

EVENTS OF 1814

General Events of 1815

SPRING	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH
SUMMER	APRIL	MAY	JUNE
FALL	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
WINTER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER

Following the death of [Jesus Christ](#) there was a period of readjustment that lasted for approximately one million years.

-[Kurt Vonnegut](#), THE SIRENS OF TITAN



 THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1815. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Brown & Wilson.

The old Bickerstaff Almanac appears with a new title this year.

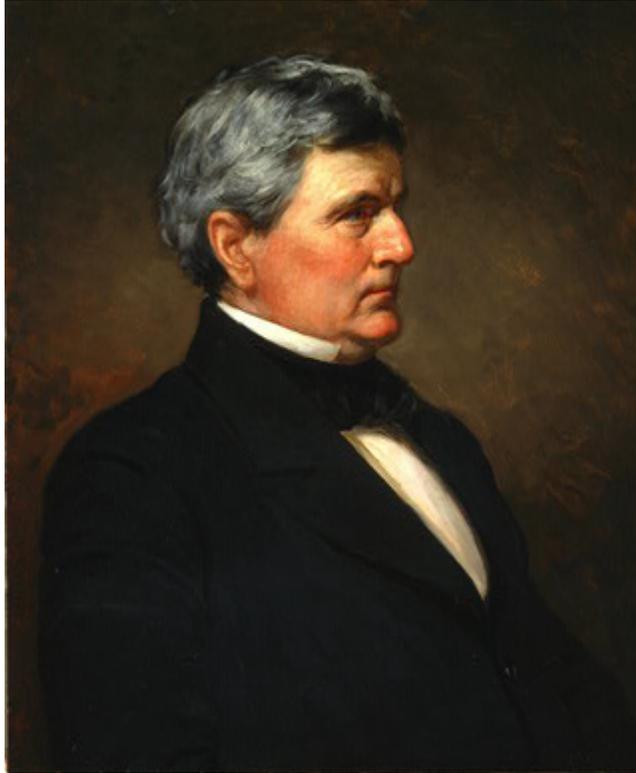
 [Robert Montgomery Smith Jackson](#) was born in Huntingdon County, Pennsylvania.

EVENTS OF 1816

1815

1815

→ [John Edwards Holbrook](#) graduated from [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). He would study medicine at the University of Pennsylvania.



→ [Joseph Wolff](#) went to study oriental languages (particularly Arabic and Persian) and theology at the university in Tübingen, Germany.

→ [Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied](#) embarked on a 3-year scientific expedition to Brazil. This expedition would result in *REISE NACH BRASILIEN IN DEN JAHREN 1815 BIS 1817* (1820-1821) and *BEITRÄGE ZUR NATURGESCHICHTE BRASILIENS* (1825-1833).

→ José María Morelos, a priest who had for several years been sponsoring an insurrection against the Spanish dominion in [Mexico](#), was executed.

→ The Reverend [William Spence](#) had been instructed in botany at the age of 10 during 1793 by a British clergyman. He had become absorbed in entomology at the age of 22 during 1805. In 1818 he would be made a Fellow of the Royal Society. He would in 1833 be one of the founders of the Society of Entomologists of London and would be president of that society during 1847 and 1848. He and his friend [William Kirby](#), during the period 1815-1826, would engage in an effort to produce a “Kirby and Spence’s Introduction to Entomology,” and Kirby despite a bout of ill health would come to be considered an “Honorary English Member” of this Society.¹
In this year they introduced Volume I of their AN INTRODUCTION TO ENTOMOLOGY; OR ELEMENTS OF THE

1. The Reverend Kirby was a candidate for the chair of Professor of Botany at the University of Cambridge, but he was a Tory and that made things difficult. In any event a dispute arose about whether this appointment was the prerogative of the Senate or of the Crown and by the time the dust was settled another candidate had come to the fore.

NATURAL HISTORY OF INSECTS. ILLUSTRATED WITH COLOURED PLATES (London).



PEOPLE OF WALDEN

INTRODUCTION TO ENTOM...

WALDEN: Kirby and Spence tell us that the battles of ants have long been celebrated and the date of them recorded, though they say that Huber is the only modern author who appears to have witnessed them. "Æneas Sylvius," say they, "after giving a very circumstantial account of one contested with great obstinacy by a great and small species on the trunk of a pear tree," adds that "'This action was fought in the pontificate of Eugenius the Fourth, in the presence of Nicholas Pistoriensis, an eminent lawyer, who related the whole history of the battle with the greatest fidelity.'" A similar engagement between great and small ants is recorded by Olaus Magnus, in which the small ones, being victorious, are said to have buried the bodies of their own soldiers, but left those of their giant enemies a prey to the birds. This event happened previous to the expulsion of the tyrant Christiern the Second from Sweden." The battle which I witnessed took place in the Presidency of Polk, five years before the passage of Webster's Fugitive-Slave Bill.

POLK
WEBSTER

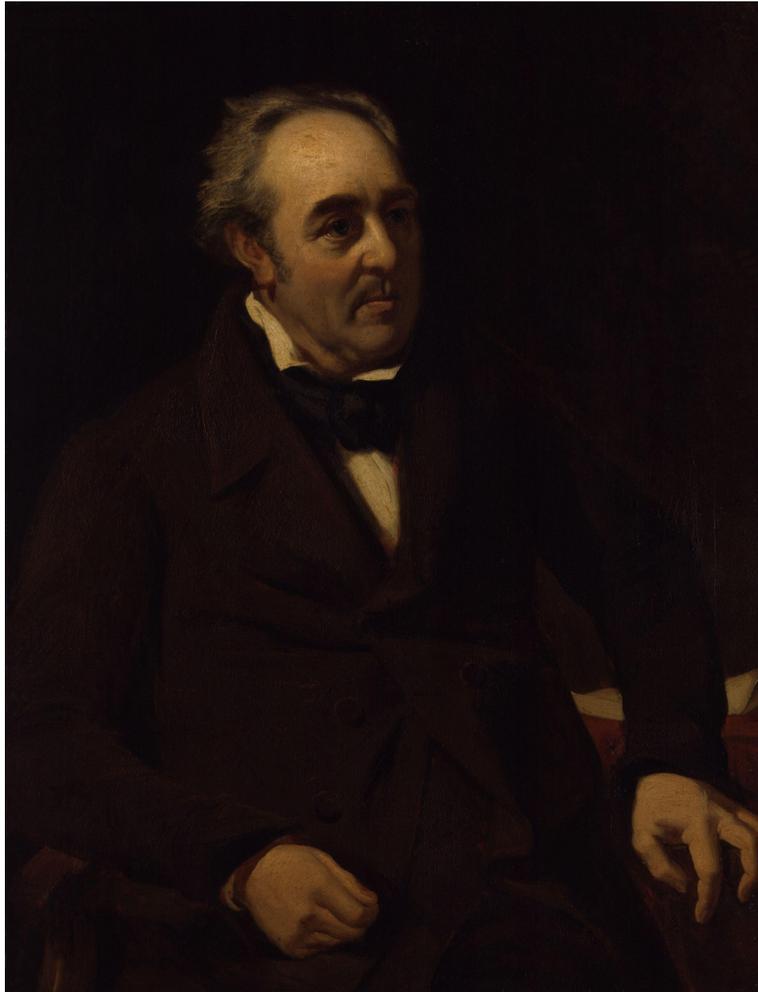
KIRBY AND SPENCE

WILLIAM KIRBY
WILLIAM SPENCE

1815

1815

→ [Walter Savage Landor](#)'s *IDYLLIA NOVA QUINQUE HEROUM ATQUE HERODIUM* (Oxford).



→ The [Reverend Abiel Holmes](#)'s AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

→ Less than a month after his 19th birthday, [Richard Harlan](#) was elected a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia.

→ At [Trinity College of Cambridge University](#), [George Waddington](#) graduated BA, as senior optime in the mathematical tripos and as the 1st Chancellor's Medallist. Publication of his ACADEMICAL EXERCISES, &C.

→ [William Godwin](#)'s LIVES OF EDWARD AND JOHN PHILIPS. NEPHEWS AND PUPILS OF MILTON. INCLUDING VARIOUS PARTICULARS OF THE LITERARY AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF THEIR TIMES, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme & Brown).

1815

1815

→ [John Gilchrist](#)'s A COLLECTION OF ANCIENT AND MODERN SCOTTISH BALLADS, TALES, AND SONGS, WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS. IN TWO VOLUMES (Edinburgh: Printed by Gilchrist & Heriot, Printers, Leith for William Blackwood: and Baldwin, Craddock, & Joy, Paternoster-row, London). I have no idea who this John Gilchrist was, unless he was a printer on Quality Street in Leith, or a newspaper worker in the office of the Courant in Edinburgh (there was a [Dr. John Borthwick Gilchrist](#), a surgeon who was a scholar of Indian languages, there was a John Gilchrist who lived in New South Wales, there was another who lived in the Cape Fear region of North Carolina, and there was yet another, who befriended William Blake and then Thomas Carlisle, but these seem not to come anywhere close to filling the bill; nor is any similar person listed in the DICTIONARY OF ANONYMOUS AND PSEUDONYMOUS ENGLISH LITERATURE). The compilation would be in the library of [Waldo Emerson](#), however, and in about December 1841, [Henry Thoreau](#) would copy from it into his 1st Commonplace Book, now at the Berg Collection of the New York Public Library.

MENCIUS
CHINA

GILCHRIST'S BALLADS, I
 GILCHRIST'S BALLADS, II

→ Death of [Ebenezer Elliott](#)'s mother.

→ [James Rennie](#) received the MA from Glasgow University, where he had previously studied the natural sciences, and became a priest.

→ [Wakaninajinwin](#) Stands Sacred (or, Stands Like a Spirit) was born, a daughter of the headman [Marpiyawicasta](#) [Man of the Clouds](#). She would be baptized as "Lucy."

→ [William MacGillivray](#) graduated from King's College at Aberdeen. He would attempt but not complete the course in medicine, deciding that instead he would "devote his attention exclusively to natural history." Back home on the island of Harris to the north of Scotland, he would for a period teach at his old school, while studying a dead walrus, and while stuffing a bear he had been asked to kill.

→ Under the close editorship of [Pierre Étienne Louis Dumont](#), [Jeremy Bentham](#)'s *TACTIQUE DES ASSEMBLÉES LEGISLATIVES* ([Geneva](#)).

[William Smith](#)'s geologic map of England, Wales, and part of Scotland identified the strata of the earth largely on the basis of the fossils they contained (before long Smith would be in debtors' prison).

THE SCIENCE OF 1815

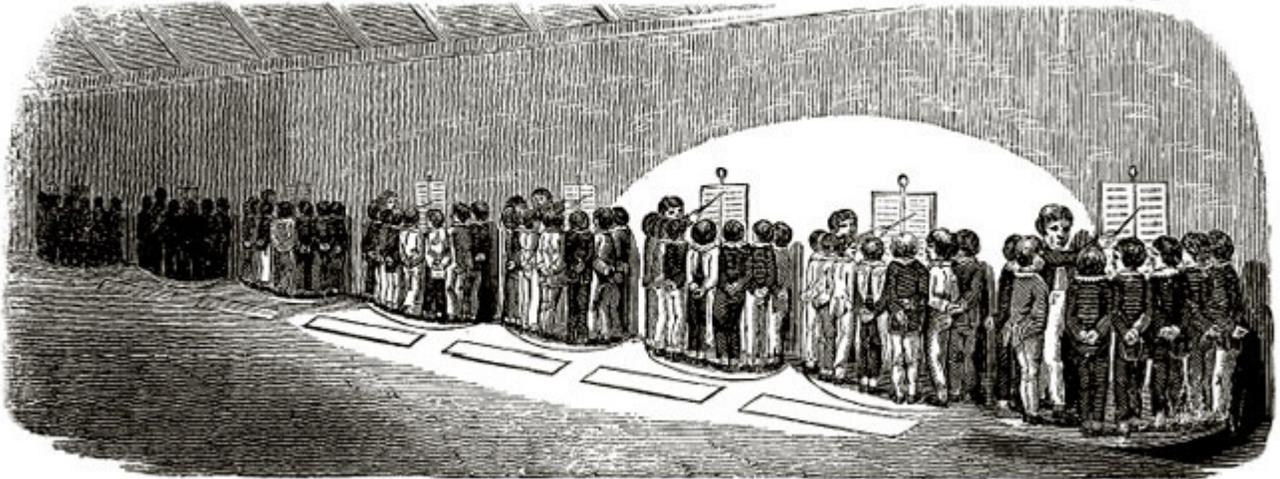
[Jean-Pierre Perraudin](#) explained the erratic boulders of the Val de Bagnes in the [Swiss](#) canton of Valais as due to the glaciers in the area, which had once upon a time been longer.

OUR MOST RECENT GLACIATION

1815

1815

 [Baron Joseph-Marie de Gérando](#) helped found a *Société pour l'instruction élémentaire* to introduce into France the “monitorial system” that had recently been established in England by [Friend Joseph Lancaster](#), and thus made education accessible to the children of the poor.²



Antoine Texier de la Böessière's *TRAITÉ DE L'ART DE FAIRE DES ARMES* (TREATISE OF THE ART AND TECHNIQUES OF ARMS) characterized fencing classes as a good way to teach coordination to children of privilege — but hardly useful in self-defense.

2. The Monitorial System was to use abler advanced pupils as “teacher’s helpers,” passing on to younger pupils the materials that they themselves had only recently learned. The advantage of this was its cheapness, for it made it possible to manage larger classes and decrease the teacher/student ratio. This technique was adopted in England and Wales first by the Roman Catholic Church, and then by the National Schools System. Lest you be horrified, reflect that this system is strangely similar to the manner in which universities employ professors, teaching assistants, and tutors to decrease the payroll costs of a university education. Lancaster’s Monitorial System would lose headway after 1830 with the introduction of David Stow’s “Glasgow System” and the “modern” system of grouping students into age groups taught using the lecture method, led by such American educators as Horace Mann, Sr., and later legitimated by the assembly-line efficiency rants of Frederick Taylor.

BACKGROUND MATERIALS



1815

1815

 [Benjamin Constant](#) returned to Paris in order to advocate liberal constitutional principles.

 [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#) was made state minister, and a peer of France. When the Chambre introuvable was dissolved he criticized the conduct of King Louis XVIII, and his function as state minister was terminated. He began to write in the pages of Le Conservateur, in favor of the king of Charles X.

 [Doctor Walter Channing](#) became a Lecturer in Midwifery at the Harvard Medical College. He got married with [Barbara Higginson Perkins](#).

 [Thomas Campbell](#) received a legacy of £4,000 that enabled him to devote himself to his SPECIMENS OF THE BRITISH POETS project of long standing.

1815

1815



A not-terrible depiction of [Prince Regent George](#) in this year (he who would become [King George IV of England](#)):



Jane Austen despised this royal for his shabby treatment of his official wife: “Poor woman, I shall support her as long as I can, because she is a Woman and because I hate her Husband.... [If] I must give up the princess I am resolved at least always to think that she would have been respectable, if the Prince had behaved tolerably by her at first.”



1815

1815

➡ Toward the end of this year [Christian C.J. Bunsen](#) met with Barthold Georg Niebuhr in Berlin. Niebuhr was so impressed with the agenda of research which young Bunsen was mapping out for himself that upon becoming Prussian envoy to the papal court, he would make this young scholar his personal secretary.

➡ [William Cullen Bryant](#)'s "To a Waterfowl" (he would revise this in 1818 and in 1821).

➡ A series of [William Browne](#)'s sonnets to Caelia, along with some epistles, elegies and epitaphs, and some other miscellaneous poems collected from various sources, were published by Sir S.E. Brydges as ORIGINAL POEMS BY [WILLIAM BROWNE](#).

WILLIAM BROWNE

➡ [Jean-Baptiste Say](#)'s *DE L'ANGLETERRE ET DES ANGLAIS*. His CATECHISM OF POLITICAL ECONOMY.

➡ [Professor Thomas Brown](#)'s book of poems, WANDERER IN NORWAY.

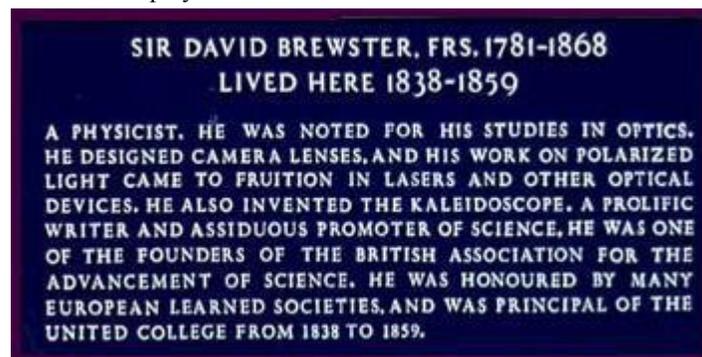
➡ [Edmund Mary Bolton](#)'s *HYPERCRITICA* of 1618 was reprinted in Volume II of Joseph Haslewood's ANCIENT CRITICAL ESSAYS.

➡ The Reverend [John Lauris Blake](#), a Congregational minister, had become interested in the Episcopal Church. In this year Bishop Griswold ordained him as a deacon of the Episcopal Church. Soon he would organize a parish in [Pawtucket, Rhode Island](#) which would be called St. Paul's Church.

➡ [Thomas Bewick](#) illustrated a chapbook entitled THE ADVENTURES OF CAPTAIN GULLIVER, IN A VOYAGE TO LILLIPUT (J. Lumsden, Glasgow), BEWICK'S BRITISH BIRDS, FABLIAUX OR TALES ABRIDGED (Rodwell, London), A NATURAL HISTORY OF FOREIGN QUADRUPEDS (W. Davison, Alnwick), and provided 34 engravings for A NATURAL HISTORY OF BRITISH BIRDS (W. Davison, Alnwick).

HIS AUTOBIOGRAPHY

➡ The Reverend [David Brewster](#) rediscovered the kaleidoscope.³ He was made a member of the Royal Society of London and received its Copley medal.



3. When Sir Charles Wheatstone would discover the principle of the stereoscope in 1838, combining the two images by means of mirrors, Brewster's contribution would be to suggest the use of lenses instead of mirrors. It may be fairly said, therefore, that the lenticular stereoscope would also be his invention.

On the
*Crucifixion of our Saviour
 and the Two Thieves*

Behold O God **I N R I** vers of my Tears
 I come to thee : bow down thy blessed ears
 To hear my Plaint ; and let thine eyes which keep
 Continual watch , behold a Sinner weep .

Let not **O GOD** my **GOD** my Sins , tho' great
 And numberless , betw^{een} thy Mercys - Seat
 And my poor Soul **H**ave place ; since we are laugh
Lord remember st th^{ou} **Y**ne **If Thou art** soug^{ht}

I Than Be the **ME** not Lord , wit
WH at I by my S
EN his Wound
THorns my crown my dea
OV my bles
COunts with
ME my h
ST forgi
INg font , the Li
TO thee ,
THer helps a
Y Cross , my
Kin then , th
INand Death sn
God , my cours
Death dete
OMsday let
 To live with the

H any o
Aviour
S my Ealm - his st
Th be ble
T Redemer
Hold thy
Oves on
Ve me , since t
Fe , the Wa
O whither
Re van grant thin
Saving hea
At I with
Kme to rise
E direct
Ne , that I
De be rais
E Sweet Jes

THE r merit ,
CHrist inherit .
RIpes my Bliss ,
STin his ;
SAviour , God .
VEngelut Rod .
Thee are set ,
Hou st paid my deb
Y , I know ,
Shall I go ?
Eto me .
Lth I see .
Fwith implore ,
 no more .
And guide ;
Never slide ;
Dagain ,
Vsay , Amen .

1815

1815



[Henry Marie Brackenridge](#)'s JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE UP THE RIVER MISSOURI, PERFORMED IN EIGHTEEN HUNDRED ELEVEN... (Baltimore: Pub. by Coale and Maxwell, Pomeroy & Joy, printers):



JOURNAL OF A VOYAGE



[Thomas Green Fessenden](#) became the editor of the Brattleboro, Vermont Reporter. Also, in this year, his AMERICAN CLERK'S COMPANION.



1815

1815

➡ The attorney [Pietro Bachi](#), implicated in General Joachim Murat's failed attempt to seize the throne of the two Sicilies, was forced to flee Palermo, [Sicily](#). He would wind up in England and then in the United States. Since we have a notation that sometimes Bachi was known as "Ignasio Batolo," we may suspect that some of this traveling was accomplished, for safety, under an assumed name.

[Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) received the Medaglia d'Onore di [Napoli](#) from the Istituto da Napoleone. Here is a photograph of a gentleman's red oiled-silk umbrella from the period 1815-1820:⁴



➡ [Robert Anderson](#) prepared LIFE OF [SAMUEL JOHNSON](#), LL.D., WITH CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON HIS WORKS (Edinburgh).

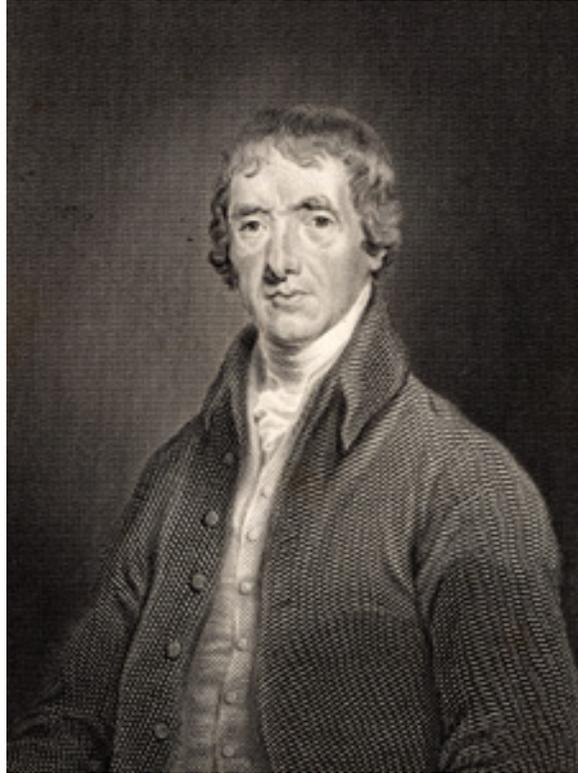
4. Note that if Giacomo was already sporting his signature red umbrella during this period—something which we do not know—then its color, since the color associated with the clergy was black, would have been taken on the Italian peninsula to be an assertion of an anticlerical politics — and indeed Giacomo's politics were anticlerical (as anticlerical as, in a later generation, the politics of the red-shirted supporters of Giuseppe Garibaldi).

1815

1815



Publication of the 10th and final volume of [John Aikin](#)'s GENERAL BIOGRAPHY: OR LIVES, CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL, OF THE MOST EMINENT PERSONS OF ALL AGES, COUNTRIES, CONDITIONS AND PROFESSIONS.



The Year-of-the-Mice — the initial accounts of ice [hockey](#) being played on the Northwest Arm.

The bowling game of “Nine Pins” had been being played for some time, although eventually it would be discredited and banned due not only to its association with tippling and with gambling, but also to its unfortunate tendency to induce farmhands to the intolerable practice of discontinuing their labors while there still remained enough light in the sky to see. In this year the following diatribe appeared in the [OLD FARMER'S ALMANAC](#):

Bowling greens have become of late mightily fashionable, to the ruin of many unfortunate young men. Scarcely a day passes without the rattle of pins in front of landlord Toddy Stick's house. Every boy is distracted to get away from his work in order to take his game. At sun two hours high, the day is finished, and away goes men and boys to the bowling alley. Haying, hoeing, ploughing, sewing, all must give way to sport and toddy.

1815

1815

This publication also urged the dairywomen of New England to “Pray put your [snuff](#) box aside when you are working over your butter” — although it neglected to specify just why.



AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND PROGRESS OF RENT, AND THE PRINCIPLES BY WHICH IT IS REGULATED BY REV. T.R. MALTHUS, PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY IN THE EAST INDIA COLLEGE, HERTFORDSHIRE. LONDON, Printed for John Murray, Albemarle Street.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

Also, the Reverend's THE GROUNDS OF AN OPINION ON THE POLICY OF RESTRICTING THE IMPORTATION OF FOREIGN CORN: INTENDED AS AN APPENDIX TO "OBSERVATIONS ON THE CORN LAW." London, Printed for John Murray, Albermarle Street, and J. Johnson and Co., St. Paul's Church Yard.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)



Until 1817 the only product of the [cotton](#) mills of [Rhode Island](#) would be cotton yarn, with cloth being something produced out of this cotton yarn only by hand weavers. However, in this year Judge Daniel Lyman and John Thorp of [Providence](#), and Mr. F.C. Lowell of [Boston](#), collaborated to produce a powered machine and set it up at the Waltham cotton factory, and also, William Gilmour of Glasgow, Scotland, disembarked at Boston with the pattern for a powered loom and a powered dresser machine. John Slater invited Gilmour to come to Smithfield but would be unable to persuade his partners to fund the construction of an experimental loom. This would cause Gilmore would move on, and in the following year he would build a dozen looms for Judge Lyman's Lymansville mill in North Providence. Also, he would allow David Wilkinson and Company, for the sum of \$10, to use his patterns and construct another dozen looms.

[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)



[Elizabeth Hussey Whittier](#), Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)'s sister, was born.

→ Lydia Howard Huntley’s anonymous MORAL PIECES IN PROSE AND VERSE had the editorial and publishing assistance of Daniel Wadsworth.

LYDIA HOWARD HUNTLEY SIGOURNEY

→ At about this point [Cato Pearce](#), back from his voyage to the Caribbean, had abandoned religion and taken up drinking and carousing. After spending his seaman’s wages in [Rhode Island](#), he began to attend the revival meetings held for people of color by a white man known to them as Elder Osborne (the Reverend V.R. Osborne was apparently being permitted by the white congregation of his [Methodist](#) church in [Providence](#) to preach to people of color, but only in all-colored assemblies and only at night). Elder Osborne was asking converts to rise and come forward, and some attenders did, but Cato always held back. He hired himself out to Captain James Rhodes of Providence. During a terrible storm while on another voyage to the Caribbean, he would feel an urge to pray out loud. The first mate would attempt to forbid such prayer, but later, below decks, he would again pray out loud. The first mate, hearing this, would call him on deck and shout “Didn’t I tell you I wouldn’t have no more hollerin’ and prayin’ on board?”

Then he hauled me forward and laid me over the windlass, and made one of the hands hold me over while he laid on three or four hard blows with a rope, and made me promise not to pray again. Then I didn’t know what to do.... I wept a good deal – pretty much all night long.



RHODE ISLAND RELIGION

In about this year a portrait was made on canvas, by an unknown artist, of Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior (1764-1835), one of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations's wealthiest plantation masters, owning some seven or eight farms. He was an enormous man, six feet four inches tall and weighing about 300 pounds.

Table of Altitudes

	Yoda	2' 0"
	Lavinia Warren	2' 8"
	Tom Thumb, Jr.	3' 4"
	Lucy (Australopithecus Afarensis)	3' 8"
	Hervé Villechaize ("Fantasy Island")	3' 11"
	Charles Proteus Steinmetz	4' 0"
	Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (1)	4' 3"
	Alexander Pope	4' 6"
	Benjamin Lay	4' 7"
	Dr. Ruth Westheimer	4' 7"
	Gary Coleman ("Arnold Jackson")	4' 8"
	Edith Piaf	4' 8"
	Queen Victoria with osteoporosis	4' 8"
	Linda Hunt	4' 9"
	Queen Victoria as adult	4' 10"
	Mother Teresa	4' 10"
	Margaret Mitchell	4' 10"
	length of newer military musket	4' 10"
	Charlotte Brontë	4' 10-11"
	Tammy Faye Bakker	4' 11"
	Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut	4' 11"
	jockey Willie Shoemaker	4' 11"
	Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4' 11"
	Joan of Arc	4' 11"
	Bonnie Parker of "Bonnie & Clyde"	4' 11"
	Harriet Beecher Stowe	4' 11"
	Laura Ingalls Wilder	4' 11"
	a rather tall adult Pygmy male	4' 11"
	Gloria Swanson	4' 11"1/2
	Clara Barton	5' 0"
Isambard Kingdom Brunel	5' 0"	
Andrew Carnegie	5' 0"	
Thomas de Quincey	5' 0"	
Stephen A. Douglas	5' 0"	
Danny DeVito	5' 0"	
Immanuel Kant	5' 0"	
William Wilberforce	5' 0"	
Dollie Parton	5' 0"	

Mae West	5' 0 "
Pia Zadora	5' 0 "
Deng Xiaoping	5' 0 "
Dred Scott	5' 0 " (±)
Captain William Bligh of HMS <i>Bounty</i>	5' 0 " (±)
Harriet Tubman	5' 0 " (±)
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (2)	5' 0 " (±)
John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island	5' 0 " (+)
John Keats	5' 3/4 "
Debbie Reynolds (Carrie Fisher's mother)	5' 1 "
Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher)	5' 1 "
Bette Midler	5' 1 "
Dudley Moore	5' 2 "
Paul Simon (of Simon & Garfunkel)	5' 2 "
Honore de Balzac	5' 2 "
Sally Field	5' 2 "
Jemmy Button	5' 2 "
Margaret Mead	5' 2 "
R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller	5' 2 "
Yuri Gagarin the astronaut	5' 2 "
William Walker	5' 2 "
Horatio Alger, Jr.	5' 2 "
length of older military musket	5' 2 "
the artist formerly known as Prince	5' 2 1/2 "
typical female of Thoreau's period	5' 2 1/2 "
Francis of Assisi	5' 3 "
Voltaire	5' 3 "
Mohandas Gandhi	5' 3 "
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3 "
Kahlil Gibran	5' 3 "
Friend Daniel Ricketson	5' 3 "
The Reverend Gilbert White	5' 3 "
Nikita Khrushchev	5' 3 "
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3 "
Truman Capote	5' 3 "
Kim Jong Il (North Korea)	5' 3 "
Stephen A. "Little Giant" Douglas	5' 4 "
Francisco Franco	5' 4 "
President James Madison	5' 4 "
Iosef Vissarionovich Dzugashvili "Stalin"	5' 4 "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 "
Pablo Picasso	5' 4 "



Truman Capote	5' 4 "
Queen Elizabeth	5' 4 "
Ludwig van Beethoven	5' 4 "
Typical Homo Erectus	5' 4 "
typical Neanderthal adult male	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
comte de Buffon	5' 5 " (-)
Captain Nathaniel Gordon	5' 5 "
Charles Manson	5' 5 "
Audie Murphy	5' 5 "
Harry Houdini	5' 5 "
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全	5' 5 "
Marilyn Monroe	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
T.E. Lawrence "of Arabia"	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
average runaway male American slave	5' 5-6 "
Charles Dickens	5' 6? "
President Benjamin Harrison	5' 6 "
President Martin Van Buren	5' 6 "
James Smithson	5' 6 "
Louisa May Alcott	5' 6 "
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Napoleon Bonaparte	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Emily Brontë	5' 6-7 "
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	5' ? "
average height, seaman of 1812	5' 6.85 "
Oliver Reed Smoot, Jr.	5' 7 "
minimum height, British soldier	5' 7 "
President John Adams	5' 7 "
President John Quincy Adams	5' 7 "
President William McKinley	5' 7 "
"Charley" Parkhurst (a female)	5' 7 "
Ulysses S. Grant	5' 7 "
Henry Thoreau	5' 7 "
the average male of Thoreau's period	5' 7 ¹ / ₂ "
Edgar Allan Poe	5' 8 "
President Ulysses S. Grant	5' 8 "
President William H. Harrison	5' 8 "
President James Polk	5' 8 "
President Zachary Taylor	5' 8 "
average height, soldier of 1812	5' 8.35 "
President Rutherford B. Hayes	5' 8 ¹ / ₂ "
President Millard Fillmore	5' 9 "





1815

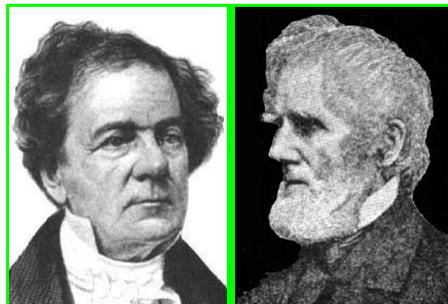
1815

President Harry S. Truman	5' 9"
President Jimmy Carter	5' 9 ¹ / ₂ "
Herman Melville	5' 9 ³ / ₄ "
Calvin Coolidge	5' 10"
Andrew Johnson	5' 10"
Theodore Roosevelt	5' 10"
Thomas Paine	5' 10"
Franklin Pierce	5' 10"
Abby May Alcott	5' 10"
Reverend Henry C. Wright	5' 10"
Nathaniel Hawthorne	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Friend John Greenleaf Whittier	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
President Dwight D. Eisenhower	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	5' 11"
Sojourner Truth	5' 11"
President Grover Cleveland	5' 11"
President Herbert Hoover	5' 11"
President Woodrow Wilson	5' 11"
President Jefferson Davis	5' 11"
President Richard Milhous Nixon	5' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
Robert Voorhis the hermit of Rhode Island	< 6'
Frederick Douglass	6' (-)
Anthony Burns	6' 0"
Waldo Emerson	6' 0"
Joseph Smith, Jr.	6' 0"
David Walker	6' 0"
Sarah F. Wakefield	6' 0"
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	6' 0"
President James Buchanan	6' 0"
President Gerald R. Ford	6' 0"
President James Garfield	6' 0"
President Warren Harding	6' 0"
President John F. Kennedy	6' 0"
President James Monroe	6' 0"
President William H. Taft	6' 0"
President John Tyler	6' 0"
John Brown	6' 0 (+)"
President Andrew Jackson	6' 1"
Alfred Russel Wallace	6' 1"
President Ronald Reagan	6' 1"
Venture Smith	6' 1 ¹ / ₂ "

John Camel Heenan	6' 2"
Crispus Attucks	6' 2"
President Chester A. Arthur	6' 2"
President George Bush, Senior	6' 2"
President Franklin D. Roosevelt	6' 2"
President George Washington	6' 2"
Gabriel Prosser	6' 2"
Dangerfield Newby	6' 2"
Charles Augustus Lindbergh	6' 2"
President Bill Clinton	6' 2 ¹ / ₂ "
President Thomas Jefferson	6' 2 ¹ / ₂ "
President Lyndon B. Johnson	6' 3"
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.	6' 3"
Richard "King Dick" Seaver	6' 3 ¹ / ₄ "
President Abraham Lincoln	6' 4"
Marion Morrison (AKA John Wayne)	6' 4"
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior	6' 4"
Thomas Cholmondeley	6' 4" (?)
William Buckley	6' 4-7"
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	6' 5"
Peter the Great of Russia	6' 7"
William "Dwarf Billy" Burley	6' 7"
Giovanni Battista Belzoni	6' 7"
Thomas Jefferson (the statue)	7' 6"
Jefferson Davis (the statue)	7' 7"
Martin Van Buren Bates	7' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
M. Bihin, a Belgian exhibited in Boston in 1840	8'
Anna Haining Swan	8' 1"



Arthur Tappan borrowed \$12,000.⁰⁰ from Lewis Tappan, without interest, to start an import firm in New-York.

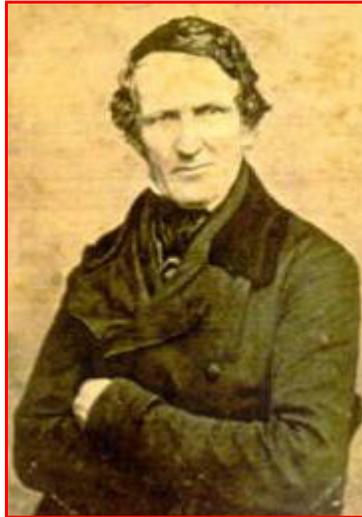


1815

1815

→ The D-shaped sandstone artillery fort on a tiny offshore island at the tip of Manhattan became the headquarters for the 3d Military District and was renamed [Castle Clinton](#), in honor of Governor DeWitt Clinton.

→ [Alvan Fisher](#) took up landscape painting.



→ The Washington City Canal was completed, reaching the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal at Georgetown, District of Columbia.

CANALS

→ [Edward Hitchcock](#) became principal of Deerfield Academy, where he had been a student. He published a poem of some 500 lines, "Emancipation of Europe or, The downfall of [Bonaparte](#). A tragedy" (Denio and Phelps). During his period at this school, Edmund M. Blunt, publisher of the [AMERICAN NAUTICAL ALMANAC](#), offered a reward of \$10 for the discovery of an error in the work and so he supplied a list of 57. When the publisher failed to supply the reward or notice this attempt at assistance, he had his list 57 errors published by the [American Monthly Magazine](#) (a year later, when the [AMERICAN NAUTICAL ALMANAC](#) would be reissued in a somewhat revised form without offering him credit for these corrections, he would repeat the process by producing a list of 35 errors in the new edition).

The Reverend Francis Brown took over as president of [Dartmouth College](#):

FRANCIS BROWN (president 1815-1820): Francis Brown, a pastor from North Yarmouth, Maine, presided over Dartmouth College during the famous Supreme Court hearing of Trustees of Dartmouth College v. William H. Woodward or, as it is more commonly called, the Dartmouth College Case. The contest was a pivotal one for Dartmouth and for the newly independent nation. It tested the contract clause of the Constitution and arose from an 1816 controversy involving the legislature of the state of New Hampshire, which amended the 1769 charter granted to Eleazar Wheelock, making Dartmouth a public institution and changing its name to Dartmouth University. Under the leadership of President Brown, the Trustees resisted the effort and the case for Dartmouth was argued by Daniel Webster before the US Supreme Court in 1818. Chief Justice John Marshall wrote the historic decision in favor of Dartmouth College, thereby paving the way for all American private institutions to conduct their affairs

in accordance with their charters and without interference from the state. In a letter following the proceedings, Justice Joseph Story explained "the vital importance to the well-being of society and the security of private rights of the principles on which the decision rested. Unless I am very much mistaken, these principles will be found to apply with an extensive reach to all the great concerns of the people and will check any undue encroachments on civil rights which the passions or the popular doctrines of the day may stimulate our State Legislatures to adopt." While the outcome was a tremendous victory for Dartmouth, the turmoil of the four-year legal battle left the College in perilous financial condition and took its toll on the health of President Brown. His condition steadily deteriorating, the Trustees made provisions, in 1819, for "the senior professors ... to perform all the public duties pertaining to the Office of President of the College" in the event of his disability. Francis Brown died in July 1820, at the age of 35.⁵



 Arthur Schopenhauer's ON SEEING AND COLORS. A draft and execution of the 1st version of his principal work, THE WORLD AS WILL AND REPRESENTATION.

 In Waltham MA, the Boston Manufacturing Company established a Manufacturers Library for its employees.

 At this point, Professor Scott A. Sandage has pointed out in BORN LOSERS: A HISTORY OF FAILURE IN AMERICA, the curious practice of epistolary begging began. In England, unfortunates began to send messages off by post to celebrity fortunates, describing their current predicament and suggesting that some personal assistance would be not only appropriate, but also, would be most sincerely appreciated.

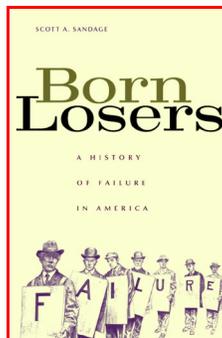
 The curious practice of epistolary begging began in England about 1815. The American du Ponts received letters as early as 1822, and the "Swedish Nightingale" Jenny Lind and her manager, P.T. Barnum, received 120 daily during their 1850 tour. Barnum collected them for decades before figuring out how to milk them for publicity – which he finally managed to do in "My Museum of Letters," a syndicated article featuring "preposterously ridiculous" excerpts. Mark Twain saved his begging mail, too, finding "this sort of literature" so hilarious that he pestered Barnum and others to send him theirs. Thanks to the penny post, moneyed Americans became "the rich and famous" in the postwar culture of celebrity. Department store magnate Alexander T. Stewart, clergyman Henry Ward Beecher, and philanthropist Margaret Olivia Sage (Mrs. Russell Sage) got begging letters. So did William Jennings Bryan, Henry Ford, Thomas Edison, and Andrew Carnegie. Even the supplicants themselves used the term.

5. All the Dartmouth presidential portraits are in the college's Hood Museum of Art in Hanford, New Hampshire.

"Now Mr. Rockefeller," one wrote, "I suppose you have come to the conclusion long before this that this is a begging letter, and I suppose it would be called so." The flow of the oil tycoon's mail increased with his fame and with the panics of 1873 and 1893; correspondence after 1894 was later destroyed by fire but apparently peaked at 15,000 per week. Many writers were barely literate, but their collective output constituted a vernacular genre, cobbled together from idioms of sentiment and business shared by isolated and scattered individuals. The intimacy of the letters was exceeded only by their lack of originality: beggars from Des Moines, Brooklyn, and New Orleans wrote the same things, in almost the same order, pouring what they must have felt as unique heartbreak into relentlessly formulaic letters. They apologized for intruding, recounted their troubles, and pitched a deal. Many pondered at length their own worthiness and culpability in the face of failure. "I clouded some years of my life by a foolish struggle for freedom from subordinating duties which galled me," one of Andrew Carnegie's correspondents wrote in 1886. "Of course I failed and suffered. But the discipline was useful though severe." More than clever panhandling, the begging letter was a confessional and a reflexive crucible for identity.

Beggars forced a dialogue between fame and ill fortune. Men like Rockefeller and Carnegie received letters not only because of their wealth but because they embodied the anachronistic but resilient ideal of self-made manhood. It dated from 1832, long before "firms of large capital" remapped the road to success, yet it still had wide appeal in 1897, when President Grover Cleveland left office and began a lucrative tour promoting his new book, *THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICAN LIFE*. The bootstrap myth defined contemporary masculinity even though few captains of industry had started life poor. A gendered ideal, self-made manhood implied not only that success was a male affair, but also that great men were born of themselves and triumphed without the aid of women. In contrast, men who failed were passive, weak, dependent, and broken. William Dean Howells pronounced a typical eulogy in his 1885 novel, *THE RISE OF SILAS LAPHAM*: "He was more broken than he knew by his failure; it did not kill, as it often does, but it weakened the spring once so strong and elastic. He lapsed more and more into acquiescence with his changed condition."

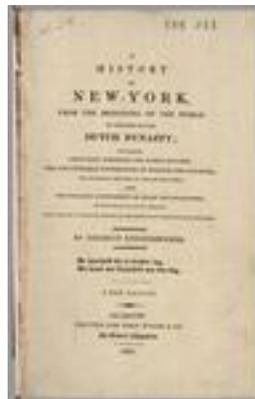
Even more than they had in antebellum America, the self-made man and the broken man represented the poles of an ideology of manhood based on achieved identity – the conviction that all men earned their fates and thus deserved whatever credit or disgrace they accrued.



➡ On [Nantucket Island](#), [Samuel B. Comstock](#)'s youth had been unruly. Embarking at age 13 on a voyage aboard the *Foster* to encounter the Pacific Islands, he would attempt to foment a mutiny aboard this whaler and would wind up confined under careful watch. (When they returned to their home port, however, his troublemaking proclivities would be forgiven and Samuel, with his brothers William and George, would be allowed to sign aboard the whaler *Globe*.)



➡ A new edition of [Washington Irving](#)'s A HISTORY OF [NEW YORK](#), by "Diedrich Knickerbocker," illustrated by the drawings of Washington Allston and C.R. Leslie.



READ THE FULL TEXT

➡ "Fairy Tales" was 1st published by the brothers Grimm.

➡ It is well recognized that, in tense situations, the upper lip tends to tremble. The [Massachusetts Spy](#) therefore reported "I kept a stiff upper lip." (This is the first usage of such a phrase in print that has as yet been turned up by diligent searching. Note that the "stiff upper lip" still so needed by Brits seems to have originated not in England but on this side of the pond.)

1815

1815

→ Dr. Thomas Young's A PRACTICAL AND HISTORICAL TREATISE ON CONSUMPTIVE DISEASES indicated despondently that in only about one out of every thousand cases would there be a successful recovery from [consumption](#), and that the best medical care would save the life merely of one out of every hundred victims. To become consumptive was regarded as a virtual death sentence.



[Tuberculosis](#) was playing a major role in [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s family life. In 1797, while he was four, his mother had died of consumption. At this point in his young manhood, his father also succumbed to consumption.

→ With the creation of a chair in [Chinese](#) at the Collège de France, organized French Sinology began. (It would never end.)

At about this point Hung gar or "Red Boxing" wushu appeared in Fukien Province. While the name would suggest ties to the South Chinese triad societies, this form of personal combat was more likely named after its creator, the southern Shaolin boxers of Hung Shi-kuan. New northern styles also appeared about this time, the most famous of which would be the mei-hua or "Plum Flower boxing" that had been seen during the Eight Trigrams rebellion of 1813. While the most famous practitioner of this style was the White Lotus boxer Feng Ke-shan, the name referred simply to the springtime fairs at which boxing matches were frequent. The 19th-Century Chinese used such boxing arts to improve fitness or health, make money for gamblers or reputation for prizefighters, and attract new members to esoteric religious cults.

→ Dr. Levi Spear Parmly urged Americans to use a "waxen silk thread" between their teeth. This dental hygiene, the [dentist](#) believed, would be even more important for the health of their teeth than the toothbrush and tongue scraper (it appears that it was recognized that flossing was good for one's teeth before anyone realized that it was even better for the health of one's gums). The practitioner buttonholed passers-by on the street, if they seemed by the condition of their mouth to be in need of some sound advice, handing out samples of floss.

→ [William Jackson Hooker](#) got married with Maria Dawson Turner, eldest daughter of Dawson Turner, banker, of Great Yarmouth, and sister-in-law of Francis Palgrave. Settling at Halesworth, Suffolk, he would devote himself to the formation of his excellent herbarium. He became a corresponding member of the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences.

THE SCIENCE OF 1815

Samuel Constantine Rafinesque returned to the USA despite loss in a shipwreck of numerous of his botanical manuscripts and collections.

BOTANIZING

→ Jussieu's System had made its appearance in 1798, but it was not until this year that it came to be available in Philadelphia.

1815

1815

→ [Dr. Jacob Bigelow](#) became Professor of *Materia Medica* for the Medical School of [Harvard College](#). He would serve in that capacity until 1855.

BOTANIZING

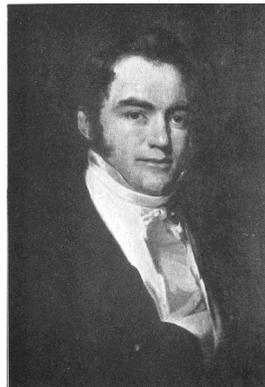


→ [Thaddeus William Harris](#) received his BA degree from [Harvard College](#) and entered the Harvard Medical School.

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

[Convers Francis, Jr.](#) also received his bachelor’s degree. Still on file there is his “Spherical Problems. Convers Francis (21 ¾ x 29 inches).”

The Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at [Harvard](#), [John Farrar](#), was sponsoring the building of a weather observatory at Harvard (the project would not accumulate the required funds). [Harvard](#) awarded its automatic degree of Master of Arts to [William Elliott](#) of South Carolina (who actually, now fancy this, hadn’t even graduated with his class).



[Professor Sylvestre François Lacroix](#) left the École Polytechnique to take up a chair at the Sorbonne, and was appointed to the chair of mathematics at the Collège de France where since 1812 he had been teaching.

→ The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) had gotten so radical that he was preaching that:

- The Puritan position had overly distrusted the moral capabilities of humankind.
- The Puritans had been considerably in error in painting a portrait of a supreme being who was, essentially, unlovable.

1815

1815

- The doctrine that there were three persons in the Godhead was merely divisive and difficult, was something which somebody had made up which was irrational, unprovable, and unscriptural.



In this year a portrait of the Reverend was painted by Gilbert Stuart:



➡ Rufus William Griswold was born. (He would appear in [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#) 1852 THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE as "Doctor Griswold.")

➡ The term [phrenology](#) was coined by Dr. Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster.



1815

1815

➡ An article on the system of “craniology” of Franz Joseph Gall and Johann Gaspar Spurzheim appeared in the Edinburgh Review. The article denounced this as “a piece of thorough quackery from beginning to end” in a manner that persuaded the local attorney [George Combe](#) of its absurdity. However, when Dr. Spurzheim came to Edinburgh and at a friend’s house offered a demonstration of the dissection of a human brain, Combe was sufficiently impressed to begin to attend the Doctor’s lectures, and became convinced “that the brain is the organ of mind; that the brain is an aggregate of several parts, each subserving a distinct mental faculty; and that the size of the cerebral organ is, *caeteris paribus*, an index of power or energy of function.”

PHRENOLOGY

➡ Johann Gaspar Spurzheim began to publish on “his” new system of organology and brain anatomy, starting with THE PHYSIOGNOMICAL SYSTEM OF DRs. GALL AND SPURZHEIM; FOUNDED ON AN ANATOMICAL AND PHYSIOLOGICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NERVOUS SYSTEM IN GENERAL, AND OF THE BRAIN IN PARTICULAR; AND INDICATING THE DISPOSITIONS AND MANIFESTATIONS OF THE MIND.

PHRENOLOGY

➡ Former president [Thomas Jefferson](#) drew up his famous genetic chart, with its sickening white-racist imputation that “a third cross clears the blood.”⁶



➡ Sarah Harris was born, the very light skinned daughter of a prosperous black farmer. We aren’t sure whether our racist ex-President [Thomas Jefferson](#) —himself the father of 3d-cross children who yet remained his slaves— would have considered her blood to be clear, or still tainted, because we don’t know whether as yet in the amalgamation between the black and the white races, “a third cross [had] clear[ed] [her] blood.” (After completing the district school, this young lady would seek training to rise to the status of teacher. She would, however, as befitting an American woman of the suntan complexion, instead wind up as the wife of a blacksmith.)

6. Is the earliest beginning of the [Eugenics](#) agenda in America to be traced to this hot conceit of white slavemasters such as Jefferson — that they might inseminate mulatto females who were their property, and inseminate them progressively through generations of less and less dusky little girls, until eventually their offspring would become treatable as if they were white?

1815

1815

➡ John Russworm's white father died and he continued to live with his stepmother. As Russworm was but a 1st or 2d cross in the amalgamation between the black and the white races, our racist ex-President [Thomas Jefferson](#) –himself the father of 3d-cross children who yet remained his slaves– would have considered his blood far from clear.



➡ Franklin Benjamin Sanborn would record an autobiographical fragment written by John Brown in 1859 about how, from age fifteen (in this year) to age twenty he worked as a farmer and currier, chiefly for his father, and for most of the time as foreman. For awhile he surveyed, and then he became a shepherd. He got married with a widow, “a remarkably plain, but neat, industrious, and economical girl, of excellent character, earnest piety, and good practical common sense,” Dianthe Lusk, and they would have seven children. (Among the twenty children of John Brown's two marriages, eight died in early childhood.)

➡ In England, the Corn Bill passed to the enormous benefit of needy landlords.

➡ Nash rebuilt the Brighton Pavilion in “oriental” style.

