely founded the school, it would have had mainly Platonist leanings. Now, however, the Hegelian idealism of the St. Louis Movement assumed a central role in the school's programming.<sup>50</sup> Harris and fellow lecturer Snider sought to offer a "distinct alternative to New England intellectuals" and saw the Concord school as an "extension of the St. Louis Movement."<sup>51</sup>

The St. Louis Movement consisted of a group of lay philosophers founded and led by Harris and Henry Conrad Brokmeyer. According to Rogers, Harris made "Hegel talk English"—adapting Hegelianism to the American social, educational, and political context.<sup>52</sup> Hegelians promoted society as a positive, civilizing agent capable of fostering individual growth and literature as an educational tool. This belief was in contrast to Rousseau's view as presented in *Emile* that a child should be protected from society's corrupting influences. As editor of the *Journal of Speculative Philosophy*, Harris spread the aim of Hegelianism as self-knowledge.<sup>53</sup> He brought a newness and practicality of philosophy that appealed to his audiences. As Snider saw it, a "Western invasion" had occurred at Concord,<sup>54</sup> for the "delegation" from St. Louis was considerable.<sup>55</sup> It was clear from comments like this that the school had expanded the circle of elite East Coast intellectuals to include lay philosophers from the Midwest.

A third unanticipated achievement was the inclusion of women as both attendees and presenters. As was previously indicated, Alcott dreamed of using the school to educate young men, but women were a conspicuous presence.<sup>56</sup> The August 5, 1879, *Chicago Tribune* commented that “quite an unusual number of wise men” and women who were “anxious to be wise” attended the school.<sup>56</sup> The *New York Times* described these women as being of a “cultivated thoughtful class, to whom hard study” was common.<sup>57</sup> Rogers estimated that one half of the people attending the school in any year were women who used it as a form of higher education.<sup>58</sup> In the late 1900s, many elite East Coast colleges and universities admitted only men; thus, the Concord school opened a door for women’s intellectual development.

Women were not simply attendees. Among the presenters were educator Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, art theorist Ednah Cheney, and hymnist Julia Ward Howe. Peabody, pioneer of the kindergarten movement in America, held a unique place in the school since she had long been associated with Alcott. Cheney was the first American woman to develop a philosophy of art or aesthetics and put forth both theoretical and practical ideas on the subject.<sup>59</sup> She was a suffragist who often voiced the conviction that there was no difference between the intellectual life of a male or female.<sup>60</sup> The Concord School easily incorporated Cheney into its pluralistic view of philosophy and its acknowledgement of women as intellectuals. Julia Ward Howe, suffragist and author of “The Battle Hymn of the Republic,” also presented at the school. The newspapers were highly complementary of her speaking ability. For example, the July 15, 1881, issue of the *New York Times* reported that she addressed the audience with “dignity and power.”<sup>61</sup> Three days later, the *Times* reported that she “entertained her thoughtful audience with visions of philosophy to which women seldom aspire,” and again that it was “impossible to think of any woman in New-England who could have commanded the attention which she received.”<sup>62</sup> Journalists were not always complimentary. For example, the December 11, 1880, issue of the *Chicago Tribune* said sarcastically that Howe had “very strong opinions . . . which she never hesitated to ventilate.”<sup>63</sup> Howe did not fit the stereotypical image of the country schoolmarm isolated in the backwoods or prairie, but was a highly visible role model.

Bauschinger viewed the selection of women as speakers as an important decision, claiming, “The Concord Summer School would not have spread much of the spirit of Emerson, Alcott, and their friends if women had not also stood at the podium.”<sup>64</sup> In particular, Marietta Kies studied

with Harris at Concord and later compiled his lectures into one volume, *An Introduction in the Study of Philosophy*.<sup>65</sup> Kies met philosopher John Dewey at Concord, and Harris recommended that she attend the University of Michigan to study with him. Kies eventually became the sixth woman in America to earn a Ph.D. in philosophy.<sup>66</sup> Unlike the typical nineteenth-century rural schoolhouse where local boys and girls learned from schoolmarms, Concord provided both male and female students a chance to learn from the most prominent intellectual figures of the age in a coeducational setting.<sup>67</sup>

### **Concluding Remarks**

The Concord Summer School of Philosophy was an ephemeral institution, especially when one compares its longevity to that of most country schools. Yet the summer school did last long enough to have an intellectual influence on much of the nation. When Harris died in 1909, *The School Journal* called the Concord School “famous [sic].”<sup>68</sup> The *New York Times* observed that the school had “passed from experiment to success,” acquiring a “national character” with philosophers from beyond the Mississippi.<sup>69</sup> The next year, the *Times* called it a “centre of influence” which encouraged “lonely thinkers” and helped “generate a fresh intellectual atmosphere for the whole country.”<sup>70</sup> These are overstatements, of course; no one from the southern states attended the school.