➡ Major English common areas were destroyed by enclosure, that is, through their transformation into productive acreage held in private hands by the landed aristocracy:

Improvements and Removals:

1777	Enfield Chase
1815	Exmoor Forest
1817	Windsor Forest
1851	Hainault Forest

1815

1815

→ Sarah Fuller ([Margaret Fuller](#)), age 6, was reading the classics under the tutelage of her father Timothy Fuller.⁷



THE LONDON THEATRE. A COLLECTION OF THE MOST CELEBRATED DRAMATIC PIECES. CORRECTLY GIVEN, FROM COPIES USE IN THE THEATRES, BY THOMAS DIDBIN, OF THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE. / (VOLUME III: [CATO](#). A TRAGEDY. BY [JOSEPH ADDISON, ESQ.](#) CORRECTLY GIVEN, FROM COPIES USED IN THE THEATRES, BY THOMAS DIDBIN, AUTHOR OF SEVERAL DRAMATIC PIECES: AND PROMPTER OF THE THEATRE ROYAL, DRURY LANE) (London: Printed at the Chiswick Press, by C. Whittingham; for Whittingham and Arliss, Paternoster Row, 1815)

CATO: A TRAGEDY

→ By the time Archbishop John Carroll of [Baltimore](#), the 1st such [Roman Catholic](#) prelate in the USA, had died during this year, he had [manumitted](#) each of his black [slaves](#).

7. The Honorable Timothy Fuller had been born on July 11, 1778 in Chilmark, Massachusetts, a son of the Reverend Timothy Fuller, the initial settled minister of Princeton, Massachusetts. He had received a classical education at Harvard College and graduated in 1801 with 2d honors. He had become a lawyer and during this period was serving in the Massachusetts State Senate as a Democratic-Republican. In 1809 he had gotten married with Margaret Crane. The Honorable Timothy Fuller and Margaret Crane Fuller would produce 8 children before his suddenly, intestate, and insolvent death of cholera in Groton, Massachusetts on October 1, 1835:

— The 1st daughter [Sarah Margaret Fuller](#) was born at Cambridgeport, Massachusetts on May 23, 1810; got married (or something) with Giovanni, Marchese Ossoli, and bore one child, Angelo Philip Ossoli, at Rieti, Italy on September 5, 1848; parents and child drowned on July 19, 1850;

— Julia Adelaide Fuller, died in childhood

— The 1st son Eugene Fuller was born at Cambridge on May 14, 1815, graduated from Harvard College (just barely) in 1834; got married with a widow of New Orleans Mrs. Anna Eliza Rotta, and drowned on June 21, 1859

— The 2d son William Henry Fuller never went to college but applied himself to mercantile pursuits in New Orleans and then in Cincinnati, and later resided in Cambridge, Massachusetts, getting married with Frances Elizabeth Hastings on February 28, 1840 (her mother was a Hammond, a niece of Mrs. Craigie of Craigie House, Cambridge); resided at Cambridge and died in New-York during December 1878 (his wife survived him, dying on May 13, 1885)

— [Ellen Kilshaw Fuller](#) was born on August 7, 1820, got married with [Ellery Channing II](#) on September 24, 1841, and died on September 22, 1856

— Reverend Arthur Buckminster Fuller, born August 10, 1822, graduated from Harvard College, 1843; got married with, 1st on September 18, 1850, Elizabeth Godfrey Davenport, of Mendon, Massachusetts, who died March 4, 1856; got married with, 2d, on September 28, 1859, Emma Lucilla Reeves of Wayland, Massachusetts

— [Richard Frederick Fuller](#)

— James Lloyds Fuller, died unmarried on July 7, 1891

— Edward Brecks Fuller, died in childhood

 [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#)'s JOURNEY TO [ITALY](#).



[Goethe](#)'s *Sprichwortlich*, from which [Henry Thoreau](#) would extrapolate lines 458-9 "Would you know the ripest cherries? / Ask the boys and blackbirds" and produce:

[WALDEN](#): Sometimes, having had a surfeit of human society and gossip, and worn out all my village friends, I rambled still farther westward than I habitually dwell, into yet more unfrequented parts of the town, "to fresh woods and pastures new," or, while the sun was setting, made my supper of huckleberries and blueberries on Fair Haven Hill, and laid up a store for several days. The fruits do not yield their true flavor to the purchaser of them, nor to him who raises them for the market. There is but one way to obtain it, yet few take that way. If you would know the flavor of huckleberries, ask the cow-boy or the partridge. It is a vulgar error to suppose that you have tasted huckleberries who never plucked them. A huckleberry never reaches Boston; they have not been known there since they grew on her three hills. The ambrosial and essential part of the fruit is lost with the bloom which is rubbed off in the market cart, and they become mere provender. As long as Eternal Justice reigns, not one innocent huckleberry can be transported thither from the country's hills.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

JOHANN WOLFGANG VON GOETHE

Goethe began to deal at this point with issues of meteorology. In this year he read a translation of Friend Luke Howard's essay into German, done by Ludwig Wilhelm Gilbert for the *Annalen der Physik*, and it would be this morphological cloud classification scheme which would be used in the weather observation network that would be established under Goethe's supervision after 1821 in the grand duchy of Sachsen-Weimar-Eisenach. The "simple modifications" designated as stratus, cumulus, cirrus, and nimbus by Howard would be described in a poem dedicated to Howard and this poem would be published both in German and in English translation in Goethe's journal on natural sciences in 1820 and in 1822. Goethe would include an autobiographical sketch supplied to him by Howard.⁸ Later, a review of Friend Luke's THE CLIMATE OF LONDON would appear in the same journal and special mention would be made of the urban heat-island effect he had discovered. Goethe would develop his own concept of a three-layer atmospheric stratification. He would enlarge upon and refine Howard's classification scheme by distinguishing between cumulus clouds with horizontal bases and those ragged cumulus which nowadays are designated as cumulus fractus.

In this year Dr. Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster again presented his elaboration of Friend Luke's nomenclature of clouds (plus chapters on meteors and electricity) as RESEARCHES ABOUT ATMOSPHERIC PHAENOMENAE printed in London: "When the cirrus is seen in detached tufts, called Mare's Tails, it may be regarded as a sign of wind." "Of the cloud ... the other part remains cirriform." –Obviously, we need to figure out whether, and when, Thoreau consulted this derivative presentation:



➡ Henry Highland Garnet was born a slave in Kent County, Maryland.



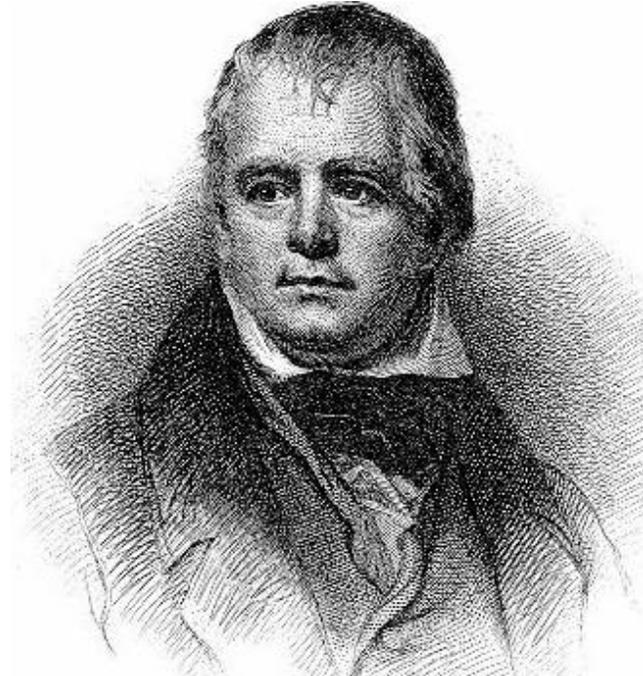
"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could want such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY? 1976, page 141

8. Where Friend Luke self-described as "I am a man of domestic habits and very happy in my family and a few friends, whose company I quit with reluctance to join other circles." Goethe was vastly impressed. This was the sort of mentality, Goethe suspected, for which nature would gladly disclose her secrets.

→ Walter Scott's GUY MANNERING.



At the age of 15 [William Jardine](#), who to this point had been educated at home in Edinburgh, was sent to York “to learn English.” He would be returning to Scotland and to the University of Edinburgh for his study of medicine and anatomy under Professor John Lizars, and would attend the geological lectures and excursions of Professor Jameson and the botanical lectures of Mr. James Scott.

→ Fanny Elssler and her two sisters, Therese and Anna, embarked on their stage careers with the Horschelt Children's Ballet Company at the *Theater an der Wien* in Vienna, Austria. Francesca was five.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1815

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
28/03	Sarah White		Salisbury	Arson
03/04	Sarah Woodward		Ipswich	Murder of child
19/07	Jane Mulholland		Armagh	Murder of husband
25/07	Elizabeth Wollerton		Ipswich	Murder
26/07	Eliza Fenning	21	Newgate	Attempted Murder ^a
04/08	Honora Houraghan	40	Cork (Gallows Green)	Murder of husband

a. She was almost certainly innocent.



Lewis Downing, Senior bought the house at the south end of Main Street in [Concord, New Hampshire](#), then known as the “Duncan Estate,” but it being subject to a lease, he did not remove there with his coach-building business until 1816. In the rear of the house he had a small shop, where the woodwork and painting was done, the iron work still continuing to be done at the New Hampshire State Prison, and by a Mr. Whitney, who had a blacksmith shop near where Francis N. Fisk’s store stood, at the north end of Main Street.

[Samuel Green](#) would confess, just before his hanging, that he had committed his initial murder in about this year in Meredith, [New Hampshire](#):

One day we were in a store, where a pedlar happened to come in, who had a box of jewelry and other articles of value on his back. While the pedlar was in the store trading for some of his jewelry, A— took me aside, and asked me how much money I thought the man had about him. Not being able to judge, he said he thought he had the value of a thousand dollars, and asked me if I was willing to waylay him. I made some objections at first, but as he continued to persuade me, and said a dead cock never crowed, I at last consented. About half a mile from this store, was a large swamp by the side of a pond – the pedlar had to pass through this swamp on his road. When the sun was about two hours high, in the afternoon, we saw him almost ready to start from the store, and accordingly went down to the swamp, there we waited his arrival, having provided ourselves each with a good club. We had not waited long, before he made his appearance. As soon as he came up to us, we stepped out, knocked him down, dragged him out of the road into the bushes, where we soon put an end to his life. Having secured his trunk and what money he had about him, amounting to about 900 dollars, we took him from this place, carried him about a quarter of a mile, tied some large stones to the body, and threw it into the pond, where it sunk. This pedlar was a steady, sober man, and always carried the best of jewelry with him, and used to travel, generally about one in three months, through my town... We waited in the woods till dark, then went about a mile from where we lived, and hid the trunk by the side of a mountain. I now went again to see the daughter of the widow before mentioned, made her a present of a suit of clothes, and also of some ear and finger rings, part of the property of the pedlar, and likewise a gold necklace.



By this point, with the help of [William Murdock](#), “B&W” had developed into a gigantic concern.



The concept of [insurance](#) was coming along so slowly in America that as of this year our courts were still debating whether any contract insuring a person’s life could be considered to be valid.



A miner’s safety lamp was invented by Humphrey Davy.

The cast-iron cookstove would, by the turn of our century, be being referred to as “the black beast of her despair” — but in this year this monstrous apparatus was making it for the 1st time unnecessary for a servant or housewife to cook while standing within an enormous fireplace amidst several different cooking fires!



➡ From this point forward, supplying cool to the urban upper classes and middle classes would be a major business. Cool was supplied, in those days before electric motors, by cutting ice from ponds during the winter and storing it for transportation and use during the summer in ways that cut down on melting.

COOLNESS

It was in this year, or perhaps in 1816, that ice shipments first began to arrive in English ports from Norway and “the Greenland seas.”

➡ At about this point the use of the small plough, for the cultivation of corn, was introduced among the French settlers in [Illinois](#). Mr. Charles L. Flint says their ploughs, “from the time of their occupation, in 1682, down to the [War of 1812](#), were made of wood, with a small point of iron fastened upon the wood by strips of raw-hide. The beams rested upon an axle and small wooden wheels. They were drawn by oxen yoked by the horns, the yokes being straight and fastened to the horns by raw-leather straps, a pole extending back from the yoke the axle. These ploughs were large and clumsy.... They used carts that had not a particle of iron about them.”

➡ An Apothecaries Act forbade unqualified physicians from practicing in Britain.

➡ British road surveyor John Macadam constructed roads of crushed stone.

➡ The British income tax was discontinued (it would be resumed in 1842).

➡ No gold “guinea” coins had been minted in England since 1813. In this year the nation established a gold standard for its currency so that it would no longer need this inherently problematic coin.

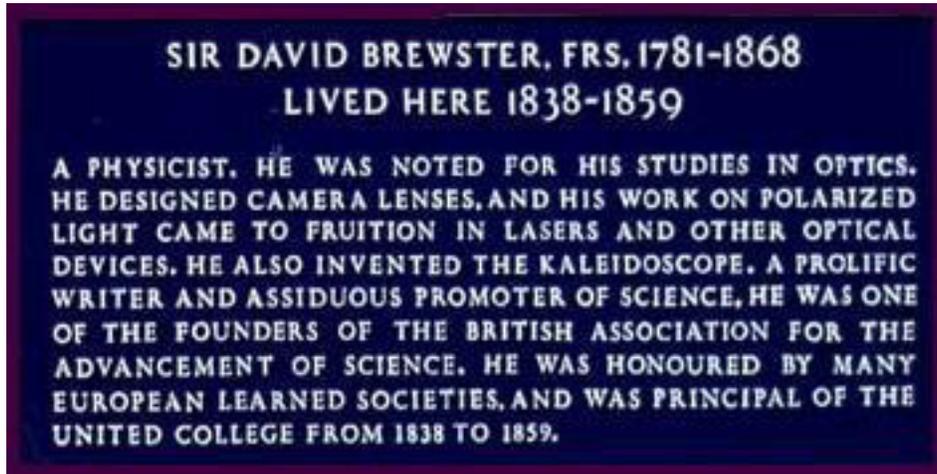
➡ At this point England had 20 steamships. The 1st steam warship, the USS *Fulton*, was constructed. (Every year they figure out a new way to kill you.)

➡ The percussion cap was invented. (Every year they figure out a new way to kill you.)

1815

1815

→ Sir David Brewster, the editor of the Edinburg Encyclopedia, developed something he named the “kaleidoscope.”⁹



→ Russia tried to make landings in the Sandwich Islands, which they were denominating as the “Cook Islands.”



His training at Homerton College (then in Hampstead) complete, [William Ellis](#) was ordained.

9. Since nobody has as yet figured out a way to get one of these scientific devices to kill people, they are usually denigrated as “toys.” A few years later, with some associates, Sir David would develop another type of optical instrument popular in the 19th Century, termed the “stereoscope.” This would suffer a similar fate.

1815

1815

➡ The North American Review was started in Boston under the editorship of William Tudor and would print his “Theology of the Hindoos as Taught by Ram Mohan Roy” as well as Theophilus Parson’s “Manners and Customs of India.” In 1817 it would pass into the control of a club of Boston gentlemen, who would make Jared Sparks chief editor, then Edward Tyrrell Channing, then in 1819 Edward Everett would assume the post.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW
MASTER INDEX

➡ In Boston, The Christian Disciple and the Theological Review, a magazine published from 1813 to 1823, printed an article on “Human Sacrifices Offered to the Ganges.”

INDIA

➡ William Wordsworth’s POEMS OF 1815 and THE WHITE DOE OF RYLSTONE. His “Laodamia.”



Wordsworth’s Poems, in Chronological Sequence

- September 1815
- November 1
- The fairest, brightest, hues of ether fade
- “Weak is the will of Man, his judgment blind
- Hail, Twilight, sovereign of one peaceful hour!
- The Shepherd, looking eastward, softly said
- Even as a dragon’s eye that feels the stress
- Mark the concentrated hazels that enclose
- To the Poet, John Dyer
- Brook! whose society the Poet seeks
- Surprised by joy — impatient as the Wind

➡ William Blake’s LAOCOÖN.

➡ Charles Lloyd’s translations of ALFIERI’S TRAGEDIES.

➡ Elizabeth Hamilton’s HINTS ADDRESSED TO PATRONS AND DIRECTORS OF SCHOOLS.

➡ The British restored Java to the Dutch.

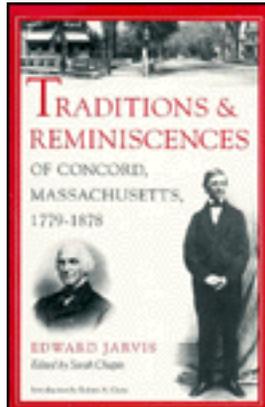
-  The colony of Harmonists moved from Pennsylvania and settled in Posey County, Indiana.
-  Economic postwar crisis in England.
-  In Ohio, the village of Cleaveland was incorporated.
-  Henry Bayfield, aged 20, started his hydrographic career with Captain W.F.W. Owen on the Great Lakes. He would continue his surveys in Canadian waters until 1856.
-  Mary Hays's THE BROTHERS, OR CONSEQUENCES. A STORY OF WHAT HAPPENS EVERY DAY (a novel against primogeniture).
-  A "Bridewell," or house of correction, was started at Halifax. Persons liable to be committed for a term not exceeding seven years were by the act described "as disorderly and idle people, who notoriously misspend their time, to the neglect of their own and family's support, and those who are convicted of any clergyable or lesser criminal offence."
-  During 1811 and 1812, the federal Congress had had a survey made of the post road from Passamaquoddy in the District of Maine to Sunbury, Georgia, in order to establish accurate distances between towns for the calculation of postal rates. In this year these rates were put into effect, as follows:
 - Single letter, conveyed by land for any distance not exceeding 10 miles, 6 cents
 - Over 10 but not exceeding 60 miles: 8 cents
 - Over 60 but not exceeding 100 miles: 10 cents
 - Over 100 but not exceeding 150 miles: 12 cents
 - Over 150 but not exceeding 200 miles: 15 cents
 - Over 200 but not exceeding 250 miles: 17 cents
 - Over 250 but not exceeding 350 miles: 20 cents
 - Over 350 but not exceeding 450 miles: 22 cents
 - Over 450 miles ... 25 cents(Double letters charged double)

Some fee structure like this would be in effect in the US Postal Service up to 1865, when free delivery of mail began to be provided in cities with populations of over 50,000. In 1873, delivery would be made free in cities of 20,000 or more, and in 1887, in cities of 10,000 or more. In 1896, rural free delivery would begin.

According to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, page 132:



Previous to the establishment, thirty or more years ago, of the cheap rates of postage, 3 cents pr. letter to all parts of the United States, these rates were 6 cents for 30 miles or less, 10 cts. for 30 to 80 miles, 12 1/2 cts. for 80 to 150 miles, 18 3/4 cts. for 150 to 400 miles, and 25 cts. for over 400 miles. There were heavy burdens on correspondence, and people sent a large part of their letters by private hands. Travellers everywhere took letters for their friends and acquaintances. Very many letters were left at taverns for the casual travellers to take and carry with them. At all these public taverns that I remember there were boards fixed to the wall by the barroom fireplace across which tapes were fixed with spaces between the tacks wide enough for the insertion of letters. Here writers deposited their epistles, and the depositions usually presented quite an array of them. Then travellers, teamsters, etc. [who were] stopping would look at this board and if they found letters directed to their town or on their way, they carried them to the tavern of that place, and the tavern keepers would keep watch of the letters and of their customers and send them as opportunity offered. Much of the correspondence of some people was carried on by writing on the margin of newspapers. Such they sent for one cent each. It is true the law forbid this and charged letter postage on the paper when discovered. Yet, as few postmasters opened and examined the paper, probably most escaped detection.



1815

1815

→ The widow [Mary Jones Dunbar Minot](#), whose 1st husband, the Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#), had become a Mason in 1779, and in 1781 had become master of Trinity Lodge #6 in [Keene](#), New Hampshire in this year was able to apply to the Grand Lodge of Masons in Massachusetts for financial aid. This request was endorsed by her minister, the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#):



DUNBAR FAMILY

[In] the settlement of the estate of her ... husband, Jonas Minot ... she has been peculiarly unfortunate, and become very much straightened in the means of living comfortably; ... individual friends have been ... generous, otherwise she must have suffered extremely; ... being thus reduced, and feeling the weight of cares, of years and of widowhood to be very heavy, after having seen better days, she is induced by the advice of friends, as well as her own exigencies, to apply for aid to the benevolence and charity of the Masonic Fraternity.

→ [Benjamin Bussey](#), the proprietor of the Dedham Woolen Mills, built his mansion home at "Woodland Hill," his West Roxbury farm.

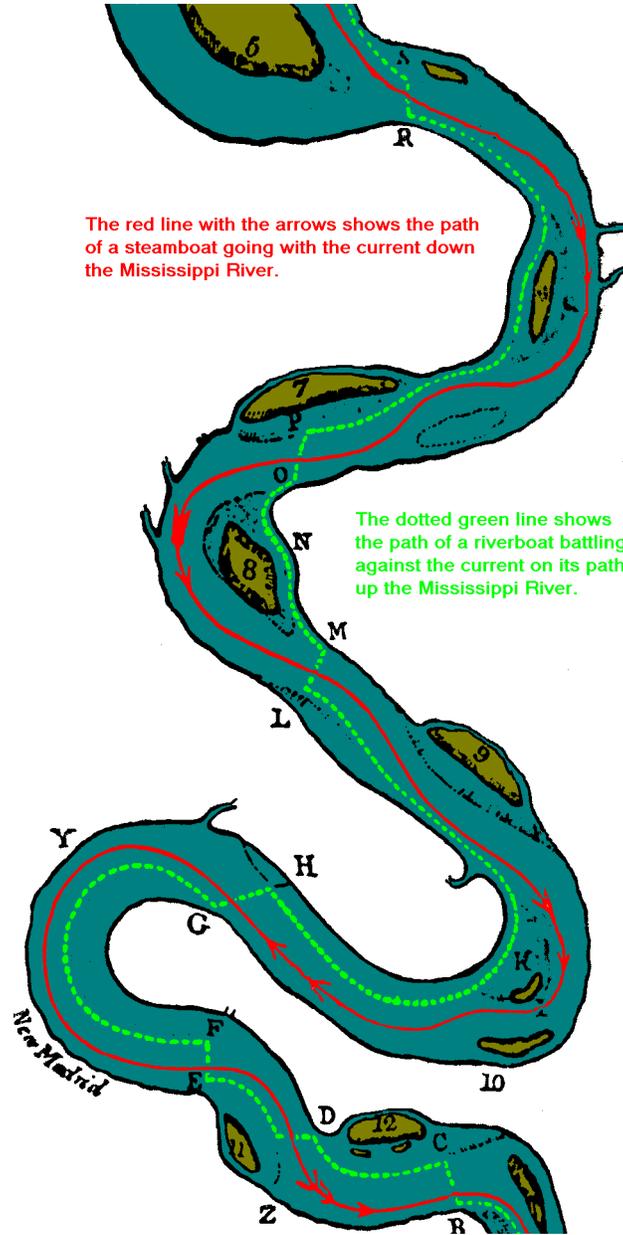
ARNOLD ARBORETUM

1815

1815



With the Mississippi River made available once again for commerce, the *Enterprise* began steam service connecting the Gulf of Mexico and Louisville. This steamboat, unlike the monstrous *New Orleans* out of Pittsburgh, was able to steam fully loaded against the river's current. It could accomplish the journey from the coast up to Louisville in but 25 days.



Franz Bopp discovered the relationship that the Indo/European languages had to each other.

1815

1815

 While operating a saddlery in Ohio, Friend [Benjamin Lundy](#) founded the Union Humane Society.



1815

1815

→ [Joseph Bouchette](#) published A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF THE PROVINCE OF LOWER CANADA: WITH REMARKS UPON UPPER CANADA, AND ON THE RELATIVE CONNEXION OF BOTH PROVINCES WITH THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA (London: Printed for the author and published by W. Faden in English and in French, 1815).

CARTOGRAPHY

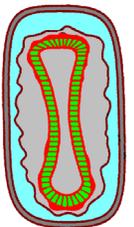


Long's Farm on Lake Temiscouata, at the extremity of the Portage.

BOUCHETTE'S CANADA

"A YANKEE IN CANADA": It is but a few years since Bouchette declared that the country ten leagues north of the British capital of North America was as little known as the middle of Africa.... Humboldt, speaking of the Orinoco, says that this name is unknown in the interior of the country; so likewise the tribes that dwell about the sources of the St. Lawrence have never heard the name which it bears in the lower part of its course. It rises near another father of waters, -the Mississippi,- issuing from a remarkable spring far up in the woods, called Lake Superior, fifteen hundred miles in circumference; and several other springs there are thereabouts which feed it. It makes such a noise in its tumbling down at one place as is heard all round the world. Bouchette, the Surveyor-General of the Canadas, calls it "the most splendid river on the globe"; says that it is two thousand statute miles long (more recent geographers make it four or five hundred miles longer); that at the Rivière du Sud it is eleven miles wide; at the Traverse thirteen; at the Paps of Matane, twenty-five; at the Seven Islands, seventy-three; and at its mouth, from Cape Rosier to the Mingan Settlements in Labrador, near one hundred and five miles wide.... Humboldt says that the river Plate, which has the broadest estuary of the South American rivers, is ninety-two geographical miles wide at its mouth; also he found the Orinoco to be more than three miles wide at five hundred and sixty miles from its mouth, but he does not tell us that ships of six hundred tons can sail up it so far, as they can up the St. Lawrence to Montreal, - an equal distance. If he had described a fleet of such ships at anchor in a city's port so far inland, we should have got a very different idea of the Orinoco.... We have not yet the data for a minute comparison of the St. Lawrence with the South American rivers; but it is obvious that, taking it in connection with its lakes, its estuary, and its falls, it easily bears off the palm from all the rivers on the globe; for though, as Bouchette observes, it may not carry to the ocean a greater volume of water than the Amazon and Mississippi, its surface and cubic mass are far greater than theirs.

ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT



A police court was established at Halifax, [Nova Scotia](#).

The [small pox](#) prevailed at Halifax.

Coals were first exported from the mines at Pictou.

[John Wedderburn Halkett](#) would for some five years be attempting to lobby the British government on behalf of the Hudson's Bay Company, in regard to a state of ongoing hostility between that company and the North West Company. The take of the colonial secretary, Lord Bathurst, on the violence that occurred during 1815/1816 at Red River, violence that destroyed the colony, was that this was merely an expectable quarrel between competing groups engaged in the fur trade. He would never display anything warmer than indifference while the curtness of his under-secretary, Henry Goulburn, could easily be considered to have been arrogant.

1815

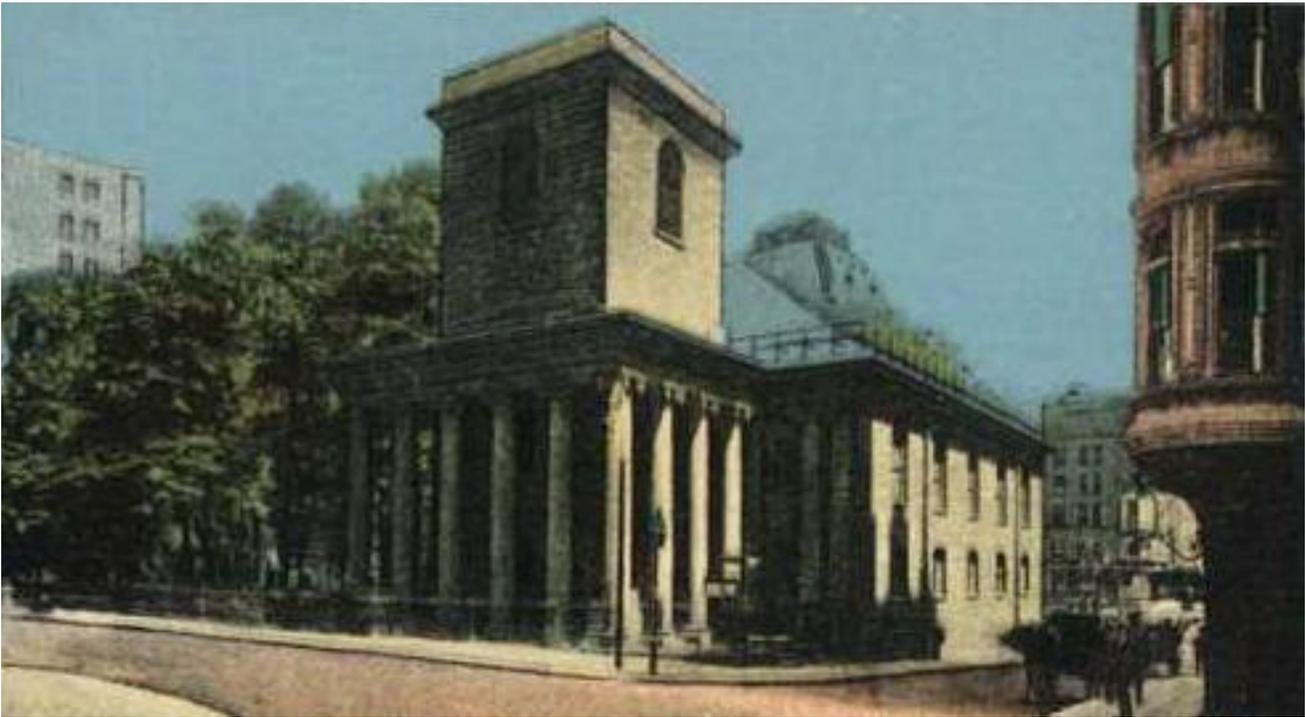
1815

➡ In about this period [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) was converting to something which might be described as a 17th-Century Anglican version of Christianity.

➡ John Trumbull returned to New-York, to establish a rather unsuccessful studio.

➡ The Universalist preacher of [Boston](#), John Murray, died.

After the death at an early age of Samuel Cary, the Reverend [James Freeman](#) would again served the congregation of the [Stone Chapel](#) alone (until 1824, when Francis W.P. Greenwood would be brought in to assist him).



Thomas Belsham's AMERICAN [UNITARIANISM](#), OR A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PROGRESS AND PRESENT STATE OF UNITARIAN CHURCHES IN AMERICA.

➡ Charles Chauncy Shackford was born.

➡ Charles Emery Stevens was born.

➡ The Reverend Hosea Ballou moved from Portsmouth, New Hampshire to Salem, Massachusetts.

➡ Robert Dale Owen made a detailed proposal to Parliament about factory reform.



1815

1815

 Relying largely on fossils to identify strata, civil engineer William Smith prepared a geologic map of England, Wales and part of Scotland, the largest region so far documented. (Four years later, Smith will be arrested and packed off to debtors' prison.)

BIOLOGY

 From this year into 1822, Jean-Baptiste de Monet de Lamarck would be restating his transmutational theories in a 7-volume study on invertebrates, *HISTOIRE NATURELLE DES ANIMAUX SANS VERTÈBRES*.

 Deciding that the law was not for him, Boston attorney [George Ticknor](#) went off to study philology and the ancient classics at the University of Göttingen in [Germany](#).

The [German Confederation](#) was established, that would be gradually rearranging both its borders and its inner unities until *Ministerpräsident* Otto Eduard Leopold von Bismarck's national unification of 1871:

WALDEN: Our life is like a German Confederacy, made up of petty states, with its boundary forever fluctuating, so that even a German cannot tell you how it is bounded at any moment. The nation itself, with all its so called internal improvements, which, by the way, are all external and superficial, is just such an unwieldy and overgrown establishment, cluttered with furniture and tripped up by its own traps, ruined by luxury and heedless expense, by want of calculation and a worthy aim, as the million households in the land; and the only cure for it as for them is in a rigid economy, a stern and more than Spartan simplicity of life and elevation of purpose. It lives too fast. Men think that it is essential that the **Nation** have commerce, and export ice, and talk through a telegraph, and ride thirty miles an hour, without a doubt, whether **they** do or not; but whether we should live like baboons or like men, is a little uncertain.

 The [James Macpherson](#) "translation" of the bard [Ossian](#), which had already as of the 1770s been challenged as an evident forgery by [Dr. Samuel Johnson](#), and had already been declared a forgery by the Highland Society of Scotland as of 1805, was continuing to be mined by poets and artists in all the major European languages as a source of inspiration and subject matter. [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) was fond of referring to Ossian as "the Northern Homer," and had the painter François Gérard decorate his palace at Malmaison "in the style of Ossian," and for his bedroom in the Quirinale in Rome, had the painter Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres do a "Dream of Ossian" on the ceiling.¹⁰

JAMES MACPHERSON

10. What, no mirror over the bed? This Ingres ceiling painting is now at the Musée Ingres in Montauban.

1815

1815

➡ [Charles Wilkes](#) entered the merchant service.



➡ After his recovery at home, Frederick Marryat was appointed Commander, and would cruise the sloop *Beaver* off [St. Helena](#) to guard against any escape by [Napoléon Bonaparte](#). When his prisoner eventually would die, he would make a sketch of him in full profile, which would be engraved in England and France.



➡ Reminiscing in regard to approximately this year of 1815, [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) would confide to his journal in November 1842:

I was a little chubby boy trundling a hoop in Chauncey Place and spouting poetry from Scott & Campbell at the Latin School.

A decorative flourish or signature line consisting of a long horizontal line with a stylized, calligraphic end.

➡ According to Jeffrey Weeks's *SEX, POLITICS AND SOCIETY* (Longman, 1981), one of the sailors being court-martialled for buggery on HMS *Africaine* referred to his offense as “a crime of which would to God ’twere never more seen on earth from those shades of hellish darkness whence to the misery of Man its propensity has been vomited forth.”

➡ Completion of a project begun in 1811: The walls of Mission San Luis Rey de Francia near today's Oceanside stood as a memorial to the labors of native Americans, and Mexican soldiers. The current mission brochure puts the matter this way: “While colonists in other parts of the world tried to expropriate and exterminate the natives, the Franciscan Padres and the Spaniards sought to save them.”

Elsewhere is to genocide as [California](#) is to salvation; we'll hold onto that idea for future reference.

1815

1815

→ [Silvio Pellico](#)'s play "Francesca da Rimini," a historical tragedy, the Paolo-and-Francesca story of a passionate love and the romantic ideal (most of the play deals with the theme of temptation and our strenuous struggle against the trickiness of sin).



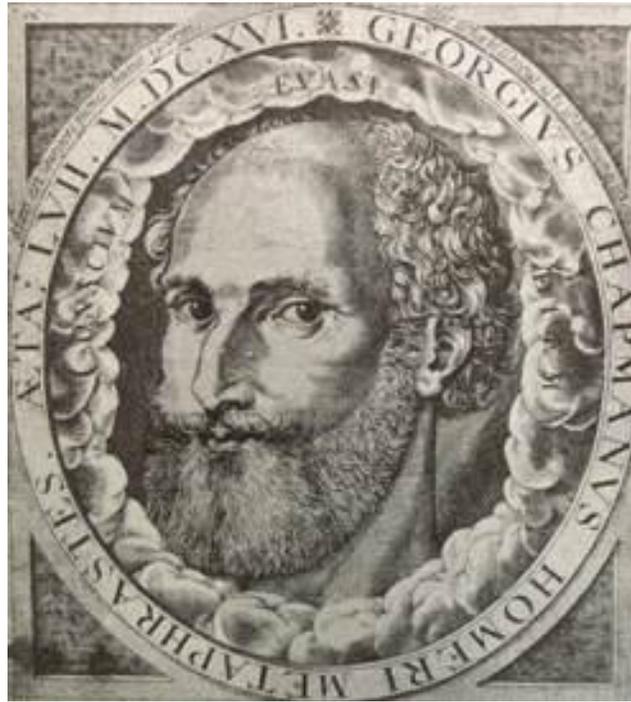
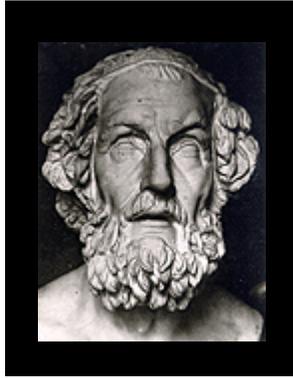
→ A 4-volume edition of the poems of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#), and HEBREW MELODIES.

→ "On first looking into Chapman's Homer":

Much have I traveled in the realms of gold,
And many goodly states and kingdoms seen;
Round many western islands have I been
Which bards in fealty to Apollo hold.
Oft of one wide expanse had I been told
That deep-brow'd Homer ruled as his demesne:
Yet did I never breathe its pure serene
Till I heard Chapman speak out loud and bold.
Then felt I like some watcher of the skies
When a new planet swims into his ken;
Or like stout Cortez, when with eagle eyes
He stared at the Pacific—and all his men
Look'd at each other with a wild surmise—
Silent, upon a peak in Darién.
— [John Keats](#)

HOMER

GEORGE CHAPMAN



At this point the water-works at Fairmount, begun in 1812 to supply Philadelphia with water, were complete. As far back as 1764, after the yellow fever had struck the city, Benjamin Franklin had advocated the necessity of supplying the city with adequate clean water, and in his will of June 23, 1789, had recommended that the city make an appropriation for that purpose. In 1797 water had been brought from Spring Mill Creek and from the Schuylkill by steam power, to be stored in tanks ready for use, but in 1812 these more efficient gravity-flow works had also been undertaken.

With the turning on of the Fairmount Waterworks, enough pressure became available to the water system of the city of Philadelphia that it would be able to attach fire hoses directly to its hydrants in order to produce fire-quenching streams of water (New-York would not achieve this level of water main pressure until its Croton Reservoir opened in 1842 and Boston would not achieve this until 1848).



From this year until about 1840, for men's hair, the Roman emperor look would continue, along with various other styles. Luxuriant, full hair would often be brushed forward or parted slightly to one side. Small moustaches and small sideburns appeared, but many men were clean-shaven. Women would be wearing their hair smooth over the forehead, frequently parted in the middle, and ringlets, puffs, or loops at the sides would be fashionable from about 1815-1820. From the early 1820s to the early 1830s, women would pile their hair progressively higher in the back, culminating in a style slyly dubbed "a la giraffe." Masses of sausage curls would be sometimes worn from about 1828-1832. Curls and ringlets would be popular throughout this period.

In Philadelphia at this point, there were more black Methodists than white.

Jacob Perkins of Philadelphia set up a factory in [London](#), for the production of his many inventions.

There were more deaths in [Concord](#) during this year than in any other year:

The following table, exhibiting the number of deaths [in [Concord](#)] between several specified ages, the number each year, the aggregate amount of their ages, average age, &c. &c. during the 50 years commencing January 1, 1779, and ending December 31, 1828, was compiled from records carefully kept by the [Rev. Dr. Ripley \[Ezra Ripley\]](#). Great labor has been expended to make it correct and intelligible.

Year.	Under 1	to 5	to 10	to 20	to 30	to 40	to 50	to 60	to 70	to 80	to 90	to 100	Total.	Aggre. Am. Age.	Average Age.
1779	2	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	2	4	1	0	12	578	48
1780	1	2	1	1	0	0	1	1	3	0	0	0	10	307	30
1781	3	1	0	1	0	2	0	1	1	2	1	3	15	721	48
1782	1	2	1	0	1	2	0	1	1	5	3	1	18	933	52
1783	5	2	1	0	4	2	3	1	2	3	1	0	24	811	34
1784	4	1	1	2	2	0	0	1	1	2	1	2	17	607	35
1785	2	0	1	0	3	2	2	3	2	2	0	0	17	672	39
1786	4	1	0	4	3	1	1	0	1	2	1	1	19	590	31
1787	2	2	0	0	1	2	1	1	2	0	1	0	12	416	35
1788	2	0	2	0	2	2	2	1	2	3	3	0	19	877	46
1789	3	1	0	1	2	3	0	1	1	4	1	0	17	694	41
1790	2	5	2	2	2	0	3	0	3	4	3	0	26	970	37
1791	3	1	0	0	0	1	2	1	3	3	3	0	17	841	49
1792	5	0	0	1	4	3	1	6	2	2	1	1	26	1021	39
1793	1	0	3	0	1	2	2	4	1	3	0	2	19	894	47
1794	1	1	1	0	4	3	0	1	5	1	3	1	21	1018	49
1795	0	2	0	4	3	4	1	1	2	2	2	0	21	824	39
1796	1	8	2	0	2	2	2	2	1	6	1	0	27	926	34
1797	3	1	1	1	2	1	4	1	1	3	3	0	21	893	43
1798	4	3	0	2	2	0	1	0	1	5	2	1	21	831	39
1799	0	1	0	1	4	0	2	3	4	4	1	0	20	1006	50
1800	3	7	0	0	0	4	1	2	1	4	2	1	25	926	37



1815

1815

Year.	Under 1	to 5	to 10	to 20	to 30	to 40	to 50	to 60	to 70	to 80	to 90	to 100	Total.	Aggre. Am. Age.	Average Age.
1801	3	3	2	6	3	0	2	2	3	4	4	0	32	1197	37
1802	2	4	1	3	2	2	1	3	1	6	2	0	27	1067	39
1803	2	7	2	3	4	9	3	0	3	2	2	1	38	1194	31
1804	4	4	0	3	3	1	3	3	1	4	2	1	29	1037	39
1805	12	1	0	3	6	2	0	2	2	2	5	0	35	1132	32
1806	5	4	0	1	6	2	1	3	4	1	4	1	32	1201	39
1807	7	1	0	2	6	2	3	1	3	4	2	1	32	1182	37
1808	1	5	1	0	0	1	3	2	4	0	2	0	19	722	38
1809	2	3	0	0	2	1	3	1	2	2	2	1	19	821	43
1810	5	1	1	3	3	4	4	3	6	4	3	1	38	1626	45
1811	1	2	2	0	4	1	1	2	4	2	2	0	21	881	42
1812	3	6	2	1	1	5	2	2	3	3	3	1	32	1131	36
1813	3	2	1	2	4	2	3	3	1	4	2	0	27	1094	40
1814	2	0	0	0	4	4	4	1	3	0	2	2	22	1012	46
1815	4	2	4	5	4	5	3	4	5	4	6	1	47	1910	41
1816	6	1	0	1	2	0	1	3	2	4	1	0	21	802	38
1817	2	4	2	2	4	0	5	1	1	0	0	0	21	495	28
1818	2	1	0	2	1	4	1	3	3	2	1	0	20	825	41
1819	2	2	1	4	0	3	3	4	2	4	1	1	27	1006	37
1820	2	3	0	0	2	3	2	5	0	5	6	0	28	1374	49
1821	3	5	0	2	0	1	3	3	2	10	4	0	33	1582	48
1822	2	10	1	3	5	2	2	3	2	4	2	2	38	1285	34
1823	5	3	1	1	2	1	3	3	2	1	3	1	26	970	37
1824	4	3	0	1	1	2	4	4	3	5	2	0	29	1244	43
1825	3	7	1	1	2	2	5	6	4	6	3	0	40	1645	41
1826	8	6	4	0	3	2	8	4	1	5	2	0	43	1367	32
1827	2	2	0	0	1	3	1	2	1	0	3	0	19	893	44
1828	4	4	0	0	0	1	3	1	2	5	1	2	23	1020	48

It is impossible to specify the diseases by which the several



persons died. As far as can be ascertained from the [Rev. Dr. Ripley \[Ezra Ripley\]](#)'s records, it appears that about one seventh of the whole number died of [consumption](#), one fifth of fevers of various kinds, one twelfth of old age, one sixteenth of canker-rash, one nineteenth of the dropsy, one twenty-fifth of paralytic affections, and nearly the same number each of dysentery and casualties.

By adding the columns in the above table, we shall find that the whole number, who died during the 50 years, was 1242; of whom 153 died under 1 year of age; 137 of 1 and under 5; 42 of 5 and under 10; 70 of 10 and under 20; 119 of 20 and under 30; 101 of 30 and under 40; 106 of 40 and under 50; 106 of 50 and under 80; 106 of 80 and under 90; 28 of 90 and under 100; and a native black of 105. Of these 107 died in January, 111 in February, 118 in March, 103 in April, 88 in May, 81 in June, 88 in July, 95 in August, 115 in September, 121 in October, 121 in November, and 94 in December. These proportions generally hold good in particular years, more deaths occurring in the spring and autumn than at other seasons of the year. Of those who lived 80 years and over, 54 were males and 81 females; 90 and over, 8 were males and 21 females; 95 and over, 3 were males and 4 females. The year when the least number of deaths occurred was 1780, and when the greatest, 1815. The yearly average is 25 nearly. the least average age was in 1817, the greatest average in 1812. The aggregate amount of all the ages, for 50 years, is 49,192, and the mean average age nearly 40. Estimating our population, during this period, at an average of 1665, which is nearly correct, as will appear on reference to our account of the population, we shall find that 1 in 66 dies annually.

153 or 1 in 8 1-8 died under 1 year.	620 or 1 in 2 lived 40 and upwards.
218 or 1 in 5 2-3 died under 2 years.	570 or 1 in 2 1-3 lived 45 and upwards.
255 or 1 in 4 8-9 died under 3 years.	514 or 1 in 2 2-5 lived 50 and upwards.
270 or 1 in 4 3-5 died under 4 years.	463 or 1 in 2 3-5 lived 55 and upwards.
290 or 1 in 4 1-3 died under 5 years.	408 or 1 in 3 1-11 lived 60 and upwards.
304 or 1 in 4 1-11 died under 6 years.	354 or 1 in 3 1-2 lived 65 and upwards.
332 or 1 in 3 3-4 died under 10 years.	296 or 1 in 4 1-5 lived 70 and upwards.
358 or 1 in 3 1-2 died under 15 years.	209 or 1 in 5 1-17 lived 75 and upwards.
402 or 1 in 3 1-11 died under 20 years.	135 or 1 in 9 1-5 lived 80 and upwards.
472 or 1 in 2 3-5 died under 25 years.	69 or 1 in 18 lived 85 and upwards.
521 or 1 in 2 2-5 died under 30 years.	29 or 1 in 42 5-6 lived 90 and upwards.
571 or 1 in 2 1-3 died under 35 years.	7 or 1 in 177 3-7 lived 95 and upwards.
622 or 1 in 2 died under 40 years.	2 lived to 99, and 1 to 105.

In these calculations minute fractions are omitted. They exhibit results highly favorable to the health of the town. Few towns are so healthy.¹¹



For nine months Stevens Everett, hired from elsewhere, would be teaching [Concord](#)'s grammar students, and then the teaching during this year would be taken over temporarily by another young man hired from outside the town, Silas Holman.

1785	Nathaniel Bridge	9 months	1812	Isaac Warren	1 year
1786	JOSEPH HUNT	2½ years	1813	JOHN BROWN	1 year
1788	William A. Barron	3 years	1814	Oliver Patten	1 year
1791	Amos Bancroft	1 year	1815	Stevens Everett	9 months
1792	Heber Chase	1 year	1815	Silas Holman	3 months
1793	WILLIAM JONES	1 year	1816	George F. Farley	1 year
1794	Samuel Thatcher	1 year	1817	James Howe	1 year
1795	JAMES TEMPLE	2 years	1818	Samuel Barrett	1 year
1797	Thomas O. Selfridge	1 year	1819	BENJAMIN BARRETT	1 year
1798	THOMAS WHITING	4 years	1820	Abner Forbes	2 years
1802	Levi Frisbie	1 year	1822	Othniel Dinsmore	3 years
1803	Silas Warren	4 years	1825	James Furbish	1 year
1807	Wyman Richardson	1 year	1826	EDWARD JARVIS	1 year
1808	Ralph Sanger	1 year	1827	Horatio Wood	1 year
1809	Benjamin Willard	1 year	1828	David J. Merrill	1 year
1810	Elijah F. Paige	1 year	1829	John Graham	1 year
1811	Simeon Putnam	1 year	1831	John Brown	

11. In France, 1 in 31 arrives to the age of 70; in London 1 in 10; in Philadelphia, 1 in 15; and in Connecticut 1 in 8. In Salem, 1 in 48 dies annually; in Philadelphia, 1 in 45; in Boston, 1 in 41; in London, 1 in 40; in Paris, 1 in 32; and in Vienna, 1 in 22. — See *History of Dedham* and *American Quarterly Review*, Vol. VIII. p. 396.

[Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity

with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



Hodder, Alan D. "Emerson and Rammohan Roy." Studies in the American Renaissance (1988): 133-47:

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

The Oriental influence on [Waldo Emerson](#)'s writing and theological beliefs is evident early in his career. Both his father and his Aunt [Mary Moody Emerson](#) were interested in the Orient and his aunt actively encouraged Emerson in his pursuit of Oriental studies. Shortly after Emerson graduated from college, his aunt wrote him a letter suggesting that he look into the writings of Rammohan Roy, an Indian brahman from a high-caste Hindu background who was interested in the merging of world religions and had recently been published in the Christian Register (1819 and 1821). Hodder states that Emerson was probably already familiar with Roy, since the articles on Roy had been published in the Concord paper and because Emerson had developed an interest in the Orient when he was still at school. His poem "Indian Superstition" grew out of a paper that he was assigned as a senior: "As a graduating senior, Emerson had been assigned this topic in conjunction with the Harvard College exhibition of April 24, 1821. For the several months prior to his presentation, Emerson had poured over the growing body of literature on India and the Orient available at that time to the Boston readership" (140). Emerson was both fascinated and repelled with what he read about India. He was especially shocked over the practice of widow-burning or *sati* as it was called, a Hindu custom. However shocked he may have been when he read about some of the contemporary practices of India, he still found a great deal to admire concerning the idealism of the ancient Hindu texts.

In 1819 the Christian Register printed excerpts of Roy's letters to John Digby, his British East India Company supervisor, plus a review of five of his recent treatises. In 1821 a second treatment of Roy's writing was printed. In his critique of world religions, Roy developed a consuming interest in the Muslim doctrine of *tawhid*, or the absolute unity of God. From this viewpoint, he criticized Hindu "idolatry" and Christian Unitarianism. The liberal Unitarians were delighted because Roy provided convenient fodder for their arguments against the Trinitarians: "Today, among Hindus and Westerners alike, Rammohan Roy is hailed as the founder of the Hindu Renaissance and the father of modern India. For Emerson, however, as for his Aunt and other Boston Unitarians, Roy was at this time chiefly significant as a compelling advocate for the Unitarians in their heated exchanges with the Calvinist Trinitarian opposition." (134) The Reverend Henry Ware, Jr., professor at [Harvard Divinity School](#), went so far as to write Roy and [William Adam](#), a former [Baptist](#), now Unitarian convert, a list of questions concerning the potential for Unitarian missionary work in India. Some money was collected and Roy and Adam did establish a base for the Unitarians in India, but by 1824 interest in Roy had begun to die down. Roy died in London on Sept. 27, 1833. There was still some interest in him, although it is likely that the Unitarians continued to misunderstand his motivation in assisting their cause. He had always been more interested in social reform in India than he had been in proselytizing his fellow Indians. Emerson visited England in August 1833. He met Roy's famous patron, Dr. Lant Carpenter, but he did not meet Roy.

Hodder notes that Emerson's commentary on the Orient continued to mature as he grew older. The more he read the more he was impressed with Oriental literature and philosophy: "By 1845 he is ready to insist that there is nothing in theology so "subtle" as the *BHAGAVAD GITA* and the *VISHNU PURANA*." Emerson's introduction to Roy, who viewed the BIBLE as an ethical tract, probably helped to pave the way, according to Hodder, for his growing sympathy with the Orient.

1815

1815

➔ In India, [Rammohan Roy](#) moved to Calcutta and established the *Atmiya Sabha* or “Friendly Association,” devoted to the *VEDANTA* and the *UPANISHADS* as a doctrine of monotheism. This association held weekly meetings at his residence. One of the practices of the Indian members of this association was to decline to take oaths, such as to swear in court by the waters of the Holy Ganges, but instead to give simple affirmations, and they alleged they were doing this “as practiced in England by the society of [Quakers](#).”¹² During this period he was publishing and distributing at his own expense, in Bengali, the *VEDANTA GRANTHA*. This *Atmiya Sabha* Friendly Association, however, would encounter so much resistance that it would have to be disbanded. He wrote his condensation of the *ISHOPANISHAD* which presumably made its way to [Concord](#) via [Mary Moody Emerson](#), and into [Waldo Emerson](#)’s library (because she had recommended the book to him while he was at [Harvard College](#)). During the period 1815 to 1830, contemporary historians allow, he in effect created what would be the blueprint for the Indian national movement.



➔ James Riley and other sailors were shipwrecked on the African coast at what is now Mauritania, and were made prisoners by a band of Bedouin. A Moroccan trader, Sidi Hamet (Ahmed), would ransom them.¹³

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

12. Quotation from the [Asiatic Journal](#) of August 1819.

13. Later on, when Abraham Lincoln would be asked in 1860 what books had influenced him, he would mention the narrative to be written by James Riley, and Riley’s appreciation of this generous unexpected gesture by Sidi Hamet.

1815

1815

➡ [Friend Edward Hicks](#) decided to return from farming to painting.



➡ At about this point the Quietist message was beginning to make its appearance in [Quaker](#) meetings in eastern Massachusetts, to oppose a rising spirit of dogma that was sweeping through all Protestant denominations and was becoming known as the “Evangelical movement.”

➡ During this year young Abraham Lincoln attended a log schoolhouse.

1815

1815



[Friend Paul Cuffe](#)'s interest in Africa stemmed in part from his father's having been born there. The success he achieved as a captain of color, with black crews, was evidence of the black expertise thought essential to the redemption of Africa. In this year, at a personal expenditure of \$4,000, Cuffe took nine free black families in his ship *Traveler* to settle in Sierra Leone. This voyage, and his financial success, anticipated ideals later associated with black nationalists from Henry Highland Garnet to Marcus Garvey. And this complex man, like Bishop Henry M. Turner later in the century, was certain enough of his own vision to risk association with the American Colonization Society, whose motives regarding the return of blacks to Africa were, in black leadership circles, highly suspect.



Glasgow had become the second city of the Empire. A parish priest, the Reverend [Thomas Chalmers](#), was reassigned from the village of Kilmany, where the church was still the primary dispenser of the local poor relief, to the parish of Tron, a transitional neighborhood of Glasgow in which poor relief had for more than three generations been handled by government agencies handing out tax-supported subsidies. At this point, church support for poor relief in Glasgow had dwindled to a mere 7%. In a properly functioning parish, per the Reverend Chalmers's experience, the well-off among the parishioners as part of their Christian and neighborly duty take an interest in the local indigents, offering them personal, face-to-face assistance and constructive advice. But in his new urban parish, the Reverend found conditions that went against his principles: this system of poor relief built on assessments by impersonal bureaucracies could not conceivably fill all its functions, for it was allowing the rich to escape any contact with the poor! Chalmers formed an

agenda to visit personally all 11,000 of the residents of his new parish, a task that would take him four years.



The Reverend obtained a waiver from the Glasgow establishment exempting his parish from its contribution to the public welfare system, in exchange for itself assuming full responsibility for parish poor relief. Chalmers reactivated the long-neglected office of deacon, by commissioning 25 servant-leaders to take responsibility for all the residents within their assigned blocks. The collections made at the church’s entrance would be used to meet the health and hunger needs of the poor, but only when absolutely necessary. Ordinarily, his deacons were to restrict themselves to offering advice, and help in finding employment. Chalmers contended that this “rural parish” approach with which he had become familiar in Kilmany would work in the urban parish and would bring back long-lost values of personal care and accountability. By being utterly tight-fisted, the Reverend and his 25 deacons were able to redirect a good part of the funds from food to the building of schools for the children of the working poor. They were able to enroll more than 700 children from working families able to pay a small tuition, and began some 45 Sabbath Schools at which impoverished children and their parents could learn to read and write as part of religious training.

For the first time in Scotland, an urban parish, in a city dependent upon a legal assessment for poor relief for over ninety years, had “voluntarily” abolished the assessment and “retraced” its past back to the traditional rural parish system of relief based upon church door collections.¹⁴



The orphaned [Edgar Allan Poe](#)’s family of affiliation, the Allans, were living in England and Scotland until 1820, due to Mr. Allan’s work as an exporter of [tobacco](#) (he was a “[sotweed](#) factor”). Poe during this period would be spending three years at a fine classical preparatory school at Stoke Newington.



Having completed his preparation at the Edinburgh High School, 17-year-old [Alexander Dyce](#) matriculated at [Exeter College of Oxford University](#), where he would be taking his bachelor’s degree in 1819.

14. Cleland, ANNALS OF GLASGOW, I, pages 270-3, cited in Brown, S.J., THOMAS CHALMERS AND THE GODLY COMMONWEALTH IN SCOTLAND, Oxford UP, 1982, page 98

➡ When the Sawyer family of Sterling, Massachusetts's ewe gave birth to two lambs, one was so sickly that Mary Sawyer, 9 years old, wrapped it in a blanket and kept it indoors, in the Sawyer home at Maple Street and Rugg Road, feeding it by hand. It would become quite the family pet and there is now an inedible copy of it on the Sterling Common, its fleece as green as weathering bronze — although nobody seems to remember what this sheep's name had been. —So, why has a sheep been immortalized?

➡ In about this year Henry Brown was born as a [slave](#) to a Louisa County, Virginia plantation owner, in this land of the free and home of the brave.

➡ John S. Jacobs, Harriet Jacobs's brother, was born.

➡ In upstate [New York](#), three old gunboats were sent over the [Niagara Falls](#) with a British officer offering a reward for the largest piece recovered. The winner offered something about a foot long (it just shows t'go ya').

➡ In Vermont in about this year, [William Allen](#) ([Henry Thoreau](#)'s classmate in Harvard College's Class of 1837 who would take over the teaching duties in [Concord](#)'s Centre School when Henry resigned) was born.

The Middlesex Bar commenced the formation of a law library in [Concord](#), to be maintained by the Treasurer of Middlesex County.

[Noah Webster, Esq.](#) continued as a member of the Massachusetts General Court (he would serve also in 1817).

Tilly Merrick was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the Massachusetts General Court.

In [Concord](#), John Buttrick continued as Town Treasurer.

In [Concord](#), Nathan Barrett was a Selectman.

In [Concord](#), Thomas Wheeler was a Selectman.

These were the appropriations made by the town of Lincoln:¹⁵

Date.	1755.	1765.	1775.	1785.	1795.	1805.	1815.	1825.
Minister	£56	£69 ² / ₃	£70 ² / ₃	£85	£105	\$—	\$600	\$460.
Schools	13 ¹ / ₂	20	13 ¹ / ₂	50	85	—	480	520.
Highways	25	50	40	80	80	\$450	600	400.
Incidental charges	24 ¹ / ₂	19	37	250	125	830	1450	500.

15. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)
 (On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)



1815

1815

Representatives of [Carlisle](#) to the General court of Massachusetts:

Deacon Ephraim Robbins	1807-1808
Reverend Paul Litchfield	1808-1811
Captain Timothy Heald	1812-1813
Captain Thomas Heald	1815
Jonathan Heald, Jr., Esq.	1816
John Heald, Esq.	1818, 1821, 1823
Dr. John Nelson	1824
John Heald, Esq.	1826-1827, 1830

Representatives of Lincoln¹⁶

Chambers Russell	'54-57, '59, '62, '63, '5.	Joshua Brooks	1809-1811.
Samuel Farrer	1766-1768.	Leonard Hoar	1812-1814.
Eleazer Brooks	'74-'78, '80, '5, '7, '90-'2.	William Hayden	1815, 1816.
Chambers Russell	1788.	Elijah Fiske	1820-1822.
Samuel Hoar	'94, '95, '97, '98, 1801, '3-'8.	Joel Smith	1824.
Samuel Farrar, Jr.	1800.	Silas P. Tarbell	1827, 1828.
Not represented 1758, '60, '62, '69-'73, '79, '81, '82, '86, '89, '93, '96, '99, 1802, '17, '23, '25, '26.			

Appropriations made by the town of [Carlisle](#)

	1785	1790	1795	1800	1805	1810	1815	1820	1825	1830
Minister	£91	90	85	\$285	290	280	320	275	320	500
Schools	36	30	60	360	300	360	360	450	360	360
Roads	60	45	60	300	480	350	400	400	350	400
Town Charges	74	60	50	300	500	550	550	700	600	600
County Tax	—	11 ³ / ₄	22	58	—	117	72	99	56	22
State Tax	484	48	64	227	—	210	130	180	—	65

16. Ibid



1815

1815

Town Clerks of [Carlisle](#)

Zebulon Spaulding	1780-1784
Asa Parlin	1785-1802; 1806-1808
John Jacobs	1803, 1809-1812, 1826
Jonathan Heald	1804-1805
Jonathan Heald, Jr.	1813-1814, 1818-1820
John Heald	1815-1817, 1821-1825, 1827-1829
Cyrus Heald	1829—

[John Keyes](#) leased a house just to the northeast of the Courthouse that [Concord](#) had erected in 1784. (Eventually the family would buy this leased structure; Keyes, working at the nearby Courthouse, would live out his life there. His son [Judge John Shepard Keyes](#) would be born in that house and would reside in it until it would burn during the 1849 Courthouse fire.)

1815

1815



In his 1981 book on the origins of America's white [nativism](#), RACE AND MANIFEST DESTINY: THE ORIGINS OF RACIAL ANGLO-SAXONISM (Cambridge: Harvard UP), Reginald Horsman recognizes 1815-1850, the period of the flourishing of the "Native American Party" or [Know-Nothingism](#), as the period during which white USer society was explicitly rejecting the red native as American. It was the white man who was the native American! Prior to this period an attitude had tended to hold sway, that the "Indian" was a "fully



improvable being." By the time we had reached the year 1830, the consensus attitude among whites had become that no way could "we" ever hope to "enlighten" the native American enough to fully integrate "him" into "our" society:



Before 1830 there was a bitter struggle as those who believed in the Enlightenment view of the Indian as an innately equal, improvable being desperately defended the older ideals, but year by year the ideas of those who felt the Indians were expendable were reinforced by a variety of scientific and intellectual arguments. Indian Removal represented a major victory for ideas which, though long latent in American society, became fully explicit only after 1830. Political power was exercised by those who believed the Indians to be inferior, who did not wish them to be accepted as equals within American society, and who expected them ultimately to disappear. In shaping an Indian policy American politicians reflected the new ruthlessness of racial confidence.

1815 had been a "watershed year" for our New World nomenclature of racial privileging. Prior to that year the designator "American" had been in use among us as a code word indicating one race (the indigenous race that had also been color-coded, as the "red" skinned ones) and subsequent to that year the designator "American" was in play as a code word for a new group of persons considering themselves indigenous here, the descendants of intrusive Europeans who were color-coding themselves as "white" or as "not of color."¹⁷



In this year Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)) would have been approximately 18 years old.

17. Hence, here's a little joke for you: "I know a family of American Indians! —Their family name is Ramakrishna and they came here a generation or so ago from the Punjab."

 In this year the town which now goes under the name of Saugus was so named, after what was by that point being referred to as the Saugus River. This Saugus River, however had been renamed by white people in honor of the original name for a location which the white people had decided to rename Lynn MA, in honor of Lyn, England — back in 1637 when people still understood that the name of the river was *Abousett*.¹⁸

 During this year, in [India](#), there would be extremely heavy rains causing disastrous floods and followed by harvest failures.

 Birth of the third child of [John James Audubon](#) and [Lucy Bakewell Audubon](#), [Lucy Audubon](#).

 Our 2nd Barbary War was declared, by our opponents but, again, not by the United States. The federal Congress authorized an expedition. A large fleet, under Decatur, attacked Algiers and obtained indemnities. After securing an agreement from Algiers, Decatur demonstrated with his squadron at Tunis and Tripoli, and secured indemnities for offenses committed during the [War of 1812](#).

THE BARBARY TREATIES

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

 In France, after a loud boom, a stone fell out of the open sky. That presumably didn't have anything to do with what was happening here on this planet of ours. But, on the ground, Louis XVIII was being restored to the throne. When [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) left Elba and landed in France in March, Louis XVIII fled and “The Hundred Days” began. Britain secured a declaration against the [international slave trade](#) at the Congress of Vienna. Sugar prices continued high. The [slave](#) trade to Cuba began to rise sharply. Austria, Britain, Prussia and Russia formed a new alliance.

18. This about the names of Saugus and Lynn MA is so confusing — don't try to understand it, just retain the general principle that the name of something is what white people decide the name of something is, not what non-white people say they have been calling it. In this case, as in so many others, red people resided then white people decided. Try to be white, for white is nice, if you're white you get your own way — if that is you're the right kind of white.

1815

1815

Wellington and Blucher would defeat [Napoleon Bonaparte](#) at Waterloo on June 18th — an event which would give rise to any number of sets of chesspieces.



([Carl Phillip Gottfried von Clausewitz](#), who it would seem knew a whole lot about war, fought in the Waterloo campaign as chief of staff to General Thielmann's IIIrd Prussian army corps.)

1815

1815

(Napoleon would for the 2nd time abdicate, and would this time be banished not to Sardinia but, by [John Barrow](#) as 2d Secretary to the Admiralty, to the island of [St. Helena](#) in the South Atlantic.)



1815

1815

Louis XVIII returned to Paris. Marshall Ney was executed for aiding Napoleon at Waterloo. Prince Klemens von Metternich, who would dominate Austrian politics until 1848, represented his country at Vienna, and the Congress of Vienna decided the map of Europe (the [German](#) Confederation was formed, and the Swiss Confederation was reestablished and its territory expanded). [Walter Scott](#) visited the battlefield of Waterloo, meeting Wellington, Blucher, and other famous generals, and got himself publicly kissed on both cheeks by the commander of the Cossack contingent. When he would entertain French prisoners-of-war from Selkirk at Abbotsford he would ask for their reminiscences about [Napoleon Bonaparte](#). (This would help him in his 9-volume LIFE OF NAPOLEON, to be issued in 1827.)



David Brewster of Scotland described the polarization of light by reflection.

HISTORY OF OPTICS

A [comet](#) was discovered by Heinrich Wilhelm Matthias Olbers (1758-1840), an ophthalmologist who could get by on only four hours of sleep per day and was thus able to spend a great deal of time in his well-equipped observatory atop his home near Bremen, Germany.

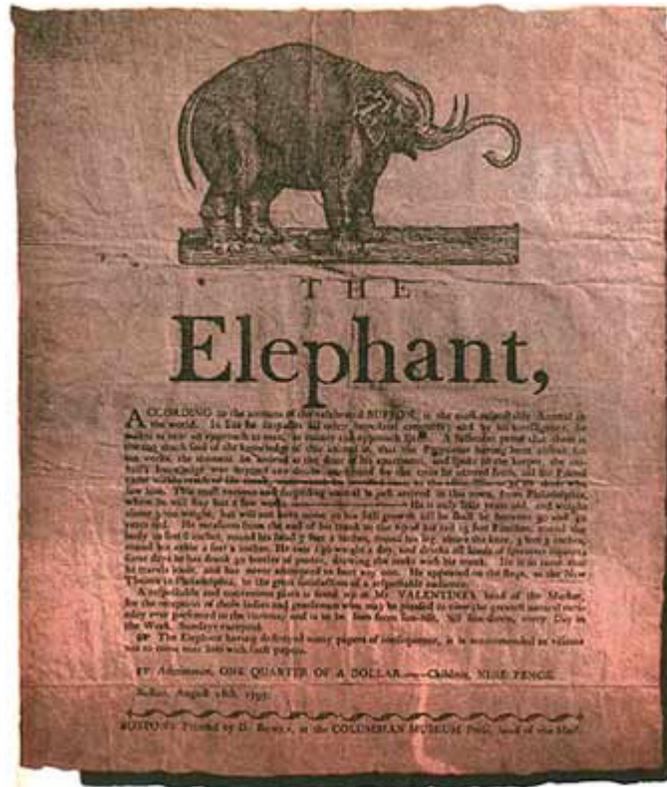
SKY EVENT

1815

1815



It is curious, how the origins of the American circus were linked to the American [international slave trade](#). After the [War of 1812](#) the old-style, permanent equestrian shows had been generally superseded by touring shows that would pitch their tents on village commons. These were basically all American in origination and were started by the display of an African [elephant](#), “Old Bet.” They were the direct ancestors of today’s tented circuses. It was in this year that Hackaliah Bailey purchased the 21-year-old Bengal elephant “Old Bet” that Captain Jacob Crowninshield, a captain engaged among other things in the international [slave](#) trade, had brought as a 2-year-old from Calcutta during the previous century, for \$1,000. Bailey would have such success in presenting this curious exhibit to the local townspeople and farmers, that he would be able to arrange to present additional captive animals, acquired by other such skippers. Traveling at night to avoid the local people being able to see anything for free, the animal would be exhibited mostly in barns. Then he would lease Old Bet to Nathaniel Howes, and it would be in the 1st round canvas-top on record that “Uncle Nate” would place her on exhibition.



Have you seen the elephant?

1815

1815



La Baleine d'Ostende
Visitée par l'Éléphant, la Giraffe, les Osages et les Chinois.

JANUARY

→ January-April: During this period [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#), [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#), [Clare Clairmont](#), and Thomas Jefferson Hogg were engaging in an experiment in free love.



1815

1815

➡ January: [Isaac Bailey](#) produced, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), another issue of THE RHODE ISLAND LITERARY REPOSITORY, and in this one his initial focus was upon the Reverend [James Manning](#) D.D.

LITERARY REPOSITORY



First President of Brown University

➡ January: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) was involved with George Cannon and the [Theological Inquirer](#).

➡ January: The schooner [St. Helena](#) arrived from England for use by the East India Company's government of [St. Helena](#).

Portugal accepted £750,000 to restrict the [international slave trade](#) conducted by its subjects to Brazil and other points south of the equator, effective immediately — and a complete ban on the slave trade to take effect as of January 21, 1823.

Date	Slave-trade Abolished by
1802	Denmark
1807	Great Britain; United States
1813	Sweden
1814	Netherlands
1815	Portugal (north of the equator)
1817	Spain (north of the equator)
1818	France
1820	Spain
1829	Brazil (?)
1830	Portugal

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: During the peace negotiations between the United States and Great Britain in 1783, it was proposed by Jay, in June, that there be a proviso inserted as follows: "Provided that the subjects of his Britannic Majesty shall not have any right or claim under the convention, to carry or import, into the said States any slaves from any part of the world; it being the intention of the said States entirely to prohibit the importation thereof."¹⁹ Fox promptly replied: "If that be their policy, it never can be competent to us to dispute with them

19. Sparks, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE, X. 154.



1815

1815

their own regulations."²⁰ No mention of this was, however, made in the final treaty, probably because it was thought unnecessary.

In the proposed treaty of 1806, signed at London December 31, Article 24 provided that "The high contracting parties engage to communicate to each other, without delay, all such laws as have been or shall be hereafter enacted by their respective Legislatures, as also all measures which shall have been taken for the abolition or limitation of the African slave trade; and they further agree to use their best endeavors to procure the co-operation of other Powers for the final and complete abolition of a trade so repugnant to the principles of justice and humanity."²¹

This marks the beginning of a long series of treaties between England and other powers looking toward the prohibition of the traffic by international agreement. During the years 1810-1814 she signed treaties relating to the subject with Portugal, Denmark, and Sweden.²² May 30, 1814, an additional article to the Treaty of Paris, between France and Great Britain, engaged these powers to endeavor to induce the approaching Congress at Vienna "to decree the abolition of the Slave Trade, so that the said Trade shall cease universally, as it shall cease definitively, under any circumstances, on the part of the French Government, in the course of 5 years; and that during the said period no Slave Merchant shall import or sell Slaves, except in the Colonies of the State of which he is a Subject."²³ In addition to this, the next day a circular letter was despatched by Castlereagh to Austria, Russia, and Prussia, expressing the hope "that the Powers of Europe, when restoring Peace to Europe, with one common interest, will crown this great work by interposing their benign offices in favour of those Regions of the Globe, which yet continue to be desolated by this unnatural and inhuman traffic."²⁴ Meantime additional treaties were secured: in 1814 by royal decree Netherlands agreed to abolish the trade;²⁵ Spain was induced by her necessities to restrain her trade to her own colonies, and to endeavor to prevent the fraudulent use of her flag by foreigners;²⁶ and in 1815 Portugal agreed to abolish the slave-trade north of the equator.²⁷



January: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) got married with Annabella Millbank.

20. Fox to Hartley, June 10, 1783, as quoted in Bancroft, HISTORY OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, I. 61. Cf. Sparks, DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE, X. 154, June 1783.

21. AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, III, page 151.

22. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 886, 937 (quotation).

23. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 890-1.

24. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, page 887. Russia, Austria, and Prussia returned favorable replies: BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 887-8.

25. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, page 889.

26. She desired a loan, which England made on this condition: BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 921-2.

27. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 937-9. Certain financial arrangements secured this concession.



1815

1815



January 1, Sunday: The British were repulsed in a 2d attack upon General Andrew Jackson's system of ditches around the sea approaches to New Orleans, in a [War of 1812](#) that because of the Treaty of Ghent was already over. News of the Treaty of Ghent arrived at the Congress of Vienna — this would significantly raise the influence of Britain on the continent because it meant that that nation, undistracted, could in the future field many more troops there.

Lowell Mason entered upon his new duties as choir director at the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia.

The followers of [Joanna Southcott](#) had allowed her corpse to putrefy for four days while they waited around to see if a magical bouncing baby was going to spring from it. Finally they allowed a post-mortem, which gave no indication of any pregnancy. Joanna had left behind her, however, a sealed Great Box, and the expectation that if this box were not properly opened in the presence of 24 Bishops of the Church by the end of the year 2004, there was going to be all hell to pay. (The box has been opened, although not in the presence of any 24 Bishops of the Church—it proved to contain a horse-pistol, a few coins of the period, various scribblings, some trinkets, and odds and ends—and, as we now notice, the year 2004 has come and has gone.)

MILLENNIALISM

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 1st M 1815 / We commence the Week, the Month & the Year together - a day of thoughtfulness it has been to me. Our Meetings have both been Silent & to me pretty good seasons, tho' roving of mind intruded a little — Father & Mother Rodman set the evening with us -28



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

28. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1812-1823: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 7 Folder 11 for July 1, 1812-August 20, 1815 and Folder 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823. Series 7 Microfilm Reel #4, positive, is made up of Friend Stephen Wanton Gould's Diaries #12-16, 1815-1838 (August 24, 1815-September 20, 1838 and Extracts from the records of the monthly meeting held by Rhode Island Quakers, 1676-1707) (Reel #12 is the negative copy of Reel #4)



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January 2, Monday: At Seaham, [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Annabella Milbanke were wed. Lord and Lady Byron would sojourn at Halnaby in Yorkshire until the 21st of the month.

Andrew Law sent a petition from Newark, New Jersey to the US House of Representatives to renew the 1802 patent for his system of musical notation involving four note shapes and the elimination of the staff (which wasn't going to happen).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 2nd of 1st M / This day rode with J. Weaver to R Mitchells in Company with Abigail Robinson & H Dennis to See Thos Gould Junr who being at Cundels Mills I took the Chaise went & invited him up to Richards where After dinner we had a solid opportunity with him & discharged our Legacy of Love in a manner which affords peace to our Minds tho' with no obvious benefit to his. - There is a solid & enriching benefit remitting from a sense of having done our duty & all that lays in our power to restore a brother but alas the poor thing seem'd shut up in a full belief that he had done right tho' much was said & very affectionatly expressed to convince him of the error in which he is involved - Vizt that of learning the Art of War - Abigail Robinson & Hannah Dennis, seem'd to be much engaged for his Welfare - After the opportunity we spent a little time in interesting conversation in company with Richard & his wife - then I rode home with Hannah & John with Abigail. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 3, Tuesday: At Vienna, a secret alliance against Russian expansion was entered into among Britain, Austria, and France.

The Most Serene Republic of [Genoa](#) was attached to Sardinia.



January 5, Thursday: [Sir Bysshe Shelley](#) died.

La gioventù di Enrico quinto, an opéra comique by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold to his own words and Landriani's after Pineux-Duval, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro del Fondo of Naples. Hérold's first work for the stage was warmly received.

When the final report of the Hartford Convention was disclosed, the American public learned that the delegates had stopped well short of advocating that New England secede from the federal union. Seven amendments to the [United States Constitution](#) had instead been agreed upon (all seven would be stillborn).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 5 of 1st M 1815 / Our Meeting was silent & to me allmost Blank, but I believe some others Experienced a season of favor for I thought divine help & goodness was near but the enjoyment was to be held from me. - This evening my mind has been favord with the quickenings of life -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JANUARY 5TH, 1815 AT ALL

ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY. THE SUBSEQUENT 18 MONTHS DURING WHICH PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY WOULD BE INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH HIS FATHER OVER THE SETTLEMENT OF THE WILL, ULTIMATELY RECEIVING MONEY TO PAY HIS DEBTS (PLUS SOME CASH HE WOULD DIVERT TO GODWIN), AS WELL AS AN ANNUAL INCOME OF 1,000 POUNDS (200 EARMARKED FOR HARRIET; LATER 120 FOR HER CHILDREN), ARE EVENTS WHICH REMAIN IN THE UNCERTAIN AND UNKNOWN FUTURE (EVEN THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

➡ January 7, Saturday: At the Congress of Vienna, France was admitted as an equal member to the directing Council of Four (Austria/Great Britain/Prussia/Russia).

[Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#) was ordered to abandon his post as Ambassador-plenipotentiary to France in the capital city of Paris and –Castlereagh the chief British envoy being needed at home to manage relations with the House of Commons– hie himself to the Congress of Vienna.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 7th of 1st M / Here ends the first week of the Year –It may be memorable in my mind – It has been a season of life & love

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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January 8, Sunday: On the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, the British army, unaware that a treaty of peace had been signed, made a 3d assault against General Andrew Jackson's system of ditches around the sea approaches to New Orleans. Whoever won control over this port and river city supposed they would "win" the war that was already over, because the port was the key to all of the American Inland South facing the Caribbean, a general territory which went under the name "Louisiana," that is, "Land of Louis XV, King of France," although whatever paltry "rights of ownership" Louis XV had had to this real estate (which were debatable) had passed to his (erstwhile) heir the [Emperor Napoléon](#) subsequent to his having lost his head, and had then been sold to the national government of the United States of America in 1803 for the paltry sum of \$0.⁰⁴ per acre.²⁹ However, Jackson had been reinforced with levies from Kentucky and the British troops were being led by a brother-in-law of [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#), Pakenham, who had achieved his position of military mastery from political connections of rank and privilege rather than from any demonstrated facility in getting other men to die when he told them to. The watchword of the British was "Booty and Beauty." The troops were chiefly drawn from Wellington's peninsular army. This relative Pakenham did a no-no. He led a manly frontal assault against a fully prepared and alerted defensive position under fine daylight conditions with no thought of surprise or other trickiness. The attackers were cut down in half an hour of concentrated rifle and cannon fire with losses of almost 2,000 dead and injured. Only one of their general officers was still alive. American casualties were 6 killed and 10 wounded (Jackson's loss in the entire campaign was merely 333 souls). The British withdrew to their original landing-place and re-embarked.

This Battle of New Orleans, the last campaign of the [War of 1812](#), was being fought subsequent to the signing of the Peace of Ghent on December 24, 1814. There is no merit, however, in the frequent assertion that Jackson's great victory was won after the war was over, for the Ghent treaty specifically called for continued hostilities until ratification by both governments, and this mutual ratification would be effected only during February 1815. After so many distressing months of failure in a war in which the enemy had burned and sacked the federal capital and which had led disaffected citizens to question the value of the Union itself, Jackson's victory at New Orleans would seem to wipe away the nation's memories of incompetent leadership. Overnight, Old Hickory would be transfigured into a symbol of distinctive American strengths and virtues, and his path would turn inevitably toward the freshly painted because scorched "White House." But for the moment the Virginia Dynasty still commanded, and Jackson would retire with his honors to his beloved Hermitage. Some admirers of Jackson would be able to obtain a lock of his hair, which hair, now tested, shows lead poisoning which would fully explain his severe abdominal cramping and constipation during this period. (The lead bullet lodged in his body produced chronic health problems such as irritability, paranoia, severe mood swings, and kidney failure, until it would be surgically removed in 1832 and the dissolved lead burden in his body would be able to decrease. The calomel which he took due to this constipation, since it contained mercury, may explain why his teeth would fall out at such an early age.)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 1st M 1815 / Our Meetings were silent excepting a short offering in the forenoon - Went with Father Rodman to visit of our friend D Buffum who had for a week or two been confined by indisposition. took tea with him & set most of the evening. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 10, Tuesday: Great Britain declared war on the King of Kandy, on the island of [Ceylon](#).

29. When the national government of the United States of America purchased rights to such territories from weaker people, such as the Dakota nation, they weren't in the habit of paying nearly as much as this per acre, even when the rights to the real estate were far more real than the rights of King Louis.



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 January 11, Wednesday: As the wounded still lay dying, rumors began to reach the armed forces in and around New Orleans that the war had been over for some time, that a treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States of America had been signed at Ghent on the previous [Christmas Eve](#). “There never was a more complete failure,” said his brother-in-law [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#) matter-of-factly as the remaining British marines were shipping their commander’s riddled body home to his wife at Pakenham Castle in County Westmeath in England pickled in a hogshead of naval-supplies-grade rum.

 January 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12 of 1st M / Our Meeting was silent. And to me a season of but little proffit, being much unsettled. – We took tea at Father Rodmans. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 13, Friday: At the conference in Vienna, Bavaria adhered to the secret alliance of January 3d.

 January 14, Saturday: Hearings began before the New Jersey state legislature to determine whether Robert Fulton or Nicholas Roosevelt had invented the steamboat with vertical wheels. Then, they were postponed until January 24th.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 14th of 1 M / Heard this Afternoon of the recent very sudden departure out of time of our Beloved friend & Brother Matthew Franklin of NYork. It appears he was at Pearl Street Meeting & was delivering a sermon in which he appeared to be engaged with unusual life & while in the Middle of a sentence Sat down & was soon helped out of Meeting to his home & died in a fit of Apoplexy in a short time - with this goodly young man I was well acquainted - He has twice visited New England & the last time was in 1812 - His ministry was lively pertinent & Sound His death was a solemn Warning to those who are in health to be prepared for we know not in which hour we may be Summoned to Eternity. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 15, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15 of 1st M / Ruth Weaver reviewed the text “Boast not thyself of tomorrow for we know not what a day may Bring forth – & father Rodman followed her on the same subject – D Buffum was lively & Powerful in testimony – In the Afternoon Silent. – In the eveng Br J Rodman & I called a little while at Neighbor Towles. – then came back & Set the remainder together & Br Isaac Joined us very agreeably –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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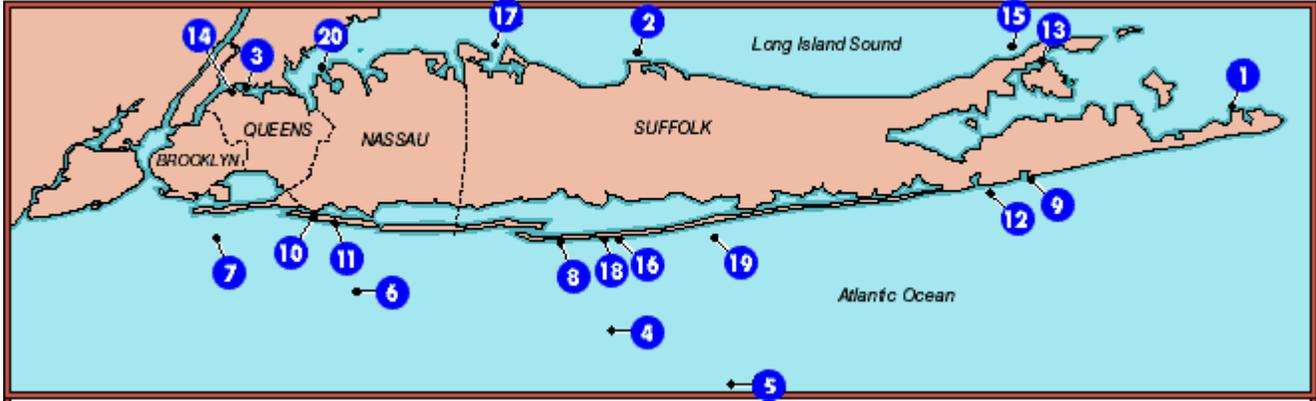
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January 16, Monday: At a meeting of the 8 signatories of the Treaty of Paris in Vienna, Great Britain proposed an end to the [international slave trade](#).

When the British 22-gun sloop of war *HMS Sylph* was wrecked during this night at position #12 off the southern shore of Long Island, it was possible to rescue only 6 of the 121 aboard.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 16th of 1st M 1815 / I have today met with the Following
Obituary notice in the NYork Commercial Advertiser of the 10th
inst "Smitten friends*

"Are Angels sent on errands full of love

"For us they languish

"And for us they die young

*Death has impressed another awful lesson upon those who glory
in the transitory enjoyments of life. - He has deprived this
city of a valuable & worthy citizen & has bereaved the Society
of Friends of a Member, who tho' in the prime of life has long
stood forth, an Able advocate in the cause of universal
righteousness, & whose life adorned the doctrines he professed.
Matthew Franklin, a distinguished minister in that Society
expired last evening about half past seven. The circumstances
of his death are Solemn and impressive. In usual health he
attended the meeting in Pearl Street to which he belonged on the
preceeding morning, and, after an interval of Silence, he rose
& repeated the following emphatic declaration of the apostle
James; "Pure religion & undefiled before God the Father, is
this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction."
On this point of the text he enlarged very instructively
illustrating the nature of the duties, to which the apostle
alluded, and exhorted the audience to the exercise of christian
benevolence with much of that feeling & pathos, for which his
discourses have latterly been remarkable. -*

*But Oh! it was enough! While this pleading with a countenance
suffused with earnestness & affection the cause of the indigent
& friendless, a Mandate from the councils of eternal wisdom
arrested him in the commencement of a sentence, and instantly
closed his mental powers in utter oblivion to the woes &
sufferings of his fellow creatures. He suddenly applied his hand
to his head, slowly took his seat, rose up, & feebly with the
assistance of others walked out; was conveyed home & without
uttering a Sentence fell into a State of Apoplectic
insensibility in which he languished until released without a
struggle, from the last tie of his mortal nature.*

Numerous are the eyes that will overflow at this event, for he



was tenderly beloved by every class of his friends. The poor will lament their loss for many were they upon whom his private charities, like the refreshing dews of the night upon the parched soil, shed relief & gladness. As an active Governor of the NYork Hospital; as a Trustee of the Free School; as a Member of other important associations; as a correct & upright Merchant, his loss will be long & deeply regretted. Oh his social qualities & his eminent worth as a Minister of the Gospel, it becomes us here to be silent: we cannot do justice to a theme so affecting. "He mourns the dead who lives as they desire."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 18, Wednesday: British forces sailed away from Louisiana.

After three years of accusations, recriminations, and demands, [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) reached an agreement with the estate of Prince Kinsky according to which he would be paid part of his promised annuity, plus what had not been paid since the devaluation. He would dedicate the 2d setting of An die Hoffnung op.94 to Princess Kinsky for her graciousness and understanding.



January 19, Thursday: Hannover adhered to the secret alliance of January 3d.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 1st M 1815 / Our Meeting was pretty well attended by Members. James Hallack was with us, & I think it may be said the Love of God was very conspicuous in his ministry. -In the last (Preparative) he was also concerned very sweetly for the various branches of society & particularly for the Youth. -At the close of the preparative Meeting he requested a Meeting to be appointed at the sixth hour tomorrow evening which was agreed upon. - In the Afternoon I recd a letter from Aunt Patty giving a Short acct of the funeral of M Franklin - & at the same time one from Obadiah Brown giving inclosing two for James Hallack I immediately carried them to E Hoxies[?] where I found him. -they contained information of the extreme illness of his son, which brought his mind into a streight about the Meeting he had appointed, thinking he had better return homeward tomorrow Morning. -

Was called upon to examine the bruises of Matilda Speare which she said she had recd from Daniel Chase Jr & his wife to whom she was by indenture bound by the Overseers of this Town. (The child is about 6 years old. On inspection of the Back there appear'd to be marks which indicated severe bruises of a blackish, greenish & yellowish hue like old bruises that had begun to disappear the most remarkable was on the left Shoulder & there were similar marks on the right shoulder which the child inform'd me was occasioned by the stripes of an horse whip given by Mrs Chase. One of her ears bore the marks of bruises & scratches, the scabs remaining, which she said was done by Mrs. Chase who took her up by the ear. - On the lower extremities of her body there appeared large weals & from the breadth of them I should suppose they had been swollen to the size of a common finger. On inspecting her head there appeared to be bald spots where the hair was evidently pulled out by the roots which she said was done by Mrs. Chase at various times & stated twice in

particular when she by sudden force tore her our of bed by the hair & one when her own child wet the flour [floor], she took her by the hair & rubed her face in the Water. -

I went to see those marks of unnatural abuse at the request of one of the town Council in company with one of the overseers of the poor, & certainly it was wicked in the extreme & if the facts are proven upon Chase & his wife I think hevly damages will be recovered by prosecution & their rights of Membership in Society be forfeited. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 20, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 20th of 1 M 1815 / James Hallack feels most easy to attend the meeting & I have been much occupied tho' [thro'] the Day in preparing the Meeting house for it --
At 6 OC. R M the meeting met - the house was well lighted with Candles. - It proved to be the most solid & satisfactory Meeting that has been held by appointment in this town for many years. - James was engaged about two hours in very weighty & Powerful communication & tho' the Small part of the house was full & so much crowded that many stood in the Passage, when he concluded speaking all remained perfectly still & quiet, none moved from their seats & I thought I never witnessed a more solid covering over a gathering - & when the meeting concluded the people seemed unwilling to separate*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 21, Saturday: [Horace Wells](#) was born in Hartford, Vermont.³⁰

The assembled leaders in Vienna attended a requiem mass in St. Stephen's Cathedral organized by Talleyrand, for Louis XVI on the 22d anniversary of the monarch's [execution](#). The requiem was conducted by Antonio Salieri.

LA GUILLOTINE

From this date until March 9th, [Lord and Lady Byron](#) would be at Seaham, home of Sir Ralph and Lady Milbanke.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 21st of 1st M 1815 / I have heard many speak of their satisfaction & edification at being at James Meeting last evening
This eveng rode to [Portsmouth](#) with David Williams & lodged at Cousin Z Chases*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 22, Sunday: Great Britain and Portugal signed a treaty in regard to the [international slave trade](#). In return for British cancellation of a £600,000 debt owed by Portugal, no subject of Portugal would ever purchase any slave along the coast of Africa north of the equator.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

30. Wells's drug experiments on himself would, on January 24, 1848, bring about his death.



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-1st day Rose early & took breakfast which was very kindly prepared for us by Elizabeth & Alice - we then rode down into New town on the buisness we went on - then went to Meeting which was Silent - After Meeting we had an oppertunity with David Sherman - his case is to me a very trying one - We dined at John Bordens after which we rode to George Halls to invesitage Davids case a little further where D Williams left me & went on towards Westport - I returning home stoped a few minutes at Saml Thurstons & from thence to Richd Mitchells & took tea & from thence rode home - before dark. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 23, Monday: The Netherlands adhered to the secret alliance of January 3d.

 January 24, Tuesday: Before the New Jersey state legislature, the postponed steamboat hearings resumed.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 24 of 1 M / Spent this day with my friend David Buffum at his house engaged in writing his Will. he is frequently of late subject to ill turns & is now confind by one of them I think his frail tabernacle of Clay is disolving, but may contunie by care some time longer. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 25, Wednesday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) accompanied vocalist Franz Wild at a concert to celebrate the birthday of the Tsarina at the Congress of Vienna (this would be his final public performance at the piano).

 January 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 26 of 1 M / In our first meeting Abigail Robinson was concerned in an excellent testimony touching the State of the times, recommending an individual inquiry how far each one has contributed to the drawing down the Judgements of Heaven which now seem to be poweri [pour] down on the inhabitants of this once highly favor'd land. -
In the last (Monthly Meeting) was an exercising time - a proposition was made to appoint a committee to inspect the state of society & to visit such members as way opened, which by the improper meddling of some, the extreme caution of others, & the Want of Zeal in some - nearly fell thro' - tho' the preposition spread with considerable life over the meeting when first made*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 27, Friday: Before the New Jersey state legislature, in regard to the invention of the steamboat with vertical wheels, Robert Fulton testified in his own behalf.

 January 29, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 29th of 1st M 1815 / Much afflicted with the Ague in my face, which with a portion of physic taken last eveng prevented my going to meeting - the Ague remaining hard I put a Blister



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on my Arm this evening. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 30, Monday: The 6,487 volumes of ex-president-in-bad-need-of-some-ready-cash [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s library, purchased on this day by the federal congress for \$23,950 to replace volumes burned by the British during the War of 1812, would be arriving in [Washington DC](#) by horse and wagon.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 30th of 1st M / Confined within doors with the Ague & the soreness of my Blister, my mind much turned towards the ensueing Quarterly Meeting at [Providence](#) had made calculations to attend it, but such are my infirmities that I fear to attempt it, at this very cold spell of weather would be an imprudent risk, several of my friends have been in this Afternoon & offered me a seat in Their Chaises, which is very kind & a renew'd insentive to dedication for I have often believed that way is made for those who are devoted to discharge their duty where no way appears. As I have no way left but the expence of the Mail stage the river being shut, no less than three offers of conveyance has felt very greatful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 31, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 31st of 1st M / My face stukk very uncomfortable & confined within doors - I have given up the prospect of Quarterly Meeting - some who attempt ed it going & got as far as [Bristol](#) ferry were obligedd to return the ferry being stopd with Ice & the weather today has been the coldest I wver knew this eveng the mercury was 8 degrees below nothing - I have felt thankful for having things around me comfortable & especially that I have wood aplenty & can keep my stove [store?] comfortable. - My H has spent most of the day in the Shop with her Spinning Wheel

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FEBRUARY

 February: When [Washington Allston](#)'s wife Ann Channing Allston died, he began to long to return to America.

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February: [Isaac Bailey](#) produced, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), another issue of THE RHODE ISLAND LITERARY REPOSITORY, and in this one his initial focus was upon the recently deceased Theophilus Parsons, who had been active in the creation of the US Constitution and who had then served for many years as Chief Justice of the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts.

LITERARY REPOSITORY



February 1, Wednesday: The [Duke of Wellington](#) arrived at the Congress of Vienna as the British representative, replacing Viscount Castlereagh.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 1st of 2nd M 1815 / The cold abates a little more Ice made in the harbor [too faint] night than I ever before saw [five line nearly illegible, but all having to do with the extreme cold]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 2, Thursday: Representatives of 32 teeny [German](#) states unrecognized at the Congress of Vienna demanded an immediate congress of [Germany](#) to consider a constitution, a congress that would never happen.

The [Duke of Wellington](#) made his initial public appearance in Vienna, at a ball in the *Redoutensaal*. Everyone was fascinated and, as you might imagine, there was quite a large crush.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 2nd of 2nd M 1815 / Attended Meeting & tho' my spirit was barran when going, it proved a season of feeling & close exercise, expecially in commemorating what passed at our last Moy [Monthly] Meeting. -It seemed to open fully & satisfactorily to my mind that the body must witness an excercise for itself, or it will long remain barran & unfruitful - true it is, that individuals compose the body & individuals must & will be exercised, but their hands will be tied from useful labor untill we can experience a more general concern, untill the body is



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more fully bound to promote labor for its own help & restoration, & it was my sense then & remains so now, that could the Moy [Monthly] Meeting be united in appointing a judicious committee one that would be willing to be exercised in the cause of Truth, who might have liberty to visit individuals, families & Meetings at their discretion much benefit might be the result - & not only such as are delinquents require help, but many who are endeavoring to fill their ranks in righteousness may need the friendly & pious call of their brethren & sisters, who may be enabled thro' divine help to afford them suitable council & thereby strengthen their hands in well doing. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 4: John R. Livingston was granted his suit to have the New Jersey monopoly act repealed — this was for Robert Fulton and his steamboat a narrow victory.

 February 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5th of 2 M / Our mornng Meeting was as large as could be expected considering the hevly fall of Snow last night About 20 women got out - In the Afternoon it was also pretty well attended & [illegible] spoke a few words. - Set the evening pretty much at home excepting a short call at Brother Isaacs in the forepart of it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 8, Wednesday: The Five Powers in Vienna finally came to agreement in regard to Saxony and Poland. Also, the eight signatories of the Treaty of Paris signed a statement on the [international slave trade](#), unanimously concurring that it was immoral (dedicating themselves to its eradication, they could of course arrive at no agreement on any enforcement provision — just because something is immoral does not mean that anything ought to be done about it because this is, after all, an imperfect world in which the wise people do understand that “the best is ever the enemy of the good”).

British forces from Louisiana captured Mobile in the Mississippi Territory.

Caleb C. Billings (presumably “Junior” or “II”: the 1st infant so named would survive but five months, dying on July 4th) was born to Caleb Callender Billings and [Nancy Thoreau Billings](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4 day 8th of 2 M 1815 / A Day of exercise of mind a proposition by our fr D Buffum made today occasioned (with some other circumstances relative to Society) much serious reflection this evening. - The proposal was to stand in the capacity of Overseer - which I am very unwilling to consent to, from a concious belief that I can be more useful out of the appointment than in it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 9, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9 of 2nd M / At Meeting an appearance in supplication -



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My mind in a pretty good state. – Still exercised with the proposition of standing as Overseer. – I feel a desire to do what I can in my day & generation, but cannot believe that to be my proper sphere. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 10: The town bells pealed all across Massachusetts, and cannon were discharged, as news arrived of a great victory over the British at New Orleans at the mouth of the Mississippi River.

 February 11, Saturday: After months of sometimes acrimonious debate, a final agreement on Poland and Saxony was signed at the Congress of Vienna. The Posen district was returned to Prussia while Galicia reverted to Austria. Krakow and its surrounding 1,000 square kilometers became a free city. The remaining 127,000 square kilometers of the old Duchy of Warsaw became the Kingdom of Poland under [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#). In return for giving up most of its claims Prussia received 40% of Saxony, the Duchy of Westphalia, Swedish Pomerania, and the west bank of the Rhine. In return for its concessions Austria received the Tyrol, Salzburg, the Adriatic Provinces, and certain assurances in Italy. Everybody was as happy as they could possibly be in an imperfect world.

The British sloop-of-war *Favorite* arrived at New-York, with an English and an American messenger bearing a treaty of peace, which the English government had already ratified. The news of the Treaty of Ghent, despatched by express, would reach [Boston](#) in thirty-two hours. As the news spread, a general feeling of satisfaction expressed itself in rejoicing, without caring to inquire what were the terms of the treaty.

AMERICAN NAVAL BIOGRAPHY. Compiled by [Isaac Bailey](#). Providence: Published by Isaac Bailey, near the Turk's Head [[Providence, Rhode Island](#)]. H. Mann & Co. printers.

NAVAL BIOGRAPHIES

The personages we are expectedly to desire so eagerly to emulate are Thomas Truxton, Edward Preble, Alexander Murray, John Rodgers, Isaac Hull, Stephen Decatur, Jacob Jones, James Lawrence, William Bainbridge, John Barry, Nicholas Biddle, David Porter, Charles Morris, William Henry Allen, Oliver Hazard Perry, William Burrows, John Cushing Aylwin, and Thomas MacDonough. This volume concludes with an essay "Characteristick anecdotes of the Battle on Lake Erie."

Thou, Ocean, thou, the seaman's sire !
Witness for us, while deeds like those
Approved our prowess to our foes,
Did they not 'midst ourselves, inspire
In all, the emulous desire
As well to act, as to admire !

 February 12, Sunday: The news arrived in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), by express stage out of New-York, that in Ghent "on the 24th December last," a peace had been concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain, and that the Battle for New Orleans had been merely a waste of everyone's lives. This express stage proceeded forward to inform first Worcester and then Boston.

1815. The glad tidings of Peace were announced here February 12, and our streets were thronged with delighted men and women, and resounded with acclamations of joy. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and although it was intensely cold, the streets were thronged to a late hour by persons of both sexes and of all ages, and the sound of mirth resounded from almost every dwelling. Many, however, who had been carried along by this tide of rejoicing, had cause to mourn when the excitement had subsided, and the "sober second thought" of reflection had



returned. They had speculated largely, when prices were high, and vast amounts were invested in merchandise, the value of which, on restoration of peace, "fell, like Lucifer, never to rise again." Many failures were the consequence; but to people at large, peace came as a blessing.

This year was signaled by the Great Storm and high tide. The storm commenced Sept. 22, and the wind was violent, and increasing through the night and the succeeding morning, many houses were unroofed, and other blown down. The tide on the 23d, rose to an extraordinary height, the gale from the South-East was of unparalleled severity, both combined, they drove the principal part of the shipping in the harbor from its moorings up the river against Weybosset bridge, which in short time gave way, and the whole was driven up and landed on the northern shore of the cove. A large sloop was left a considerable distance North of Great Point, now the site of the State Prison, and between that point and the upper part of the Canal basin, were upwards of thirty sail, of a burthen from 500 tons downwards. The water entirely filled the lower stories of the buildings in Market-street, west of the bridge, and a portion of the brick wall of the Washington Insurance building, in the third story, was broken in by the bowsprit of the ship Ganges, as she was driven rapidly by in the foaming current. A sloop of some 50 or 60 tons was driven across Weybosset-street, into Pleasant-street, where she grounded. The Baptist meeting-house, built for Rev. Mr. Cornell, near Muddy Dock, now Dorrance-street, was entirely destroyed. Many houses, stores and barns were swept from the wharves in South Water, Weybosset and some other streets, into the cove, where many of them were crushed to pieces. The water at the junction of Westminster and Orange-streets was at least six feet in depth. Two human beings only here lost their lives in this storm, which was matter of great wonder, when so many were perilled. No measures were taken to ascertain the damage done by the storm, but it was estimated at about a million of dollars.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12 of 2nd M / In our Mornng Meeting D Buffum was concerned in a very lively testimony to the necessity of "Commencing with our own hearts" &c In the Afternoon a short testimony by a friend - both meetings I considered favor'd seasons to me tho' not wholly exempt from thoughts which had better be excluded from a religious Meeting - Jonathon Dennis Dined with us - & Sister Ruth took tea & set the evening. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 13, Monday: The news arrived in [Boston](#), by express stage out of New-York through Worcester, that in Ghent "on the 24th December last," a peace had been concluded between the United States of America and Great Britain, and that the Battle for New Orleans had been merely a waste of everyone's lives.

 February 14, Tuesday: British forces took control of the city of Kandy on the island of Sri Lanka.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 14 of 2nd M / This Morning at five OClock which was



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before Day break - My friend Charles Gorton knocked at the door & gave me the very pleasing intelligence that two men had arrived at 2 OC with the News of PEACE from Bristol & that the Printers were striking off hand Bills - I thought the news so pleasing that I immediately dressed myself made my [illegible] & went out & at the Watch House I [illegible] the two Messengers of Peace themselves who cont [illegible] had before told me - After staying there a while I walked out a little & returned home a little after day light & pretty soon Rec'd the hand bill. The Bells were set to Ringing before Sunrise & guns fired & both Bells & Guns have been going the whole day with many displays of Colours in different parts of the Town - & generally the greatest scene of public rejoicing I ever beheld - This evening the Town was generally illuminated wherewith Thames Street was nearly as light as Day & as many men women & children travelling about as at the General Election. Lights were placed in the Church Lantern which was to have been a Signal of Alarm, now a Token of Peace.