In terms of enrollment, attendance was better than the founders expected, especially since the school was “so novel an enterprise.” They recognized that their kind of instruction was most effective with small crowds. They did not expect their topics, being “high and esoteric,” to attract the multitudes.<sup>71</sup>

As for tuition revenues, Sanborn said the school’s treasury would have been substantial if the school had not given away so many tickets each year. When the school closed, the balance amounted to thirty-one cents, which Sanborn pocketed as his salary for a decade’s worth of work.<sup>72</sup> As was previously mentioned, historians J. Wesley Null and Diane Ravitch argued that the school closed because Harris could not raise enough support for the institution, despite working toward that end for nine years.<sup>73</sup> Clearly, monetary gain was not a goal of the founders.

Apparently the Concord school inspired other courses and institutions. Snider, for example, who recognized that audiences were often ill-prepared to study intellectuals like Goethe, initiated

courses at his Literary School in Chicago during the winter of 1887.<sup>74</sup> Sarah J. Farmer established in the summer of 1894 a “school of philosophy” called the Greenacre Summer Conferences in Eliot, Maine. The similarities between the Greenacre Conferences and the Concord School cannot be denied. There, the open-minded, spiritual community held lectures and discussions on education, art, sociology, metaphysics, religion, temperance, and the new possibilities for women. Sanborn and Cheney both contributed lectures and memories of Thoreau, Emerson, and the Concord school.<sup>75</sup>

In time, all those who had presided over or listened to the presentations at the Concord school passed away. Its sessions had spurred interest and curiosity among many people, yet it did not have enough momentum to remain open after Alcott’s death in 1888. On August 4, 1889, the *Chicago Tribune* printed Sanborn’s obituary of the school. He explained that courses were suspended because its chief work had been accomplished. Sanborn saw the school as a pioneer institution. He believed the work of the school would “speak for itself.”<sup>76</sup> The United States Congress recognized the school’s significance and made the following remarks in the *United States Congressional Serial Set, History of Summer Schools in the United States*, “At Concord were gathered the leading thinkers in speculative philosophy, and through their lectures and the attendant discussions were opened up and traced the paths along which modern philosophic thought was tending.”<sup>77</sup>

The Concord Summer School of Philosophy, like thousands of one-room schools, is a reminder of what American education once was and might still be—“spaces to foment learning and cultivate a democratic society.”<sup>78</sup> Since its 1975 restoration, the school has been open to curious visitors who may wonder about the purpose of the one-room schoolhouse just beyond Orchard House in Concord, Massachusetts.



During a childhood that included yearly vacations on Cape Cod, **Debra Corcoran, Ed.D.**, toured the quaint town of Concord and the homes of Emerson, Hawthorne, and the Alcotts. She found particularly curious the one-room schoolhouse that stood on a slope behind the Alcott's Orchard House. While pursuing three degrees from Northern Illinois University, she researched art education in the Chicago Public Schools, the topic of her doctoral dissertation. She also taught gifted students and second grade for over twenty years in the public schools, served as an adjunct instructor at NIU, and presented and published papers on Louisa May Alcott and women instructors associated with the Art Institute of Chicago.

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## Notes

<sup>1</sup> Wayne E. Fuller, *One-Room Schools of the Middle West: An Illustrated History* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 1994), xiii.

<sup>2</sup> Raymond L. Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy: Comprising Outlines of All the Lectures at the Concord Summer School of Philosophy in 1882, with an Historical Sketch* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: M. King, 1883), 9.

<sup>3</sup> "Concord, Summer-school," *Chicago Tribune*, July 19, 1880, 5, which discusses turning the grove into a school; Bronson A. Alcott, *Concord Days* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1872), 222.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid.

<sup>5</sup> J. Wesley Null and Diane Ravitch, eds., *Forgotten Heroes of American Education: The Great Tradition of Teaching Teachers* (Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing, 2006), 308.

<sup>6</sup> James A. Good, *A Search for Unity in Diversity: The "Permanent Hegelian Deposit" in the Philosophy of John Dewey* (New York: Lexington Books, 2006), 73.

<sup>7</sup> Franklin B. Sanborn, "Opening of the School of Philosophy in 1879," *Sixty Years of Concord, 1855-1915, Life, People, Institutions and Transcendental Philosophy in Massachusetts—With Memories of Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Channing and Others*, ed. Kenneth Walter Cameron (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1976; originally published, 1915), 23.

<sup>8</sup> Amos Bronson Alcott, *Notes on Conversations, 1848-1875*, ed. Karen English (Cranbury, New Jersey: Rosemont Publishing and Printing Corp., 2007), 23.