This mode of rejoicing (tho' on this occasion I cannot feel so far amiss as on some others) is very far from what I conceive to be right, my heart hath indeed been humbled & made thankful to HIM who ruleth the world in that he hath Blessed us with the return of the Olive Branch. & Oh that the people would lay it to heart.

Another cause of thankfulness is that with all the commotion of the day & evening no accident has happened that has come to my knowledge.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 15, Wednesday: Viscount Castlereagh departed from Vienna for London.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 15th of 2nd M 1815 / On looking over the late great event of Peace my heart is humbled under a sense of gratitude for the many favors recd - I have been blessed with the means of reputable living thro' the War & have not gone behind hand while many have spent their last & gone much in debt & some have within my knowledge suffered much with cold & Hunger this Winter - & for the many favors I have recd I do feel a Song of praise unto Him who alone was the Author of All - & Oh that I may renew my devotion to his cause - With what gratitude should the inhabitants of this Town look unto the Lord, having preserved us from the Danger of invasion the Sword & famine, in viewing his tender mercies, my heart is full

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 16, Thursday: Johanna Wagner Geyer and Ludwig Geyer added a daughter, Cäcilie, to their family which already included the toddler Wilhelm Richard Wagner.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 16 of 2 M / Jonathon Chase & Daniel Brayton of Swansey Attended Meeting & Jonathon appear'd in testimony, which evinced him to be a living member of the Body - They are on a visit to



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*the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - intending to see the families of it & have commenced their services this Afternoon. -
In the Preparative Meeting The former Overseers with the addition of my name were reported & agreed to be recommended to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting for that Service - A Service which I feel not only incompetent on but have serious doubts whether it is the sphere in which I ought to act - however submit to the judgement of my friends. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 17, Friday: In support of homeland agriculture, a Corn Bill was introduced into the House of Commons to restrict import of foreign grain. This would enhance the nation's security but raise the price of bread.

The federal Congress proposed that the United States of America borrow the sum of \$18,400,000, by creating an issue of treasury notes in the amount of \$25,000,000. A portion of these treasury notes, issued in sums under \$100, would be payable to bearer, and would serve as a currency. Treasury notes over \$100 were to bear interest at 5 2/5%, making a cent and a half a day on each \$100. Both were to be receivable for all public dues and were to be transferable at option, those bearing interest in 6% bonds and those without interest in 7% bonds.

The ratification of the treaty of Ghent that had been signed the previous December 24th ended the [War of 1812](#) between England and the USA. By its provisions all conquered territory was to be mutually restored, and three commissions were to be appointed: the first to settle the title to the islands of Passarnaquoddy Bay; the second to settle the northeastern boundary as far as the St. Lawrence; and the third to, run the line through the St. Lawrence and the lakes to the Lake of the Woods. In case of disagreement, the point in dispute was to be referred to some friendly power. Hostilities on land were to terminate with the ratification of the treaty, and on sea in certain specified times, according to the distance, the longest time being four months. The treaty provided against the carrying away by the British of "any negroes or other property." Both parties agreed to use their best endeavors for the suppression of the slave-trade.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: At the Congress of Vienna, which assembled late in 1814, Castlereagh was indefatigable in his endeavors to secure the abolition of the trade. France and Spain, however, refused to yield farther than they had already done, and the other powers hesitated to go to the lengths he recommended. Nevertheless, he secured the institution of annual conferences on the matter, and a declaration by the Congress strongly condemning the trade and declaring that "the public voice in all civilized countries was raised to demand its suppression as soon as possible," and that, while the definitive period of termination would be left to subsequent negotiation, the sovereigns would not consider their work done until the trade was entirely suppressed.³¹

In the Treaty of Ghent, between Great Britain and the United States, ratified February 17, 1815, Article 10, proposed by Great Britain, declared that, "Whereas the traffic in slaves is irreconcilable with the principles of humanity and justice," the two countries agreed to use their best endeavors in abolishing the trade.³² The final overthrow of Napoleon was marked by a second declaration of the powers, who, "desiring to give effect to the measures on which they deliberated at the Congress of Vienna, relative to the complete and universal abolition of the

31. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, pages 939-75

32. AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, III. No. 271, pages 735-48; U.S. TREATIES AND CONVENTIONS (edition of 1889), page 405.



1815

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Slave Trade, and having, each in their respective Dominions, prohibited without restriction their Colonies and Subjects from taking any part whatever in this Traffic, engage to renew conjointly their efforts, with the view of securing final success to those principles which they proclaimed in the Declaration of the 4th February, 1815, and of concerting, without loss of time, through their Ministers at the Courts of London and of Paris, the most effectual measures for the entire and definitive abolition of a Commerce so odious, and so strongly condemned by the laws of religion and of nature."³³ Treaties further restricting the trade continued to be made by Great Britain: Spain abolished the trade north of the equator in 1817,³⁴ and promised entire abolition in 1820; Spain, Portugal, and Holland also granted a mutual limited Right of Search to England, and joined in establishing mixed courts.³⁵ The effort, however, to secure a general declaration of the powers urging, if not compelling, the abolition of the trade in 1820, as well as the attempt to secure a qualified international Right of Visit, failed, although both propositions were strongly urged by England at the Conference of 1818.³⁶

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 17th of 2nd M 1815 / Our friends J Chase & D Brayton go on their visits to families I attended them to Wm Leer Jos Williams & Alice Wyatts - then R Mitchell took my place & went with them thro' the Day - they took tea with us & in the evening & again waited on them to father Rodmans, Susan Thurstons, Polly Hadwens & John Earls at Wm Lees & John Earls they were remarkably favor'd, & evinced themselves Skillful workmen & wise thro' the whole.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 18, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 18th 2m / A very driving Snow Storm the whole day but our above mentioned friends inclining to ersue their visit to families I attended them thro' the Day first to D Rodmans then to Betsy Buffums. John Eastons (not a member) Robert Lawtons Eliza Hoxie Hannah Eastons, Robert Braytons not a member where they chose to dine being a relation & an old acquaintance - next to Gilbert Chases, James Taylor, Mary Tillinghast, Perry Weaver & the Widow Allens. - Our visit to John Eastons was remarkable he was mightily affected with Jonathons preaching & Daniels Prayer, our hearts were all greatly reached - at Robt Lawtons Nicholas was called in but came reluctantly Daniel however reached the witness in his mind & broke him into tears. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

33. This was inserted in the Treaty of Paris, November 20, 1815: BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-6, page 292.

34. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1816-7, pages 33-74 (English version, 1823-4, page 702 ff.).

35. Cf. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1817-8, page 125 ff.

36. This was the first meeting of the London ministers of the powers according to agreement; they assembled December 4, 1817, and finally called a meeting of plenipotentiaries on the question of suppression at Aix-la-Chapelle, beginning October 24, 1818. Among those present were Metternich, Richelieu, Wellington, Castlereagh, Hardenberg, Bernstorff, Nesselrode, and Capodistrias. Castlereagh made two propositions: 1. That the five powers join in urging Portugal and Brazil to abolish the trade May 20, 1820; 2. That the powers adopt the principle of a mutual qualified Right of Search. Cf. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1818-9, pages 21-88; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 346, pages 113-122.

February 19, Sunday: Violin Concerto no.7 by Louis Spohr was performed for the initial time, in Vienna. This was judged among the best in that form yet composed.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 19 of 2nd M / I am almost sick with the cold taken yesterday travelling about in the Snow - Attended meetings & in both our above mentioned friend had good service

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 20, Monday: At this point during the 1812-1815 war with Great Britain, the USS *Constitution*, off Lisbon, captured the British sloops-of-war (or, perhaps, brigs) HMS *Cyane* and HMS *Levant*. The engagement took place by moonlight off Madeira. The loss to the Constitution was only three killed and twelve wounded. Meeting subsequently with a fleet of British vessels, our frigate escaped in a fog but lost HMS *Levant*, which the British warships recaptured.

(After this 1812-1815 war with Great Britain, our big frigate would be laid up for repairs at the US Navy Yard in Boston until 1821.)



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 20 of 2 M 1815 / Our friend J Chase & Daniel Brayton finished their visit in town this Afternoon I believe to their own & friends satisfaction - Jonathon Dennis attended them today. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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February 21, Tuesday: The British, after issuing a proclamation of martial law, withdrew from the coast of Georgia.

Congress authorized the funding of the non-interest-paying treasury notes in circulation. The interest upon the loan was 7%. \$3,268,949 was invested in bonds at par.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 21st of 2nd M / This Afternoon about 5 OClock the [Providence](#) Mail Stage arrived with a White flag before & a National standard behind with the news of the Ratification of the treaty with England by the President - immediately all the bells in town were set to ringing & people flocked about the streets in great numbers
On going out & making some inquiry I find it is not exactly as above stated. - The Senate have passed their Sanction to the treaty & it waits the Presidents signature.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 February 22, Wednesday: [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) gave birth to a daughter, two months premature.



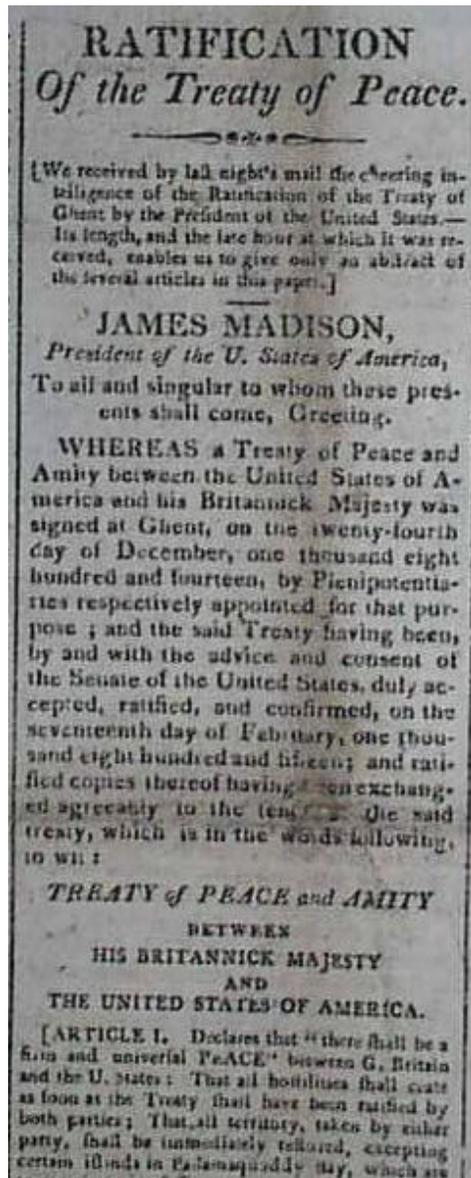
A large concert was given in Boston with massed choirs and instrumentalists, to celebrate [George Washington](#)'s birthday and the Treaty of Ghent. The event would inspire the founding of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society.

The American sailors being held in the prison complex on the Devonshire moor near Plymouth, England marched in their yard in celebration of this birthday (it may have been upon this occasion that the impromptu black band from #4 performed "Yankee Doodle" to the annoyance of watching British officials).

IMPRESSMENT

1815

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Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th 22nd of 2nd M / The Mail this eveng Brot the Treaty of peace & the Presidents Proclamation which puts to rest all doubt & question that peace is really concluded between England & America. This is an Era of the World very remarkable. all Christian Powers are now at Peace - no War exists between any of them & May this state long continue & prove a forerunner of that great Day long ago predicted even to the Nations of the Earth shall learn the Art of War no MORE. - The Bells have rung all day & in the evening many houses were illuminated. I am thankful the Nation is at peace & as thankful that the mode of rejoicing practiced by the people is over 5th day 23rd of 2nd M 1815 / The mornng being very cold the travelling bad & my H being quite unwell I got into a Sleigh with David Williams & His daughter Mary & rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting



1815

1815

& in going I have seldom suffered more with the cold. The travelling being hard & our Horse dull made us late at Meeting - We met our Friends Jonathon Chase & D Brayton & Jonathon & Hannah Dennis were concerned in lively testimonys - We had much buisness in the last meeting but were favord to get along with it to pretty good satisfaction & in good season. - We dined at Uncle S Thurstons in company with Jonathon & Daniel who have nearly accomplished their visit to the families of Friends in this Monthly Meeting We took our leave of them & rode home much more comfortably than we rode out the weather having moderated & the road become Smoother.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**1815****1815**

February 24, Friday: Robert Fulton died of pneumonia at his residence in what is now Battery Place in lower Manhattan. The remains would be interred in his wife's family vault at Trinity Churchyard Cemetery, accompanied by discharge of the minute-guns of a steam-frigate anchored in the Hudson River. Since this vault would not be marked as containing this important-man burial and is hard to find, in 1901 a memorial cenotaph would be placed nearby:



A 5th Issue of US Treasury Notes was authorized by the national congress:



February 25, Saturday: Luigi Cherubini departed from Paris, to present his new compositions to the Royal Philharmonic Society in London.

February 26, Sunday: The [Emperor Napoléon](#), 3 generals, and 1,000 men set sail from the Island of Elba in the Mediterranean, passing the ships on guard and heading toward the southern coast of France.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 26th of 2nd M / Meetings small walking bad & lean seasons
a few words offered in the Afternoon. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 28, Tuesday: When British Commissioner Sir Neil Campbell, official guardian of the [Emperor Napoléon](#), arrived on the Island of Elba and discovered that his bird had flown the coop, he immediately dispatched messengers to warn Europe (when the news would reach the Congress of Vienna, Charles-Maurice Talleyrand would suggest that Napoleon might have sailed to Italy and [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#) would guffaw).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 28th of 2 M / Sitting this eveng attending to my H while
she was reading the Memoirs of Benj Bangs a weighty frame of
mind came over me & I believe I livingly said in my heart
"BLESSED be the NAME of the LORD" while sitting thus enjoying
the circulations of the divine life those words involuntarily*

rose up in much precious feeling & I was grateful for this fresh evidence of divine favor. --

Heard this Afternoon that my Aged cousin Joseph Greene of Connannicut is low & apparently near his end

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

MARCH

➡ March: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) relocated with John James Morgan and Mary Morgan to Calne, Wiltshire.

➡ March: John Roulstone wrote the first twelve lines of a now-famous poem:

Mary had a little lamb,
Its fleece was as white as snow,
And every where that Mary went,
The lamb was sure to go.

It followed her to school one day,
That was against the rule,
It made the children laugh and play,
To see the lamb at school.

And so the teacher turned it out,
but still it lingered near,
And waited patiently about,
'Till Mary did appear.

The teacher referred to was a Miss Polly Kimball. That day John Roulstone, a nephew of the Reverend Lemuel Capen, a minister in Sterling from 1815-1819, was visiting the school (John had been born in 1805 and would die on February 20, 1822 in Boston at the age of 17). The next day young John came on horseback to the schoolhouse and handed Mary Sawyer a piece of paper bearing his poem's initial 12 lines.



➡ March: The US federal non-intercourse and non-importation acts were repealed, as well as all acts creating discriminating duties on foreign vessels — this to take effect only with reciprocating nations.

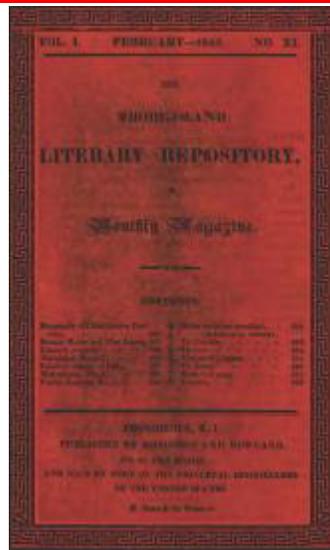
➡ March: There were at this point about 6,500 American sailors being held in the dour granite prison complex near the mist-enshrouded village of Princeton on the stark Devonshire moor about a day's march from the port town of Plymouth, England. Now that the war over their plight had been completed, would these "["crimped"](#) Americans be rescued?

(Even as the British blockading fleet was sailing back to England, the *Fulton*, a converted 134-foot sailing vessel, was making its first regular run under steam power from New-York, up Long Island Sound, to New Haven, Connecticut. We had things to think about, other than a few trapped American seamen many of whom, anyway, happened to be black.)

➡ March: In [Rhode Island](#), the [Providence](#) Insurance Company and the Washington Insurance Company merged to become the Washington Providence Insurance Company.

[Isaac Bailey](#) produced, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), another issue of THE RHODE ISLAND LITERARY REPOSITORY.

LITERARY REPOSITORY



➡ March-June: The "Hundred Days": [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) escaped from Elba and temporarily regained power. (As you can imagine, this made some very happy while making others very unhappy.)

➡ March 1, Wednesday: At 5:00PM at Golfe-Juan, between Cannes and Antibes (near Nice), the [Emperor Napoléon](#) set foot again on the soil of France. "OK, no more M. Nice Guy."

➡ March 2, Thursday: The Dominion of Kandyan Provinces ([Ceylon](#)) was vested in the Sovereign of the British Empire.

The [Emperor Napoléon](#) reached Castellane.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 2nd of 3rd M 1815 / Our friend D Buffum was concerned

in a lively & very sweet testimony "He that knoweth his Masters will &c" Ruth Weaver appeared in a few words - Meeting well attended considering the very bad travelling - to me it was a season of favor. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 3, Friday: The [Emperor Napoléon](#) reached Barême.

The United States of America declared war on Algiers. War costs money. The federal Congress authorized a borrowing of \$12,000,000 at a rate of interest of 6%. The amount actually subscribed would be \$9,745,745. The borrowing was for the purpose of funding the interest-paying treasury notes and the subscription price was from ninety to par in treasury notes.

 March 4, Saturday: The [Emperor Napoléon](#) reached Digne. Due to the efficient French semaphoric telegraph service, King Louis XVIII was immediately alerted when the exile, having deceived British Commissioner Sir Neil Campbell, arrived from the Island of Elba upon the Riviera of France — unfortunately for the alerted monarch, this timely first alert also carried the signal information that local military commanders didn't seem to be putting up any resistance.³⁷



[John Wells Foster](#) was born at Petersham, Massachusetts, a descendant of [Captain Myles Standish](#) (mother Patience Wells Foster, father the Reverend Festus Foster, grandfather Standish Foster, great-grandfather Nathan Foster whose wife Hannah Standish was a great-great-granddaughter of Captain Standish, great-great-grandfather Abraham Foster, great-great-great-grandfather Abraham Foster, great-great-great-great-grandfather the initial American Foster, named Reginald Foster. He would be educated at Wilbraham Academy.

(On the same day Lydia Lyon Converse was born, who would in 1839 in Brimfield, Massachusetts become [John Wells Foster](#)'s bride.)

 March 5, Sunday: Upon the 12th meeting of the "Swiss Committee," most issues of the Congress of Vienna were resolved (or so they supposed).

The German physician Franz Mesmer died. He had developed "Mesmerism," a set of techniques we now know as hypnotism. Prior to the introduction of [anesthesia](#) in the late 1840s, this "Mesmerism" would be being very widely relied upon for surgical pain relief.

[Nancy Thoreau Billings](#) died in Bangor, Maine, possibly due to complications of childbirth. Her widower Caleb Callender Billings would remarry on June 7, 1818, with the widowed Betsey Brown Hammond, a mature daughter of [Reuben Brown](#) of [Concord](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5 of 3 M / Mt Aged cousin (by marriage) Joseph Greene

37. It was during this year that Boston was creating its short-range system of semaphore telegraphy for the coordination of shipping in its harbor.

of Jamestown departed this life this morning about 5 O'clock - he married my fathers own Cousin Abigail Gould & their son David served his time at the Tailors trade with him, both which circumstances made a particular intimacy in the families. - The walking very bad. Meetings both small & silent - a few women attended & some that were not members

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 6, Monday: [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) found her baby dead. She wrote to her other sex partner Thomas Jefferson Hogg: "My dearest Hogg, my baby is dead — will you come to me as soon as you can.... It was perfectly well when I went to bed — I awoke in the night to give it suck it appeared to be sleeping quietly that I would not awake it — it was dead then but we did not find that out till morning."

Troops needed to be called in because mobs were blocking blocked the entrances to the House of Commons as the Corn Bill went into committee. Members attempting to conduct government business were being incessantly shouted at and ridiculed. Damage was done to the residences of the Chief Justice and the Lord Chancellor, and several other rich residences would be vandalized and looted over a period of several nights.

 March 7, Tuesday: At Laffrey, 800 soldiers produced the first threat to the project of the returning [Emperor Napoléon](#). Disdaining armed confrontation, he walked toward them identifying himself as their emperor and inviting them to gun him down. The soldiers threw down their weapons and knelt. They, and then their officers, turned sides and went on that day to take Grenoble.

News of the escape reached Metternich and the Quadruple Alliance at the Congress of Vienna, and they were brought to an awareness that they were going to need to defeat the emperor again on the field of battle.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 7th of 3rd M / This Mornng with my H crossed the ferry to Connanicut to attend the funeral of cousin Jos Greene we had 14 others on board the boat Vizt D Buffum Jons Dennis & Wife, John Weaver & two Daughters - James Mitchell & Daughter Rhoda & others - At the funeral we met our friend Thos Jones & Geo Philbrick on a religious visit - The Meeting was held at Josephs house in which Thos Jones spoke twice D Buffum twice & Hannah Dennis once one of their communications appeard to me to be with good Authority -particularly D Buffums "He observed that we were on a very important voyage with our all on board & desired we might pay strict attention to the helm the company & the Pilot that we might arrive safe at the haven where true riches lays - In his second standing he illustrated the Prodigal holding [illegible] the encouragement to return to the fathers House - The Corpse were inter'd in the Meeting House [illegible] A pretty large company of us arrived at the house & they [illegible] T Jones & G Williams with us Recd by T Jones [illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 8, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 8th of 3rd M 1815 / This Morning recd a letter from my fr Hannah Pope, Baltimore dated 2nd M 15 1815 / & 2n M 19 -which



was very acceptable. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 9, Thursday: [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) wrote in her journal: “Thursday 9th. Read & talk — still think about my little baby — ’tis hard indeed for a mother to lose a child.”

[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and Lady Byron left for Six Mile Bottom to visit Augusta Leigh.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 9th of 3rd M / Thos Jones & his companion George Philbrick were at meeting - Thos was concern'd in a short but sweet testimony. - The meeting was as well attended as could be expected considering the Walking-
Rote a letter this eveng to Wm Rotch Jnr respecting Jacob Rivera*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 10, Friday: The [Emperor Napoléon](#) and his escort reached Lyons, where they experienced tumultuous welcome.

News reached the Congress of Vienna that Napoléon had indeed landed in France.

With London streets filled with military units keeping the populace subdued, at its 3d reading the Corn Bill easily passed the House of Commons.

Publication of Six Polonaises op.70 by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

➡ March 11, Saturday: [John Andrew](#) was born in Hull, England. He would begin his studies as an engraver with a burin engraver, and continue them with a wood engraver.

➡ March 12, Sunday: Lord and Lady Byron began to stay at Six Mile Bottom, until the 28th of the month.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12 of 3rd M / Our Meetings were both pretty large, no vocal communication & from my own condition I was ready to conclude it was a low season with most present but little life in circulation

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 13, Monday: A joint declaration by Austria, France, Great Britain, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Sweden at the Congress of Vienna designated [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) an international outlaw.

➡ March 14, Tuesday: Troops sent by King Louis XVIII to subdue [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) went over to his side at Auxerre southeast of Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 14 of 3rd M / This day our little son John Stanton is three Years old. - he is at present a promising little boy. / -

can spell quite smartly & repeat a considerable number of poetic peaces which gives him quite a smart & forward appearance & he is a remarkable minute observer of allmost every thing he sees & hears & appears to have many Ideas not common in children of his age -He is advancing into a World fraught with many snares & woes, & should he arrive to maturity I crave nothing for him beyond his being a good man & useful in his generation. This is my anxious desire & I pray the God of our lives that the Angel of his presennce may ever be near & guard him from evil. he is now young, but not so young but a sense of good & evil is very apparent in his mind. - & exerts[?] evidently powerful convictions for doing wrong & a commendation of or good attend him & as proof of this I could instance many circumstances within six months

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 15, Wednesday: Birth of [Edward Jesse](#)'s and Matilda Morris Jesse's son John Heneage Jesse at West Bromwich, Staffordshire. He would be educated at Eton and become something of a court historian.

In an attempt to aid the [Emperor Napoléon](#), King Joachim Murat of Naples launched an offensive against the Austrians.

Bostonians Gottlieb Graupner, Asa Peabody, and Thomas Webb sent out circulars inviting all to join a group to form "a correct taste in Sacred Musick."

 March 16, Thursday: The Kingdom of the Netherlands (in our present era, that would correspond to Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg) was established under King Willem I.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 16th of 3rd M 1815 / At meeting two Public Testimonys one from C Rodman the other H Dennis - After meeting we had a short opportunity with D Chase Jr but two of the committee being absent we defer'd investigation for another opportunity - Saml Thurston & Richd Mitchell dined with us - Sister Eliza set the evening

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 18, Saturday: Marshal Michel Ney went over to the side of the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), bringing his forces to more than 20,000. King Louis XVIII, unaware of this development, was opening the new National Assembly.

 March 19, Sunday: It was a Sunday in Paris in the spring and Louis XVIII was packing his bags, intending to flee with his family to find safety in Belgium.

[Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) wrote in her journal: "Sunday 19th. Dream that my little baby came to life again — that it had only been cold & that we rubbed it by the fire & it lived — I awake & find no baby — I think about the little thing all day — not in good spirits — Shelley is very unwell."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 19 of 3rd In the Mornng Meeting our friend D Buffum was concerned in a lively feeling & pertinent testimony - In the



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Afternoon silence prevailed –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 20, Monday: The international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) entered Paris unopposed and installed himself at the Tuileries Palace. Benjamin Constant de Rebeque would serve as his prime minister.

At the Congress of Vienna, the council of eight approved the recommendations of the Swiss Committee. The recommendations would be placed before the Swiss Diet.

In London, the Corn Bill passed the House of Lords, inspiring new protests and public denunciations.

 March 21, Tuesday: The name of the Académie Royale de Musique (Paris Opéra) was changed to the Académie Impériale de Musique.

 March 22, Wednesday: Neapolitan troops under Joachim Murat occupied Rome.

The church in Sterling, Massachusetts (also known as Chockset) had been gathered on December 19, 1744 under the Reverend John Mellen. In 1779 the Reverend Reuben Holcomb had been ordained to succeed the Reverend Dr. Mellen. On this day [Lemuel Capen](#) was ordained as successor to the Reverend Dr. Holcomb. The ordination sermon would be printed as a 40-page booklet by John Eliot in Boston: A SERMON AT THE ORDINATION OF REV. LEMUEL CAPEN: PREACHED AT STERLING, MARCH 22D. 1815. / BY [THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D.D.](#) MINISTER OF THE FIRST CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN DORCHESTER. ...

REV. LEMUEL CAPEN

(Four years later, in 1819, the Reverend Mr. Capen would leave this charge and the Reverend Peter Osgood, his replacement, would be settled.)

 March 23, Thursday: King Louis XVIII of France crossed the border into Belgium and found safety in exile in Ghent.

The *USS Hornet*, off the island of Tristan d'Acunha in the south Atlantic, captured the *HMS Penguin* and destroyed her.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 3rd M / Our Meeting was Small - we had a little preaching of its merits I am an incompetent judge but this I know it was not a little exercising & streightening to my mind. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 25, Saturday: [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) resigned as secretary-general of the ministry of the interior.

In Vienna, a treaty of alliance was signed among Britain, Austria, Prussia, and Russia against the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#). His standing on the Island of Elba was voided.



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 March 26, Easter Sunday: The estate of Prince Kinsky resumed annuity payments to [Ludwig van Beethoven](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 26th of 3rd M / In each Meeting we had an offering my judgement suspended - A friend at Meeting Joseph Sharpless travelling with books to sell. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 27, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 27 of 3rd M / Our friend D Buffum called into the shop as he frequently does. Our conversation was interesting - he recurred to a Dictionary which I have in my possession for information respecting the culture of Madder which he says he is making some attempts to propagate - he remarked that his Years & in fermities had so increased that he considered his present exercioons were not for himself - I remarked in reply that he was acting in conformity to a sentiment I had heard expressed Vizt "that a man should live as tho' he was to live a thousand Years & yet at the same time he should live as if he was not to live a week - he said he considered that sound doctrine, that for the benefit of future generations men should lay plans & give in case with the first [illegible] the results had this been the case with the first settlers many houses would now have with different [illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 28, Tuesday: News of the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)'s unopposed entry into Paris reached Vienna.

[Lord and Lady Byron](#) set out for London.

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 March 29, Wednesday: Jane Austen put the finishing touches on the final chapters of EMMA.



[The Byrons](#) settled at 13 Piccadilly Terrace, in a house leased from the Duchess of Devonshire.

[Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#) departed from Vienna to take command of his army in the Netherlands.

[Napoléon Bonaparte](#), as part of his “Hundred Days” decreed “À dater de la publication du présent Décret, la Traite des Noirs est abolie” and French participation in the [international slave trade](#) came to an end (BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1815-16, page 196, note; 1817-18, page 1025).³⁸

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: At the beginning of the nineteenth century England held 800,000 slaves in her colonies; France, 250,000; Denmark, 27,000; Spain and Portugal, 600,000; Holland, 50,000; Sweden, 600; there were also about 2,000,000 slaves in Brazil, and about 900,000 in the United States.³⁹ This was the powerful basis of the demand for the slave-trade; and against the economic forces which these four and a half millions of enforced laborers represented, the battle for freedom had to be fought.

Denmark first responded to the denunciatory cries of the eighteenth century against slavery and the slave-trade. In 1792, by royal order, this traffic was prohibited in the Danish possessions after 1802. The principles of the French Revolution logically called for the extinction of the slave system by France. This was, however, accomplished more precipitately than the Convention anticipated; and in a whirl of enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of the Dominican deputies, slavery and the slave-trade were abolished in all French colonies February 4, 1794.⁴⁰ This abolition was short-lived; for at the command of the First Consul slavery and the slave-trade was restored in An X (1799).⁴¹ The trade was finally abolished by Napoleon during the Hundred Days by a decree, March 29, 1815, which briefly declared: “À dater de la publication du présent Décret, la Traite des Noirs est abolie.”⁴² The Treaty of Paris eventually confirmed this law.⁴³

In England, the united efforts of Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce early began to arouse public opinion by means of

38. This decree would be re-enacted in 1818 by the Bourbon dynasty.

39. Cf. Augustine Cochin, in Lalor, *CYCLOPEDIA*, III. 723.

40. By a law of Aug. 11, 1792, the encouragement formerly given to the trade was stopped. Cf. *CHOIX DE RAPPORTS, OPINIONS ET DISCOURS PRONONCÉS À LA TRIBUNE NATIONALE DEPUIS 1789* (Paris, 1821), XIV. 425; quoted in Cochin, *THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION* (Booth's translation, 1863), pages 33, 35-8.

41. Cochin, *THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION* (Booth's translation, 1863), pages 42-7.

42. *BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS*, 1815-6, page 196.

43. *BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS*, 1815-6, pages 195-9, 292-3; 1816-7, page 755. It was eventually confirmed by royal ordinance, and the law of April 15, 1818.



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agitation and pamphlet literature. May 21, 1788, Sir William Dolben moved a bill regulating the trade, which passed in July and was the last English measure countenancing the traffic.⁴⁴ The report of the Privy Council on the subject in 1789⁴⁵ precipitated the long struggle. On motion of Pitt, in 1788, the House had resolved to take up at the next session the question of the abolition of the trade.⁴⁶ It was, accordingly, called up by Wilberforce, and a remarkable parliamentary battle ensued, which lasted continuously until 1805. The Grenville-Fox ministry now espoused the cause. This ministry first prohibited the trade with such colonies as England had acquired by conquest during the Napoleonic wars; then, in 1806, they prohibited the foreign slave-trade; and finally, March 25, 1807, enacted the total abolition of the traffic.⁴⁷

 March 30, Thursday: In Rimini, Joachim Murat, former King of Naples and brother-in-law of the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), proclaimed the independence of Italy. He declared war on Austria.

Mehmed Emin Rauf Pasha replaced Hursid Ahmed Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 30th of 3rd M 1815 / In our first meeting we had a Short testimony. – In the last (Monthly) we had much buisness but all pretty much refered – Wm Potter of [Portsmouth](#) requested membership which was refered to a committee – Geo Davis & Son dined with us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 31, Friday: General Andrew Jackson was fined \$1,000 for contempt of court. He gave his check for the fine — the amount would be reimbursed to him by subscription. (He had arrested a member of the legislature named Louallier for an article written while the city was under martial law. Judge Hall having granted a writ of habeas corpus in the prisoner's favor, Jackson had arrested the judge and sent him out of the city. When martial law was repealed, the judge, returning, had summoned the general on the charge of contempt.)

The Congress of Vienna attached the Island of Elba to Tuscany (figuratively, of course).

[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) wrote his initial letter to [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#).

44. STATUTE 28 GEORGE III., ch. 54. Cf. STATUTE 29 GEORGE III., ch. 66.

45. Various petitions had come in praying for an abolition of the slave-trade; and by an order in Council, Feb. 11, 1788, a committee of the Privy Council was ordered to take evidence on the subject. This committee presented an elaborate report in 1739. See published REPORT, London, 1789.

46. For the history of the Parliamentary struggle, cf. Clarkson's and Copley's histories. The movement was checked in the House of Commons in 1789, 1790, and 1791. In 1792 the House of Commons resolved to abolish the trade in 1796. The Lords postponed the matter to take evidence. A bill to prohibit the foreign slave-trade was lost in 1793, passed the next session, and was lost in the House of Lords. In 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1799 repeated attempts to abolish the trade were defeated. The matter then rested until 1804, when the battle was renewed with more success.

47. STATUTE 46 GEORGE III., ch. 52, 119; 47 GEORGE III., sess. I. ch. 36.



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SPRING 1815



Spring: General Andrew Jackson belatedly won the battle of New Orleans after the [War of 1812](#) had been over for a number of weeks. [John Franklin](#) served at the battle.

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Late in the spring: Repatriation of the American sailors being held in the prison complex on the Devonshire moor near Plymouth, England at this point began. Repatriation, considerably retarded anyway, would be considerably more delayed for black Americans than for white.⁴⁸ Subsequent to his release, "King Dick" or Richard Crafus would obtain work as laborer in Boston under the name Richard Seaver and would then continue in the teaching of pugilistics and manhood.⁴⁹



Crafus maintained his royal air long after repatriation. According to a chronicler of Boston's underclass, Crafus, who still taught boxing, "was a well-known character ... about 1826-1835 [who] lived in one of the crowded tenements on Botolph Street and was the focus of all the colored population of that district." Whites, at least, still knew him as "King Dick." Dressed in a red vest and white shirt, crowned with "an old style police cap" and "swinging an Emmence cane," long a symbol associated with black leadership, he assembled black Bostonians each Election Day as "Master of Ceremonies." Crafus annually led the procession around Boston Common, and closed with a "patriotic speech." Twenty years after organizing prison Number Four, King Dick retained authority among Bostonians of color, who acknowledged him more as a leader than as a tyrant.

CRIMPING



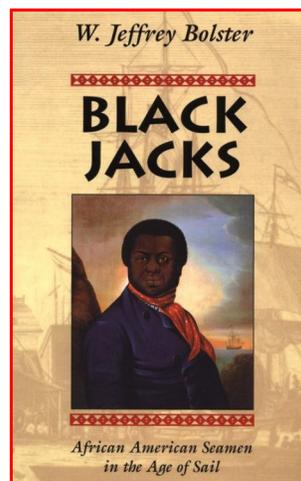
48. In those days about 15% of American sailors were black, although of course there was a glass ceiling and zero opportunity for recruitment into the ranks of management. For instance, on one privateer the British had seized out of New-York harbor, although the entire crew of 28 sailors was black, all officers were whites.

Table of Altitudes



Yoda	2 ' 0 "
Lavinia Warren	2 ' 8 "
Tom Thumb, Jr.	3 ' 4 "
Lucy (Australopithecus Afarensis)	3 ' 8 "
Hervé Villechaize ("Fantasy Island")	3 ' 11"
Charles Proteus Steinmetz	4 ' 0 "
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (1)	4 ' 3 "
Alexander Pope	4 ' 6 "
Benjamin Lay	4 ' 7 "
Dr. Ruth Westheimer	4 ' 7 "
Gary Coleman ("Arnold Jackson")	4 ' 8 "
Edith Piaf	4 ' 8 "
Queen Victoria with osteoporosis	4 ' 8 "
Linda Hunt	4 ' 9 "
Queen Victoria as adult	4 ' 10 "
Mother Teresa	4 ' 10 "
Margaret Mitchell	4 ' 10 "
length of newer military musket	4 ' 10"
Charlotte Brontë	4 ' 10-11"
Tammy Faye Bakker	4 ' 11"
Soviet gymnast Olga Korbut	4 ' 11"
jockey Willie Shoemaker	4 ' 11"
Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec	4 ' 11"
Joan of Arc	4 ' 11"
Bonnie Parker of "Bonnie & Clyde"	4 ' 11"
Harriet Beecher Stowe	4 ' 11"

49. I have, however, been unable to locate by Boolean search any Richard Crafus's or Richard Seaver's listed in contemporary directories of black Bostonians, and have been unable to locate any mention by Thoreau of this well-known personality. This information comes from W. Jeffrey Bolster's *BLACK JACKS: AFRICAN AMERICAN SEAMEN IN THE AGE OF SAIL* (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, 1997, page 111).





Laura Ingalls Wilder	4' 11"
a rather tall adult Pygmy male	4' 11"
Gloria Swanson	4' 11"1/2
Clara Barton	5' 0"
Isambard Kingdom Brunel	5' 0"
Andrew Carnegie	5' 0"
Thomas de Quincey	5' 0"
Stephen A. Douglas	5' 0"
Danny DeVito	5' 0"
Immanuel Kant	5' 0"
William Wilberforce	5' 0"
Dollie Parton	5' 0"
Mae West	5' 0"
Pia Zadora	5' 0"
Deng Xiaoping	5' 0"
Dred Scott	5' 0" (±)
Captain William Bligh of HMS <i>Bounty</i>	5' 0" (±)
Harriet Tubman	5' 0" (±)
Mary Moody Emerson per FBS (2)	5' 0" (±)
John Brown of Providence, Rhode Island	5' 0" (+)
John Keats	5' 3/4"
Debbie Reynolds (Carrie Fisher's mother)	5' 1"
Princess Leia (Carrie Fisher)	5' 1"
Bette Midler	5' 1"
Dudley Moore	5' 2"
Paul Simon (of Simon & Garfunkel)	5' 2"
Honore de Balzac	5' 2"
Sally Field	5' 2"
Jemmy Button	5' 2"
Margaret Mead	5' 2"
R. Buckminster "Bucky" Fuller	5' 2"
Yuri Gagarin the astronaut	5' 2"
William Walker	5' 2"
Horatio Alger, Jr.	5' 2"
length of older military musket	5' 2"
the artist formerly known as Prince	5' 2 1/2"
typical female of Thoreau's period	5' 2 1/2"
Francis of Assisi	5' 3"
Voltaire	5' 3"
Mohandas Gandhi	5' 3"
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3"
Kahlil Gibran	5' 3"





Friend Daniel Ricketson	5' 3 "
The Reverend Gilbert White	5' 3 "
Nikita Khrushchev	5' 3 "
Sammy Davis, Jr.	5' 3 "
Truman Capote	5' 3 "
Kim Jong Il (North Korea)	5' 3 "
Stephen A. "Little Giant" Douglas	5' 4 "
Francisco Franco	5' 4 "
President James Madison	5' 4 "
Iosef Vissarionovich Dzugashvili "Stalin"	5' 4 "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 "
Pablo Picasso	5' 4 "
Truman Capote	5' 4 "
Queen Elizabeth	5' 4 "
Ludwig van Beethoven	5' 4 "
Typical Homo Erectus	5' 4 "
typical Neanderthal adult male	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
Alan Ladd	5' 4 ¹ / ₂ "
comte de Buffon	5' 5 " (-)
Captain Nathaniel Gordon	5' 5 "
Charles Manson	5' 5 "
Audie Murphy	5' 5 "
Harry Houdini	5' 5 "
Hung Hsiu-ch'üan 洪秀全	5' 5 "
Marilyn Monroe	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
T.E. Lawrence "of Arabia"	5' 5 ¹ / ₂ "
average runaway male American slave	5' 5-6 "
Charles Dickens	5' 6? "
President Benjamin Harrison	5' 6 "
President Martin Van Buren	5' 6 "
James Smithson	5' 6 "
Louisa May Alcott	5' 6 "
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Napoleon Bonaparte	5' 6 ¹ / ₂ "
Emily Brontë	5' 6-7 "
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow	5' ? "
average height, seaman of 1812	5' 6.85 "
Oliver Reed Smoot, Jr.	5' 7 "
minimum height, British soldier	5' 7 "
President John Adams	5' 7 "
President John Quincy Adams	5' 7 "
President William McKinley	5' 7 "





"Charley" Parkhurst (a female)	5' 7"
Ulysses S. Grant	5' 7"
Henry Thoreau	5' 7"
the average male of Thoreau's period	5' 7 ¹ / ₂ "
Edgar Allan Poe	5' 8"
President Ulysses S. Grant	5' 8"
President William H. Harrison	5' 8"
President James Polk	5' 8"
President Zachary Taylor	5' 8"
average height, soldier of 1812	5' 8.35"
President Rutherford B. Hayes	5' 8 ¹ / ₂ "
President Millard Fillmore	5' 9"
President Harry S. Truman	5' 9"
President Jimmy Carter	5' 9 ¹ / ₂ "
Herman Melville	5' 9 ³ / ₄ "
Calvin Coolidge	5' 10"
Andrew Johnson	5' 10"
Theodore Roosevelt	5' 10"
Thomas Paine	5' 10"
Franklin Pierce	5' 10"
Abby May Alcott	5' 10"
Reverend Henry C. Wright	5' 10"
Nathaniel Hawthorne	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Louis "Deerfoot" Bennett	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Friend John Greenleaf Whittier	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
President Dwight D. Eisenhower	5' 10 ¹ / ₂ "
Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots	5' 11"
Sojourner Truth	5' 11"
President Grover Cleveland	5' 11"
President Herbert Hoover	5' 11"
President Woodrow Wilson	5' 11"
President Jefferson Davis	5' 11"
President Richard Milhous Nixon	5' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
Robert Voorhis the hermit of Rhode Island	< 6'
Frederick Douglass	6' (-)
Anthony Burns	6' 0"
Waldo Emerson	6' 0"
Joseph Smith, Jr.	6' 0"
David Walker	6' 0"
Sarah F. Wakefield	6' 0"
Thomas Wentworth Higginson	6' 0"
President James Buchanan	6' 0"



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President Gerald R. Ford	6' 0 "
President James Garfield	6' 0 "
President Warren Harding	6' 0 "
President John F. Kennedy	6' 0 "
President James Monroe	6' 0 "
President William H. Taft	6' 0 "
President John Tyler	6' 0 "
John Brown	6' 0 (+)"
President Andrew Jackson	6' 1"
Alfred Russel Wallace	6' 1"
President Ronald Reagan	6' 1"
Venture Smith	6' 1 ¹ / ₂ "
John Camel Heenan	6' 2 "
Crispus Attucks	6' 2 "
President Chester A. Arthur	6' 2 "
President George Bush, Senior	6' 2 "
President Franklin D. Roosevelt	6' 2 "
President George Washington	6' 2 "
Gabriel Prosser	6' 2 "
Dangerfield Newby	6' 2 "
Charles Augustus Lindbergh	6' 2 "
President Bill Clinton	6' 2 ¹ / ₂ "
President Thomas Jefferson	6' 2 ¹ / ₂ "
President Lyndon B. Johnson	6' 3 "
Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr.	6' 3 "
Richard "King Dick" Seaver	6' 3 ¹ / ₄ "
President Abraham Lincoln	6' 4 "
Marion Morrison (AKA John Wayne)	6' 4 "
Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior	6' 4 "
Thomas Cholmondeley	6' 4 " (?)
William Buckley	6' 4-7"
Franklin Benjamin Sanborn	6' 5 "
Peter the Great of Russia	6' 7 "
William "Dwarf Billy" Burley	6' 7 "
Giovanni Battista Belzoni	6' 7 "
Thomas Jefferson (the statue)	7' 6"
Jefferson Davis (the statue)	7' 7"
Martin Van Buren Bates	7' 11 ¹ / ₂ "
M. Bihin, a Belgian exhibited in Boston in 1840	8'
Anna Haining Swan	8' 1"



APRIL

➡ April: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s HEBREW MELODIES was published with a musical score by Braham and Nathan.

Augusta would be staying with Lord and Lady Byron in London, until June.

➡ April: In this month or the next William Apess “mustered himself out” of the US military and went to Montréal, and then farther along into Canada — to [Fort Niagara](#), to the Bay of Quinte, and to Kingston. He worked at odd jobs and was able to spend some time with other native Americans of eastern Ontario.



➡ April 1, Saturday: *To all to whom these preasants shall come Greeting Whereas Kettle Sutton of Pencader hundred Newcastle County and State of Delaware Farmer, did purchase of his Sister Sarah Sutton, of this same place for a valuable consideration in Money, and become lawfully seized of and in a certain colored boy named David Williams, now aged ten years the first day of March last post — Now Know Yea, that I Kittle Sutton afforesaid in conformity to the Laws customs and usages of the State of Delaware and for other good causes and consideration one thereunto moving, have Manumitted liberated and sett free, and by these preasants do manumitt liberate and sett free from slavery the said David Williams afforesaid from and after he shall arrive to the age of thirty years whitch will happen on the first day of March in the year of our LORD one Thousand eight hundred and thirty five, and I do for my self any heirs Executors Administrators or afsignes hereby quitt all claim to the servises of the said david Williams afforesaid and from the claims of all and every person or persons whomesoever, I do declare the said David Williams absolutely Free to all intents and purposes after the expiration of the said term of twenty years from the first day of March last post In testimony of whitch I have hereunto sett my hand and Seal this first day of April in the year of our LORD*

MANUMISSION

one Thousand eight hundred and fifteen 1815—
Signed Sealed — — } *Kittle Sutton {Seal}*
& Delivered in presence of }
Geo. - - Purie
Margaret Peirce
Newcastle County /s I George Purie Esq one of the founders of the
Prase in and from said County do hereby certify that the above Manuiss-
ion signed Sealed and delivered to be deposited with in my Possession
Given under my hand and Seal the day and year above written
Geo - - Purie

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day [sic] 1 of 4th M 1815 / Peter Hoxie took tea set the evening & lodged with us - We had also at tea Father ^& Mother Rodman & Neighbor Mumford. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1 day 2 of 4 M / Peter Hoxie at Breakfast - At meeting he was concern'd In testimony, twice in the Morning & in the Afternoon in testimony & supplication. -Jonathon Dennis Dined with us - I have today for the first time since my appointment, entered a little on the duties of an Overseer & was pretty well satisfied with my labor tho' the result was not quite to my wishes. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 3, Monday: Luigi Cherbini conducted the premiere of his Overture in G with the Royal Philharmonic Society in London.



April 4, Tuesday: The [Duke of Wellington](#) reached Brussels from Vienna to take command of the army.

To all to whom these presents shall come Greeting
 Whereas Little Sutton of Pencader hundred Newcastles
 County and State of Delaware Farmer, did purchase
 of his Sister Sarah Sutton, of the same place for a valuable
 consideration in Money, and became lawfully seized of and
 in a certain colored boy named David Williams, now
 aged ten years the first day of March last past
 Now know you, that I Little Sutton aforesaid in conformity
 to the Laws customs and usages of the State of Delaware
 and for other good causes and considerations on this
 moving, have Manumitted liberated and sett free, and by these
 presents do manumitt liberate and sett free from slavery
 the said David Williams aforesaid from and after he shall
 arrive to the age of thirty years which will happen on the
 first day of March in the year of our Lord one thousand
 eight hundred and thirty five, and I do for my self my
 heirs Executors Administrators or assigns hereby quit all
 claim to the service of the said David Williams aforesaid
 and from the claims of all and every person or persons
 whomsoever, I do declare the said David Williams absolutely
 free to all intents and purposes after the expiration of the said
 term of twenty years from the first day of March last past
 In testimony of which I have hereunto sett my hand
 and Seal this first day of April in the year of our Lord
 one thousand eight hundred and fifteen 1815

Signed Sealed -
 of Delaware in presence of
 Geo. Purvis

Little Sutton

Margaret Peirce
 Newcastle County
 Peace in and for said County do hereby certify that the above Manumitt
 was signed sealed and delivered to be recorded as such in my presence
 given under my hand and Seal the day and year above written

Geo. Purvis



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April 5, Wednesday: In Indonesia, 13,000-foot Mount Tambora (Gunung) on the north coast of Sumbawa Island blew 4,000 feet of its peak into the air, causing a tidal wave and a rain of rock fragments that killed 12,000 people on nearby islands. Before the explosion the mountain had been some 13,000 feet high, more or less, and afterward it has been measured at 9,350 feet. Some 40 cubic miles of tephra material had been blown into the skies of this planet (that would be sufficient material to bring the level of the Dead Sea up to the altitude of Jerusalem).⁵⁰ This eventually caused a drop in temperature as the dust spread through the upper atmosphere of the planet, amounting to some 7 degrees in New England in the year 1816. The result would be crop-destroying frosts, and ice floes on the Thames River as it passed through London.⁵¹ Because of the explosion of this Mount Tambora, of which they were unaware, Americans would come to refer to their year 1816 as “eighteen hundred and froze to death.”⁵²

*“Beware the lo
heres,
and the lo
theres.”*

VOLCANIC EXPLOSIVITY INDEX (Logarithmic)

Timing	Volcanic Event	Logarithmic Explosivity Index
640,000 years ago	Yellowstone, Wyoming	VEI-8
74,000 years ago	Toba, Sumatra (the largest caldera in the world)	VEI-8
26,500 years ago	Taupo on New Zealand’s North Island	VEI-8
5,600 BCE	Mazama (forming Crater Lake)	VEI-7
1,620 BCE	Thera (Santorini in the Aegean Sea)	VEI-7
79 CE	Vesuvius	VEI-5
233 CE (±13 years)	Taupo on New Zealand’s North Island	VEI-7
969 CE (±20 years)	Paektu between China and Korea	VEI-7
1257 CE	Rinjani in Indonesia	VEI-7
1809 CE	Unknown volcano, in tropic region	VEI-6
April 10, 1815	Tambora, Indonesia	VEI-7
January 20, 1835	Cosigüía, Nicaragua	Very large
August 26, 1883	Krakatau	VEI-6
July 15, 1888	Bandaisan, Japan	Apparently not that much of an explosion
May 10, 1902	Mt. Pelée, Martinique	Apparently not that much of an explosion
January 30, 1911	Taal, Philippines	Apparently not that much of an explosion

50. The explosion of Krakatoa in Indonesia in 1883, by way of contrast, would put 18 cubic miles of tephra material into the atmosphere, and would thus result in a lesser global weather excursion, although because of the topography of the lowlands of Sumatra and Java nearby some 36,000 people would be drowned as its tsunamis reached the other side of the narrow strait.

51. In 2004 scientists would uncover the remains of a native village under some 10 feet of ash, and the bodies of two adults. A remarkable similarity would be noted between the Tambora remains and those associated with the 79CE eruption of Mount Vesuvius.

52. This isn’t Krakatoa, the volcano you’ve probably heard about. Krakatoa exploded in 1883.



VOLCANIC EXPLOSIVITY INDEX (Logarithmic)

Timing	Volcanic Event	Logarithmic Explosivity Index
June 6-8, 1912	Novarupta (near Mt. Katmai), Alaska	VEI-6
1919	Kelud, Java	Apparently not that much of an explosion
1932	Quizapú, Chile	Apparently not that much of an explosion
1947-1948	Hekla, Iceland	Apparently not that much of an explosion
1956	Bezmianny, Kamchatka	Apparently not that much of an explosion
June 15, 1991	Pinatubo, Philippines	VEI-6
May 18, 1980	Mount Saint Helens, USA	VEI-5
March 20-October 2010	Eyjafjallajökull	VEI-4

- VEI5 = Event of a size to be expected about once per decade
- VEI6 = Event of a size to be expected about once per century
- VEI7 = Event of a size to be expected every other millennium or so
- VEI8 = Event of a size to be expected every 10,000 years or so

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5th of 4 M / We took tea at Aunt A Carpenter in company with My Mother, Br Isaac & wife

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 6, Thursday: The Allies mobilized vs. [Napoléon Bonaparte](#).

The British guards discovered a small hole cut in an interior wall between two sectors of the prison complex on the Devonshire moor near Plymouth, England, and for some reason suddenly all began to fire indiscriminately down from the perimeter wall at the American sailors being held there as they exercised in the yard. In this turkey shoot, seven were killed outright or died soon of their wounds, and 31 were wounded but survived. Two of the dead and four of the wounded sailors were black, one of these but 14 years of age.

CRIMPING

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6th of 4 M / Our Meetg was pretty well attended and silent A dwarfish time to me - but this Afternoon much exercised on acct of an Appointment I stand under to treat with D C Jr & wife -Oh the importance of right & caucious steppings

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 7, Friday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) met [Walter Scott](#) at Jon Murray's.



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 April 8, Saturday: In Vienna the Russian Minister to France, Pavel Butyagin, presented to [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#) a copy of the January 3d secret alliance against him. In an attempt to stir up trouble among the nations aligned against him, the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) had provided this incriminating document to Butyagin.

 April 9, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th M 9 1st day / [note dating error] In the forenoon
[illegible] In the Afternoon poor silent Meeting*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 11, Tuesday: Field Marshal [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#) arrived in Brussels from the Congress of Vienna to organize the defense of Europe against the international outlaw [Napoléon Bonaparte](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 11th of 4th M 1815 / Rode to Rich Mitchells this morning
to Meet the committee in case of D Chase Jr Staid there till
dinner, & had the disagreeable feelings which the absense of
four of the committee occasioned & returned home - found the
absense of D W & his wife was occasioned by a misunderstanding
A R was indisposed*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 12, Wednesday: Austria declared war on Naples for having occupied Rome, Florence, and Bologna.

Ferdinand Hérold arrived in Bologna for a stay of 12 days. While there he would meet Gioachino Rossini.

 April 13, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 13 of 4 M / Abel Collins was at Meeting & preached his
advice was good & I believe his concern was sincere for the
wellfare of the rising generation whom he chiefly addressed. -
Meeting was pretty well attended - I dont know when I have seen
the high seats so well filled with women. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 14, Friday: John Warren died of an inflammation of the lungs leading to heart failure.

Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe arrived, on board HMS *Phaeton*, to take over from Colonel Mark Wilks as [St. Helena](#)'s governor. Although Governor Lowe had been appointed specifically to handle the exile of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), he would take it upon himself to reform the island's [slave](#) laws.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 14th of 4 M / Rode with Abigail Robinson this forenoon
to Ruth Mitchells - there dined. after dinner the committee met
& went to visit Daniel Chase Jr & his Wife. The latter we found
in a very unfavorable state of mind & they both persisted in
denying what was alleged against them tho' we had Sufficient
proof of their being very cruel to the child, that was placed
under their care. -This opportunity was a very exercising one*

to the mind of all the committee, particularly in that we were unable to discover any sense of thier misconduct or signs of repentance - we returned to R Mitchells & took tea & then returned home -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 15, Saturday: After a temporarily successful uprising in Bologna, Gioachino Rossini's *Inno dell'Indipendenza* to words of Giusti was performed for the initial time, in the presence of Joachim Murat in Teatro Contavalli, and was directed by the composer himself.

 April 16, Sunday: Austrian forces recaptured Bologna from the revolutionaries. Gioachino Rossini, composer of *Inno dell'Indipendenza*, would come to have a police record.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 16 of 4 M / Our forenoon meeting large & solid - D Buffum declared the truth with Power - Father Rodman was concerned to rehearse the warning "Set thine House in order &c" H Dennis appeard in a few words - Silent in the Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 17, Monday: Lord Wentworth, Annabella's uncle, died.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

 April 19, Wednesday: Prince Lobkowitz agreed that as [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) had demanded, his share of the composer's annual stipend would be paid at the new rate.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 19th of 4th M 1815 / My mind has been for a considerable time very destitute & barran of good & I am ready to cry out My leaness My leaness. - last eveng was a little renew'd by the reading of the acct of Hans Nelsen Hought a Norwegian who had of late been much persecuted & imprisoned in that country on acct of his religion - his sentiments appear similar to Friends & he appears to have come forth much in the same manner as G Fox did in England. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 20, Thursday: Switzerland closed its border with France.

Bostonians Gottlieb Graupner, Asa Peabody, and Thomas Webb led a group of amateur singers to ratify a formal constitution called The Boston Handel and Haydn Society. This was the first such group in the United States.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20th of 4 M / Our Meeting well attended & favor'd in silence - In the last (Preparative) while answering the Queries our fr Saml Thurston offer'd some weighty remarks particularly in reading the scriptures. - In the Afternoon met at the Meeting



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house with the committee in case of D Chase Jr & agreed on reports respecting him & his Wife Sorrowful Case -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ April 21, Friday: The Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach became the Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar-Eisenach, under Grand Duke Carl August.

➡ April 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 23 of 4th M / Meetings both silent - dull seasons to me
-5th day 27th of 3rd M [not error] / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting stoped a little while on the way at Uncle S Thurstons - Our first meeting was silent & in the last we had much buisness & we sat five hours & the longest Monthly Meeting I ever recollect - The first buisness was to receive Wm Potter into membership. - Various other concerns came before us The most exercising of which was the cases of Daniel Chases Jr & Hannah his wife -They were both disowned - We dined at Uncle Thurstons. In riding home my H observed they had on the womens side of the House a very trying Meeting, but that they were greatly [?] assisted by the labor & service of Abigail Robinson who exerted herself Yesterday & went [illegible] there to day -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ April 24, Monday: [Gabriel Franchère, Fils](#) got married with [Sophie Routhier](#), daughter of J.B. Routhier. The couple would produce eight children six of whom would survive childhood, at [Montréal](#) and then at Sault Ste. Marie, but she would die in 1837.

➡ April 25, Tuesday: [Jared Sparks](#) would graduate in this year from [Harvard College](#). An assignment he submitted on this date, "Orbit of a Comet. Elementary Calculation from physical principles, together with a Graphical Representation of the Orbit of the Comet of MDCCCXL" (21 ½ x 28 ¼ inches), is still on file there:

ORBIT OF A COMET

Jared Sparks

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➡ April 30, Sunday: Commodore [Joshua Barney](#)'s Chesapeake Bay flotilla was being disbanded.



At about this point in time [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) was again becoming preggers (either by [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) or by the other male of this swinging set, Thomas Jefferson Hogg — none of those participating seemed to much care).



➡ April 30, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 4 M 1815 / This mornng just as we had done breakfast - Our friend John Heald came in with his companion James Boulton from the State of Ohio came in escorted by W



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Knowles -They were at Jamestown Meeting yesterday & came across the ferry this morning - At meeting in the forenoon John had a hard time but preached a little - They dined at Father Rodmans -In the Afternoon John was nearly silent a few words at the close of the meeting -they returned with us took tea & lodged & in the evening we had a number of friends call in to see them which made a pleasant social circle.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

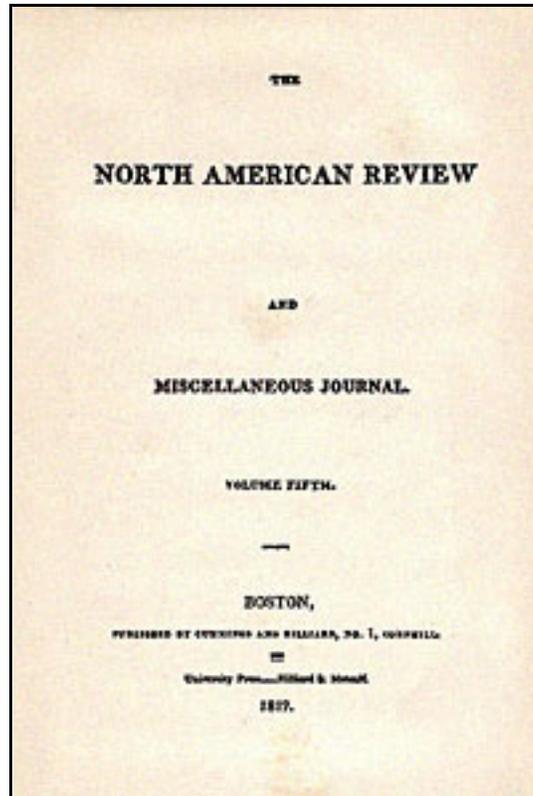
MAY



May: Mildred Jackson, the mulatto slave of the child Harriet White, daughter of David White, Esq. of Shelby County, Kentucky, had a child by a local white man, not her owner, James Bibb. [Henry Bibb](#) would have his mother's owner Harriet as a playmate — until it came time to contract the very light mulatto boy out for labor in order to pay for the little all-white girl's education.

➡ May: [Harvard College](#)'s [Unitarians](#) issued Volume 1 Number 1 of the North American Review:

It was now time for me, therefore, to go and hold a little talk with the conservatives, the writers of the North American Review, the merchants, the politicians, the Cambridge men, and all those respectable old blockheads, who still, in this intangibility and mistiness of affairs, kept a death-grip on one or two ideas which had not come into vogue since yesterday-morning.



[NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW](#)

[MASTER INDEX](#)

➡ May: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) became a member of the Sub-Committee of Management of the Drury Lane Theater.

➡ May 1, Monday: Luigi Cherbini conducted the premiere of his Symphony in D with the Royal Philharmonic Society in London.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 1 of 5 M 1815 / We find our friends J Heald & J Boulton to be solid deep friends John a solid minister & James an Elder -having a meeting appointed at [Portsmouth](#) today I accompanied them thither & on the way stoped at S Thurstons - At Meeting John was quite shut up & at the close told us that he had



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endeavored to attend to duty as closely as he was capable of but had not seen a moment when it was safe for him to communicate one word in the ministry – We dined & took tea at Uncle Richd Mitchells, rode to town & stopped at D Williams & set the evening & returned to our house to lodge – Their company makes – a little more more [illegible] H but she is glad to accompany [illegible] sympathy –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 2, Tuesday: At Tolentino east of Perugia, under attack by Austrians, the Neapolitan army under Joachim Murat disintegrated. His army gone, the King of Naples would sail for France to help [Napoléon Bonaparte](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 2nd 5th M 1815 / Our friend J Heald & J Boutlon left town for the Quarterly Meeting at [Greenwich](#) they went in the Boat with those who went from this Moy [Monthly] Meeting - I went down & saw them on board, & felt them a strong inclination to be with them, indeed my desires have been seldom stronger. but so it is, it seems to be improper for me to leave home at present - - They have to all appearance had a fine passage up, & I desire divine favor may attend them & us who stay –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 3, Wednesday: The victorious powers agree to divide the Duchy of Warsaw at the meeting point of Prussia, Russia, and Austria in such manner as to create a Free, Independent, and Strictly Neutral City of Kraków (Cracow).

In the presence of assembled allied diplomats, a series of letters from [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) were opened by Prince Metternich and their contents inspected. They promised peace with Austria if it would break with the allies, and Metternich assured the group that no such deal was ever going to go down.

There was a report in the *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* that the problem of brass concert horns such as the French Horn, that despite the player moving his hand inside the bell and also adjusting the length of a slide, it was impossible to equally well render all the notes of the scale, had been fully resolved by a local chamber musician, Heinrich Stölzel, through the incorporation of two spring-loaded cylindrical piston valves:

Heinrich Stölzel, the chamber musician from Pless in Upper Silesia, in order to perfect the Waldhorn, has succeeded in attaching a simple mechanism to the instrument, thanks to which he has obtained all the notes of the chromatic scale in a range of almost three octaves, with a good, strong and pure tone.

All the artificial notes – which, as is well known, were previously produced by stopping the bell with the right hand, and can now be produced merely with two levers, controlled by two fingers of the right hand – are identical in sound to the natural notes and thus preserve the character of the Waldhorn. Any Waldhorn-player will, with practice, be able to play on it.

This would lead to the development of the concert trumpet, the coronet, the valve trombone, the tuba, and the euphonium. “Tommy Dorsey, got something here we’d like to show you.”

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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4th day 3rd of 5th M / The General Election of state Officers took place in town today which has made a considerable parade - I for the first time in my life saw the Solemnity of organizing the Upper house, ie - The Governoer & Senate proclaimed & take their several engagements. - Governer Jones is a Noble Stately & reverant Man, whose charracter both as a private citizen & Governer of the State I very highly esteem - I consider he has been a great Blessing to the state since his election by his wise forbearing in every respect prudent conduct during the late War The day was wet & cold which I fear will prove dangerous to the health of many children. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 4, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 4th of 5 M / Our Meeting was Silent & rather Striped on the Upper seats the usual occupants being at Quarterly Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 5, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 5 of 5 M / Our Friends returned from Qrtl Meeting they had pleasant Passages up & down - & had a pretty good meeting & say that Old Neal Casey a crazy black that has been long in John Caseys family deceased about 2 M ago - he was a great trial to John & a comfortable release in his Death. -
John Heald James Boulton & [illegible] Dined with us & after Dinner [illegible lines] & lodged - Sister R set the Afternoon & evening*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ May 6, Saturday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) was arrested and imprisoned in [Genoa](#) on the charge of abducting and “abusing the innocence” of 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#), daughter of Ferdinando Cavanna, a poor tailor (they had gone together from Genoa to Parma during the previous October but because of her pregnancy he had during December abandoned her).



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 6th 5 M 1815 / Rote two letters to Little Compton announcing Meetings there on 2nd day [Monday] next - Acoaxet on 3rd day & at Center [Westport?] on 4th day - Our friends J Heald & J Boutlon will be at [Portsmouth](#) & at Tiverton tomorrow The former is the mornng & the latter in the afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ May 7, Sunday: [William Dickes](#) was born in Beechencliff, near Bath.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 7 of 5 M / In the forenoon meeting a Short communication In the Afternoon Silent. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ May 8, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 8 of 5 M / My Mother & Elizabeth Huntington set the



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afternoon with us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 9, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 9 of 5 M / Recd a letter from my friend & old acquaintance Rowse Taylor in Ohio, it contained two sheets, its first date was 1st M 28th 1814 & the last 4 M [April] 12 1815 besides several that were included - In the eveng Brothers David & John & Sister Ruth came to hear it read - its contents is very interesting Rowse was a Brother much beloved when here among us -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 11, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 11th of 5 M / Our meeting was pretty well attended, Silent & rather a dull time. - In the eveng went over to Thos Robinson to shew them the letter I had recd from Rowse Taylor which dear Abigail read with much interest & her father & mother heard it with an equal share[?]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 13, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 13 of 5 M / I had calculated to go to [Portsmouth](#) this Afternoon to visit My Cousins Zacheus Chase & family, but such is the uncertainty of things - my wife is much engaged in cleaning house [illegible] can not spare me, my attention being requisite to John, besides the sky is overcast & the air raw, which renders the walk less desirable & two of Brother Isaacs children & two of Br Davids are quite sick probably coming down with the Measils & it is likely John may have the [next three lines illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 14, Sunday: In the tower in [Genoa](#), [Nicolò Paganini](#) signed to pay damages to Ferdinando Cavanna, father of pregnant 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14 of 5 M 1815 / Our forenoon Meeting large & silent. In the Afternoon small & a few words deliverd - Walked with Br D Rodman up to J Dennis & took tea & read to them the letters I lately recd from Rowse Taylor. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 15, Monday: Having signed to pay damages to Ferdinando Cavanna, father of pregnant 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#), [Nicolò Paganini](#) was released from the tower in [Genoa](#) after a confinement of 8 days (he would abrogate the agreement, submitting a counter-charge of extortion).

King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia created the Grand Duchy of Posen out of the Polish lands under his control.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 15 of 5 M / Recd this mornng a letter from Uncle Stanton containing a pressing invitation to go & pay them a visit in NY to which has brought me to c conclusion to go directly after our Yearly Meeting if nothing urgent seems to present - This eveng called to see Wm Lee [?] & his family soon after his wife had expired [?] found them in much affliction but alass such was the leaness of my mind that I was not [illegible] to enter into those feeling which would do them good much less to communicate words - I proffered such assistance as was in my power & left them. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 16, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 16th of 5th M / Called again to see Wm Lee & experienced a little more favor in my own particular, but far short of what I wanted to feel I have been much occupied thro the Day in While Washing & cleaning my shop. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 17, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 17th 5 m / Pretty much occupied in cleaning up the Shop &c My mind has this Afternoon been favord with the Arisings of life & desires raised yea aspirations have assended for help, for releaf from - the barranness & emptiness of [?] which hath for some time been my portion

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 18, Sunday: Saxony signed a treaty of peace with Prussia, Russia, and Austria. Most of Saxon territory was ceded to Prussia.

King Ferdinando IV of Sicily was restored to his throne as Ferdinando I, King of the Two Sicilies.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18th of 5 M / At meeting D Buffum was concerned in a living & feeling testimony on the subject of Affliction which seemed like a brook by the way - In the Afternoon attended the funeral of Lydia Lee Wife of Wm Lee D Buffum & Hannah Dennis was concernd [illegible] & pertinent testimony [last four lines nearly illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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May 20, Tuesday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) sued Ferdinando Cavanna, father of pregnant 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#), for extortion.

Stephen Decatur sailed from New-York for the Mediterranean with a fleet of 10 ships, to deal with the [Barbary pirates](#).

Sir Ralph Milbanke obtained authorization from the Prince-Regent to take the name and arms of Noel.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th [sic] day 20th of 5 M 1815 / Disappointments are often the
lor of all - I cannot help feeling one of Minor importance in a
considerable degree I had calculated on going this Afternoon to
[Portsmouth](#) to visit my beloved Relations Zacheus Chase & his
wife, but the weather is so cool & the ground so wet that it
looks like an unfavorable time. - As the probability is from the
age of my afore mentioned relations - the loved & greatly beloved
scenes of my youth will not long remain unbroken I am a little
disappointed in not being able to go conveniently, but
disappointments are frequently good for us. & Such minor ones
being patiently submitted to may tend to insure the mind to
greatr[?] ones*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 21, Sunday: [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#) created the Kingdom of Poland, under his rule.

The people of Naples rose against their monarchy (the royal family, however, was being well protected by British troops).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 21 of 5 M / In the forenoon D Buffum & Father Rodman
were concerned in testimony both lively & pertinent - In the
Afternoon Father again appeared to my satisfaction & in some
degree Awakening.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 22, Monday: United States forces peacefully reoccupied [Fort Niagara](#), very much the worse for wear, as British forces retired once again to their old position at Fort George, which had become nothing but a ruin, and to a new post, Fort Mississauga, that they had in 1814 begun at the mouth of the [Niagara River](#).

Prince Leopoldo di Bordone of Salerno, younger brother of King Ferdinando IV of Naples, entered Naples accompanied by Austrian generals, and the king was restored to the throne.

Austrian troops captured Rome.

King Friedrich Wilhelm ordered that a commission be empaneled to draw up a constitution for Prussia.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 22 of 5 M / Our kind & dear young friend Mary Briggs
spent the day with us assisting my H in her sewing preparatory*

to our Yearly Meeting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ May 23, Tuesday: King Ferdinando of Naples published an amnesty for all employees of the previous regime, including Giovanni Paisiello.

→ May 24, Wednesday: The *Allgemeine musikalische Zeitung* reported that Antonio Salieri had recovered from a "serious illness."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 24 of 5 M / Mary Briggs spent the day with us her Company is allways Acceptable - also Sister Mary Rodman

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ May 25: [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#)'s 12th birthday.



→ May 25, Thursday: [Washington Irving](#) embarked upon a 17-year expedition through Europe.

Prussia annexed the Duchy of Aremberg, the Principality of Rheina-Wolbeck, the Counties of Rietberg, Salm-Horstmar, and Steinfurt, the southern part of Münster, and the City of Dortmund. Essen, Paderborn, and Minden were returned to Prussia. Part of northern Münster was transferred to Hannover.

Adam Czartoryski's PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE POLISH KINGDOM was published in Vienna. This guaranteed independence to Poland, with an independent judiciary and civil rights for peasants and Jews.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 25 of 5 M / Our first Meeting was silent & I believe a low season In the mast (Monthly Meeting) we had a low & exercising season I was so under the hatches that I scarcely opened my mouth to help the buisness forward at all - The committee report respecting the state of society was considerd but from some cause it labord so hard that no way opened to appoint a committee to labor for the help of the weak or those who needed council & the case was referd to next Moy [Monthly] Meeting -Testimony respecting Danl & H Chase were agreed on & directed to be renderd[?] - but among other of the exercising subjects [-?] pleasant nature occur'd which was a report from Susanna Sherman of [Portsmouth](#) to be admitted to Membership Wmm Mitchell from Nine Partners attended & made some few pertinent remarks - Benj Mott Peter Lawton [-illegible-] with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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May 26, Friday: [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#) and King Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia departed from Vienna for the allied military headquarters at Heilbronn.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 26th of 5 M 1815 / Saml Vinson & Wife set the Afternoon with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 27, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 27th of 5 M / Uncle Wm Mitchell & Sister Ruth set the Afternoon with us the good old man is pleasant & [illegible] edifying. -
In the 26th of this M A man of my acquaintance by the name of Cary Congdon hanged himself - the circumstances attending the case are very remarkable - he was upwards of 30 Years old had a wife & [-] children the last time his wife was put to bed she had twins which with the depression of the times, sunk his spirits, & he had for sometime been observed to be in a strange way & to some of his intimates had expressed his design of ending his own existence -but notwithstanding he had a large family in better times he had acquired a little property & had not much diminished it during the War, in the latter part of the Afternoon he went from his house to the Stable where he kept a Cow & threw down hay for the night & then with a skein of Shoe-thread hanged himself to a beam in the Stable & the Cow after he was removed was put in the stable but in the following morning it was observed that she had eaten nothing, the next night she was put in again & in the Morning she was found near the door tumbling & much agitated - the next night the attempt was made to put her into the Stable again but she refused to go & altho she was forced by a number of men they were unable to effect it she would break through them in spite of all they could do & further attempts were given over - hay on the outside of the Stable was given her which she ate with readiness - It is very remarkable that she appear'd to have eaten nothing from the time he hung himself until they offered her food out of it - there are some conjectures with respect to the reasons, but all fall far short of accounting for them - She was not in the stable at the time the deed was done - an attempt was made to bleed him but as blood was obtained so that the smell of blood could not affright her- Why is it not reasonable & just to conclude that the Cow was an instrument in the hand of the Almighty to express to survivors the wickedness of the act by showing horror & a total aversion to the Spot where the act was done - It is remarkable that an half brother of Carys who lived in Wickford ended his own existence but about 3 of 4 weeks ago - This man had small family & was wealthy - how horrible & what poor frail things we are at best, but especially when we loose confidence in that Almighty Power who provides every [illegible] Sparrows & will not leave poor man when [—?—] on HIM*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ May 28, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 28th of 5 M 1815 / Our Meeting was to my mind a solid solemn favord season for which I feel thankful Our fr D Buffum deliverd a solemn testimony & father Rodman I thought was favord in a short testimony I am staying at home this Afternoon while my H has gone to Meeting - to take care of John who is not very well -he has held several meetings & preached several little sermons which were more innocent & quite as edifying as many that will be deliverd at the different Meeting houses in town this Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ May 30, Tuesday: Having travelled from Naples through Rome and Venice, Ferdinand Hérold reached Vienna (the uncertain political situation would make the trip a nervous one).

JUNE

➡ June: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s "Remorse" was performed in Calne, Wiltshire.

During this month and the following one, [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) would be visiting [James Henry Leigh Hunt](#) at Maida Vale.

➡ June: The Dey had declared war against the United States, captured an American vessel, and made slaves of the crew. Decatur had been sent with the American fleet. Near Gibraltar he had captured the largest frigate of the Algerine navy. In this month Decatur, with a fleet, appeared off Algiers, and the Dey signed a treaty on his quarter-deck. By the treaty, the Dey surrendered all prisoners, paid an indemnity, agreed to renounce all claim to American tribute, and pledged that in the future he would not make slaves of his war prisoners. Proceeding to Tunis and Tripoli, Decatur obtained indemnity for American vessels captured during the war, under the guns of their forts, by British cruisers. In part payment, he took from Tripoli eight Danes and two Italians being held there as slaves.

➡ June: Friend [Paul Cuffe](#) became involved in the New England [Yearly Meeting](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#). He would be asked to help make decisions regarding the Quaker meetinghouse in Boston. According to the diary kept by Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#), on the second day of the yearly meeting, in the afternoon, this man of color was among the "public laborers," which is to say, among those who stood and doffed their hats and spoke from the silence of worship. The public laborers whom Friend Stephen heard were:

- Friend Rowland Green
- Friend Elisha Thornton
- Friend [Moses Brown](#)
- Friend [Paul Cuffe](#)

This is the first time that ever a man of colour delivered his opinion in our Yearly Meeting and I guess in any in the World.



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June 1, Thursday: In Paris, a massive celebration took place on the Champ de Mars, overseen by [Napoléon Bonaparte](#). This had been advertised as a ceremony to announce the results of the plebescite on the Additional Act to the Imperial Constitution, in which 99.9993% of the votes cast by the Frenchmen had been in favor of their emperor.

Samuel Wesley was elected to full membership of the new Philharmonic Society.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 1 of 6 M 1815 / Our meeting today was rather small & many of us I believe was variously [?] situated observed some who at seasons I have reason to believe are fresh & lively to [illegible] some whose countenances bespoke much langor in the inward life who were not ?? with sleep & I believe some could say at the close of the meeting they had been with Jesus & experienced his enlivening presence to do them good - It was with me a better season than common.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 4, Sunday: Denmark traded Pomerania and Rügen to Prussia for part of the Duchy of Lauenburg.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 4 of 6 M / Our forenoon meeting was pretty large & a season of Divine favor A Robinson was engaged in a short but very sweet testimony of encouragement to such as were under Affliction
In the Afternoon we were Silent but it appeared to most be a wakening season Israels Shepherd being near & extending his Crook around the gathering [last two lines illegible]*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 6, Tuesday: After falling out with Caroline Brandt (she was jealous of an actress), Carl Maria von Weber left Prague sooner than expected. He went to München.



June 7, Wednesday: [Walton Felch](#) got married with Lydia Inman. The couple would produce one child, Hiram E. Felch of Boston.

As Austrian occupation troops departed from Rome, the temporal power of [Pope Pius VII](#) was restored.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th M 7th 4th of the Week 1815 / Recd this morning an affectionate & very acceptable testimony of the continued remembrance & love of my friend Micajah Collins dated at NYork the 1st inst - It met me at a moment when my heart was tender & ready to receive the impressions that such as communication would be likely to excite from an old & long loved friend. - The NYork packet arrived this mornng brought a considerable Number of friends to attend the Yearly Meeting among whom were Edw Stabler, Isaac Bonsall, Rich'd Mott, John Murray Jr & wife & several Women. - I feel desirous they may be instruments of

good

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 8, Thursday: This material having to do with the [manumission](#) in New Orleans, Louisiana of a mulatto [Slave](#) woman "Lucy about thirty years of age" whom William Snelling desired to take back with him to their home of Kentucky is from page 232 of Deed Book C of Bullitt County:

Be it known that this day before me, John Lynd Esquire, notary Public in and for the City of New Orleans duly commissioned personally appeared William Snelling of Christian County, State of Kentucky, owner of a Mulatto slave named Lucy about thirty years of age a native of Bullitt County in said State. Now in this place in the service of this appearer and about to depart with him for Kentucky aforesaid and the said appearer declared that in order to recompense the faithful services of said slave he does by these presents emancipate and manumit her this said mulatto Lucy hereby declaring her to be from henceforth a free person and for himself and his heirs renouncing all right of ownership or other which he had of in and to said mulatto previous to the passing of this act and he further declared that neither he nor his heirs shall or will at any time hereafter call in question or oppose the verdict of this act nor ever claim the said woman as a slave before any Court of Justice.

Then done and passed at New Orleans this twenty second of March one thousand eight hundred and fourteen in presence of George Pollock / Pollock and Samuel Herman. Witnesses who hereunto sign their names with the appearer and me notary in faith Hereof I affix the impression of my Seal of office.

[signed] Wm. Snelling
John Lynch, Notr. Public

*In presence of George Pollock and Saml. Herman
 I James Halbert, Clerk of the County Court of Bullitt County in the State of Kentucky do certify that on this 8th day of July 1815 the within Instrument of Writing purporting to be a Deed of Emancipation given and granted by William Snelling to a mulatto woman Lucy was produced to me in my office by the said Lucy and that --- truly recorded the same together with the testimony thereby attached as well as this Certificate given under my hand this 8th day of July 1815*
James Halbert

These documents are so utterly mysterious!

The Congress of Vienna closed. Great Britain retained Malta, Heligoland, and most of its other overseas conquests. The Bourbons, Braganças, [Pope Pius VII](#), and the Italian princes were all restored. Switzerland was declared neutral. The Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg were united. The Duchy of Warsaw went to Russia. Lombardy and Venice went to Austria. Prussia obtained the Rhineland and part of Saxony. Hanover obtained East Friesland and Hildesheim. Krakow became an independent republic. The charter of the [German Confederation](#) was signed, creating a loose union of 34 sovereign states and 4 free cities with a Federal Diet in Frankfurt-am-Main under the presidency of Austria.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 6 M 1815 / Our Meeting in consequence of the strangers who attended it was larger than usual & Rich'd Mott preached very Sweetly & quite to my satisfaction - his opening was the "New Name & the White Stone" which enlarged on very

*interestingly. father Rodman near the close delivered a short but pertinent & to my mind Savory testimony
At the close of the Meeting John Winslow of Portland appointed a Meeting for the People of colour without previous consulting friends of this Meeting & the hour proposed 7 OC PM & the time altogether being improper & some other circumstances rendered it a very exercising case & very little information was given by friends however at the time considerable number of White & blacks collected & John preached till almost 10 OClock & I thought on the whole he was in a degree favor'd & Truth presented from re [illegible] - I had the house lighted as one of the committee for the purpose & determined to help out a trying case as well as I could*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 9, Friday: The Act of the Congress of Vienna was signed by representatives of Austria, France, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Sweden, and the United Kingdom, in the Imperial Palace. The Spanish ambassador refused his signature because Parma had been given to Napoléon's wife (Spain would not accede to this treaty until 1817). Minor countries were invited to accede at some later date.

Announcement of publication of Piano Sonata op.90, by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6 day 9th of 6 M / Had a short [illegible from Wm Burling in my
[next three lines nearly illegible]*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 10, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 10 6 M 1815 / Many friends have come to Town & we have for lodgers Our valued friend Hannah Pope formerly of Bolton now of Baltimore, & her Sister in law Ann - Daniel Johnson & Isaac Bassett, Daniel & [blank] Holder sons of our fr Thos Holder of Bolton - - - I have desired & do renewedly desire that this Yearly Meeting may prove to me a season of favor & quiet beyond what I have sometimes experienced - -& I think I have made a pretty good beginning. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 11, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) noted in his journal an entirely silent session of the Friends Yearly Meeting:

1st day Our Meeting this forenoon was large as usual & much favor'd our fr Edw Stabler of Alexandria was much favor'd in a long & excellent communication - I think I never saw the people more attentive & Still in the Yard - In the Afternoon a larger concourse of people assembled than in the Morning, but to the great disappointment of the multitude there was not a single offering in the course of the Afternoon & it is the first silent Yearly Meeting I ever recollect & I believe is the only instance that has occur'd in my Life - considering there was no preaching the people were as still as could be expected - between meetings our fr John Heald & his companion James Boulton arrived & took



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Quarters with us. -In addition to our usual family we had at tea Ezra Collins, Jonathon Chase & two Long Island young friends also Nancy Brown -

 June 12, Monday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) left Paris heading for Soissons.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friends Yearly Meeting continued, and [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) made notes in his journal:

2nd day / The meeting met this mornng under a solemn covering the first remark was from D Buffum who expressed his thankfulness in being permitted to attend another annual solemnity & a desire that friends might abide under that influence which would rightly direct all our movements, next father Rodman subjoined a few further remarks & a little hinted at the necessity of keeping from moving out of the right spirit which causes the Ark to jostle - then Peter Hoxie & then Edw Stabler took in the whole & pointed out the order of society in a clear oint of view & the harmony & simplicity of the Truth - The meeting was moved to Action by D Buffum. Saml Rodman the former Clerk was absent & Wm Rotch Jnr as Clerk of the meeting for Sufferings according to discipline Opened the Meeting Then John Murray Jr of NYork made soe sweet & very pertinent remarks - Epistles were recd from all the Yearly Meetings in the world & the usual rotines [sic] of buisness were Gone thro' with great apparent harmony & love my name was on the committee to answer the Epistles but alas that most probably will be all, as neither my time nor tallents will admit of my being useful in that capacity - I was however thankful in being made partaker of the good things before us & may acknowledge divine favor thus far. -At 4 OClock the meeting met by appointment, the subject of the School underwent some discussion but a further deliberation right not to another sitting - that of the Meeting house in Boston was acted upon & a committee[?] appointed to investigate the case & report suitable trustees to REview & hold the porperty & what in their judgement is best to be done to building a New meeting house. The present one being so decayed as to be unsafe for use. A committee was appointed to consider of the propriety of a proposition from Salem Quarter to divide their Quarterly Meeting & report to a future sitting. - I thought in the first of the sitting a pretty good savor of life was to be felt but it diminished & according to my understanding we did not conclude so well as we began. -

 June 13, Tuesday: Prince Metternich left Vienna heading for the allied headquarters at Heilbronn.

 June 14, Wednesday: The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Schwerin became a Grand Duchy. Duke Friedrich Franz I took on the title of Grand Duke.

[Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached the border with the Low Countries at Beaumont.

Per the journal of [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#), the [Quakers](#) met to consider the Yearly Meeting boarding school being proposed for [Providence, Rhode Island](#):

4th day / The meeting met at 10 OClock The subject of the Yearly



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meeting school occupied the most of the sitting a large committee was appointed to digest & further investigate the subject & report to the next sitting The committee on the Epistles wer engaged from half past 2 OC till 5 OC when the meeting met & tho' the epistles were not all digested before of the committee & two of them untouched yet they were all read & passed the Meeting – there were but five of us that could attend to them Vizt Thos Howland, Abraham Sherman Jr Jas Scott & myself all new & inexpeierenced except Thos. The others of the committtee attend the School committee which met at the same time which deprived us of many experienced helpers The School committee not having fully gone to the subject, it was refer'd another year & they joined to the Meeting for Sufferings further to digest & proceed as far within the time as they may think advisable, & the meeting came to a conclusion tho' not till it was so dark that the Clerk was scarcely able to read.

“MOSES BROWN SCHOOL”



June 15, Thursday: Beating back Prussian resistance, Napoléon's army crossed the Sambre River at Charleroi and Marchiennes and proceeded in the direction of Brussels, 50 kilometers to the north.

The first *Burschenschaft* was formed at Jena (this student organization, its motto “Honor, Liberty, Fatherland,” would become the basis of the [German](#) Nationalist Movement).

French physician [René-Théophile-Hycinthe Laënnec](#) was appointed to Necker Hospital in Paris (in that institution, during September 1816, he would create the [stethoscope](#)).

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) gave the initial of a pair of very well received performances at the Deutsches Theater in Pest.

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day / This mornng Our Bolton lodgers Hannah & Ann Pope left us & went in the [Providence](#) Packet homeward. The two Women felt near my best feelings, as has many others who have been with us. Our Meeting was large & our friend Edward Stabler was largely opened in Doctrine & his communication was attended with a large degree of that power which reached the heart – Richd Mott was also engaged in a short but loving & well adapted testimony At 3 OC PM our friend John Heald & James Boulton left us, & with them our house was evacuated of our Y Meeting friends they having left us before. The rest of the Afternoon, tho' free from care to what we have been has been – In the evening Wm Burling called to See us with [-blank] whose company was very pleasant - but it so happened that in the forepart of it I was our at Thos Robinsons to wait on our soucin Hazard over to lodge at my Mothers while there Richard Mott had a sitting in the family & preached with is much humility & sweetness –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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June 16, Friday: Despite heavy losses, the French beat back Prussian (and other German) forces at Ligny, while the British/Dutch repelled the French at Quatre-Bras. The day's fighting created more than 25,000 casualties.

11-year-old Karl II replaced Friedrich Wilhelm as Duke of Brunswick, under regency.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day Called this morning at Elizabeth Hoxies to sit a little while with Jemima Shotwell Ann Yarnall & Sarah Sutton whose company I found very sweetly interesting, - should have been glad to have had more of it & if they do not go to Providence tomorrow they engaged to sit the Afternoon with us. - This Afternoon My Mother & Cousin Hazard, with Sister Ruth set the Afternoon with us - Thos Hornsby joined us at tea also Lewis Clarke

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 17, Saturday: The *USS Constellation* defeated the Algerian flagship *Mashuda* off Gibraltar. Admiral Reis Hammida and 30 crew members were killed.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day / Our fr Jemima Shotwell paid us a visit of a few minutes just before she left us this morning for [Providence](#) it was very sweet & cordial to our minds - I have been (as was as my dear H) occupied most of the day in preparing for my intended visit to NYork

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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➡ June 18, Sunday: Carl Maria von Weber arrived in München.

Into an area of just less than three square miles of fields near the village of Waterloo in northern Europe, various commanders crammed 140,000 men and 30,000 horses — and then instructed the men to kill each other.



They killed each other from 11:25AM until it was too dark and they were too tired to kill each other any more.



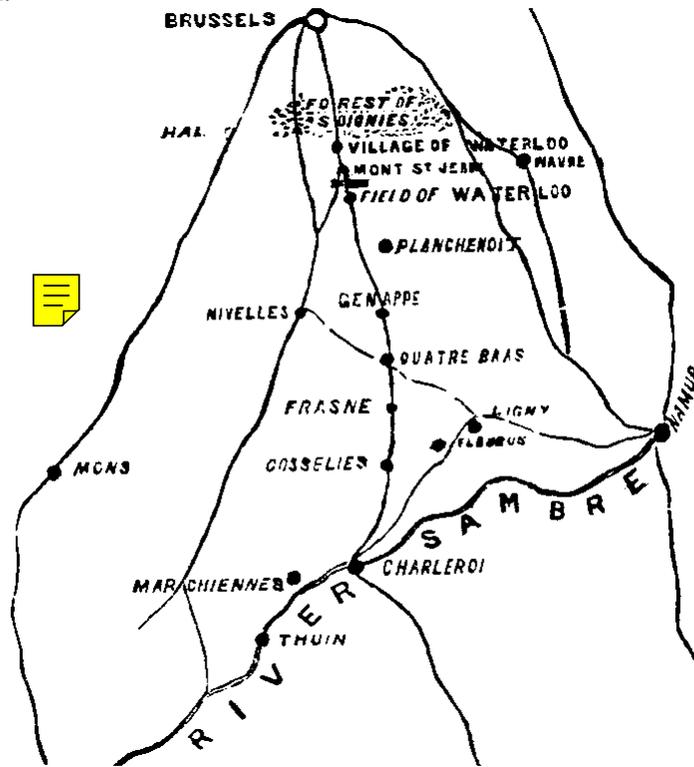
When the situation had become hopeless for the French forces, the English called on the commander of Napoleon's famous Imperial Guard to surrender the forces still under his command. He responded "Merde."

Bonaparte himself had decided there was no point in sticking around after 8:30PM but the slaughter continued

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until at least 10:00PM, with at least 47,000 of the men dead or so badly wounded as not to be able to continue killing each other.⁵³



That is to say, in more conventional language, that [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#) and Blücher defeated the [Emperor Napoléon](#) at Waterloo (actually, of course, these gentlemen themselves did no fighting on that

53. An entire generation of Europeans would be able to wear what they would refer to as “Waterloo teeth,” yanked from the gaping mouths of the corpses of fallen young men.

THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

(The horses also provided their teeth, and the Duke of York would have a corridor of Oaklands, his home in Surrey, lined with the teeth of horses killed during this battle. I haven’t been able to obtain any statistics on how many of the horses killed each other; however, the presence of the horses was not exactly what you could call innocent, as their usefulness in war had driven up the price of horse fodder to ridiculous levels and for years had been interfering with the ability of ordinary people to move around in the world. With the warfare on the continent over, the price of fodder would plummet, and suddenly tramlines drawn by giant Shire horses would again become able to compete economically against the barges on canals.)

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day). A boot termed the “Wellington” would become popular, named after the British general at Waterloo.



It was lighter than the “Blüchers” that had been worn by some since the turn of the century but that had become quite popular in the previous year when this Prussian general had visited London. The Wellington boot was made of soft, thin calfskin and fitted close to the leg as far as the knee so that it could be worn under long trousers that were fastened with a strap under the sole of the boot. But, whichever boot you prefer, these two generals had booted Napoleon right out of Europe.

“Thou first and last of fields, king-making victory!”—[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#).



“[A nation is] a group of people united by a mistaken view about the past and a hatred of their neighbors.”

— E. Renan, *QU'EST-CE QU'UNE NATION?*
March 11, 1882



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"Brilliant generalship in itself is a frightening thing – the very idea that the thought processes of a single brain of a Hannibal or a Scipio can play themselves out in the destruction of thousands of young men in an afternoon."

– Victor Davis Hanson, CARNAGE AND CULTURE:
LANDMARK BATTLES IN THE RISE OF WESTERN POWER
(NY: Doubleday, 2001)



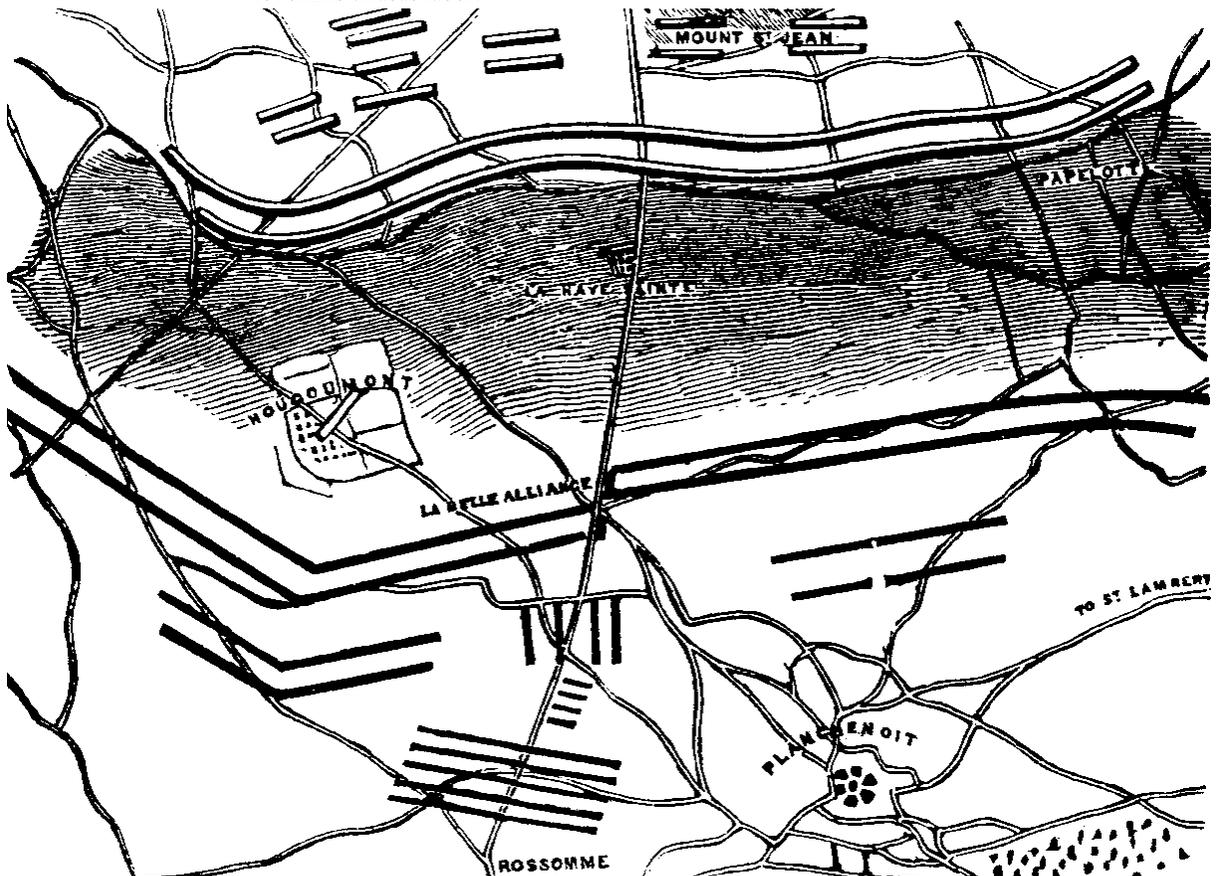
1815



England has now been blest with thirty-seven years of peace. At no other period of her history can a similarly long cessation from a state of warfare be found. It is true that our troops have had battles to fight during this interval for the protection and extension of our Indian possessions and our colonies; but these have been with distant and unimportant enemies. The danger has never been brought near our own shores, and no matter of vital importance to our empire has ever been at stake. We have not had hostilities with either France, America, or Russia; and when not at war with any of our peers, we feel ourselves to be substantially at peace. There has, indeed, throughout this long period, been no great war, like those with which the previous history of Modern Europe abounds. There have been formidable collisions between particular states; and there have been still more formidable collisions between the armed champions of the conflicting principles of absolutism and democracy; but there has been no general war, like those of the French Revolution, like the American, or the Seven Years' War, or like the War of the Spanish Succession. It would be far too much to augur from this, that no similar wars will again convulse the world; but the value of the period of peace which Europe has gained, is incalculable; even if we look on it as only a truce, and expect again to see the nations of the earth recur to what some philosophers have termed man's natural state of warfare. No equal number of years can be found, during which science, commerce, and civilization have advanced so rapidly and so extensively, as has been the case since 1815. When we trace their progress, especially in this country, it is impossible not to feel that their wondrous development has been mainly due to the land having been at peace. Their good effects cannot be obliterated, even if a series of wars were to recommence. When we reflect on this, and contrast these thirty-seven years with the period that preceded them, a period of violence, of tumult, of unrestingly destructive energy,—a period throughout which the wealth of nations was scattered like sand, and the blood of nations lavished like water,—it is impossible not to look with deep interest on the final crisis of that dark and dreadful epoch; the crisis out of which our own happier cycle of years has been evolved. The great battle which ended the twenty-three years' war of the first French Revolution, and which quelled the man whose genius and ambition had so long disturbed and desolated the world, deserves to be regarded by us, not only with peculiar pride, as one of our greatest national victories, but with peculiar gratitude for the repose which it secured for us, and for the greater part of the human race. One good test for determining the importance of Waterloo, is to ascertain what was felt by wise and prudent statesmen before that battle, respecting the return of Napoleon from Elba to the Imperial throne of France, and the probable effects of his success. For this purpose, I will quote the words, not of any of our vehement anti-Gallican politicians of the school of Pitt, but of a leader of our Liberal party, of a man whose reputation as a jurist, a historian, and a far-sighted and candid statesman, was, and is, deservedly high, not only in this country, but throughout Europe. Sir James Mackintosh, in the debate in the British House of Commons, on the 20th April, 1815, spoke thus of the return from Elba:

"Was it in the power of language to describe the evil? Wars which had raged for more than twenty years throughout Europe; which had spread blood and desolation from Cadiz to Moscow, and from Naples to Copenhagen; which had wasted the means of human enjoyment, and destroyed the instruments of social improvement; which threatened to diffuse among the European nations, the dissolute and ferocious habits of a predatory soldiery, - at length, by one of those vicissitudes which bid defiance to the foresight of man, had been brought to a close, upon the whole, happy beyond all reasonable expectation, with no violent shock to national independence, with some tolerable compromise between the opinions of the age and reverence due to ancient institutions; with no too signal or mortifying triumph over the legitimate interests or avowable feelings of any numerous body of men, and, above all, without those retaliations against nations or parties, which beget new convulsions, often as horrible as those which they close, and perpetuate revenge and hatred and bloodshed, from age to age. Europe seemed to breathe after her sufferings. In the midst of this fair prospect, and of these consolatory hopes, Napoleon Bonaparte escaped from Elba; three small vessels reached the coast of Provence; our hopes are instantly dispelled; the work of our toil and fortitude is undone; the blood of Europe is spilt in vain -

"Ibi omnis effusus labor!"



The Congress of Emperors, Kings, Princes, Generals, and Statesmen, who had assembled at Vienna to remodel the world after the overthrow of the mighty conqueror, and who thought



that Napoleon had passed away for ever from the great drama of European politics, had not yet completed their triumphant festivities, and their diplomatic toils, when Talleyrand, on the 11th of March, 1815, rose up among them, and announced that the ex-emperor had escaped from Elba, and was Emperor of France once more. It is recorded by Sir Walter Scott, as a curious physiological fact, that, the first effect of the news of an event which threatened to neutralize all their labors, was to excite a loud burst of laughter from nearly every member of the Congress. But the jest was a bitter one: and they soon were deeply busied in anxious deliberations respecting the mode in which they should encounter their arch-enemy, who had thus started from torpor and obscurity into renovated splendor and strength:

*“Qualis ubi in lucem coluber mala gramina pastus,
Frigida sub terra, tumidum quem bruma tegebat.
Nunc positus novus exuviis nitidusque juvena,
Lubrica convolvit sublato pectore terga
Arduus ad solem, et linguis micat ore trisulcis.”*
— Virgil, *Aen.*

Napoleon sought to disunite the formidable confederacy, which he knew would be arrayed against him, by endeavoring to negotiate separately with each of the allied sovereigns. It is said that Austria and Russia were at first not unwilling to treat with him. Disputes and jealousies had been rife among several of the Allies on the subject of the division of the conquered countries; and the cordial unanimity with which they had acted during 1813 and the first months of 1814, had grown chill, during some weeks of discussions. But the active exertions of Talleyrand, who represented Louis XVIII at the Congress, and who both hated and feared Napoleon with all the intensity of which his powerful spirit was capable, prevented the secession of any member of the Congress from the new great league against their ancient enemy. Still it is highly probably that if Napoleon had triumphed in Belgium over the Prussians and the English, he would have succeeded in opening negotiations with the Austrians and Russians; and he might have thus gained advantages similar to those which he had obtained on his return from Egypt, when he induced the Czar Paul to withdraw the Russian armies from cooperating with the other enemies of France in the extremity of peril to which she seemed reduced in 1799. But fortune now had deserted him both in diplomacy and in war.