<sup>9</sup> Florence W. Brown, introduction in *Alcott and the Concord School of Philosophy*, Kessinger Legacy Reprints, originally a paper read at a meeting of the Concord Antiquarian Society by Florence Whiting Brown, May 28, 1926 (privately printed, 1926), 5.

<sup>10</sup> Cameron, *Sixty Years of Concord*,

<sup>11</sup> Henry A. Pochman, *New England Transcendentalism and St. Louis Hegelianism* (New York: Haskell House Publishers Ltd., 1970). He wrote that the Hegelian philosophy was adaptable to America because at its center was the idea of self-activity and self-consciousness, 22, 109.

<sup>12</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 9-10.

- <sup>13</sup> Ibid., 9.
- <sup>14</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>15</sup> Pochman, *New England Transcendentalism*, 100.
- <sup>16</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 168.
- <sup>17</sup> Brown, *Alcott and the Concord School of Philosophy*, 37.
- <sup>18</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 9.
- <sup>19</sup> Ibid., 13.
- <sup>20</sup> Quoted in *The Continent, A Weekly News Magazine*, 2 (July to Dec, 1882), 519.
- <sup>21</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 9.
- <sup>22</sup> Quoted in *The Continent*, 519.
- <sup>23</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 13.
- <sup>24</sup> Quoted in "Concord and Chautauqua," *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 4, 1880.
- <sup>25</sup> Quoted in Alcott, *Notes on Conversations*, 26.
- <sup>26</sup> Henry Berkowitz, in *Annual Convention, Central Conference of American Rabbis, Yearbook of the Central Conferences of American Rabbis for 1895, Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Convention of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Rochester NY, July 1895* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Block Publishing Co., 1896), 45.
- <sup>27</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 9.
- <sup>28</sup> "The Philosophers at Concord. Second Year of the Summer School. The Faculty and the Pupils—Mr. Alcott, the Founder. His Part in it and that of Prof. Harris, Dr. Jones, Etc.—Mr. Emerson's Slight Connection with the School—Its Hopes and Purpose of Permanence," *Springfield Republican*, July 21, 1880, 4.
- <sup>29</sup> Bridgman, *Concord Lectures on Philosophy*, 9. See also F. B. Sanborn, ed., *The Genius and Character of Emerson, Lectures at the Concord School of Philosophy* (Boston: James R. Osgood and Company, 1885). This source lists all the lectures presented between 1879 and 1884.
- <sup>30</sup> Sanborn, *Genius of Emerson*, 1885, 21.
- <sup>31</sup> "Students of Philosophy, the Teachers and Teachings at Concord," *New York Times*, July 22, 1880, 5. This newspaper article stated that Emerson's health had been good even though his hearing was lightly impaired and his "wits" (or memory) were failing him. Austin Warren wrote that when Emerson presented on memory, he was assisted by a daughter, which made the circumstance "tragic and ironic." Austin Warren, "The Concord School of Philosophy," *New England Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1929), 199-233, 204. Quotations in Denton Jacques Snider, *The St. Louis Movement in Philosophy, Literature, Education, Philosophy with Chapters of Autobiography* (St. Louis, Missouri: Signa Publishing Co., 1920), 268.
- <sup>32</sup> "Concord School of Philosophy," *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 12, 1884, 4.
- <sup>33</sup> "Article," *Chicago Tribune*, July 3, 1887, 4.
- <sup>34</sup> "Mr. Ralph Waldo Emerson, His Lecture on Memory Before the Concord School of Philosophy," *New York Times*, Aug. 5, 1879, 2.
- <sup>35</sup> Dorothy G. Rogers, *America's First Women Philosophers, Transplanting Hegel, 1860-1925* (New York: Continuum, 2005), 25.
- <sup>36</sup> "Meaning in the Concord School," *New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1888, 6.
- <sup>37</sup> "Editorial," *New York Times*, Aug. 20, 1879, 4.
- <sup>38</sup> "Teachings in Philosophy, the Work and Prospects of the Concord School," *New York Times*, August 10, 1880, 5.
- <sup>39</sup> "Meaning of the Concord School," *New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1888, 6.
- <sup>40</sup> Snider, *The St. Louis Movement*, 366.
- <sup>41</sup> Ibid.
- <sup>42</sup> "The Concord Summer School," *Springfield Republican*, Aug. 1, 1879, 4.