On the 13th of March, 1815, the Ministers of the seven powers, Austria, Spain, England, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, and Sweden, signed a manifesto, by which they declared Napoleon an outlaw; and this denunciation was instantly followed up by a treaty between England, Austria, Prussia, and Russia (to which other powers soon acceded), by which the rulers of those countries bound themselves to enforce that decree, and to prosecute the war until Napoleon should be driven from the throne of France, and rendered incapable of disturbing the peace of Europe. The Duke of Wellington was the representative of England at the Congress of Vienna, and he was immediately applied to for his advice on the plan of military operations against France. It was obvious that Belgium would be the first battlefield; and by the general wish of the Allies, the English Duke proceeded thither to assemble an army from the contingents of Dutch, Belgian, and



Hanoverian troops, that were most speedily available, and from the English regiments which his own Government was hastening to send over from this country. A strong Prussian corps was near Aix-la-Chapelle, having remained there since the campaign of the preceding year. This was largely reinforced by other troops of the same nation; and Marshal Blucher, the favorite hero of the Prussian soldiery, and the deadliest foe of France, assumed the command of this army, which was the Lower Rhine; and which, in conjunction with Wellington's forces, was to make the van of the armaments of the Allied Powers. Meanwhile Prince Swartzenburg was to collect 130,000 Austrians, and 124,000 troops of other Germanic States, as "the Army of the Upper Rhine;" and 168,000 Russians, under the command of Barclay de Tolly, were to form "the army of the Middle Rhine," and to repeat the march from Muscovy to that river's banks.

The exertions which the Allied Powers thus made at this crisis to grapple promptly with the French emperor have truly been termed gigantic; and never were Napoleon's genius and activity more signally displayed, than in the celerity and skill by which he brought forward all the military resources of France, which the reverses of the three preceding years, and the pacific policy of the Bourbons during the months of their first restoration, had greatly diminished and disorganized. He re-entered Paris on the 20th of March, and by the end of May, besides sending a force into La Vendee to put down the aimed risings of the royalists in that province, and besides providing troops under Massena and Suchet for the defense of the southern frontiers of France, Napoleon had an army assembled in the northeast for active operations under his own command, which amounted to between one hundred and twenty, and one hundred and thirty thousand men, with a superb park of artillery and in the highest possible state of equipment, discipline, and efficiency. The approach of the multitudinous Russian, Austrian, Bavarian, and other foes of the French Emperor to the Rhine was necessarily slow; but the two most active of the allied powers had occupied Belgium with their troops, while Napoleon was organizing his forces. Marshal Blucher was there with one hundred and sixteen thousand Prussians; and, before the end of May, the Duke of Wellington was there also with about one hundred and six thousand troops, either British or in British pay. [Wellington had but a small part of his old. Peninsular army in Belgium. The flower of it, had been sent on the expeditions against America. His troops in 1815, were chiefly second battalions, or regiments lately filled up with new recruits.] Napoleon determined to attack these enemies in Belgium. The disparity of numbers was indeed great, but delay was sure to increase the proportionate numerical superiority of his enemies over his own ranks. The French Emperor considered also that "the enemy's troops were now cantoned under the command of two generals, and composed of nations differing both in interest and in feelings." His own army was under his own sole command. It was composed exclusively of French soldiers, mostly of veterans, well acquainted with their officers and with each other, and full of enthusiastic confidence in their commander. If he could separate the Prussians from the British, so as to attack each singly, he felt sanguine of success, not only against these the most resolute of his many adversaries, but also against the other masses, that were slowly laboring up against his eastern dominions.



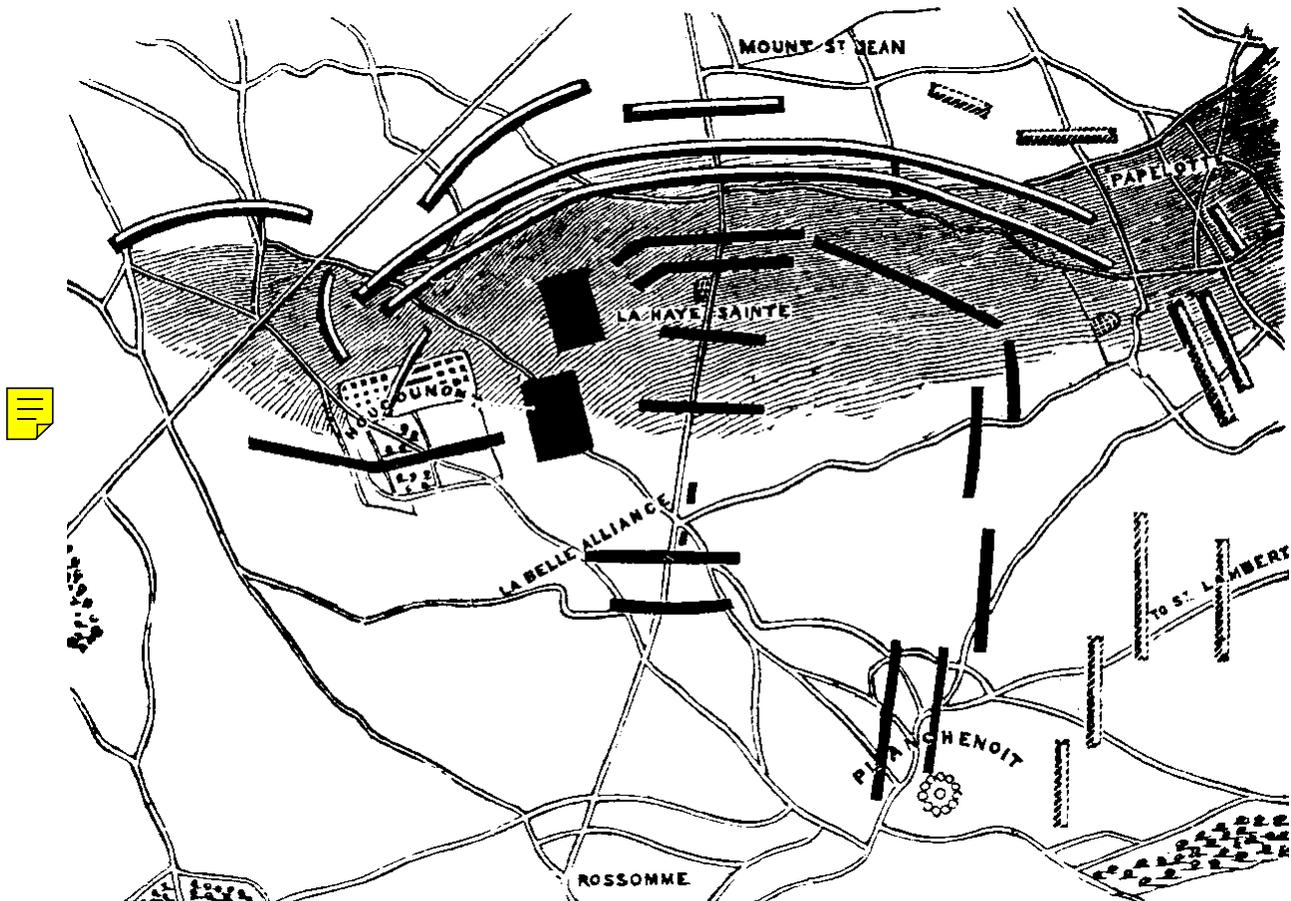
The triple chain of strong fortresses, which the French possessed on the Belgian frontier, formed a curtain, behind which Napoleon was able to concentrate his army, and to conceal, till the very last moment, the precise line of attack which he intended to take. On the other hand, Blucher and Wellington were obliged to canton their troops along a line of open country of considerable length, so as to watch for the outbreak of Napoleon from whichever point. of his chain of strongholds he should please to make it. Blucher, with his army, occupied the banks of the Sambre and the Meuse, from Liege on his left, to Charleroi on his right; and the Duke of Wellington covered Brussels; his cantonments being partly in front of that city and between it and the French frontier, and partly on its west; their extreme right reaching to Courtray and Tournay, while the left approached Charleroi and communicated with the Prussian right. It was upon Charleroi that Napoleon resolved to level his attack, in hopes of severing the two allied armies from each other, and then pursuing his favorite tactic of assailing each separately with a superior force on the battle-field, though the aggregate of their numbers considerably exceeded his own.

The first French corps d'armee, commanded by Count d'Erlon, was stationed in the beginning of June in and around the city of Lille, near to the north-eastern frontier of France. The second corps, under Count Reille, was at Valenciennes, to the right of the first one. The third corps, under Count Vandamme, was at Mezieres. The fourth, under Count Gerard, had its head-quarters at Metz. The fifth corps was under Count Rappat Strasburg, and the sixth, under Count Lobau, was at Laon. Four corps of reserve cavalry, under Marshal Grouchy were also near the frontier, between the rivers Aisne and Sambre. The Imperial Guard remained in Paris until the 8th of June, when it marched towards Belgium, and reached Avesnes on the 13th; and in the course of the same and the following day, the five corps d'armee with the cavalry reserves which have been mentioned, were, in pursuance of skillfully combined orders, rapidly drawn together, and concentrated in and around the same place, on the right bank of the river Sambre. On the 14th Napoleon arrived among his troops, who were exulting at the display of their commander's skill in the celerity and precision with which they had been drawn together, and in the consciousness of their collective strength. Although Napoleon too often permitted himself to use language unworthy of his own character respecting his great English adversary, his real feelings in commencing this campaign may be judged from the last words which he spoke, as he threw himself into his traveling carriage to leave Paris for the army. "I go," he said, "to measure myself with Wellington."

The enthusiasm of the French soldiers at seeing their Emperor among them, was still more excited by the "Order of the day," in which he thus appealed to them:

1815

1815



"Napoleon, by the Grace of God, and the Constitution of the Empire, Emperor of the French, &c., to the Grand Army.

"AT THE: IMPERIAL HEAD-QUARTERS.

"Avesnes June 14th, 1815.

"Soldiers! this day is the anniversary of Marengo and of Friedland, which twice decided the destiny of Europe. Then, as after Austerlitz, as after Wagram, we were too generous! we believed in the protestations and in the oaths of princes, whom we left on their thrones. Now, however, leagued together, they aim at the independence and the most sacred rights of France. They have commenced the most unjust of aggressions. Let us, then, march to meet them. Are they and we no longer the same men?

"Soldiers! at Jena, against these same Prussians, now so arrogant, you were one to three, and at Montmirail one to six!

"Let those among you who have been captives to the English, describe the nature of their prison-ships, and the frightful miseries they endured.

"The Saxons, the Belgians, the Hanoverians, the soldiers of the Confederation of the Rhine, lament that they are compelled to use their arms in the cause of princes, the enemies of justice and of the rights of all



nations. They know that this coalition is insatiable! After having devoured twelve millions of Poles, twelve millions of Italians, one million of Saxons, and six millions of Belgians, it now wishes to devour the states of the second rank in Germany.

"Madmen! one moment of prosperity has bewildered them. The oppression and the humiliation of the French people are beyond their power. If they enter France they will there find their grave.

"Soldiers! we have forced marches to make, battles to fight, dangers to encounter; but, with firmness, victory will be ours. The rights, the honor. and the happiness of the country will be recovered!

"To every Frenchman who has a heart, the moment is now arrived to conquer or to die!

"NAPOLEON."

"THE MARSHAL DUKE OF DALMATIA, Major General."

The 15th of June had scarcely dawned before the French army was in motion for the decisive campaign, and crossed the frontier in three columns, which were pointed upon Charleroi and its vicinity. The French line of advance upon Brussels, which city Napoleon resolved to occupy, thus lay right through the center of the cantonments of the Allies.

Much criticism has been expended on the supposed surprise of Wellington's army in its cantonments by Napoleon's rapid advance. These comments would hardly have been made if sufficient attention had been paid to the geography of the Waterloo campaign; and if it had been remembered that the protection of Brussels was justly considered by the allied generals a matter of primary importance, If Napoleon could, either by maneuvering or fighting, have succeeded in occupying that city, the greater part of Belgium would unquestionably have declared in his favor; and the results of such a success, gained by the Emperor at the commencement of the campaign, might have decisively influenced the whole after-current of events. A glance at the map will show the numerous roads that lead from the different fortresses on the French north-eastern frontier, and converge upon Brussels; any one of which Napoleon might have chosen for the advance of a strong force upon that city. The Duke's army was judiciously arranged, so as to enable him to concentrate troops on any one of these roads sufficiently in advance of Brussels to check an assailing enemy. The army was kept thus available for movement in any necessary direction, till certain intelligence arrived on the 15th of June that the French had crossed the frontier in large force near Thuin, that they had driven back the Prussian advanced troops under General Ziethen, and were also moving across the Sambre upon Charleroi. Marshal Blucher now rapidly concentrated his forces, calling them in from the left upon Ligny, which is to the north-east of Charleroi. Wellington also drew his troops together, calling them in from the right. But even now, though it was certain that the French were in large force at Charleroi, it was unsafe for the English general to place his army directly between that place and Brussels, until it was certain that no corps of the enemy was marching upon Brussels by the western road through Mons and Hal. The Duke, therefore, collected his troops in Brussels and its immediate vicinity, ready to move due southward upon Quatre Bras, and cooperate with Blucher, who was taking his



station at Ligny: but also ready to meet and defeat any maneuver, that the enemy might make to turn the right of the Allies, and occupy Brussels by a flanking movement. The testimony of the Prussian general, Baron Muffling, who was attached to the Duke's staff during the campaign, and who expressly states the reasons on which the English general acted, ought for ever to have silenced the "weak Inventions of the enemy" about the Duke of Wellington having been deceived and surprised by his assailant, which some writers of our own nation, as well as foreigners, have incautiously repeated.

It was about three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, that a Prussian officer reached Brussels, whom General Ziethen had sent to Muffling to inform him of the advance of the main French army upon Charleroi. Muffling immediately communicated this to the Duke of Wellington; and asked him whether he would concentrate his army, and what would be his point of concentration; observing that Marshal Blucher in consequence of this intelligence would certainly concentrate the Prussians at Ligny. The Duke replied, - "If all is as General Ziethen supposes, I will concentrate on my left wing, and so be in readiness to fight in conjunction with the Prussian army. Should, however, a portion of the enemy's force come by Mons, I must concentrate more towards my center. This is the reason why I must wait for positive news from Mons before I fix the rendezvous. Since however it is certain that the troops must march, though it is uncertain upon what precise spot they must march, I will order all to be in readiness, and will direct a brigade to move at once towards Quatre Bras."

Later in the same day a message from Blucher himself was delivered to Muffling, in which the Prussian Field Marshal informed the Baron that he was concentrating his men at Sombref and Ligny, and charged Muffling to give him speedy intelligence respecting the concentration of Wellington. Muffling immediately communicated this to the Duke, who expressed his satisfaction with Blucher's arrangements, but added that he could not even then resolve upon his own point of concentration before he obtained the desired intelligence from Mons. About midnight this information arrived. The Duke went to the quarters of General Muffling, and told him that he now had received his reports from Mons, and was sure that no French troops were advancing by that route, but that the mass of the enemy's force was decidedly directed on Charleroi. He informed the Prussian general that he had ordered the British troops to move forward upon Quatre Bras; but with characteristic coolness and sagacity resolved not to give the appearance of alarm by hurrying on with them himself

A ball was to be given by the Duchess of Richmond at Brussels that night, and the Duke proposed to General Muffling that they should go to the ball for a few hours, and ride forward in the morning to overtake the troops at Quatre Bras.

To hundreds, who were assembled at that memorable ball, the news that the enemy was advancing, and that the time for battle had come, must have been a fearfully exciting surprise, and the magnificent stanzas of Byron are as true as they are beautiful.

There was a sound of revelry by night,
And Belgium's capital had gather'd then
Her Beauty and her Chivalry, and bright
The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men;



A thousand hearts beat happily; and when
Music arose with its voluptuous swell,
Soft eyes look'd love to eyes which spake again,
And all went merry as a marriage-bell;
But hush! hark! a deep sound strikes like a rising knell.
Did ye not hear it — No; 'twas but the wind,
Or the car rattling o'er the stony street;
On with the dance! let joy be unconfined;
No sleep till morn, when Youth and Pleasure meet
To chase the glowing Hours with flying feet -
But, hark — that heavy sound breaks in once more,
As if the clouds its echo would repeat;
And nearer, clearer, deadlier than before!
Arm! Arm! it is— it is— the cannon's opening roar!
Within a window'd niche of that high hall
Sate Brunswick's fated chieftain; he did hear
That sound the first amidst the festival,
And caught its tone with Death's prophetic ear;
And when they smiled because he deem'd it near,
His heart more truly knew that peal too well
Which stretch'd his father on a bloody bier,
And roused the vengeance blood alone could quell:
He rush'd into the field, and, foremost fighting, fell.
Ah! then and there was hurrying to and fro,
And gathering tears, and tremblings of distress,
And cheeks all pale, which but an hour ago
Blush'd at the praise of their own loveliness;
And there were sudden partings, such as press
The life from out young hearts, and choking sighs
Which ne'er might be repeated; who could guess
If ever more should meet those mutual eyes,
Since upon night so sweet such awful morn could rise?
And there was mounting in hot haste: the steed,
The mustering squadron, and the clattering car,
Went pouring forward with impetuous speed,
And swiftly forming in the ranks of war;
And the deep thunder peal on peal afar;
And near, the bent of the alarming drum
Roused up the soldier ere the morning star;
While throng'd the citizens with terror dumb,
Or whispering, with white lips— "The foe! They come! they come!"
And Ardennes waves above them her green loaves.
Dewy with nature's tear-drops, as they pass,
Grieving, if aught inanimate e'er grieves.
Over the unreturning brave,—alas!
'Ere evening to be trodden like the grass
Which now beneath them, but above shall grow
In its next verdure, when this fiery mass
Of living valour, rolling on the foe
And burning with high hope, shall moulder cold and low.
Last noon beheld them full of lusty life,
Last eve in Beauty's circle proudly gay,
The midnight brought the signal-sound of strife,
The morn the marshalling in arms, — the day
Battle's magnificently-stern array!
The thunder-clouds close o'er it, which when rent,
The earth is covered thick with other clay,
Which her own clay shall cover, heap'd and pent,
Rider and horse, —friend, foe, —in one red burial blent.

But the Duke and his principal officers knew well the stern termination to that, festive scene which was approaching. One by one, and in such a way as to attract as little observation as possible, the leaders of the various corps left the ball-room, and took their stations at the head of their men, who were pressing forward through the last hours of the short summer night to the arena of anticipated slaughter. Napoleon's operations on the 15th had been conducted with signal



skill and vigor; and their results had been very advantageous for his plan of the campaign. With his army formed in three vast columns, he had struck at the center of the line of cantonments of his allied foes; and he had so far made good his blow, that he had effected the passage of the Sambre, he had beaten with his left wing the Prussian corps of General Ziethen at Thuin, and with his center he had in person advanced right through Charleroi upon Fleurus, inflicting considerable loss upon the Prussians that fell back before him. His right column had with little opposition moved forward as far as the bridge of Chatelet.

Napoleon had thus a powerful force immediately in front of the point, which Blucher had fixed for the concentration of the Prussian army, and that concentration was still incomplete. The French Emperor designed to attack the Prussians on the morrow in person, with the troops of his center and right columns, and to employ his left wing in heating back such English troops as might advance to the help of their allies, and also in aiding his own attack upon Blucher. He gave the command of this left wing to Marshal Ney. Napoleon seems not to have originally intended to employ this celebrated General in the campaign. It was only on the night of the 11th of June, that Marshal Ney received at Paris an order to join the army. Hurrying forward to the Belgian frontier he met the Emperor near Charleroi. Napoleon immediately directed him to take the command of the left wing, and to press forward with it upon Quatre Bras by the line of the road which leads from Charleroi to Brussels, through Gosselies, Frasné, Quatre Bras, Genappe, and Waterloo. Ney immediately proceeded to the post assigned him; and before ten on the night of the 15th he had occupied Gosselies and Frasné, driving out without much difficulty some weak Belgian detachments which had been stationed in those villages. The lateness of the hour, and the exhausted state of the French troops, who had been marching and fighting since ten in the morning, made him pause from advancing further, to attack the much more important position of Quatre Bras. In truth, the advantages which the French gained by their almost superhuman energy and activity throughout the long day of the 15th of June, were necessarily bought at the price of more delay and inertness during the following night and morrow, than would have been observable if they had not been thus overtaken. Ney has been blamed for want of promptness in his attack upon Quatre Bras; and Napoleon has been criticized for not having fought at Ligny before the afternoon of the 16th: but their censors should remember that soldiers are but men; and that there must be necessarily some interval of time, before troops, that have been worn and weakened by twenty hours of incessant fatigue and strife, can be fed, rested, reorganized, and brought again into action with any hope of success.

Having on the night of the 15th placed the most advanced of the French under his command in position in front of Frasné, Ney rode back to Charleroi, where Napoleon also arrived about midnight, having returned from directing the operations of the center and right column of the French. The Emperor and the Marshal supped together, and remained in earnest conversation till two in the morning. An hour or two afterwards Ney rode back to Frasné, where he endeavored to collect tidings of the numbers and movements of the enemy in front of him; and also busied



himself in the necessary duty of learning the amount and composition of the troops which he himself was commanding. He had been so suddenly appointed to his high station, that he did not know the strength of the several regiments under him, or even the names of their commanding officers. He now caused his aides-de-camp to prepare the requisite returns, and drew together the troops, whom he was thus learning before he used them.

Wellington remained at the Duchess of Richmond's ball at Brussels till about three o'clock in the morning of the 16th, "showing himself very cheerful," as Baron Muffling, who accompanied him, observes. At five o'clock; the Duke and the Baron were on horseback, and reached the position at Quatre Bras about eleven. As the French, who were in front of Frasne, were perfectly quiet, and the Duke was informed that a very large force under Napoleon in person was menacing Blucher, it was thought possible that only a slight detachment of the French was posted at Frasne in order to mask the English army. In that event Wellington, as he told Baron Muffling, would be able to employ his whole strength in supporting the Prussians: and he proposed to ride across from Quatre Bras to Blucher's position, in order to concert with him personally the measures which should be taken in order to bring on a decisive battle with the French. Wellington and Muffling rode accordingly towards Ligny, and found Marshal Blucher and his staff' at the windmill of Bry, near that village. The Prussian army, 50,000 strong, was drawn up chiefly along a chain of heights, with the villages of Sombref, St. Amand, and Ligny in their front.

These villages were strongly occupied by Prussian detachments, and formed the keys of Blucher's position. The heads of the columns which Napoleon was forming for the attack, were visible in the distance. The Duke asked Blucher and General Gneisenau (who was Blucher's adviser in matters of strategy) what they wished him to do. Muffling had already explained to them in a few words the Duke's earnest desire to support the Field Marshall, and that he would do all that they wished, provided they did not ask him to divide his army, which was contrary to his principles. The Duke wished to advance with his army (as soon as it was concentrated) upon Frasne and Gosselies, and thence to move upon Napoleon's flank and rear. The Prussian leaders preferred that he should march his men from Quatre Bras by the Namur road, so as to form a reserve in rear of Blucher's army. The Duke replied, "Well, I will come if I am not attacked myself," and galloped back with Muffling to Quatre Bras, where the French attack was now actually raging.

Marshal Ney began the battle about two o'clock in the afternoon. He had at this time in hand about 16,000 infantry, nearly 2000 cavalry, and 38 guns. The force which Napoleon nominally placed at his command exceeded 40,000 men. But more than one half of these consisted of the first French corps d'armee, under Count d'Erlon; and Ney was deprived of the use of this corps at the time that he most required it, in consequence of its receiving orders to march to the aid of the Emperor at Ligny. A magnificent body of heavy cavalry under Kellerman, nearly 5000 strong, and several more battalions (if artillery were added to Ney army during the battle of Quatre Bras; but his effective infantry force never exceeded 16,000.

When the battle began, the greater part of the Duke's army was



yet on its march towards Quatre Bras from Brussels and the other parts of its cantonments. The force of the Allies, actually in position there, consisted only of a Dutch and Belgian division of infantry, not quite 7000 strong, with one battalion of foot, and one of horse-artillery. The Prince of Orange commanded them. A wood, called the Bois de Bossu, stretched along the right (or western) flank of the position of Quatre Bras; a farmhouse and building, called Gemiancourt, stood on some elevated ground in its front; and to the left (or east), were the enclosures of the village of Pierremont. The Prince of Orange endeavored to secure these posts; but Ney carried Gemiancourt in the center, and Pierremont on the east, and gained occupation of the southern part of the wood of Bossu. He ranged the chief part of his artillery on the high ground of Gemiancourt, whence it played throughout the action with most destructive effect upon the Allies. He was pressing forward to further advantages, when the fifth infantry division under Sir Thomas Picton, and the Duke of Brunswick's corps, appeared upon the scene. Wellington (who had returned to Quatre Bras from his interview with Blucher shortly before the arrival of these forces) restored the fight with them; and, as fresh troops of the Allies arrived, they were brought forward to stem the fierce attacks which Ney's columns and squadrons continued to make with unabated gallantry and zeal. The only cavalry of the Anglo-allied army that reached Quatre Bras during the action, consisted of Dutch and Belgians, and a small force of Brunswickers, under their Duke, who was killed on the field. These proved wholly unable to encounter Kellerman's cuirassiers and Pire's lancers; the Dutch and Belgian infantry also gave way early in the engagement; so that the whole brunt of the battle fell on the British and German infantry, They sustained it nobly. Though repeatedly charged by the French cavalry, though exposed to the murderous fire of the French batteries, which from the heights of Gemiancourt sent shot and shell into the devoted squares whenever the French horsemen withdrew, they not only repelled their assailants, but Kempt's and Pack's brigades, led on by Picton, actually advanced against and through their charging foes, and with stern determination made good to the end of the day the ground which they had thus boldly won. Some, however, of the British regiments were during the confusion assailed by the French cavalry before they could form squares, and suffered severely. One regiment, the 92nd, was almost wholly destroyed by the cuirassiers. A French private soldier, named Lami, of the 8th regiment of cuirassiers, captured one of the English colors, and presented it to Ney. It was a solitary trophy. The arrival of the English Guards about half past six o'clock, enabled the Duke to recover the wood of Boss, which the French had almost entirely won, and the possession of which by them would have enabled Ney to operate destructively upon the Allied flank and rear. Not only was the wood of Boss recovered on the British right, but the enclosures of Pierremont were also carried on the left. When night set in the French had been driven back on all points towards Frasne; but they still held the farm of Gemiancourt in front of the Duke's center. Wellington and Muffling were unacquainted with the result of the collateral battle between Blucher and Napoleon, the cannonading of which had been distinctly audible at Quatre Bras throughout the afternoon and evening. The Duke observed to Muffling, that of course the two



Allied armies would assume the offensive against the enemy on the morrow; and consequently, it would be better to capture the farm at once, instead of waiting till next morning. Muffling agreed in the Duke's views, and Gemiancourt was forthwith attacked by the English and captured with little loss to its assailants.

Meanwhile the French and the Prussians had been fighting in and round the villages of Ligny, Sombref, and St. Amand, from three in the afternoon to nine in the evening, with a savage inveteracy almost unparalleled in modern warfare. Blucher had in the field, when he began the battle, 83,417 men, and 224 guns. Bulow's corps, which was 25,000 strong, had not joined him; but the Field Marshal hoped to be reinforced by it, or by the English army before the end of the action. But Bulow, through some error in the transmission of orders, was far in the rear; and the Duke of Wellington was engaged, as we have seen, with Marshal Ney. Blucher received early warning from Baron Muffling that the Duke could not come to his assistance; but, as Muffling observes, Wellington rendered the Prussians the great service of occupying more than 40,000 of the enemy, who otherwise would have crushed Blucher's right flank. For, not only did the conflict at Quatre Bras detain the French troops which actually took part in it, but d'Erlon received orders from Ney to join him which hindered d'Erlon from giving effectual aid to Napoleon. indeed, the whole of d'Erlon's corps, in consequence of conflicting directions from Ney and the Emperor, marched and countermarched, during the 16th, between Quatre Bras and Ligny without firing a shot in either battle.

Blucher had, in fact, a superiority of more than 12,000 in number over the French army that attacked him at Ligny. The numerical difference was even greater at the beginning of the battle, as Lobau's corps did not come up from Charleroi till eight o'clock. After five hours and a half of desperate and long-doubtful struggle, Napoleon succeeded in breaking the center of the Prussian line, at Ligny, and in forcing his obstinate antagonists off the field of battle. The issue was attributable to his skill, and not to any want of spirit or resolution on the part of the Prussian troops; nor did they, though defeated, abate one jot in discipline, heart, or hope. As Blucher observed, it was a battle in which his army lost the day but not its honor. The Prussians retreated during the night of the 16th, and the early part of the 17th, with perfect regularity and steadiness. The retreat was directed not towards Maestricht, where their principal depots were established, but towards Wavre, so as to be able to maintain their communication with Wellington's army, and still follow out the original plan of the campaign. The heroism with which the Prussians endured and repaired their defeat at Ligny, is more glorious than many victories.

The messenger who was sent to inform Wellington of the retreat of the Prussian army, was shot on the way; and it was not until the morning of the 17th that the Allies, at Quatre Bras, knew the result of the battle of Ligny. The Duke was ready at daybreak to take the offensive against the enemy with vigor, his whole army being by that time fully assembled. But on learning that Blucher had been defeated, a different course of action was clearly necessary. It was obvious that Napoleon's main army would now be directed against Wellington, and a retreat was



inevitable. On ascertaining that the Prussian army had retired upon Wavre, that there was no hot pursuit of them by the French, and that Bulow's corps had taken no part in the action at Ligny, the Duke resolved to march his army back towards Brussels, still intending to cover that city, and to halt at a point in a line with Wavre, and there restore his communication with Blucher. An officer from Blucher's army reached the Duke about nine o'clock, from whom he learned the effective strength that Blucher still possessed, and how little discouraged his ally was by the yesterday's battle. Wellington sent word to the Prussian commander that he would halt in the position of Mont St. Jean, and accept a general battle with the French, if Blucher would pledge himself come to his assistance with a single corps of 25,000 men. This was readily promised; and after allowing his men ample time for rest and refreshment, Wellington retired over about half the space between Quatre Bras and Brussels. He was pursued, but little molested by the main French army, which about noon of the 17th moved laterally from Ligny, and joined Ney's forces. which had advanced through Quatre Bras when the British abandoned that position. The Earl of Uxbridge, with the British cavalry, covered the retreat of the Duke's army, with great skill and gallantry; and a heavy thunderstorm, with torrents of rain, impeded the operations of the French pursuing squadrons. The Duke still expected that the French would endeavor to turn his right, and march upon Brussels by the high road that leads through Mons and Hal. In order to counteract this anticipated maneuver, he stationed a force of 18,000 men, under Prince Frederick of the Netherlands, at Hal, with orders to maintain himself there if attacked, as long as possible. The Duke halted with the rest of his army at the position near Mont St. Jean, which, from a village in its neighborhood, has received the ever-memorable name of the field of Waterloo. Wellington was now about twelve miles distant, on a line running from west to east, from Wavre, where the Prussian army had now been completely reorganized and collected, and where it had been strengthened by the junction of Bulow's troops, which had taken no part in the battle of Ligny. Blucher sent, word from Wavre, to the Duke, that he was coming to help the English at Mont St. Jean, in the morning, not with one corps, but with his whole army. The fiery old man only stipulated that the combined armies, if not attacked by Napoleon on the 18th, should themselves attack him on the 19th. So far were Blucher and his army from being in the state of annihilation described in the boastful bulletin by which Napoleon informed the Parisians of his victory at Ligny. Indeed, the French Emperor seems himself to have been misinformed as to the extent of loss which he had inflicted on the Prussians, Had he known in what good order and with what undiminished spirit they were retiring, he would scarcely have delayed sending a large force to press them in their retreat until noon on the 17th. Such, however, was the case. It was about that time that he confided to Marshal Grouchy the duty of pursuing the defeated Prussians, and preventing them from joining Wellington. He placed for this purpose 38,000 men and 96 guns under his orders. Violent complaints and recriminations passed afterwards between the Emperor and the marshal respecting the manner in which Grouchy attempted to perform this duty, and the reasons why he failed on the 18th to arrest the lateral movement of the Prussians from Wavre to



Waterloo. It is sufficient to remark here, that the force which Napoleon gave to Grouchy (though the utmost that the Emperor's limited means would allow) was insufficient to make head against the entire Prussian army, especially after Bulow's junction with Blucher. We shall presently have occasion to consider what opportunities were given to Grouchy during the 18th, and what he might have effected if he had been a man of original military genius.

But the failure of Grouchy was in truth mainly owing to the indomitable heroism of Blucher himself; who, though he had received severe personal injuries in the battle of Ligny, was as energetic and ready as ever in bringing his men into action again, and who had the resolution to expose a part of his army, under Thielman, to be overwhelmed by Grouchy at Wavre on the 18th, while he urged the march of the mass of his troops upon Waterloo "It is not at Wavre, but at Waterloo," said the old Field-Marshal, "that the campaign is to be decided;" and he risked a detachment, and won the campaign accordingly. Wellington and Blucher trusted each other as cordially, and cooperated as zealously, as formerly had been the case with Marlborough and Eugene.

It was in full reliance on Blucher's promise to join him, that the Duke stood his ground and fought at Waterloo; and those, who have ventured to impugn the Duke's capacity as a general, ought to have had common sense enough to perceive, that to charge the Duke with having won the battle of Waterloo by the help of the Prussians, is really to say that he won it by the very means on which he relied, and without the expectation of which the battle would not have been fought.

Napoleon himself has found fault with Wellington for not having retreated further, so as to complete a junction of his army with Blucher's, before he risked a general engagement. But as we have seen, the Duke justly considered it important to protect Brussels. He had reason to expect that his army could singly resist the French at Waterloo until the Prussians came up, and that on the Prussians joining there would be a sufficient force united under himself and Blucher, for completely overwhelming the enemy. And while Napoleon thus censures his great adversary, he involuntarily bears the highest possible testimony to the military character of the English, and proves decisively of what paramount importance was the battle to which he challenged his fearless opponent. Napoleon asks, "If the English army had been beaten at Waterloo, what would have been the use of those numerous bodies of troops, of Prussians, Austrians, Germans, and Spaniards, which were advancing to the Rhine, the Alps, and the Pyrenees?"

The strength of the army, under the Duke of Wellington at Waterloo was 49,608 infantry, 12,402 cavalry, and 5645 artillerymen with 156 guns. But of this total of 67,655 men, scarcely 24,000 were British, a circumstance of very serious importance, if Napoleon's own estimate of the relative value of troops of different nations is to be taken. In the Emperor's own words speaking of this campaign, "A French soldier would not be equal to more than one English soldier, but he would not be afraid to meet two Dutchmen, Prussians, or soldiers of the Confederation." There were about 6000 men, of the old German Legion, with the Duke; these were veteran troops, and of excellent quality. Of the rest of the army the Hanoverians and



Brunswickers proved themselves deserving of confidence and praise. But the Nassauers, Dutch, and Belgians were almost worthless; and not a few of them were justly suspected of a strong wish to fight, if they fought at all, under the French eagles rather than against them. Napoleon's army at Waterloo consisted of 48,950 infantry, 15,765 cavalry, 7832 artillerymen, being a total of 71,947 men, and 246 guns. They were the flower of the national forces of France; and of all the numerous gallant armies which that martial land has poured forth, never was there one braver, or better disciplined, or better led, than the host that took up its position at Waterloo on the morning of the 18th of June 1815.

Perhaps those who have not seen the field of battle at Waterloo, or the admirable model of the ground, and of the conflicting armies, which was executed by Captain Siborne, may gain a generally accurate idea of the localities, by picturing to themselves a valley between two and three miles long, of various breadths at different points, but generally not exceeding half a mile. On each side of the valley, there is a winding chain of low hills, running somewhat parallel with each other. The declivity from each of these ranges of hills to the intervening valley is gentle but not uniform, the undulations of the ground being frequent and considerable. The English army was posted on the northern, and the French army occupied the southern ridge. The artillery of each side thundered at the other from their respective heights throughout the day, and the charges of horse and foot were made across the valley that has been described. The village of Mont St. Jean is situate a little behind the center of the northern chain of hills, and the village of La Belle Alliance is close behind the center of the southern ridge. The high road from Charleroi to Brussels (a broad paved causeway) runs through both these villages, and bisects therefore both the English and the French positions. The line of this road was the line of Napoleon's intended advance on Brussels.

There are some other local particulars connected with the situation of each army, which it is necessary to bear in mind. The strength of the British position did not consist merely in the occupation of a ridge of high ground. A village and ravine, called Merk Braine, on the Duke of Wellington's extreme right, secured his flank from being turned on that side; and on his extreme left, two little hamlets called La Haye and Papelotte, gave a similar, though a slighter, protection. Behind the whole British position is the extensive forest of Soignies. As no attempt was made by the French to turn either of the English flanks, and the battle was a day of straightforward fighting, it is chiefly important to ascertain what posts there were in front of the British line of hills, of which advantage could be taken either to repel or facilitate an attack; and it will be seen that there were two, and that each was of very great importance in the action. In front of the British right, that is to say, on the northern slope of the valley towards its western end, there stood an old fashioned Flemish farm-house called Goumoat, or Hougoumont, with out-buildings and a garden, and with copse of beech trees of about two acres in extent round it. This was strongly garrisoned by the allied troops; and, while it was in their possession, it was difficult for the enemy to press on and force the British right wing. On the other hand,



if the enemy could take it, it would be difficult for that wing to keep its ground on the heights, with a strong post held adversely in its immediate front, being one that would give much shelter to the enemy's marksmen, and great facilities for the sudden concentration of attacking columns. Almost immediately in front of the British center, and not so far down the slope as Hougoumont, there was another farm-house, of a smaller size, called La Haye Sainte, [Not to be confounded with the hamlet of La Haye at the extreme left of the British line.] which was also held by the British troops, and the occupation of which was found to be of very serious consequence.

With respect to the French position, the principle feature to be noticed is the village of Planchenoit, which lay a little in the rear of their right (i.e. on the eastern side), and which proved to be of great importance in aiding them to check the advance of the Prussians.

Napoleon, in his memoirs, and other French writers, have vehemently blamed the Duke for having given battle in such a position as that of Waterloo. They particularly object that the Duke fought without having the means of a retreat, if the attacks of his enemy had proved successful; and that the English army, if once broken, must have lost all its guns and materiel in its flight through the Forest of Soignies, that lay in its rear. In answer to these censures, instead of merely referring to the event of the battle as proof of the correctness of the Duke's judgment, it is to be observed that many military critics of high authority, have considered the position of Waterloo to have been admirably adapted for the Duke's purpose of protecting Brussels by a battle; and that certainly the Duke's opinion in favor of it was not lightly or hastily formed. It is a remarkable fact (mentioned in the speech of Lord Bathurst when moving the vote of thanks to the Duke in the House of Lords), that when the Duke of Wellington was passing through Belgium in the preceding summer of 1814, he particularly noticed the strength of the position of Waterloo, and made a minute of it at the time, stating to those who were with him, that if it ever should be his fate to fight a battle in that quarter for the protection of Brussels, he should endeavor to do so in that position. And with respect to the Forest of Soignies, which the French (and some few English) critics have thought calculated to prove so fatal to a retreating force, the Duke on the contrary believed it to be a post that might have proved of infinite value to his army in the event of his having been obliged to give way. The Forest of Soignies has no thicket or masses of close growing trees. It consists of tall beeches, and is everywhere passable for men and horses. The artillery could have been withdrawn by the broad road which traverses it towards Brussels; and in the meanwhile a few regiments of resolute infantry could have, held the forest and kept the pursuers in check. One of the best writers on the Waterloo campaign, Captain Pringle, well observes that "every person, the least experienced in war, knows the extreme difficulty of forcing infantry from a wood which cannot be turned." The defense of the Bois de Bossu near Quatre Bras on the 16th of June had given a good proof of this; and the Duke of Wellington, when speaking in after years of the possible events that might have followed if he had been beaten back from the open field of Waterloo, pointed to the wood of Soignies as his secure rallying place, saying, "they never could have beaten



us so, that we could not have held the wood against them." He was always confident that he could have made good that post until joined by the Prussians, upon whose cooperation he throughout depended.

As has been already mentioned, the Prussians, on the morning of the 18th, were at Wavre, which is about twelve miles to the east of the field of battle of Waterloo. The junction of Bulow's division had more than made up for the loss sustained at Ligny; and leaving Thielman with about seventeen thousand men to hold his ground, as he best could, against the attack which Grouchy was about to make on Wavre. Bulow and Blucher moved with the rest of the Prussians through St. Lambert upon Waterloo. It was calculated that they would be there by three o'clock: but the extremely difficult nature of the ground which they had to traverse, rendered worse by the torrents of rain that had just, fallen, delayed them long on their twelve miles' march.

An army, indeed, less animated by bitter hate against the enemy than was the Prussian, and under a less energetic chief than Blucher, would have failed altogether in effecting a passage through the swamps, into which the incessant rain had transformed the greater part of the ground through which it was necessary to move not only with columns of foot, but with cavalry and artillery. At one point of the march, on entering the defile of St. Lambert the spirits of the Prussians almost gave way. Exhausted in the attempts to extricate and drag forward the heavy guns, the men began to murmur. Blucher came to the spot, and heard cries from the ranks of - "We cannot get on." "But you must get on," was the old Field Marshal's answer. "I have pledged my word to Wellington, and you surely will not make me break it. Only exert yourselves for a few hours longer, and we are sure of victory." This appeal from old "Marshal Forwards," as the Prussian soldiers loved to call Blucher, had its wonted effect. The Prussians again moved forward, slowly, indeed, and with pain and toil; but still they moved forward.

The French and British armies lay on the open field during the wet and stormy night of the 17th: and when the dawn of the memorable 18th of June broke, the rain was still descending heavily upon Waterloo. The rival nations rose from their dreary bivouacs, and began to form, each on the high ground which it occupied. Towards nine the weather grew clearer, and each army was able to watch the position and arrangements of the other on the opposite side of the valley.

The Duke of Wellington drew up his army in two lines; the principal one being stationed near the crest of the ridge of hills already described, and the other being arranged along the slope in the rear of his position. Commencing from the eastward, on the extreme left of the first or main line, were Vivian's and Vandeleur's brigades of light cavalry, and the fifth Hanoverian brigade of infantry, under Von Vincke.

Then came Best's fourth Hanoverian brigade. Detachments from these bodies of troops occupied the little villages of Papelotte and La Haye, down the hollow in advance of the left of the Duke's position. To the right of Best's Hanoverians, Bylandt's brigade of Dutch and Belgian infantry was drawn up on the outer slope of the heights. Behind them were the ninth brigade of British INFANTRY under Pack; and to the right of these last, but more in advance, stood the eighth brigade of English infantry under Kempt. These were close to the Charleroi road, and to the center



of the entire position. These two English brigades, with the fifth Hanoverian, made up the fifth division, commanded by Sir Thomas Picton. Immediately to their right, and westward of the Charleroi road, stood the third division, commanded by General Alten, and consisting of Ompteda's brigade of the King's German legion, and Kielmansegge's Hanoverian brigade. The important post of La Haye Sainte, which it will be remembered lay in front of the Duke's center, close to the Charleroi road, was garrisoned with troops from this division. Westward, and on the right of Kielmansegge's Hanoverians, stood the fifth British brigade under Halkett; and behind, Kruse's Nassau brigade was posted. On the right of Halkett's men stood the English Guards. They were in two brigades, one commanded by Maitland, and the other by Byng. The entire division was under General Cooke. The buildings and gardens of Hougomont, which lay immediately under the height, on which stood the British Guards, were principally manned by detachments from Byng's brigade, aided by some brave Hanoverian rifle-men, and accompanied by a battalion of a Nassau regiment. On a plateau in the rear of Cooke's division of Guards, and inclining westward towards the village of Mark Braine, were Clinton's second infantry division, composed of Adams's third brigade of light infantry, Du Flat's first brigade of the king's German legion, and the third Hanoverian brigade under Colonel Halkett.

The Duke formed his second line of cavalry. This only extended behind the right and center of his first line. The largest mass was drawn up behind the brigades of infantry in the center, on either side of the Charleroi road. The brigade of household cavalry under Lord Somerset was on the immediate right of the road, and on the left of it was Ponsonby's brigade. Behind these were Trip's and Ghingy's brigades of Dutch and Belgian horse. The 3rd Hussars of the King's German Legion were to the right of Somerset's brigade. To the right of these, and behind Maitland's infantry, stood the 3rd Brigade under Dornberg, consisting of the 23rd English Light Dragoons, and the regiments of Light Dragoons of the King's German Legion. The last cavalry on the right was Grant's brigade, stationed in the rear of the Foot-Guards. The corps of Brunswickers, both horse and foot, and the 10th British brigade of foot, were in reserve behind the center and right of the entire position. The artillery was distributed at convenient intervals along the front of the whole line. Besides the generals who have been mentioned, Lord Hill, Lord Uxbridge (who had the general command of the cavalry), the Prince of Orange, and General Chasse, were present, and acting under the Duke.

Prince Frederick's force remained at Hal, and took no part in the battle of the 18th. The reason for this arrangement (which has been much cavilled at), may be best given in the words of Baron Muffling:- "The Duke had retired from Quatre Bras in three columns, by three chaises; and on the evening of the 17th, Prince Frederick of orange was at Hal, Lord Hill at Braine la Leud, and the Prince of Orange with the reserve, at Mont St. Jean. This distribution was necessary, as Napoleon could dispose of these three roads for his advance on Brussels. Napoleon on the 17th had pressed on by Genappe as far as Rossomme. On the two other roads no enemy had yet shown himself. On the 18th the offensive was taken by Napoleon on its greatest scale, but still the Nivelles road was not overstepped by his left wing These



circumstances made it possible to draw Prince Frederick to the army, which would certainly have been done if entirely new circumstances had not arisen. The Duke had, twenty-four hours before, pledged himself to accept a battle at Mont St. Jean if Blucher would assist him there with one corps, of 25,000 men. This being promised, the Duke was taking his measures for defense, when he learned that, in addition to the one corps promised, Blucher was actually already on the march with his whole force, to break in by Planchenoit on Napoleon's flank and rear. If three corps of the Prussian army should penetrate by the unguarded plateau of Russomme, which was not improbable, Napoleon would be thrust from his line of retreat by Genappe, and might possibly lose even that by Nivelles. In this case Prince Frederick, with his 19,000 men (who might be accounted superfluous at Mont, St. Jean:, might have rendered the most essential service." It is also worthy of observation that Napoleon actually detached a force of 2000 cavalry to threaten Hal, though they returned to the main French camp during the night of the 17th.

On the opposite heights the French army was drawn up in two general lines, with the entire force of the Imperial Guards, cavalry as well as infantry, in rear of the center, as a reserve. The first line of the French army was formed of the two corps commanded by Count d'Erlon and Count Reille. D'Erlon's corps was on the right, that is, eastward of the Charleroi road, and consisted of four divisions of infantry under Generals Durette, Marcognet, Alix, and Donzelot, and of one division of light cavalry under General Jaquinot. Count Reille's corps formed the left or western wing, and was formed of Bachelu's, Foy's, and Jerome Bonaparte's divisions of infantry, and of Pire's division of cavalry. The right wing of the second general French line was formed of Milhaud's corps, consisting of two divisions of heavy cavalry. The left wing of this line was formed by Kellerman's cavalry corps, also in two divisions. Thus each of the corps of infantry that composed the first line had a corps of cavalry behind it; but the second line consisted also of Lobau's corps of infantry, and Domont and Subervie's divisions of light cavalry; these three bodies of troops being drawn up on either side of La Belie Alliance, and forming the center of the second line. The third, or reserve line, had its center composed of the infantry of the Imperial Guard. Two regiments of grenadiers and two of chasseurs, formed the foot of the Old Guard under General Friant. The Middle Guard, under Count Morand, was similarly composed; while two regiments of voltigeurs, and two of tirailleurs, under Duhesme, constituted the Young Guard. The chasseurs and lancers of the Guard were on the right of the infantry, under Lefebvre Desnouettes; and the grenadiers and dragoons of the Guards, under Guyot, were on the left. All the French corps comprised, besides their cavalry and infantry regiments, strong batteries of horse artillery; and Napoleon's numerical superiority in guns was of deep importance throughout the action.

Besides the leading generals who have been mentioned as commanding particular corps, Ney and Soult were present, and acted as the Emperor's lieutenants in the battle.

English military critics have highly eulogized the admirable arrangement which Napoleon made of his forces of each arm, so as to give him the most ample means of sustaining, by an



immediate and sufficient support, any attack, from whatever point he might direct it; and of drawing promptly together a strong force, to resist any attack that might be made on himself in any part of the field. When his troops were all arrayed, he rode along the lines, receiving everywhere the enthusiastic cheers from his men, of whose entire devotion to him his assurance was now doubly sure. On the northern side of the valley the Duke's army was also drawn up and ready to meet the menaced attack.

Wellington had caused, on the preceding night, every brigade and corps to take up its station on or near the part of the ground which it was attended to hold in the coming battle. He had slept a few hours at his headquarters in the village of Waterloo; and rising on the 18th, while it was yet deep night, he wrote several letters to the Governor of Antwerp, to the English Minister at Brussels, and other official personages, in which he expressed his confidence that all would go well, but "as it was necessary to provide against serious losses should any accident occur," he gave a series of judicious orders for what should be done in the rear of the army, in the event of the battle going against the Allies. He also, before he left the village of Waterloo, saw to the distribution of the reserves of ammunition which had been parked there, so that supplies should be readily forwarded to every part of the line of battle, where they might be required. The Duke, also, personally inspected the arrangements that had been made for receiving the wounded, and providing temporary hospitals in the houses in the rear of the army. Then, mounting a favorite charger, a small thorough-bred chestnut horse, named "Copenhagen," Wellington rode forward to the range of hills where his men were posted. Accompanied by his staff and by the Prussian general Muffling, he rode along his lines, carefully inspecting all the details of his position. Hougoumont was the object of his special attention. He rode down to the southeastern extremity of its enclosures, and after having examined the nearest French troops, he made some changes in the disposition of his own men, who were to defend that important post.

Having given his final orders about Hougoumont the Duke galloped back to the high ground in the right center of his position; and halting there, sat watching the enemy on the opposite heights, and conversing with his staff with that cheerful serenity which was ever his characteristic in the hour of battle.

Not all brave men are thus gifted; and many a glance of anxious excitement must have been cast across the valley that separated the two hosts during the protracted pause which ensued between the completion of Napoleon's preparations for attack and the actual commencement of the contest. It was, indeed, an awful calm before the coming storm, when armed myriads stood gazing on their armed foes, scanning their number, their array, their probable powers of resistance and destruction, listening with throbbing hearts for the momentarily expected note of death; while visions of victory and glory came thronging on each soldier's high-strung brain, not unmingled with recollections of the home which his fall might soon leave desolate, nor without shrinking nature sometimes prompting the cold thought, that in a few moments he might be writhing in agony, or lie a trampled and mangled mass of clay on the grass now waving so freshly and purely before him. Such thoughts will arise in human breasts,



though the brave man soon silences "the child within us that trembles before death," and nerves himself for the coming struggle by the mental preparation which Xenophon has finely called "the soldier's arraying his own soul for battle." Well, too, may we hope and believe that many a spirit sought aid from a higher and holier source; and that many a fervent though silent prayer arose on that Sabbath morn (the battle of Waterloo was fought on a Sunday) to the Lord of Sabaoth, the God of Battles, from the ranks, whence so many thousands were about to appear that day before His judgment-seat.

Not only to those who were thus present as spectators and actors in the dread drama, but to all Europe, the decisive contest then impending between the rival French and English nations, each under its chosen chief, was the object of exciting interest and deepest solicitude. "Never, indeed, had two such generals as the Duke of Wellington and the Emperor Napoleon encountered since the day when Scipio and Hannibal met at Zama."

The two great champions, who now confronted each other, were equals in years, and each had entered the military profession at the same early age. The more conspicuous stage, on which the French general's youthful genius was displayed, his heritage of the whole military power of the French Republic, the position on which for years he was elevated as sovereign head of an empire surpassing that of Charlemagne, and the dazzling results of his victories, which made and unmade kings, had given him a formidable pre-eminence in the eyes of mankind. Military men spoke with justly rapturous admiration of the brilliancy of his first Italian campaigns, when he broke through the pedantry of traditional tactics, and with a small but promptly wielded force, shattered army after army of the Austrians, conquered provinces and capitals, dictated treaties, and annihilated or created states. The iniquity of his Egyptian expedition was too often forgotten in contemplating the skill and boldness with which he destroyed the Mameluke cavalry at the Pyramids, and the Turkish infantry at Aboukir. None could forget the marvelous passage of the Alps in 1800, or the victory of Marengo, which wrested Italy back from Austria, and destroyed the fruit of twenty victories, which the enemies of France had gained over her in the absence of her favorite chief. Even higher seemed the glories of his German campaigns, the triumphs of Ulm, of Austerlitz, of Jena, of Wagram. Napoleon's disasters in Russia, in 1812, were imputed by his admirers to the elements; his reverses in Germany, in 1813, were attributed by them to treachery: and even those two calamitous years had been signalized by his victories at Borodino, at Lutzen, at Bautzen, at Dresden, and at Hanau. His last campaign, in the early months of 1814, was rightly cited as the, most splendid exhibition of his military genius, when, with a far inferior army, he long checked and frequently defeated the vast hosts that were poured upon France. His followers fondly hoped that the campaign of 1815 would open with another "week of miracles," like that which had seen his victories at Montmirail and Montereau. The laurel of Ligny was even now fresh upon his brows. Blucher had not stood before him; and who was the Adversary that now should bar the Emperor's way?

That Adversary had already overthrown the Emperor's best generals, and the Emperor's best armies; and, like Napoleon himself, had achieved a reputation in more than European wars.



Wellington was illustrious as the destroyer of the Mahratta power, as the liberator of Portugal and Spain, and the successful invader of Southern France. In early youth he had held high command in India; and had displayed eminent skill in planning and combining movements, and unrivaled celerity and boldness in execution. On his return to Europe several years passed away before any fitting opportunity was accorded for the exercise of his genius. In this important respect, Wellington, as a subject, and Napoleon, as a sovereign, were far differently situated. At length his appointment to the command in the Spanish Peninsula gave him the means of showing Europe that England had a general who could revive the glories of Crecy, of Poitiers, of Agincourt, of Blenheim, and of Ramilies. At the head of forces always numerically far inferior to the armies with which Napoleon deluged the Peninsula; – thwarted by jealous and incompetent allies; – ill-supported by friends, and assailed by factious enemies at home Wellington maintained the war for seven years, unstained by any serious reverse, and marked by victory in thirteen pitched battles, at Vimiera, the Douro, Talavera, Basic, Founts donor, Salamanca., Victoria, the Pyrenees, the Bidassoa, the Nive, the Nivelle, Orthes, and Toulouse. Junot, Victor, Massena, Ney, Marmont, and Jourdain, – marshals whose names were the terrors of continental Europe – had been baffled by his skill, and smitten down by his energy, while he liberated the kingdoms of the Peninsula from them and their Imperial master. In vain did Napoleon at last dispatch Soult, the ablest of his lieutenants, to turn the tide of Wellington's success, and defend France against the English invader. Wellington met Soult's maneuvers with superior skill, and his boldness with superior vigor. When Napoleon's first abdication, in 1814, suspended hostilities, Wellington was master of the fairest districts of Southern France; and had under him a veteran army, with which (to use his own expressive phrase) "he felt he could have gone anywhere and done anything." The fortune of war had hitherto kept separate the orbits in which Napoleon and he had moved. Now, on the ever memorable 18th of June, 1815, they met at last.

It is, indeed, remarkable that Napoleon, during his numerous campaigns in Spain as well as other countries, not only never encountered the Duke of Wellington before the day of Waterloo, but that he was never until then personally engaged with British troops, except at the siege of Toulon, in 1793. which was the very first incident of his military career. Many, however, of the French generals who were with him in 1815, knew well, by sharp experience, what English soldiers were, and what the leader was who now headed them. Ney, Foy, and other officers who had served in the Peninsula. warned Napoleon that he would find the English infantry "very devils in fight." The Emperor, however, persisted in employing the old system of attack, with which the French generals often succeeded against continental troops, but which had always failed against the English in the Peninsula. He adhered to his usual tactics of employing the order of the column; a mode of attack probably favored by him (as Sir Walter Scott remarks) on account of his faith in the extreme valor of the French officers by whom the column was headed. It is a threatening formation, well calculated to shake the firmness of ordinary foes; but which, when steadily met, as the English have met it, by heavy volleys of musketry from an



extended line, followed up by a resolute bayonet charge, has always resulted in disaster to the assailants.

See especially Sir W. Napier's glorious pictures of the battles of Busaco and Albuera. The theoretical advantages of the attack in column, and its peculiar fitness for a French army, are set forth in the Chevalier Folard's "Traite de la Colonne," prefixed to the first volume of his "Polybius." See also the preface to his sixth volume.

It was approaching noon before the action commenced. Napoleon, in his Memoirs, gives as the reason for this delay, the miry state of the ground through the heavy rain of the preceding night and day, which rendered it impossible for cavalry or artillery to maneuver on it till a few hours of dry weather had given it its natural consistency. It has been supposed, also, that he trusted to the effect which the sight of the imposing array of his own forces was likely to produce on the part of the allied army. The Belgian regiments had been tampered with; and Napoleon had well-founded hopes of seeing them quit the Duke of Wellington in a body, and range themselves under his own eagles. The Duke, however, who knew and did not trust them, had guarded against the risk of this, by breaking up the corps of Belgians, and distributing them in separate regiments among troops on whom he could rely.

At last, at about half-past eleven o'clock, Napoleon began the battle by directing a powerful force from his left wing under his brother, Prince Jerome, to attack Hougoumont. Column after column of the French now descended from the west of the southern heights, and assailed that post with fiery valor, which was encountered with the most determined bravery. The French won the copse round the house, but a party of the British Guards held the house itself throughout the day. The whole of Byng's brigade was required to man this hotly-contested post. Amid shell and shot, and the blazing fragments of part of the buildings, this obstinate contest was continued. But still the English were firm in Hougoumont; though the French occasionally moved forward in such numbers as enabled them to surround and mask it with part of their troops from their left wing, while others pressed onward up the slope, and assailed the British right.

The cannonade, which commenced at first between the British right and the French left, in consequence: of the attack on Hougoumont, soon became general along both lines; and, about one o'clock, Napoleon directed a grand attack to be made under Marshal Ney upon the center and left wing of the allied army. For this purpose four columns of infantry, amounting to about eighteen thousand men, were collected, supported by a strong division of cavalry under the celebrated Kellerman; and seventy-four guns were brought forward ready to be posted on the ridge of a little undulation of the ground in the interval between the two principal chains of heights, so as to bring their fire to bear on the Duke's line at a range of about seven hundred yards. By the combined assault of these formidable forces, led on by Ney, "the bravest of the brave," Napoleon hoped to force the left center of the British position, to take La Haye Sainte, and then pressing forward, to occupy also the farm of Mont St. Jean. He then could cut the mass of Wellington's troops off from their line of retreat upon Brussels, and from their own left, and also completely sever them from any Prussian troops that might be approaching.



The columns destined for this great and decisive operation descended majestically from the French line of hills, and gained the ridge of the intervening eminence, on which the batteries that supported them were now ranged. As the columns descended again from this eminence, the seventy-four guns opened over their heads with terrible effect upon the troops of the Allies that were stationed on the heights to the left of the Charleroi road. One of the French columns kept to the east, and attacked the extreme left of the Allies; the other three continued to move rapidly forwards upon the left center of the allied position. The front line of the Allies here was composed of Bylandt's brigade of Dutch and Belgians. As the French columns moved up the south ward slope of the height on which the Dutch and Belgians stood, and the skirmishers in advance began to open their fire, Bylandt's entire brigade turned and fled in disgraceful and disorderly panic; but there were men more worthy of the name behind.

In this part of the second line of the Allies were posted Pack and Kempt's brigades of English infantry, which had suffered severely at Quatre Bras. But Picton was here as general of division, and not even Ney himself surpassed in resolute bravery that stern and fiery spirit. Picton brought his two brigades forward, side by side, in a thin two-deep line. Thus joined together, they were not three thousand strong. With these Picton had to make head against the three victorious French columns, upwards of four times that strength, and who, encouraged by the easy rout of the Dutch and Belgians, now came confidently over the ridge of the hill. The British infantry stood firm; and as the French halted and began to deploy into line, Picton seized the critical moment. He shouted in his stentorian voice to Kempt's brigade: "A volley, and then charge!" at a distance of less than thirty yards that volley was poured upon the devoted first, sections of the nearest column; and then, with a fierce hurrah, the British dashed in with the bayonet. Picton was shot dead as he rushed forward, but his men pushed on with the cold steel. The French reeled back in confusion. Pack's infantry had checked the other two columns, and down came a whirlwind of British horse on the whole mass, sending them staggering from the crest of the hill, and cutting them down by whole battalions. Ponsonby's brigade of heavy cavalry (the Union Brigade, as it was called, from its being made up of the British Royals, the Scots Greys, and the Irish Inniskillings), did this good service. On went the horsemen amid the wrecks of the French columns, capturing two eagles, and two thousand prisoners; onwards still they galloped, and sabered the artillerymen of Ney's seventy four advanced guns; then severing the traces, and cutting the throats of the artillery horses, they rendered these guns totally useless to the French throughout the remainder of the day. While thus far advanced beyond the British position and disordered by success, they were charged by a large body of French lancers, and driven back with severe loss, till Vandeleur's light horse came to their aid, and beat off the French lancers in their turn.

Equally unsuccessful with the advance of the French infantry in this grand attack, had been the efforts of the French cavalry who moved forward in support of it, along the east of the Charleroi road. Somerset's cavalry of the English Household Brigade had been launched, on the right of Picton's division,



against the French horse, at the same time that the English Union Brigade of heavy horse charged the French infantry columns on the left.

Somerset's brigade was formed of the Life Guards, the Blues, and the Dragoon Guards. The hostile cavalry, which Kellerman led forward, consisted chiefly of Cuirassiers. This steel-clad mass of French horsemen rode down some companies of German infantry, near La Haye Sainte, and flushed with success, they bounded onward to the ridge of the British position. The English Household Brigade, led on by the Earl of Uxbridge in person, spurred forward to the encounter, and in an instant, the two adverse lines of strong swordsmen, on their strong steeds, dashed furiously together. A desperate and sanguinary hand-to-hand fight ensued, in which the physical superiority of the Anglo-Saxon guided by equal skill, and animated with equal valor, was made decisively manifest. Back went the chosen cavalry of France; and after them, in hot pursuit, spurred the English Guards. They went forward as far and as fiercely as their comrades of the Union Brigade; and, like them, the Household cavalry suffered severely before they regained the British position, after their magnificent charge and adventurous pursuit.

Napoleon's grand effort to break the English left center, had thus completely failed; and his right wing was seriously weakened by the heavy loss which it had sustained. Hougoumont was still being assailed, and was still successfully resisting. Troops were now beginning to appear at the edge of the horizon on Napoleon's right, which he too well knew to be Prussian, though he endeavored to persuade his followers that they were Grouchy's men coming to their aid.

Grouchy was in fact now engaged at Wavre with his whole force, against Thielman's single Prussian corps, while the other three corps of the Prussian army were moving without opposition, save from the difficulties of the ground, upon Waterloo. Grouchy believed, on the 17th, and caused Napoleon to believe, that the Prussian army was retreating by lines of march remote from Waterloo upon Namur and Maestricht Napoleon learned early on the 18th, that there were Prussians in Wavre, and felt jealous about the security of his own right. He accordingly, before he attacked the English, sent Grouchy orders to engage the Prussians at Wavre without delay, and to approach the main French army, so as to unite his communication with the Emperor's. Grouchy entirely neglected this last part of his instructions; and in attacking the Prussians whom he found at Wavre, he spread his force more and more towards his right, that is to say, in the direction most remote from Napoleon. He thus knew nothing of Blucher's and Bulow's flank march upon Waterloo, till six in the evening of the 18th, when he received a note which Soult by Napoleon's orders had sent off from the field of battle at Waterloo at one o'clock, to inform Grouchy that Bulow was coming over the heights of St. Lambert, on the Emperor's right flank, and directing Grouchy to approach and join the main army instantly and crush Bulow en flagrant delit. It was then too late for Grouchy to obey; but it is remarkable that as early as noon on the 18th, and while Grouchy had not proceeded as far as Wavre, he and his suite heard the sound of heavy cannonading in the direction of Planchenoit and Mont St. Jean. General Gerard, who was with Grouchy, implored him to march towards the



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cannonade, and join his operations with those of Napoleon, who was evidently engaged with the English. Grouchy refused to do so, or even to detach part, of his force in that direction. He said that his instructions were to fight the Prussians at Wavre. He marched upon Wavre and fought for the rest of the day with Thielman accordingly, while Blucher and Bulow were attacking the Emperor.

[I have heard the remark made that Grouchy twice had in his hands the power of changing the destinies of Europe, and twice wanted nerve to act: first when he flinched from landing the French army at Bantry Bay in 1796 (he was second in command to Hoche whose ship was blown back by a storm). and secondly, when he failed to lend his whole force from Wavre to the scene of decisive conflict at Waterloo. But such were the arrangements of the Prussian General, that even if Grouchy had marched upon Waterloo, he would have been held in check by the nearest Prussian corps, or certainly by the two nearest ones, while the rest proceeded to join Wellington. This, however, would have diminished the Number of Prussians who appeared at Waterloo, and (what is still more important) would have kept them back to a later hour.

There are some very valuable remarks on this subject in the 70th No. of the "Quarterly," in an article on the "Life of Blucher," usually attributed to Sir Francis Head. The Prussian writer, General Clausewitz, is there cited as "expressing a positive opinion, in which every military critic but a Frenchman must concur, that, even had the whole of Grouchy's force been at Napoleon's disposal, the Duke had nothing to fear pending Blucher's arrival.

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"The Duke is often talked of as having exhausted his reserves in the action. This is another gross error, which Clausewitz has thoroughly disposed of. He enumerates the tenth British brigade, the division of Chasse, and the cavalry of Collaert, as having been little or not at all engaged; and he might have also added two brigades of light cavalry.' The fact, also, that Wellington did not at any part of the day order up Prince Frederick's corps from Hal, is a conclusive proof that the Duke was not so distressed as some writers have represented. Hal is not ten miles from the field of Waterloo.]

Napoleon had witnessed with bitter disappointment the rout of his troops, - foot, horse, and artillery, - which attacked the left center of the English, and the obstinate resistance which the garrison of Hougoumont opposed to all the exertions of his left wing. He now caused the batteries along the line of high ground held by him to be strengthened, and for some time an unremitting and most destructive cannonade raged across the valley, to the partial cessation of other conflict. But the superior fire of the French artillery, though it weakened, could not break the British line, and more close and summary measures were requisite.

It was now about half-past three o'clock; and though Wellington's army had suffered severely by the unremitting cannonade, and in the late desperate encounter, no part of the British position had been forced. Napoleon determined therefore



to try what effect he could produce on the British center and right by charges of his splendid cavalry, brought on in such force that the Duke's cavalry could not check them. Fresh troops were at the same time sent to assail La Haye Sainte and Hougoumont, the possession of these posts being the Emperor's unceasing object. Squadron after squadron of the French cuirassiers accordingly ascended the slopes on the Duke's right, and rode forward with dauntless courage against the batteries of the British artillery in that part of the field. The artillery-men were driven from their guns, and the cuirassiers cheered loudly at their supposed triumph. But the Duke had formed his infantry in squares, and the cuirassiers charged in vain against; the impenetrable hedges of bayonets, while the fire from the inner ranks of the squares told with terrible effect on their squadrons. Time after time they rode forward with invariably the same result.: and as they receded from each attack the British artillery-men rushed forward from the centers of the squares, where they had taken refuge, and plied their guns on the retiring horsemen.

On came the whirlwind—like the last
But fiercest sweep of tempest-blast—
On came the whirlwind — steel-gleams broke
Like lightning through the rolling smoke;
The war was waked anew,
Three hundred cannon-mouths roar'd loud,
And from their throats, with flash and cloud,
Their showers of iron threw.
Beneath their fire, in full career,
Rush'd on the ponderous cuirassier,
The lancer couch'd his ruthless spear,
And hurrying as to havoc near,
The cohorts' eagles flew
In one dark torrent, broad and strong,
The advancing onset roll'd along,
Forth harbinger'd by fierce acclaim,
That, from the shroud of smoke and flame,
Peal'd wildly the imperial name.
But on the British heart were lost
The terrors of the charging host;
For not an eye the storm that view'd
Changed its proud glance of fortitude,
Nor was one forward footstep staid,
As dropp'd the dying and the dead.
Fast as their ranks the thunders tear,
Fast they renew'd each serried square;
And on the wounded and the slain
Closed their diminish'd files again,
Till from their line scarce spears' lengths three
Emerging from the smoke they see
Helmet, and plume, and panoply,—
Then waked their fire at once!
Each musketeer's revolving knell,
As fast, as regularly fell,
As when they practice to display
Their discipline on festal day.
Then down went helm and lance,
Down were the eagle banners sent,
Down reeling steeds and riders went,
Corslets were pierced, and pennons rent;
And, to augment the fray,
Wheel'd full against their staggering flanks.
The English horsemen's foaming ranks
Forced their resistless way.
Then to the musket-knell succeeds
The clash of swords—the neigh of steeds—
As plies the smith his clanging trade,



Against the cuirass rang the blade;
And while amid their close array
The well-served cannon rent their way,
And while amid their scatter'd band
Raged the fierce rider's bloody brand,
Recoil'd in common rout and fear,
Lancer and guard and cuirassier,
Horsemen and foot,—a mingled host,
Their leaders fall'n, their standards lost. — Scott.

Nearly the whole of Napoleon's magnificent body of heavy cavalry was destroyed in these fruitless attempts upon the British right. But in another part of the field fortune favored him for a time. Two French columns of infantry from Donzelot's division took La Haye Sainte between six and seven o'clock, and the means were now given for organizing another formidable attack on the center of the Allies.

There was no time to be lost—Blucher and Bulow were beginning to press hard upon the French right. As early as five o'clock, Napoleon had been obliged to detach Lobau's infantry and Domont's horse to check these new enemies. They succeeded in doing so for a time; but as larger numbers of the Prussians came on the field, they turned Lobau's right flank, and sent a strong force to seize the village of Planchenoit, which, it will be remembered, lay in the rear of the French right.

The design of the Allies was not merely to prevent Napoleon from advancing upon Brussels, but to cut off his line of retreat and utterly destroy his army. The defense of Planchenoit therefore became absolutely essential for the safety of the French, and Napoleon was obliged to send his Young Guard to occupy that village, which was accordingly held by them with great gallantry against the reiterated assaults of the Prussian left, under Bulow. Three times did the Prussians fight their way into Planchenoit, and as often did the French drive them out: the contest was maintained with the fiercest desperation on both sides, such being the animosity between the two nations that quarter was seldom given or even asked. Other Prussian forces were now appearing on the field nearer to the English left; whom also Napoleon kept in check, by troops detached for that purpose. Thus a large part of the French army was now thrown back on a line at right angles with the line of that portion which still confronted and assailed the English position. But this portion was now numerically inferior to the force under the Duke of Wellington, which Napoleon had been assailing throughout the day, without gaining any other advantage than the capture of La Haye Sainte. It is true that, owing to the gross misconduct of the greater part of the Dutch and Belgian troops, the Duke was obliged to rely exclusively on his English and German soldiers, and the ranks of these had been fearfully thinned; but the survivors stood their ground heroically, and opposed a resolute front to every forward movement of their enemies.

On no point of the British line was the pressure more severe than on Halkett's brigade in the right center, which was composed of battalions of the 30th, the 33rd, the 69th, and the 73rd British regiments. We fortunately can quote from the journal of a brave officer of the 30th, a narrative of what took place in this part of the field. The late Major Macready served at Waterloo in the light company of the 30th. The extent of the peril and the carnage which Halkett's brigade had to encounter,



may be judged of by the fact that this light company marched into the field three officers and fifty-one men, and that at the end of the battle they stood one officer and ten men. Major Macready's blunt soldierly account of what he actually saw and felt, gives a far better idea of the terrific scene, than can be gained from the polished generalizations which the conventional style of history requires, or even from the glowing stanzas of the poet. During the earlier part of the day Macready and his light company were thrown forward as skirmishers in front of the brigade; but when the French cavalry commenced their attacks on the British right center, he and his comrades were ordered back. The brave soldier thus himself describes what passed:

"Before the commencement of this attack our company and the Grenadiers of the 73rd were skirmishing briskly in the low ground, covering our guns, and annoying those of the enemy. The line of tirailleurs opposed to us was not stronger than our own, but on a sudden they were reinforced by numerous bodies, and several guns began playing on us with canister. Our poor fellows dropped very fast, and Colonel Vigoureux, Rumley, and Pratt, were carried off badly wounded in about two minutes. I was now commander of our company. We stood under this hurricane of small shot till Halkett sent to order us in, and I brought away about a third of the light bobs; the rest were killed or wounded, and I really wonder how one of them escaped. As our bugler was killed, I shouted and made signals to move by the left, in order to avoid the fire of our guns, and to put as good a face upon the business as possible.

"When I reached Lloyd's abandoned guns, I stood near them for about a minute to contemplate the scene: it was grand beyond description. Hougomont and its wood sent up a broad flame through the dark masses of smoke that overhung the field; beneath this cloud the French were indistinctly visible. Here a waving mass of long red feathers could be seen; there, gleams as from a sheet of steel showed that the cuirassiers were moving; 400 cannon were belching forth fire and death on every side; the roaring and shouting were indistinguishably commixed—together they gave me an idea of a laboring volcano. Bodies of infantry and cavalry were pouring down on us, and it was time to leave contemplation, so I moved towards our columns, which were standing up in square. Our regiment and 73rd formed one, and 33rd and 69th another; to our right beyond them were the Guards, and on our left the Hanoverians and German legion of our division. As I entered the rear face of our square I had to step over a body, and, looking down, recognized Harry Beere, an officer of our Grenadiers, who about an hour before shook hands with me, laughing, as I left the columns. I was on the usual terms of military intimacy with poor Harry — that is to say, if either of us had died a natural death, the other would have pitied him as a good fellow, and smiled at his neighbor as he congratulated him on the step; but seeing his Herculean frame and animated countenance thus suddenly stiff and motionless before me (I know not whence the feeling



could originate, for I had just seen my dearest friend drop, almost with indifference), the tears started in my eyes as I sighed out, 'Poor Harry!' The tear was not dry on my cheek when poor Harry was no longer thought of. In a few minutes after, the enemy's cavalry galloped up and crowned the crest of our position. Our guns were abandoned, and they formed between the two brigades, about a hundred paces in our front. Their first charge was magnificent. As soon as they quickened their trot into a gallop, the cuirassiers bent their heads, so that the peaks of their helmets looked like visors, and they seemed cased in armor from the plume to the saddle. Not a shot was fired till they were within thirty yards, when the word was given, and our men fired away at them. The effect was magical. Through the smoke we could see helmets falling, cavaliers starting from their seats with convulsive springs as they received our balls, horses plunging and rearing in the agonies of fright and pain, and crowds of the soldiery dismounted, part of the squadron in retreat, but the more daring remainder backing their horses to force them on our bayonets. Our fire soon disposed of these gentlemen. The main body reformed in our front, and rapidly and gallantly repeated their attacks. In fact, from this time (about four o'clock) till near six, we had a constant repetition of these brave but unavailing charges. There was no difficulty in repulsing them, but our ammunition decreased alarmingly. At length an artillery wagon galloped up, emptied two or three casks of cartridges into the square, and we were all comfortable.

"The best cavalry is contemptible to a steady and well supplied infantry regiment; even our men saw this, and began to pity the useless perseverance of their assailants, and, as they advanced, would growl out, 'Here come these fools again!' One of their superior officers tried a ruse de guerre, by advancing and dropping his sword, as though he surrendered; some of us were deceived by him, but Halkett ordered the men to fire, and he coolly retired, saluting us. Their devotion was invincible. One officer whom we had taken prisoner was asked what force Napoleon might have in the field, and replied with a smile of mingled derision and threatening, 'Vous verrez bientôt sa force, messieurs.' A private cuirassier was wounded and dragged into the square; his only cry was, 'Tuez donc, tuez, tuez moi, soldats!' and as one of our men dropped dead close to him, he seized his bayonet, and forced it into his own neck; but this not dispatching him, he raised up his cuirass, and plunging the bayonet into his stomach, kept working it about till he ceased to breathe.

"Though we constantly thrashed our steel-clad opponents, we found more troublesome customers in the round shot and grape, which all this time played on us with terrible effect, and fully avenged the cuirassiers. Often as the volleys created openings in our square would the cavalry dash on, but they were uniformly unsuccessful. A regiment on our right seemed sadly disconcerted, and at one moment was in



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considerable confusion. Halkett rode out to them, and seizing their color, waved it over his head, and restored them to something like order, though not before his horse was shot under him. at the height of their unsteadiness we got the order to 'right face' to move to their assistance; some of the men mistook it for 'right about face,' and faced accordingly, when old Major M'Laine, 73rd, called out, 'No, my boys, it's "right face;" you'll never hear the right about as long as a French. bayonet is in front of you!' In a few moments he was mortally wounded. A regiment of light Dragoons, by their facings either the 16th or 23rd, came up to our left and charged the cuirassiers. We cheered each other as they passed us; they did all they could, but were obliged to retire after a few minutes at the saber. A body of Belgian cavalry advanced for the same purpose, but, on passing our square, they stopped short. Our noble Halkett rode out to them and offered to charge at their head; it was of no use; the Prince of Orange came up and exhorted them to do their duty, but in vain. They hesitated till a few shots whizzed through them, when they turned about, and galloped like fury, or, rather, like fear. As they passed the right face of our square the men, irritated by their rascally conduct, unanimously took up their pieces and fired a volley into them, and many a good fellow was destroyed so cowardly.' "The enemy's cavalry were by this time nearly disposed of, and as they had discovered the inutility of their charges, they commenced annoying us by a spirited and well-directed carbine fire. While we were employed in this manner it was impossible to see farther than the columns on our right and left, but I imagine most of the army was similarly situated: all the British and Germans were doing their duty. About six o'clock I perceived some artillery trotting up our hill, which I knew by their caps to belong to the Imperial Guard. I had hardly mentioned this to a brother officer when two guns unlimbered within seventy paces of us, and, by their first discharge of grape, blew seven men into the center of the square. They immediately reloaded, and kept up a constant and destructive fire. It was noble to see our fellows fill up the gaps after every discharge. I was much distressed at this moment; having ordered up three of my light bobs, they had hardly taken their station when two of them fell horribly lacerated. One of them looked up in my face and uttered a sort of reproachful groan, and I involuntarily exclaimed, 'I couldn't help it.' We would willingly have charged these guns, but, had we deployed, the cavalry that flanked them would have made an example of us.

"The 'vivida vis animi' – the glow which fires one upon entering into action – had ceased; it was now to be seen which side had most bottom, and would stand killing longest. The Duke visited us frequently at this momentous period; he was coolness personified. As he crossed the rear face of our square a shell fell amongst our grenadiers, and he checked his horse to see its effect. Some men were blown to pieces by the explosion,



and he merely stirred the rein of his charger, apparently as little concerned at their fate as at his own danger. No leader ever possessed so fully the confidence of his soldiery – wherever he appeared, a murmur of ‘silence – stand to your front – here’s the Duke,’ was heard through the column, and then all was steady as on a parade. His aides-de-camp, Colonels Canning and Gordon, fell near our square, and the former died within it. As he came near us late in the evening, Halkett rode out to him and represented our weak state, begging his Grace to afford us a little support. ‘It’s impossible, Halkett,’ said he. And our general replied, ‘If so, sir, you may depend on the brigade to a man!’ All accounts of the battle show that the Duke was ever present at each spot where danger seemed the most pressing; inspiriting his men by a few homely and good humored words; and restraining their impatience to be led forward to attack in their turn. – “Hard pounding this, gentlemen: we will try who can pound the longest;” was his remark to a battalion, on which the storm from the French guns was pouring with peculiar fury. Riding up to one of the squares, which had been dreadfully weakened, and against which a fresh attack of French cavalry was coming, he called to them: “Stand firm, my lads; what will they say of this in England?” As he rode along another part of the line where the men had for some time been falling fast beneath the enemy’s cannonade, without having any close fighting, a murmur reached his ear of natural eagerness to advance and do something more than stand still to be shot at. The Duke called to them: “Wait a little longer, my lads, and you shall have your wish.” The men were instantly satisfied and steady. It was, indeed, indispensable for the Duke to bide his time. The premature movement of a single corps down from the British line of heights, would have endangered the whole position, and have probably made Waterloo a second Hastings.

But the Duke inspired all under him with his own spirit of patient firmness. When other generals besides Halkett sent to him, begging for reinforcements, or for leave to withdraw corps which were reduced to skeletons the answer was the same: “It is impossible; you must hold your ground to the last man, and all will be well.” He gave a similar reply to some of his staff, who asked instructions from him, so that, in the event of his falling, his successor might follow out his plan. He answered, “My plan is simply to stand my ground here to the last, man.” His personal danger was indeed imminent throughout the day; and though he escaped without injury to himself or horse, one only of his numerous staff was equally fortunate.

“As far as the French accounts would lead us to infer, it appears that the losses among Napoleon’s staff were comparatively trifling. On this subject, perhaps the marked contrast afforded by the following anecdotes, which have been related to me on excellent authority, may tend to throw some light. At one period of the battle, when the Duke was surrounded by several of his



staff, it was very evident that the group had become the object of the fire of a French battery. The shot fell fast about them, generally striking and turning up the ground on which they stood. Their horses became restive, and 'Copenhagen' himself so fidgety, that the Duke, getting impatient, and having reasons for remaining on the spot, said to those about him, 'Gentlemen, we are rather too close together-better to divide a little.' subsequently. at another point of the line, an officer of artillery came up to the Duke, and stated that he had a distinct view of Napoleon, attended by his staff; that he had the guns of his battery well pointed in that direction, and was prepared to fire. His Grace instantly and emphatically exclaimed, 'No! no! I'll not allow it. It is not the business of commanders to be firing upon each other.'" -Siberne, vol. ii. p. 363.

How different is this from Napoleon's conduct at the battle of Dresden, when he personally directed the fire of the battery, which, as he thought, killed the Emperor Alexander, and actually killed Moreau.

Napoleon had stationed himself during the battle on a little hillock near La Belle Alliance, in the center of the French position. Here he was seated, with a large table from the neighboring farm-house before him, on which maps and plans were spread; and thence with his telescope he surveyed the various points of the field. Soult watched his orders close at his left hand, and his staff was grouped on horseback a few paces in the rear. [Ouvrard, who attended Napoleon as chief commissary of the French army on that occasion told me that Napoleon was suffering from a complaint which made it very painful for him to ride.] Here he remained till near the close of the day, preserving the appearance at least of calmness, except some expressions of irritation which escaped him, when Ney's attack on the British left center was defeated. But now that the crisis of the battle was evidently approaching, he mounted a white Persian charger, which he rode in action because the troops easily recognized him by the horse's color. He had still the means of effecting a retreat. His Old Guard had yet taken no part in the action. Under cover of it, he might have withdrawn his shattered forces and retired upon the French frontier. But this would only have given the English and Prussians the opportunity of completing their junction; and he knew that other armies were fast coming up to aid them in a march upon Paris, if he should succeed in avoiding an encounter with them, and retreating upon the capital. A victory at Waterloo was his only alternative from utter ruin, and he determined to employ his Guard in one bold stroke more to make that victory- his own.

Between seven and eight o'clock, the infantry of the Old Guard was formed into two columns, on the declivity near La Belle Alliance. Ney was placed at their head. Napoleon himself rode forward to a spot by which his veterans were to pass; and, as they approached, he raised his arm, and pointed to the position of the Allies, as if to tell them that their path lay there. 'they answered with loud cries of "Vive l'Empereur!" and descended the hill from their own side, into that "valley of the shadow of death," while the batteries thundered with redoubled vigor over their heads upon the British line. The line of march of the columns of the Guard was directed between Hougoumont and



La Haye Sainte, against the British right center; and at the same time the French under Donzelot, who had possession of La Haye Sainte, commenced a fierce attack upon the British center, a little more to its left. This part of the battle has drawn less attention than the celebrated attack of the Old Guard; but it formed the most perilous crisis for the allied army; and if the Young Guard had been there to support Donzelot, instead of being engaged with the Prussians at Planchenoit, the consequences to the Allies in that part of the field must have been most serious. The French tirailleurs, who were posted in clouds in La Haye Sainte, and the sheltered spots near it, picked off the artillerymen of the English batteries near them: and, taking advantage of the disabled state of the English guns, the French brought some field-pieces up to La Haye Sainte, and commenced firing grape from them on the infantry of the Allies, at a distance of not more than a hundred paces. The allied infantry here consisted of some German brigades, who were formed in squares, as it was believed that Donzelot had cavalry ready behind La Haye Sainte to charge them with, if they left that order of formation. In this state the Germans remained for some time with heroic fortitude, though the grapeshot was tearing gaps in their ranks, and the side of one square was literally blown away by one tremendous volley which the French gunners poured into it. The Prince of Orange in vain endeavored to lead some Nassau troops to the aid of the brave Germans. The Nassauers would not or could not face the French; and some battalions of Brunswickers, whom the Duke of Wellington had ordered up as a reinforcement, at first fell back, until the Duke in person rallied them, and led them on. Having thus barred the farther advance of Donzelot, the Duke galloped off to the right to head his men who were exposed to the attack of the Imperial Guard. He had saved one part of his center from being routed; but the French had gained ground and kept it; and the pressure on the Allied line in front of La Haye Sainte, was fearfully severe, until it; was relieved by the decisive success which the British in the right center achieved over the columns of the Guard. The British troops on the crest of that part of the position, which the first column of Napoleon's Guards assailed, were Maitland's brigade of British Guards, having Adam's brigade (which had been brought forward during the action) on their right. Maitland's men were lying down, in order to avoid as far as possible the destructive effect of the French artillery, which kept up an unremitting fire from the opposite heights, until the first column of the Imperial Guard had advanced so far up the slope towards the British position, that any further firing of the French artillerymen would have endangered their own comrades. Meanwhile the British guns were not idle; but shot and shell ploughed fast through the ranks of the stately array of veterans that still moved imposingly on. Several of the French superior officers were at its head. Ney's horse was shot under him, but he still led the way on foot, sword in hand. The front of the massive column now was on the ridge of the hill. To their surprise they saw no troops before them. All they could discern through the smoke was a small band of mounted officers. One of them was the Duke himself. The French advanced to about fifty yards from where the British Guards were lying down, when the voice of one of the group of British officers was heard calling, as if to the ground before him, "Up, Guards, and at



them!" It was the Duke who gave the order; and at the words, as if by magic, up started before them a line of the British Guards four deep, and in the most compact and perfect order. They poured an instantaneous volley upon the head of the French column, by which no less than three hundred of those chosen veterans are said to have fallen. The French officers rushed forwards; and, conspicuous in front of their men, attempted to deploy them into a more extended line, so as to enable them to reply with effect to the British fire. But Maitland's brigade kept showering in volley after volley with deadly rapidity. The decimated column grew disordered in its vain efforts to expand itself into a more efficient formation. The right word was given at the right moment to the British for the bayonet-charge, and the brigade sprang forward with a loud cheer against their dismayed antagonists. In an instant the compact mass of the French spread out into a rabble, and they fled back down the hill, pursued by Maitland's men, who, however, returned to their position in time to take part in the repulse of the second column of the Imperial Guard.

This column also advanced with great spirit and firmness under the cannonade which was opened on it; and passing by the eastern wall of Hougoumont, diverged slightly to the right as it moved up the slope towards the British position, so as to approach nearly the same spot where the first column had surmounted the height, and been defeated. This enabled the British regiments of Adam's brigade to form a line parallel to the left flank of the French column; so that while the front of this column of French Guards had to encounter the cannonade of the British batteries, and the musketry of Maitland's Guards, its left flank was assailed with a destructive fire by a four-deep body of British infantry, extending all along it. In such a position all the bravery and skill of the French veterans were vain. The second column, like its predecessor, broke and fled taking at first a lateral direction along the front of the British line towards the rear of La Haye Sainte, and so becoming blended with the divisions of French infantry, which under Donzelot had been assailing the Allies so formidably in that quarter. The sight of the Old Guard broken and in flight checked the ardor which Donzelot's troops had hitherto displayed. They, too, began to waver. Adam's victorious brigade was pressing after the flying Guard, and now cleared away the assailants of the allied center. But the battle was not yet won Napoleon had still some battalions in reserve near La Belle Alliance. He was rapidly rallying the remains of the first column of his Guards, and he had collected into one body the remnants of the various corps of cavalry, which had suffered so severely in the earlier part of the day. The Duke instantly formed the bold resolution of now himself becoming the assailant, and leading his successful though enfeebled army forward, while the disheartening effect of the repulse of the Imperial Guard on the rest of the French army was still strong, and before Napoleon and Ney could rally the beaten veterans themselves for another and a fiercer charge. As the close approach of the Prussians now completely protected the Duke's left, he had drawn some reserves of horse from that quarter, and he had a brigade of Hussars under Vivian fresh and ready at hand. Without a moment's hesitation he launched these against the cavalry near La Belle Alliance. The charge was as successful as it was daring; and as there was now no hostile



cavalry to check the British infantry in a forward movement, the Duke gave the long-wished-for command for a general advance of the army along the whole line upon the foe. It was now past eight o'clock, and for nearly nine deadly hours had the British and German regiments stood unflinching under the fire of artillery, the charge of cavalry, and every variety of assault, which the compact columns or the scattered tirailleurs of the enemy's infantry could inflict. As they joyously sprang forward against the discomfited masses of the French, the setting sun broke through the clouds which had obscured the sky during the greater part of the day, and glittered on the bayonets of the Allies, while they poured down into the valley and towards the heights that were held by the foe. The Duke himself was among the foremost in the advance, and personally directed the movements against each body of the French that essayed resistance. He rode in front of Adam's brigade, cheering it forward, and even galloped among the most advanced of the British skirmishers, speaking joyously to the men, and receiving their hearty shouts of congratulation. The bullets of both friends and foes were whistling fast round him; and one of the few survivors of his staff remonstrated with him for thus exposing a life of such value. "Never mind," was the Duke's answer; - "Never mind, let them fire away; the battle's won, and my life is of no consequence now." And, indeed, almost the whole of the French host was now in irreparable confusion. The Prussian army was coming more and more rapidly forwards on their right; and the Young Guard, which had held Planchenoit so bravely, was at last compelled to give way. Some regiments of the Old Guard in vain endeavored to form in squares and stem the current. They were swept away, and wrecked among the waves of the flyers. Napoleon had placed himself in one of these squares: Marshal Soult, Generals Bertrand, Drouot, Corbineau, De Flahaut, and Gourgaud, were with him. The Emperor spoke of dying on the field, but Soult seized his bridle and turned his charger round, exclaiming, "Sire, are not the enemy already lucky enough?" [The Colonel states that he heard these details from General Gourgaud himself. The English reader will be reminded of Charles I's retreat from Naseby.] With the greatest difficulty, and only by the utmost exertion of the devoted officers round him, Napoleon cleared the throng of fugitives, and escaped from the scene of the battle and the war, which he and France had lost past all recovery. Meanwhile the Duke of Wellington still rode forward with the van of his victorious troops, until he reined up on the elevated ground near Rossormne. The daylight was now entirely gone; but the young moon had risen, and the light which it cast, aided by the glare from the burning houses and other buildings in the line of the flying French and pursuing Prussians, enabled the Duke to assure himself that his victory was complete. He then rode back along the Charleroi road toward Waterloo: and near La Belie Alliance he met Marshal Blucher. Warm were the congratulations that were exchanged between the Allied Chiefs. It was arranged that the Prussians should follow up the pursuit and give the French no chance of rallying. Accordingly the British army, exhausted by its toils and suffering during that dreadful day, did not advance beyond the heights which the enemy had occupied. But the Prussians drove the fugitives before them in merciless chase throughout the night. Cannon, baggage, and all the materiel of the army were abandoned by the French and



many thousands of the infantry threw away their arms to facilitate their escape. The ground was strewn for miles with the wrecks of their host. There was no rear-guard; nor was even the semblance of order attempted. An attempt at resistance was made at the bridge and village of Genappe, the first narrow pass through which the bulk of the French retired. The situation was favorable; and a few resolute battalions if ably commanded, might have held their pursuers at bay there for some considerable time. But despair and panic were now universal in the beaten army. At the first sound of the Prussian drums and bugles, Genappe was abandoned; and nothing thought of but headlong flight. The Prussians, under General Gneisenau, still followed and still slew; nor even when the Prussian infantry stopped in sheer exhaustion, was the pursuit given up. Gneisenau still pushed on with the cavalry; and by an ingenious stratagem, made the French believe that his infantry were still close on them, and scared them from every spot where they attempted to pause and rest. He mounted one of his drummers on a horse which had been taken from the captured carriage of Napoleon, and made him ride along with the pursuing cavalry, and beat the drum whenever they came on any large number of the French. The French thus fled, and the Prussians pursued through Quatre Bras, and even over the heights of Frasne; and when at length Gneisenau drew bridle, and halted a little beyond Frasne with the scanty remnant of keen hunters who had kept up the chase with him to the last, the French were scattered through Gosselies, Marchiennes, and Charleroi; and were striving to regain the left bank of the river Sambre, which they had crossed in such pomp and pride not a hundred hours before.

Part of the French left wing endeavored to escape from the field without blending with the main body of the fugitives who thronged the Genappe causeway. A French officer, who was among those who thus retreated across the country westward of the high-road, has vividly described what he witnessed and what he suffered. Colonel Lemonnier Delafosse served in the campaign of 1815 in General Foy's staff; and was consequently in that part of the French army at Waterloo, which acted against Hougoumont and the British right wing. When the column of the Imperial Guard made their great charge at the end of the day, the troops of Foy's division advanced in support of them, and Colonel Lemonnier Delafosse describes the confident hopes of victory and promotion with which he marched to that attack, and the fearful carnage and confusion of the assailants, amid which he was helplessly hurried back by his flying comrades. He then narrates the closing scene:

"Near one of the hedges of Hougoumont farm without even a drummer to beat the rappel, we succeeded in rallying under the enemy's fire 300 men: these were nearly all that remained of our splendid division. Thither came together a band of generals. There was Reille, whose horse had been shot under him; there we D'Erlon, Bachelu, Foy, Jamin, and others. All we gloomy and sorrowful, like vanquished men. The words were, - 'Here is all that is left of my corps, my division, of my brigade. I, myself.' We had seen the fall of Duhesme, of Pelet-de-Morvan, of Michel - generals who had found a glorious death. My General Foy, had his shoulder pierced through by a musket-ball and out of his whole staff two officers only were left to him, Cahour Duhay and I. Fate had spared me in the midst of so many dangers, though the first



charger I rode had been shot and had fallen on me.

"The enemy's horse were coming down on us, and our little group was obliged to retreat. What had happened to our division of the left wing had taken place all along the line. The movement of the hostile cavalry which inundated the whole plain, had demoralized our soldiers, who seeing all regular retreat of the army cut off, strove each man to effect one for himself. At each instant the road became more encumbered. Infantry, cavalry, and artillery, were pressing along pell-mell jammed together like a solid mass. Figure to yourself 40,000 men struggling and thrusting themselves along a single causeway. We could not take that way without destruction; so the generals who had collected together near the Hougoumont hedge dispersed across the fields. General Foy alone remained with the 300, men whom he had gleaned from the field of battle, and marched at their head. Our anxiety was to withdraw from the scene of action without being confounded with the fugitives. Our general wished to retreat like a true soldier. Seeing three lights in the southern horizon, like beacons, General Foy asked me what I thought of the position of each. I answered 'The first to the left is Genappe, the second is at Bois-de-Bossu, near the farm of Quatre Bras; the third is at Gosselies.' 'Let us march on tire second one, then,' replied Foy, 'and let no obstacle stop us - take the head of the column, and do not lose sight of the guiding light.' Such was his order, and I strove to obey.

"After all the agitation and the incessant din of a long day of battle, how imposing was the stillness of that night! We proceeded on our sad and lonely march. We were a prey to the most cruel reflections, we: were humiliated, we were hopeless; but not a word of complaint was heard. We walked silently as a troop of mourners, and it might have been said that we were attending the funeral of our country's glory. Suddenly that stillness was broken by a challenge,- 'Qui vive?' 'France!' 'Kellerman!' 'Foy!' 'Is it you, General? come nearer to us.' At that moment we were passing ever a little hillock, at the foot of which was a hut, in which Kellerman and some of his officers had halted. They came out to join us. Foy said to me, 'Kellerman knows the country: he has been along here before with his cavalry; we had better follow him.' But we found that the direction which Kellerman chose was towards the first light, towards Genappe. That led to the causeway which our general rightly wished to avoid. I went to the left to reconnoiter, and was soon convinced that such was the case. It was then that I was able to form a full idea of the disorder of a routed army. What a hideous spectacle! The mountain torrent, that uproots and whirls along with it every momentary obstacle, is a feeble image of that heap of men, of horses, of equipages, rushing one upon another; gathering before the least obstacle which dams up their way for a few seconds, only to form a mass which overthrows everything in the path which it forces for itself. Woe to him whose footing failed him in that deluge! He was crushed, trampled to death! I returned and told my general what I had seen, and he instantly abandoned Kellerman, and resumed his original line of march.

"Keeping straight across the country over fields and the rough thickets, we at last arrived at the Bois-de-Bossu, where we halted. My General said to me, 'Go to the farm of Quatre Bras and announce that we are here. The Emperor or Soult must be



there. Ask for orders, and recollect that I am waiting here for you. The lives of these men depend on your exactness.' To reach the farm I was obliged to cross the high road: I was on horseback, but nevertheless was borne away by the crowd that fled along the road, and it was long ere I could extricate myself and reach the farmhouse. General Lobau was there with his staff, resting in fancied security. They thought that their troops had halted there; but, though a halt had been attempted, the men had soon fled forwards, like their comrades of the rest of the army. The shots of the approaching Prussians were now heard; and I believe that General Lobau was taken prisoner in that farmhouse. I left him to rejoin my general, which I did with difficulty. I found him alone. His men, as they came near the current of flight, were infected with the general panic, and fled also.

"What was to be done? Follow that crowd of run aways General Foy would not hear of it. There were five of us still with him, all officers. He had been wounded at about five in the afternoon, and the wound had not been dressed. He suffered severely; but his moral courage was unbroken. 'Let us keep,' he said, 'a line parallel to the high road, and work our way hence as we best can.' A foot-track was before us, and we followed it.

"The moon shone out brightly, and revealed the full wretchedness of the tableau which met our eyes. A brigadier and four cavalry soldiers, whom we met with, formed our escort. We marched on; and, as the noise grew more distant, I thought that we were losing the parallel of the high way. Finding that we had the moon more and more on the left, I felt sure of this, and mentioned it to the General. Absorbed in thought, he made me no reply. We came in front of a windmill, and endeavored to procure some information; but we could not gain an entrance, or make any one answer, and we continued our nocturnal march. At last we entered a village, but found every door closed against us, and were obliged to use threats in order to gain admission into a single house. The poor woman to whom it belonged, more dead than alive, received us as if we had been enemies. Before asking where we were, 'Food, give us some food!' was our cry. Bread and butter and beer were brought, and soon disappeared before men who had fasted for twenty-four hours. A little revived, we ask, 'Where are we? What is the name of this village?' 'Vieville.'

"On looking at the map, I saw that in coming to that village we had leaned too much to the right, and that we were in the direction of Mons. In order to reach the Sambre at the bridge of Marchiennes, we had four leagues to traverse; and there was scarcely time to march the distance before daybreak. I made a villager act as our guide, and bound him by his arm to my stirrup. He led us through Roux to Marchiennes. The poor fellow ran alongside of my horse the whole way. It was cruel, but necessary to compel him, for we had not an instant to spare. At six in the morning we entered Marchiennes.

"Marshal Ney was there. Our general went to see him, and to ask what orders he had to give. Ney was asleep; and, rather than rob him of the first repose he had had for four days, our General returned to us without seeing him. And, indeed, what orders could Marshal Ney have given? The whole army was crossing the Sambre, each man where and how he chose; some at Charleroi, some at Marchiennes. We were about to do the same thing. When once beyond the Sambre we might safely halt; and both men and horses were in extreme need of rest. We passed through Thuin; and



finding a little copse near the road, we gladly sought its shelter. While our horses grazed, we lay down and slept. How sweet was that sleep after the fatigues of the long day of battle, and after the night of retreat more painful still! We rested in the little copse till noon, and sat there watching the wrecks of our army defile along the road before us. It was a soul-harrowing sight! Yet the different arms of the service had resumed a certain degree of order amid their disorder; and our General, feeling his strength revive, resolved to follow a strong column of cavalry which was taking the direction of Beaumont, about four leagues off: We drew near Beaumont, when suddenly a regiment of horse was seen debauching from a wood on our left. The column that we followed shouted out, 'The Prussians! The Prussians!' and galloped off in utter disorder. The troops that thus alarmed them were not a tenth part of their number, and were in reality our own 8th Hussars, who wore green uniforms. But the panic had been brought even thus far from the battle-field, and the disorganized column galloped into Beaumont, which was already crowded with our infantry. We were obliged to follow that debacle. On entering Beaumont we chose a house of superior appearance, and demanded of the mistress of it refreshments for the General. 'Alas!' said the lady, 'this is the tenth General who has been to this house since this morning. I have nothing left, Search, if you please, and see. Though unable to find food for the General, I persuaded him to take his coat off and let me examine his wound. The bullet had gone through the twists of the left epaulette, and penetrating the skin had run round the shoulder without injuring the bone. The lady of the house made some lint for me; and without any great degree of surgical skill I succeeded in dressing the wound.

"Being still anxious to procure some food for the General and ourselves, if it were but a loaf of ammunition bread, I left the house and rode out into the town. I saw pillage going on in every direction: open caissons, stripped and half-broken, blocked up the streets. The pavement was covered with plundered and torn baggage. Pillagers and runaways, such were all the comrades I met with. Disgusted at them, I strove, sword in hand, to stop one of the plunderers; but, more active than I, he gave me a bayonet stab in my left arm, in which I fortunately caught his thrust, which had been aimed full at my body. He disappeared among the crowd, through which I could not force my horse. My spirit of discipline had made me forget that in such circumstances the soldier is a mere wild beast. But to be wounded by a fellow-countryman after having passed unharmed through all the perils of Quatre Bras and Waterloo! — this did seem hard, indeed. I was trying to return to General Foy, when another horde of flyers burst into Beaumont, swept me into the current of their flight, and hurried me out of the town with them. Until I received my wound I had preserved my moral courage in full force; but now, worn out with fatigue, covered with blood and suffering severe pain from the wound, I own that I gave way to the general demoralization, and let myself be inertly borne along with the rushing mass. At last I reached Landrecies, though I know not how or when. But I found there our Colonel Hurday, who had been left behind there in consequence of an accidental injury from a carriage. He took me with him to Paris, where I retired amid my family, and got cured of my wound, knowing nothing of the rest



of political and military events that were taking place." No returns ever were made of the amount of the French loss in the battle of Waterloo; but it must have been immense, and may be partially judged of by the amount of killed and wounded in the armies of the conquerors. On this subject both the Prussian and British official evidence is unquestionably full and authentic. The figures are terribly emphatic.