- <sup>43</sup> The states represented were Missouri, Minnesota, Indiana, Michigan, Ohio, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, Vermont, and New Hampshire. Notably absent were attendees from the southern states.
- <sup>44</sup> “Concord Philosophers,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1881, 2.
- <sup>45</sup> Austin Warren, “The Concord School of Philosophy,” *New England Quarterly* 2, no. 2 (1929), 199-233. The quotation is on page 205.
- <sup>46</sup> Brown, *Alcott and the Concord School*, 34.
- <sup>47</sup> Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers*, 97.
- <sup>48</sup> “Philosophy at Concord, Fourth Yearly Session of Mr. Alcott’s School,” *New York Times*, July 20, 1882, 3.
- <sup>49</sup> “Those Queer . . . People,” 5.
- <sup>50</sup> Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers*, 24.
- <sup>51</sup> James A. Good, *A Search for Unity in Diversity: The “Permanent Hegelian Deposit” in the Philosophy of John Dewey* (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2006), 72.
- <sup>52</sup> Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers*, 17.
- <sup>53</sup> Donald Phillip Verene, *Speculative Philosophy* (New York: Lexington Books, 2009), xiv, 35. Verene explained that reflection is the basis of philosophy, and reflection leads to speculation. The individual life is governed by the love of wisdom. Also see Pochman, *New England Transcendentalism*, 109.
- <sup>54</sup> Snider, *The St. Louis Movement*, 368. At this time, St. Louis was considered part of the West.
- <sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 271.
- <sup>56</sup> Good, *Search for Unity*, 72.
- <sup>57</sup> “Bronson Alcott’s Summer School at Concord,” *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1879, 12.
- <sup>58</sup> “Students of Philosophy, the Teachers and Teachings at Concord,” *New York Times*, July 22, 1880, 5.
- <sup>59</sup> Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers*, 25. Estimates of the number of people who attended each year varied from one hundred fifty to two hundred, depending on the source.
- <sup>60</sup> John R. Shook, ed., *Dictionary of Early American Philosophers* (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 220.
- <sup>61</sup> Sigrid Bauschinger, *The Trumpet of Reform: German Literature in Nineteenth-Century New England*, trans. Thomas S. Hansen (Columbia, South Carolina: Camden House, 1998), 178.
- <sup>62</sup> “Concord Philosophers,” *New York Times*, July 15, 1881, 2.
- <sup>63</sup> “Philosophical Thought, The First Week’s Session of the Concord School.” *New York Times*, July 18, 1881, 2; “Philosophers at School, the Concord Thinkers and Their Work.” *New York Times*, July 21, 1881, 2.
- <sup>64</sup> “Notes on New Books.” *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1880, 10.
- <sup>65</sup> Bauschinger, *The Trumpet of Reform*, 176.
- <sup>66</sup> William T. Harris, *Introduction to the Study of Philosophy*, passages selected and arranged by Marietta Kies (NY: D. Appleton & Co., 1889).
- <sup>67</sup> Dorothy Rogers, Joshua Wheeler, Marína Zavacká, and Shawna Casebier, eds., “Hegel and His ‘Victims’ on Women in the Private Sphere,” in *Topics in Feminism, History and Philosophy, IWM Junior Visiting Fellows Conferences*, Vol. VI/1, 2000; <http://www.iwm.at/wp-content/uploads/jc-06-01.pdf>.
- <sup>68</sup> Snider, *The St. Louis Movement*, 267.
- <sup>69</sup> Rogers, *America’s First Women Philosophers*, 25.
- <sup>70</sup> “William Torrey Harris,” *The School Journal*, Dec. 1909, 125.
- <sup>71</sup> “Concord and Chautauqua,” *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1880, 4.
- <sup>72</sup> “The Meaning of the Concord School,” *New York Times*, Aug. 7, 1881, 6.
- <sup>73</sup> “The Philosophers at Concord. Second Year of the Summer School. The Faculty and the Pupils—Mr. Alcott, The Founder. His Part in it and that of Prof. Harris, Dr. Jones, Etc.—Mr. Emerson’s Slight Connection with the School—Its Hopes and Purpose of Permanence,” *The Springfield Republican*, July 21, 1880.

Country School Journal, Vol. 4 (2016)

<sup>72</sup> The reference to Sanborn is found in Pochman, *New England Transcendentalism*, 109.

<sup>73</sup> Null and Ravitch, *Forgotten Heroes of American Education*, 308.

<sup>74</sup> Snider, *The St. Louis Movement*, 522.

<sup>75</sup> Cameron, *Transcendentalists in Transition*, 5.

<sup>76</sup> “The End of a Famous School,” *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 4, 1889, 4.

<sup>77</sup> “History of Summer School of the United States,” *United States Congressional Serial Set, Report of the Secretary of the Interior, Being Part of the Memos and Documents Communicated to the Two Houses of Congress*, Vol. 5, Part 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 911.

<sup>78</sup> David M. Callejo Pérez, foreword in *Beyond the One Room School*, ed. P. Bruce Uhrmacher and Kristen Bunn (Boston: Sense Publishers, 2011), *xii*.