Of the army that fought under the Duke of Wellington nearly 15,000 men were killed and wounded on this single day of battle. Seven thousand Prussians also fell at Waterloo. At such a fearful price was the deliverance of Europe purchased.

By none was the severity of that loss more keenly felt than by our great deliverer himself. As may be seen in Major Macready's narrative, the Duke, while the battle was raging, betrayed no sign of emotion at the most ghastly casualties; but, when all was over, the sight of the carnage with which the field was covered, and still more, the sickening spectacle of the agonies of the wounded men who lay moaning in their misery by thousands and tens of thousands, weighed heavily on the spirit of the victor, as he rode back across the scene of strife. On reaching his head-quarters in the village of Waterloo, the Duke inquired anxiously after the numerous friends who had been round him in the morning, and to whom he was warmly attached. Many he was told were dead; others were lying alive, but mangled and suffering, in the houses round him. It is in our hero's own words alone that his feelings can be adequately told. In a letter written by him almost immediately after his return from the field, he thus expressed himself: - "My heart is broken by the terrible loss I have sustained in my old friends and companions, and my poor soldiers. Believe me, nothing except a battle lost, can be half so melancholy as a battle won, the bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from the greater evil; but to win such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune but for the result to the public."

It is not often that a successful General in modern warfare is called on, like the victorious commander of the ancient Greek armies, to award a prize of superior valor to one of his soldiers. Such was to some extent the case with respect to the battle of Waterloo. In the August of 1818, an English clergyman offered to confer a small annuity on some Waterloo soldier, to be named by the Duke. The Duke requested Sir John Byng to choose a man from the 2nd Brigade of Guards, which had so highly distinguished itself in the defense of Hougoumont. There were many gallant candidates, but the election fell on Sergeant James Graham, of the light company of the Coldstream. This brave man had signalized himself, throughout the day, in the defense of that important post, and especially in the critical struggle that took place at the period when the French, who had gained the wood, the orchard, and detached garden, succeeded in bursting open a gate of the courtyard of the chateau itself, and rushed in in large masses, confident of carrying all before them. A hand-to-hand fight, of the most desperate character, was kept up between them and the Guards for a few minutes; but at last the British bayonets prevailed. Nearly all the Frenchmen who had forced their way in were killed on the spot; and, as the few survivors ran back, five of the Guards, Colonel Macdonnell, Captain Wyndham, Ensign Gooch, Ensign Hervey, and Sergeant



Graham, by sheer strength, closed the gate again, in spite of the efforts of the French from without, and effectually barricaded it against further assaults. Over and through the loopholed wall of the courtyard, the English garrison now kept up a deadly fire of musketry, which was fiercely answered by the French, who swarmed round the curtilage like ravening wolves. Shells, too, from their batteries, were falling fast into the besieged place, one of which set part of the mansion and some of the out-buildings on fire. Graham, who was at this time standing near Colonel Macdonnell at the wall, and who had shown the most perfect steadiness and courage, now asked permission of his commanding officer to retire for a moment. Macdonnell replied, "By all means, Graham; but I wonder you should ask leave now." Graham answered, "I would not, sir, only my brother is wounded, and he is in that out-building there, which has just caught fire." Laying down his musket, Graham ran to the blazing spot, lifted up his brother, and laid him in a ditch. Then he was back at his post, and was plying his musket against the French again, before his absence was noticed, except by his colonel.

Many anecdotes of individual prowess have been preserved: but of all the brave men who were in the British army on that eventful day, none deserve more honor for courage and indomitable resolution than Sir Thomas Picton, who, as has been mentioned, fell in repulsing the great attack of the French upon the British left center. It was not until the dead body was examined after the battle, that the full heroism of Picton was discerned. He had been wounded on the 16th, at Quatre Bras, by a musket-ball, which had broken two of his ribs, and caused also severe internal injuries; but he had concealed the circumstance, evidently in expectation that another and greater battle would be fought in a short time, and desirous to avoid being solicited to absent himself from the field. His body was blackened and swollen by the wound, which must have caused severe and incessant pain; and it was marvelous how his spirit had borne him up, and enabled him to take part in the fatigues and duties of the field. The bullet which, on the 18th, killed the renowned leader of "the Fighting Division" of the Peninsula, entered the head near the left temple, and passed through the brain; so that Picton's death must have been instantaneous.

One of the most interesting narratives of personal adventure at Waterloo, is that of Colonel Frederick Ponsonby, of the 12th Light Dragoons, who was severely wounded when Vandeleur's brigade, to which he belonged, attacked the French lancers, in order to bring off the Union Brigade, which was retiring from its memorable charge. The 12th, like those whom they rescued, advanced much further against the French position than prudence warranted. Ponsonby, with many others, was speared by a reserve of Polish lancers, and left for dead on the field. It is well to refer to the description of what he suffered (as he afterwards gave it, when almost miraculously recovered from his numerous wounds), because his fate, or worse, was the fate of thousands more; and because the narrative of the pangs of an individual, with whom we can identify ourselves, always comes more home to us than a general description of the miseries of whole masses. His tale may make us remember what are the horrors of war as well as its glories. It is to be remembered that the operations, which he refers to, took place about three o'clock in the day,



and that the fighting went on for at least five hours more.,After describing how he and his men charged through the French whom they first encountered, and went against other enemies, he states:-

"We had no sooner passed them than we were ourselves attacked, before we could form, by about. 300 Polish lancers, who had hastened to their relief the French artillery pouring in among us a heavy fire of grape, though for one of our men they killed three of their own. "In the melee I was almost instantly disabled in both arms, losing first my sword, and then my reins, and followed by a few men, who were presently cut down, no quarter being allowed, asked, or given, I was carried along by my horse, till, receiving a blow from a saber, I fell senseless on my face to the ground.

"Recovering, I raised myself a little to look round, being at that time, I believe, in a condition to get up and run away; when a lancer passing by, cried out, 'Tu n'est pas mort, coquin!' and struck his lance through my back. My head dropped, the blood gushed into my mouth, a difficulty of breathing came on, and I thought all was over.

"Not long afterwards (it was impossible to measure time, but I must have fallen in less than ten minutes after the onset), a tirailleur stopped to plunder me, threatening my life. I directed him to a small sidepocket, in which he found three dollars, all I had; but he continued to threaten, and I said he might search me: this he did immediately, unloosing my stock and tearing open my waistcoat, and leaving me in a very uneasy posture.

"But he, was no sooner gone, than an officer bringing up some troops, to which probably the tirailleur belonged, and happening to halt where I lay, stooped down and addressed me, saying, he feared I was badly wounded; I said that I was, and expressed a wish to be removed to the rear. He said it was against their orders to remove even their own men; but that if they gained the day (and he understood that the Duke of Wellington was killed, and that some of our battalions had surrendered), every attention in his power would be shown me. I complained of thirst, and he held his brandy bottle to my lips, directing one of the soldiers to lay me straight on my side, and place a knapsack under my head. He then passed on into action - soon, perhaps, to want, though not receive, the same assistance; and I shall never know to whose generosity I was indebted, as I believe, for my life. Of what rank he was, I cannot say: he wore a great coat. By-and-by another tirailleur came up, a fine young man, full of ardor. He knelt down, and fired over me, loading and firing many times, and conversing with me all the while. "The Frenchman with strange coolness, informed Ponsonby of how he was shooting, and what he thought of the progress of the battle. "At last he ran off, exclaiming, 'You will probably not be sorry to hear that we are going to retreat. Good day, my friend.' It was dusk," Ponsonby adds, "when two squadrons of Prussian cavalry, each of them two deep, came across the valley, and passed over me in full trot, lifting me from the ground, and tumbling me about cruelly. The clatter of their approach, and the apprehensions they excited, may be imagined; a gun taking that direction must have destroyed me.

"The battle was now at an end, or removed to a distance. The shouts, the imprecations, the outcries of 'Vive l'Empereur!' the



discharge of musketry and cannon, were over; and the groans of the wounded all around me, became every moment more and more audible. I thought the night would never end.

Much about this time I found a soldier of the Royals lying across my legs: he had probably crawled thither in his agony; and his weight, his convulsive motions, and the air issuing through a wound in his side, distressed me greatly; the last circumstance most of all, as I had a wound of the same nature myself.

"It was not a dark night, and the Prussians were wandering about to plunder; the scene in Ferdinand Count Fathom came into my mind, though no women appeared. Several stragglers looked at me, as they passed by, one after another, and at last one of them stopped to examine me. I told him as well as I could, for I spoke German very imperfectly, that I was a British officer, and had been plundered already; he did not desist, however, and pulled me about roughly.

"An hour before midnight I saw a man in an English uniform walking towards me. He was, I suspect, on the same errand, and he came and looked in my face. I spoke instantly, telling him who I was, and assuring him of a reward if he would remain by me. He said he belonged to the 40th, and had missed his regiment: he released me from the dying soldier, and being unarmed, took up a sword from the ground, and stood over me, pacing backwards and forwards.

"Day broke; and at six o'clock in the morning some English were seen at a distance, and he ran to them. A messenger being sent off to Hervey, a cart came for me, and I was placed in it, and carried to the village of Waterloo, a mile and a half off, and laid in the bed from which, as I understood afterwards, Gordon had been just carried out. I had received seven wounds: a surgeon slept in my room, and I was saved by excessive bleeding."

Major Macready, in the journal already cited, justly praises the deep devotion to their Emperor which marked the French at Waterloo. Never, indeed, had the national bravery of the French people been more nobly shown. One soldier in the French ranks was seen, when his arm was shattered by a cannon-ball, to wrench it off with the other; and throwing it up in the air, he exclaimed to his comrades, "Vive l'Empereur jusqu'a la mort!" Colonel Lemonnier Delafosse mentions in his Memoirs, that at the beginning of the action, a French soldier who had had both legs carried off by a cannon-ball, was borne past the front of Foy's division, and called out to them, "Ce n'est rien, camarades; Vive l'Empereur! Gloire a la France!" The same officer, at the end of the battle, when all hope was lost, tells us that he saw a French grenadier, blackened with powder, and with his clothes torn and stained, leaning on his musket, and immovable as a statue. The colonel called to him to join his comrades and retreat; but the grenadier showed him his musket and his hands; and said "These hands have with this musket used to-day more than twenty packets of cartridges: it was more than my share: I supplied myself with ammunition from the dead. Leave me to die here on the held of battle. It is not courage that fails me, but strength." Then, as Colonel Delafosse left him, the soldier stretched himself on the ground to meet his fate, exclaiming, "Tout est perdu! Pauvre France!" The gallantry of the French officers at least equaled that of their men. Ney, in particular, set the example of the most daring courage. Here, as in every



French army in which he ever served or commanded, he was "le brave des braves." Throughout the day he was in the front of the battle; and was one of the very last Frenchmen who quitted the field. His horse was killed under him in the last attack made on the English position; but he was seen on foot, his clothes torn with bullets, his face smirched with powder, striving, sword in hand, first to urge his men forward, and at last to check their flight.

There was another brave general of the French army, whose velour and good conduct on that day of disaster to his nation, should never be unnoticed, when the story of Waterloo is recounted. This was General Pelet, who, about seven in the evening, led the first battalion of the 2nd regiment of the Chasseurs of the Guard to the defense of Planchenoit; and on whom Napoleon personally urged the deep importance of maintaining possession of that village. Pelet and his men took their post in the central part of the village, and occupied the church and churchyard in great strength. There they repelled every assault of the Prussians, who in rapidly increasing numbers rushed forward with infuriated pertinacity. They held their post till the utter rout of the main army of their comrades was apparent, and the victorious allies were thronging around Planchenoit. Then Pelet and his brave chasseurs quitted the churchyard, and retired with steady march, though they suffered fearfully from the moment they left their shelter, and Prussian cavalry as well as infantry dashed fiercely after them. Pelet kept together a little knot of 250 veterans, and had the eagle covered over, and borne along in the midst of them. At one time the inequality of the ground caused his ranks to open a little; and in an instant, the Prussian horsemen were on them, and striving to capture the eagle. Captain Siborne relates the conduct of Pelet with the admiration worthy of one brave soldier for another:-

"Pelet, taking advantage of a spot of ground which afforded them some degree of cover against the fire of grape by which they were constantly assailed, halted the standard-bearer, and called out, "A moi, chasseurs! Sauvons l'aigle ou mourons autour d'elle!" The chasseurs immediately pressed around him, forming what is usually termed the rallying square, and, lowering their bayonets, succeeded in repulsing the charge of cavalry. Some guns were then brought to bear upon them, and subsequently a brisk fire of musketry; but notwithstanding the awful sacrifice which was thus offered up in defense of their precious charge, they succeeded in reaching the main line of retreat, favored by the universal confusion, as also by the general obscurity which now prevailed; and thus saved alike the eagle and the honor of the regiment."

French writers do injustice to their own army and general, when they revive malignant calumnies against Wellington, and speak of his having blundered into victory. No blunderer could have successfully encountered such troops as those of Napoleon, and under such a leader. It is superfluous to cite against these cavils the testimony which other continental critics have borne to the high military genius of our illustrious chief. I refer to one only, which is of peculiar value, on account of the quarter whence it comes. It is that of the great German writer,



Niebuhr, whose accurate acquaintance with every important scene of modern as well as ancient history was unparalleled: and who was no mere pedant, but a man practically versed in active life, and had been personally acquainted with most of the leading men in the great events of the early part of this century. Niebuhr, in the passage which I allude to, after referring to the military "blunders" of Mithridates, Frederick the Great, Napoleon, Pyrrhus, and Hannibal, uses these remarkable words, "The Duke of Wellington is, I believe, the: only general in whose conduct of war we cannot discover any important mistake." Not that it is to be supposed that the Duke's merits were simply of a negative order, or that he was merely a cautious, phlegmatic general, fit only for defensive warfare, as some recent French historians have described him. Or the contrary, he was bold, even to audacity, when boldness was required.

"The intrepid advance and fight at Assaye, the crossing of the Douro, and the movement on Talavera in 1809, the advance to Madrid and Burgos in 1812, the actions before Bayonne in 1813, and the desperate stand made at Waterloo itself, when more tamely-prudent generals would have retreated beyond Brussels, place this beyond a doubt."

The overthrow of the French military power at Waterloo was so complete, that the subsequent events of the brief campaign have little interest. Lamartine truly says: "This defeat left nothing undecided in future events, for victory had given judgment. The war began and ended in a single battle." Napoleon himself recognized instantly and fully the deadly nature of the blow which had been dealt to his empire. In his flight from the battle-field he first halted at Charleroi, but the approach of the pursuing Prussians drove him thence before he had rested there an hour. With difficulty getting clear of the wrecks of his own army, he reached Philippeville, where he remained a few hours, and sent orders to the French generals in the various extremities of France, to converge with their troops upon Paris. He ordered Soult to collect the fugitives of his own force, and lead them to Laon. He then hurried forward to Paris, and reached his capital before the news of his own defeat. But the stern truth soon transpired. At the demand of the Chambers of Peers and Representatives he abandoned the throne by a second and final abdication on the 22nd of June. On the 29th of June he left the neighborhood of Paris, and proceeded to Rochefort in the hope of escaping to America. But the coast was strictly watched, and on the 15th of July the ex-emperor surrendered himself on board of the English man-of-war the Bellerophon. Meanwhile the allied armies had advanced steadily upon Paris driving before them Grouchy's corps, and the scanty force which Soult had succeeded in rallying at Laon. Cambray, Peronne and other fortresses were speedily captured; and by the 29th of June the invaders were taking their positions in front of Paris. The Provisional Government, which acted in the French capital after the emperor's abdication, opened negotiations with the allied chiefs. Blucher, in his quenchless hatred of the French, was eager to reject all proposals for a suspension of hostilities, and to assault and storm the city. But the sager and calmer spirit of Wellington prevailed over his colleague; the entreated armistice was granted; and on the 3rd of July the capitulation

of Paris terminated the War of the Battle of Waterloo. In closing our observations on this the last of the Decisive Battles of the World, it is pleasing to contrast the year which it signalized with the year that is now [written in June 1851.] passing over our heads. We have not (and long may we be without) the stern excitement of martial strife, and we see no captive standards of our European neighbors brought in triumph to our shrines. But we behold an infinitely prouder spectacle. We see the banners of every civilized nation waving over the arena of our competition with each other, in the arts that minister to our race's support and happiness, and destruction. not to its suffering and

“Peace hath her Victories
No less renowned than War;”

and no battle-field ever witnessed a victory more noble, than that, which England, under her Sovereign Lady and her Royal Prince, is now teaching the peoples of the earth to achieve over selfish prejudices and international feuds, in the great cause of the general promotion of the industry and welfare of mankind.



“A victory described in detail is indistinguishable from a defeat.”

— Jean-Paul Sartre



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18th of 6 M 1815 / Our morning meeting was large & I thought favor'd - Hannah Dennis appeared rather larger than usual for her & quite as sweet then D Buffum added by way of suppliment - In the Afternoon we were silent & to my feelings a solid & in a very good degree a devotional opportunity. I believe some minds were refreshed, & many who were not in membership wore countenances that bespoke reverence. - We took tea at Father Rodmans with Wm S Burling - & while we were there we heard that Wm Wright & his wife son of Isaac Wright of N York had arrived & knowing them to be acquainted to Uncle & Aunt Santon We went with Wm Burling to their lodgings & found them pleasant & agreeable friends. We invited them to tea with us tomorrow if I did not sail for NYork which I expect to do - I do a little regret the prospect of so soon leaving town on their account -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 19, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 19th of 6th M / Wm Wright & wife came ?? as we expected - tomorrow perhaps may bring it ?? / I have been ready all day that when called upon by the packet master but there has been but little wind which was pree ahead - Our fr Jemima Shotwell & company returned this Afternoon from [Providence](#) & we shall probably be fellow passengers to NYork [this entry is in a very different hand, very small, and as tho' he wrote



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with his left hand?]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 20, Tuesday: Pursuant to the decision of the Congress of Vienna, a Polish kingdom, in personal union with Russia, was proclaimed in Warsaw.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 20th of 6 M 1815 / At 1 / 2 past 9 OClock this mornng went on board the B D Jones Capt Cahoon for NYork intending a visit to my Uncle & Aunt Stanton of that place. - At 11 OC we reached the light house - Dined at 10 Oc while off Point Judith & find our company very agreeable, some of their names follow Wm S Burling Thos Rotch Jr Caleb Mackeel Benj Smith, Jemima Shotwell, Ann Yarnall, Sarah Sutton & several other members who do not seem to mingle much with us. Tea at 7 OC & at sunset not quite up to Watch Hill. J Shotwell & Sarah Sutton very sea Sick, & I find myself a little threatened with it, the deck agrees better with my head than the Cabin & I keep mostly upon it. This has been a day of new experiences to me, tho' the surrounding scenes delight the eye & the company on board are very agreeable conversation runing on subjects various & mostly inteeresting, yet my dear Hannah & our little son have occupied much of my thoughts. - late in the eveng retired to my Birth -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 21, Wednesday: The loser [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) arrived in Paris. The Chambers detached themselves from the Emperor and called for his abdication.

News of the outcome of the battle at Waterloo reached London.

Quedlinburg was reintegrated into Prussia. The Counties of Stolberg-Rossla and Stolberg-Wernigerode were annexed by Prussia.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 21 of 6 M 1815 / Rose this morning at 3 OClock & went on deck & saw several Lights yet Burning This is the first night I have ever spent on the Water & considering all circumstances it was much more comfortable than I expected - The Capt says we have gained but about 20 Miles all night, the wind still light & the current against us. A little After sun rise & found ourselves at the west end of Plumb Island those who were sick Yesterday seem very cheerful this morning - At 8 OC Breakfast - At 10 OC off the horse & Lyon which they say is half way to NYork- At One OC we dined & while sitting at the table the wind left us & what little we have had thro' the day has been against us our progress consequently very slow, but our vessel outsails all we meet
After dinner finding my head complaining took a refreshing nap -rose & found the wind breesing up - enter'd into pleasant conversation with several of the passengers in the Cabin - Was called on deck to see a large school of Porpoises playing round*



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the vessel. This sight amused us for some time & to the women was quite a novelty. They appearing to take an interest in the scene Sarah Sutton particularly -

The whole of the afternoon has been spent in pleasant conversation, mostly of an interesting nature but I am afraid some of us have indulged in lightness rather further than is best - I feel the Satisfaction of having kept a weight in the scale against it - nothing however has occurred which leaves much uneasiness, only a little apprehension of what might or maybe - The evening also was spent pleasantly, & several on board exercised their poetic talents -- At 9 OC of Huntington Light, at 10 OC retired to rest -5th day 22 of 6 M 1815 / At Sunrise off Hempstead Harbor on L I - Rose this morn'g under a sense of favor which I experienced most of yesterday. how pleasant to feel the heart tender & an evidence that Divine goodness is still near.

At 10 OC of Lands Light - of this place Benj Smith made an handsome sketch with his pencil which pleased our women Passengers, he took also sketches of several other places & gave them as mementos of our Passage - Settled with the Capt & paid him \$9 for my Passage - At 10 OC of White stone ferry on L Island we was in so near as to see a carriage land from the boat with a number of Friends; there appeared to be an old friendly[?] man & several plain women, who when the carriage was tackled [harnessed to the horses] jumped in very sprightly & rode up the road a quick pace through a very pleasant tract of country -

While I view the rich & costly houses & pleasant situations around my mind is forcibly impressed with a sense that "Here is not the place of our rest" tho' we may be permitted to partake a little of the Pleasant things of this life as we pass along through it yet those which are unfading should be held & ever remembered as the Primary pursuit of our lives -- At 12 OC we passed Hurl Gate, [Hell Gate] about this place & up to NYork nature & art combined, have rendered the scenery picturesque & beautiful - were I to attempt it my descriptive powers would fall far short of justice, several places of which I have heard much spoken, were pointed out, particularly the late Doctor Baker about a mile beyond the Gate we looked & saw a small sloop get nearly upset in or near the pot, this discomposed our nerves for a few minutes, but when we saw her lower her sails & danger somewhat cease - our sensibility soon left us in great measure & turned our attention to surrounding scenes which with the thoughts of soon being in NYork, already coming in sight, awakened new feelings, quite new feelings -At 1/2 past 10C we touched at the Wharf where I parted with my fellow Passengers, in a considerable degree of tender feeling - Wm B[?] conducted me directly to Uncle Stantons, where I found them just dining & Jonas Minturn at the table with them - On going in & finding myself actually in their company, which I have felt, even till the very moment of my going into the house almost as a Dream which I could scarcely believe that I should ever realise - my feelings were so overcome that it was with some difficulty that I could support the Man, [he could scarcely stand] & Answer the few questions which occur'd for the moment, - but after a little cooling drink, & some dinner, I found that big thing in my throat, which seemed to Large to swallow & bring up, gradually to settle away, & soon became easy cheerful - Uncle & Aunt



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received me with great cordiality & heartfelt affection which I believe they must have been so [?] since from my situation at meeting them was reciprocal on my part

After dinner & when I began to realize that I was in the City & with my dear relatives, I finished a letter which I had begun in board the Packet to my dear H & carried it down & put it on board Capt Bliss - in this walk Uncle took me on board the New Haven steam Boat which is indeed the great curiosity of the boat Kind I was ever on board of - for power & complication of machinery is only exceeded by the Steam Frigate Fulton the first which we sailed by as we came up the River & had a view of as she lay at the Wharf Any attempt to describe This boat, or hardly any thing besides that I have seen in the City, would only expose the weakness of my descriptive facultys - I have heard much tell of this place, but of the bustle & noise & the ponderous piles of buildings which I have seen only this Afternoon I had but remote Idea of, & I can say with a Queen formerly "The half has not been told" In this rout [route] we called on Saml Wood, found in his shop - he seemed very cordial & asked me to call again, which I promised him I would after delivering him a letter which I was the bearer of - we left him & went up to Chamber Street & visited Niobe a little while who was very Affectionate & Kind & I was very glad to see her. - returned with Uncle Stanton to tea where I set the remainder of the evening - Wm S Burling called in wishing me to go with him & set a little while with Jemima Shotwell, but the evening being far spent, & I much fatigued with the labors of the day - gave up going with him tho' my inclination was much in favor of it & c -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 22, Thursday: At the demand of the French legislature, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) again abdicated, he asserting this to be in favor of his toddling son Napoléon-François-Charles-Joseph Bonaparte. A 5-man Commission of Government took over with Joseph, comte Fouché, duc d'Otrante as acting Prime Minister (the allies would see to it, however, that Louis XVIII, at Ghent, be restored to his throne). Upon this 2d restoration, [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) was appointed secretary-general of the ministry of justice under de Barbé-Marbois (he would resign with his chief in 1816).

 June 23, Friday: The new French government sent emissaries to the allies asking for an immediate armistice. They also asked that the Bourbon family not be returned to the throne and that [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)'s son Napoléon-François-Charles-Joseph Bonaparte be recognized as the new monarch (this would be refused).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 23 of 6 M 1815 / After a comfortable nights rest, rose early this morning, & brought up my journal which falls far short of recording all I have seen or felt. - After breakfast walked with Uncle round the Battery & some other parts of the City, saw Wanton Engs Stopped at Isaac Wrights Store - went thro' Foly[?] Market & in it was introduced to Francis Thompson - & spoke with Benj Minturn - The fame of Foley market had reached [Newport](#) long ago but nearly it exceeds my expectations, every thing almost that can be named, the produce of our own land is sold in it, & lays in the Greatest profusion on their Stalls & benches. In The stores on the left side going down may be bought all Kinds of West India produce & the people are so thick that it is with



some difficulty one can crowd thro' the multitude stoped at Demilts Watchmakers shop & took a look at his goods - went to the Post Office & returned home but how I went or how I came I know not, for every scene was new & the bustle of City confusing, to a mind used to no other than Newport - As I passed along the street the Story which D Buffum tells of an old friend in his country who had a mind to go to a new light meeting held in the neighborhood, often crossed my thoughts - as he returned from the meeting riding along nursing on what had passed, a person behind him heard him exclaim "It does not signify it is confusion upon confusion" & surely I believe, was this old man loving & to walk the streets of NYork, when he saw the ponderous piles of buildings, the runing & rattling of the drays & the hurry of the people he would again exclaim "Confusion upon Confusion." however as yet I have been pretty collected -

Between 11 & 12 OC took a walk into several streets with Aunt Patty called at several Stores & to see Penelope Minturn While Aunt Patty had gone to look up the family I had a pretty good opportunity to reflect & endeavored to attend to my own feelings being alone in the room some time - when she came in my sensations were about what I had anticipated - She seemed glad to see me & inquired after some of her old friends in Newport - returned to Dinner

After dinner retired to my chamber to rest a little but was soon called down to see Wm Burling - in going down my feet sliped on a cross stair & I went down my whole force more than half the distance on my back & elbow which was so hard a shock that after getting up & going into the room, I sat down & fainted quite away I soon came too & in about an hour recovered, so as to walk out into some parts of the City where I had never been - After tea went to the Steam boat & crossed in her to Brooklin & went up to the other ferry & returned in the horse boat which made a pleasing variety The Steam Boat in this ferry is inferior to the ones which run to N Haven & in the North River, as the river is narrow the accommodations discovered in the others, are not here needed -

The Horse boat goes by the Power of 9 Horses & get changed [illegible] a day - the ferrage at such place is 4 cents for a single passage & they told me they made upon average, 65 trips in a day, & often have 2 / 6 passengers at a time - they cross in 7 Minutes & often in 5; the boatman ways he had taken \$300 Dollars in a day. - I had no conception of number of People that are continually passing from the City to L Island by these ferrys, nor indeed I had not of scarcely any thing I see the horses go round as in a bake mill & form a ring standing as close to each other as then can - they appear to work hard tho' they look fat & hardy -Brooklin is a pleasant village, & I should suppose was as quiet as it is a ready retreat from the City - We set the evening with neighbor Hurst & while there, the City was under an Alarm of fire, which was soon over. -



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June 24, Saturday: A dead child was removed from the womb of 17-year-old [Angiolina Cavanna](#). It is said that “medical evidence” indicated that [Nicolò Paganini](#) had not fathered this child (I personally have no idea what that “medical evidence,” in this year 1815, might have amounted to, since this was a long, long lifetime prior to the discovery of blood typing by Karl Landsteiner).

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 14th of 6 M 1815 / Considering the jar of yesterday I feel remarkably well this mornng with the exception of my elbow which was scraped considerably & felt little or nothing of the excrcise while Walking which I took immediately -?- it produced a profusion of perspiration & I believe carried off the other bad effects - Our again after breakfast, walked thro' many streets stoped at Isaac Wrights store. At Wanton Engs & bought 26 Dollars worth of Coffee for D Buffum - went through Foly Market again & called at Caleb Coggeshalls Store. Caleb I believe was very glad to see me, asked many questions about his friend at R I & urged my taking tea with him - Called at many other stores & took a turn down Courtland Street & went on board Albany Steam boat viewed the machinery & the Cabins at each end - which for elegance exceed any Parlour I have seen in this place Visited & inspected the Patens Bakery where the fire is kept in the oven the whole time & yet the buiscuit are baking as fast as they can be out in at one end & brown out at the other, This walk was rather extensive, the heat & the distance overcame me & in Courtland street I felt faint, expressed a Wish to return which we did & after a little refreshing drink, returned to my chamber, rested & am now writing - I omitted to insert that this mornng [illegible] visited in neighboring Chocolate Mill, which is a curious operation carried by two horses, the Coacoa is first broken then the shells sifted out, then ground fine put into pans - the horses move a great wheel at least 15 feet in diameter, this wheel communicates force to Smaller ones by which at one time the Coacoa is sifted & ground After dinner took leave of Wm S Burling who dined with us, he intending for Albany this Afternoon in the Steam Boat - Then walked our towards the Bowery & all round that part of the Town -Made an agreeable call on Ann Freeborn who lives in Elizabeth Street This part of the City looks more like [Newport](#) than any I have seen - visited at Thos Collins but saw only the child - he was at the store. - While in this part of the City we went to the new [Roman Catholic Church](#) this building is a curiosity it is of Gothic structure & the Arched Walls is supported[?] must be in the plan of the whispering Gallery in London the least sound of the voice echos, & re echos astonishingly - & to stamp on the floor sounds like Throngs [?] The painting on the Walls & arches have a beautiful appearance - After tea Uncle took me to the Museum where I saw many curiosities natural & artificial among which was the [last three lines illegible] [?] several kinds of Deer, Monkeys Snakes * numerous species of Birds - all look very natural the [?] of industry is a curiiosity all kinds of Work & play are going on at once by means of machinery In the upper story we saw various Wax figures, some [-?] are exceedingly natural - the representation of Samuel, Saul & the Withch of Endor is not [-?-] Indian Chiefs are said to be striking likeness but alal that struck me the most forcilby & as the best worh seeing, was the wman sitting in a bower with twins [?] one on each Knee, beautifully sufused with every*



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aimiable countenances To appearance about 6 months, on the right of her was wamon reposing in sleep in bed with the most speaking little countenance sitting up by her side that I ever saw It [illegible] it seemed as if the little [- -?] ready leap from its unconscious Mothers arms to those who stood by -there was also a representation of numerous Daniel Lamberts, the Goddess of Liberty &c &c From the Museum we went to Benj Marshalls where Aunt Patty had previously gone to set the evening & about 1 {?} OC returned home - & I must not omit to mention that when arrived I found a letter had been left for me from my dear H which was much like a brook by the Way notwithstanding [-] the great variety I have seem thro' [—] I have often hear say there was an indescribable pleasure in receigving letters when abroad from friends at home but I never before so fully realized it



June 25, Sunday: Augusta returned to Six Mile Bottom.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25 of 6 M 1815 / Attended Liberty Street Meeting In the forenoon Stephen Grellett bor an excellent testimony his opening was "The whole need not a Physician but the Sick" his communication was edifying instructive & Powerful, very encouraging to see as [illegible] themselves under sickness & discouragement of mind, to apply to the Physician who heals all malady's of the mind, binds up the broken hearted &c - In the Afternoon he was again concerned "Watch & pray continually" from which he took occasion to recommend the necssity of keeping our spirits under subjection so that while we weere engaged in our outward concerns [three lines illegible] This testimony seemed to me to be as - ???it being a subject I have ruminated much on since I have been here - The people seem in such an hurry of spirits passing the streets about their buisness on week days that I can scarcely believe they can in stpping out of their buisness into meeting, enjoy that abstraction of mind which is desirable & to which they must attain to perform comforatble worship [very faint and scarcely legible] Just before the close Mary Hinsdale wife of Henry delivered a short but pretty savory testimony - Ann Swinbine & Eliza the young woman who lives with her dined with us also Thos Casey. Thos is at present a steady & hoopeful young man.



June 26, Monday: For two days royalists, goaded on by the Catholic Church, had been running wild in the streets of Marseille, killing 200 Bonapartists and Protestants.

Baden joined the [German](#) Confederation.

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) provided the 2d of a couple of very well received performances at the Deutsches Theater of Pest.

[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 26 of 6 M 1815 / A Rainy Day - After breakfast called

on Saml Wood who treated me with much cordial attention He just took me to the Lancastrian friend school for children of colour where 300 of them may be accomodated but the school this morning was small owing to the weather - The Master exhibited specimens of their performance in writing Arithmetic o& drawing both of Maps & Landscape in colours wherein some traits of rare genius for children of their colour & opportunity were displayed The cyphering Book, a specimen of writing & a map of the world by one of the boys which appeared to be about 14 Years of age quite astonished me - I examined his countenance which I thought was heavy & I could not discern in it traits of that lively immagination which were displayed in his performances - He also gave me an account of the Class of Merit, who though under him are a body by themselves, composed of those who have made the greatest proficiency - The Class chooses President, Judge & under officers, who are appointed to watch the conduct of the otheers, & when any misbehaveior is obseerved, they are complained of to the proper Officer who presents him to the Courts, where he is tried & if he makes satisfaction, is acquitted, but if not the Judge pronounces sentence of dismissal from the Class An instance the Master told me took place a few days ago & one of them being according to order presented to the Courts what ruined him with great solemnity - The Judge after hearing witnesses in the case found him guilty reported him for his [???] exhorted him to atonement [?] illegible had the desired effect, he looked as the Judge addressed him like a little ciminal at the Bar & at length burst into tears & very penitently asked forgiveness of the Class, promised amendment & was acquitted on good behaviour. - This Class keep a record of all their proceedings, a part of which I read & thought the method & states of the minutes would have done credit to soe of our Monthly Meeting Clerks. - From this we went to the Lancastrian School for white boys where 500 may be accomodated the room is 137 feet by 44 - Being Rainy all the scholars were not present, but the scene was very interesting - I thought however the boys had not made as great improvement nor in so good order as in the school for boys of colour - The Master whose name was Wm Smith presented me with an acct of the School & a report of the Trustees for the present Year

We then went into a room below in the same building where a School for Girls is Kept at the expense of a female Associaion in the City - upwards of 300 usually attend but not all present this mornng - The mistress was absent & one of the head Scholars presented their proceedings, all which did them great Credit There were many good looking children present & their deportment bespoke the attention of a careful & prudent Mistress. - From these Schools we went to the Manhattan Water Works which were not in operation, the reservoirs being full. - The works tho' not in motion, for extent & strength were admirable & well worth looking at - from these works we went & took a look at a neighbouring foundary we saw them making Moulds for various Iron machines, but the furnace was not in blast which They regretted, as I have long wanted to see their more of casting in these extensive Foundarys - From there we went to the NYork Hospital, of which Samuel Woods son Isaac is one of the attending Surgeons - in Isaacs room we sat & rested a whil & entered into som pleasant & interesting conversation took a drink of Beer & c he



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then conducted us to the Theatre where the Surgical operations are performed - this is an half round room with a table in the Middle, on which the patients are placed for operation it turns round on a pivot - around the table are circular seats, rising above each other like the high seats in our meeting houses - on these seats three or four rows of students & strangers sit as spectators while the performances are going on in what may be called the Pit -from this room of horrow he took us into the Cupola where I had a view of this great & vastly extended City, The scene was much obstructed in consequence of the Weather - we then visited the rooms of the diseased patients where we saw some sad spectacles, but all of them were clean & appeared to be well attended - the Kitchen is a neat room with a marble floor - We then went into the Library, in this room the Governors meet -here we saw a vast number of Books - Isaac shewed us some beautiful work on Ornithology by Willson, which contains the most striking likenesses of Birds &c that I ever saw short of real life - in this room he presented me with an acct of the Hospital which contains a handsome view of the Building, in this room Sam Wood introduced me to the celebrated Doctor Mitchell who shook me by the hand very cordially, & after a little familiar conversation, observed that he would offer some attention, but at the present moment he was much occupied in preparing a work for the press, & as I was in the best of hands there was no need of it - Saml & his Son being all sufficient - From the Hospital Isaac conducted us to the Assylum for deranged people but it was not the hours for admission of company & we were deprived of any more than a range of the great ortary [oratory?] where we saw some of the Patients in various stages of delirium - Returned to dinner - After dinner called on Wm Thurston & his wife, set 2 hours with them her sister in company This [illegible, three lines too faint and blurred] with my fr Saml Wood & his amiable family here I met Edmond Prior who took tea with us - if the friend & his mosfortune s I have heard [?] much spoken he was once {--} of much note in society & great in [--] profession [?] but by imprudent kindness in lending he lost both his porperty & his standing as an Elder - he seemed very tender & humble of his situation claims my sympathy & I believe notwithstanding what has happened to him Life remains in him & I hope that his gray hair may not [--] hopeless to the grave -- In Saml Shop I saw Sarah Sutton & took leave of her they intending to set our for home tomorrow - she mentioned that Jemima Shotwell regretted not seeing me before she left the City & I dare say she does not regret it more than I do. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 27, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day [sic] 27 of 6 M 1815 / This mornng after Breakfast my [] - & very affectionate Uncle took me in a Chaise through [three or four lines illegible] seats pleasant situations & rode by the great Military Aresnal of the United States - returned thro' [Greenwich](#) & visited the States Prison - It created a variety of feelings in passing thro' this great bloack of buildings [-line illegible] It was affecting to pass thro' this great concourse of men & women & [-----] countenances with



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"the brand of in— [illegible to the end of the page, three lines.]

View of Strangers - I look'd in every face we passed & in the weavers room particularly the countenances of the prisoners wer depraved with scarcely a single exception - but in some of the other rooms where the men were younger their faces were more prepossessing the number however was small - In the Womens apartment I was peculiarly struck they were the worst looking set of being s I ever beheld all looked wicked all looked depraved. -But in passing thro' this great place I could but feel glad yea thankful that so noble an institution was formed to prevent the many executions that would otherwise take place in the course of the year This place affords an opportunity for reflection, repentance & ammdement of life, & it was pleasnt to me to reflect that the convicts have in some instance after their imprisonment has expired, become good & useful citizens - IN going thro' the prison & assessing & descending the high flights of stairs my head became so affected with diziness & with that & previous fatugue in the hot sun, I could not take the satisfaction in the visit which I desired - We went from the Prison to Noah Browns Ship Yard where I saw a Monstrous house in which Ships of 900 tuns burden are built - one of that demention was lanchd out of it the day I arrived here this house is 50 feet wide & 190 feet long & 40 feet [?] it is all in one room & I believe is the largest house I have ever seen, but not the most costly - from this place we rode home much fatigued & dined on Quahogs friend in Butter which relished well -After resting a little took a walk into Wall Street & visited Ruth Winteringham [-] her a letter from J Sherman - Then went down Coutland Street where the Steam Boat lay looked round a while & returned thro' Broad way & visited that surprising pearl of Painting & macinery called the Panorama - then returnd & [-] took tea at Isaac Wrights -- 4th day 6th M 28th 1815 / Kept at home all [three or four lines too faded} In the Preparatory Meeting their Queries were Answer'd. I hought pertinently Thos Harcourt made a few well adapted remarks which evinced to my understanding that he was a concernd [—] member of the Body There were two requests for membership & some other buisness - Wager Hull [-] clerk & I thought the three small [—] if right [two line illegible]- This was the first Preparative Meetiing I have ever attended excepting the one to which I belong - We had the company of Ann Siverbone & only -- to dine with us Took tea at Benj Marshalls in company with Penelope Minturn & her daughter Niobe Henry & Mary Post Fanny Hunt Uncle & Aunt Stanton & a Capt Taylor This was the most Stilish tea drink that I ever undertook, but considering all things I got along much to my satisfaction & Niobe made the way very easy - She feels very near & I love her much -Polly Port also was brought well on my book this opportunity seem'd like a renewal of an old acquaintance which commenced in childhood & has existed from that period much by Proxy tho' reality as we have seldom seen each other for 25 Years past. -

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June 28, Wednesday: On Lake Champlain, by authority of the Secretary of the Navy, George Beale, Junior offered for sale to the general public the federal government's war squadron consisting of the sloops *Chub*, *Finch*, *Montgomery*, *Preble*, *President*, ten gunboats, and various boats and cutters pertaining to these vessels.



Robert Knauth was born in Halle, son of Christoph Franz Knauth (the family name would become Franz in 1847).

The Duchy of Mecklenburg-Strelitz became a Grand Duchy and Duke Karl II Ludwig Friedrich took on the title of Grand Duke.



June 29, Thursday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 29th of 6 M 1815 / Set the mornng the cool -unwilling to fatigue myself before Meeting - Went to Liberty Street -Mary Slocum appeared in a short but good testimony Then Sarah Collins something more lengthy & much to the purpose then S Grellett expressed the sweetness of feeling the cords of heavenly love to draw the heart one towards another & dwelt on the good effects of it - he encouraged all to labor to dwell under its sweetening influence - In the last (Preparative) the Quaeries were Answered - Saml Hopkins made a few pertinent & seasonable remarks on the subject of planess - Dined at Benj Marshalls [-last three lines illegible] came up & took me over to Hoboken (pronounced Hobuck) on the Jersey side - this is a pleasant Country village where an abundance of people resort from the City for a clead air during the hot season, after taking a dish of poor tea at a Dutch Tavern & rambeling round a little we came home - the boat we sailed in was propelled by the force of 20 Horses, that is 10 pair, walking round as in a bark Mill - I counted 60 Passengers on board - In walking from B Marshalls to the borse boat we stoped & viewed the great floating Bath - this is the greatest accompl?? I ever saw for Swimming - Men or Women may bathe as privately as they can wish.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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June 30, Friday: On this day and on July 3d, a treaty of peace was entered into by the United States of America and Algeria.

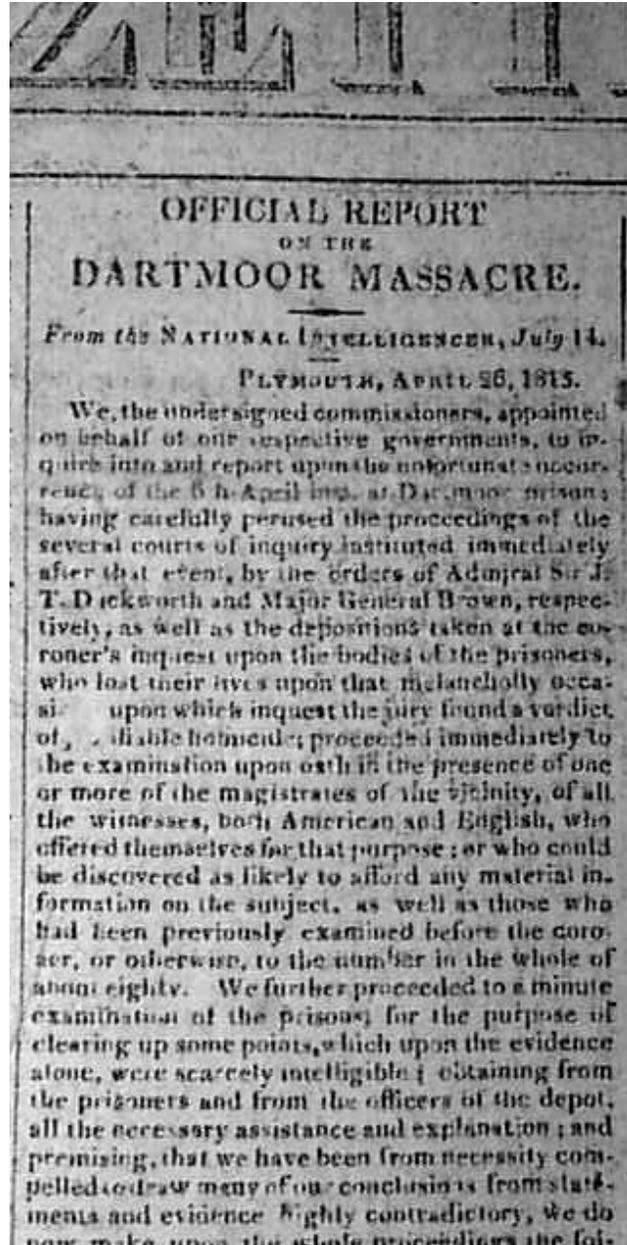
READ THE FULL TEXT

The *Peacock*, in the Straits of Funda, captured an armed British vessel. The next day the vessel was given up. The number of British vessels captured on the sea and the lakes by privateers and national vessels was said to be 1750. The official account of American vessels captured or destroyed by the royal navy was 42 national vessels, 233 privateers, and 1437 merchant ships, making a total of 1683. The British privateers did not make many captures.

CRIMPING

The British had been greatly embarrassed by the incident of April 6th, in which guards had suddenly and indiscriminately opened fire, down from the perimeter wall, at captive American sailors as they exercised. Their response was to attempt to close out this sad history, and by this point only some 900 prisoners remained, about half of whom were black. America's black sailors were, it appears, proving reluctant to board any ship bound for a Southern port, out of a very sensible fear that when they reached their destination they would

suddenly find themselves seized and sold into slavery.



[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6 day 30 of 6 M 1815 / After breakfast this mornng went to Demilt Shop & purchased a few more ?? in my line, but found the weather so very hot that it was improper for me to walk much about After dinneer set at home till 4 OC then to Demilts again -After tea walked to Stephen Grellets with S Wood - here I saw ?? Collins & Penelope Hull Stephen seemed glad of the call which tho' short was pleasing to me - when _____?

SUMMER 1815

➡ Summer: [Giovanni Battista Belzoni](#) went to Cairo, ostensibly to sell hydraulic engines for irrigation although there in [Egypt](#) he would wind up as a sophisticated graverobber.



While visiting a pyramid he would wedge his immense body so tightly into an internal passage that to extricate him required the assistance of his guides.

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Summer: After the death of her mother Abba and the marriage of her favorite sister Mary Francis, her father [David Convers Francis](#) decided that Lydia Maria ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) would be better off in Mary's new home in Norridgewock, Maine. She was removed from the meandering tidal Mystic River to Norridgewock on the Kennebec River, just downstream from the Bonebasee Rips and the ancient site of the Abenaki village of the name Norridgewock, still occupied, which she would visit.⁵⁴



[Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), in exile from England, purchased the Villa d'Este on the shores of Lake Como.

The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) embarked upon a number of missionary travels, first to Kingston and Raymond, New Hampshire, then perhaps into western Massachusetts and to Essex County in upstate New York, on behalf of the Massachusetts Society for promoting Christian Knowledge.

54. At some point during [Lydia Maria Child](#)'s adolescent years in Maine, 1815-1821, she would allege much later in her *LETTERS FROM NEW YORK*, she had visited one of the Penobscot villages on the banks of the Kennebec River and had there met the *sachem* of the Penobscot, "Captain Neptune," with small black eyes, "smoking a pipe and wearing a crushed hat and a dirty blanket." Accompanying the sachem, she would say, was his nephew Etalexis, who was of marriageable age and thus was attired in "a broad band of shining brass around his hat, a circle of silver on his breast, tied with scarlet ribbons, and a long belt of curiously-wrought wampum hanging to his feet." Miss Francis alleged that she had reached down and grabbed this young man's wampum, and had demanded to know why the sachem himself was not so attired. "Me no want to catch 'em squaw," she alleged the old man replied. (Miss Francis had made no mention, however, of such an incident, in her correspondence of the period, and one would have fancied that, had such an incident occurred, it would have been eagerly recounted to any number of her friends. My sense of it is that what we have here is not an account of a meeting, but a rare and privileged glimpse into this young lady's sexual fantasy life. It wasn't this young red man's wampum that she took in her hand, and rather than it being this old red man who was not looking to catch 'em, it was the young woman who was hoping that this young red man was looking to catch 'em.)



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JULY

 July: From this month into September, [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) would be creating *BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA*.

 July: Early in the month, as King Louis XVIII re-entered [Paris](#) after the defeat of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), the count of Chambord bowed to him and went “A hundred days have elapsed, sire, since the fatal moment when your Majesty was forced to quit your capital in the midst of tears.” The political trope “the first 100 days” was born. Napoleon abdicated in a fruitless attempt to get his little son, who at that point held the title “King of Rome,” made the ruler of France. Finally realizing that his situation was hopeless, he made a dash for the coast in an attempt to take ship for the USA. However, when he arrived in the port of Rochefort, Napoleon found the entrance to the bay being blockaded by the HMS *Bellerophon*, a veteran of the Battle of Trafalgar nicknamed “Billy Ruffian” — and a ship past which he knew he was not going to be able to slip.

After the Hundred Days, [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) returned to Ghent, where saw Louis XVIII, and in the name of the liberal party pointed out that a frank adoption of a liberal policy could alone secure the duration of the restored monarchy — advice which was ill-received by the king’s confidential advisers. This visit to Ghent would be used against him in later years because it made him seem unpatriotic. He would be referred to scornfully as “The Man of Ghent.”

During this month, the grand news of the abdication, that this French pest and pestilence had finally been contained, was going out all over the world as fast as the winds would carry it, in as full detail as was available:

 July 1, Saturday: The new French government resolved to surrender to the allies.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st [sic] day 1st of 7 M 1815 / I find that NYork begins to look natural this forenoon too a walk our alone thro' Broad way & called at many stores & asked for many things which I did not want nor expect the had for a pretext to view their Stores, & see a little of their manner of doing buisness returne'd down Wall Street thro' Wm Street home & found I had walked as much in the sun as I could bear – Aftebr resting a little went to Saml Woods Store looked round among his Books &c Just before dinner Sally Howland & Thos R Williams called I let me know they were to Sail for home at 1 / 2 past 2 OC I regretted not being in readiness to go with them - as at 1 / 2 an hours warning I could not pack up my things & make a few calls which I should deem necessary – In the Afternoon went to Crane Wharf & engaged a passage in Sloop Alonzo Capt Westcoat – returned & after resting a little went up & took a more thorough view of the City Hall - We went into the room where the Governors & Council meet when in NYokr, here we saw some elegant paintings among them was the likeness of the present Govr Tompkins & of Dweit Clinton – In the room where the Mayor & Council sit we saw the likeness of John Jay which from the great esteem I bear for his Character was more interesting than any likeness I saw among them all – The Mayor & Councils Room is said exceeds in elegance an room that is occupied by the Crowned heads of Europe – Called to see Benj & Niobe & returned to tea – Called on Wm Thurston & set the eveng with him & his wife very agreeably - on my way to Williams met Stephen Grellett in the Street who seemd very loving & sent

an which we could aspire.

FRANCE.

The second abdication of the Throne of France by Napoleon Buonaparte was alluded to in our last Number, and has since received full confirmation. We must, however, take up the thread of our Abstract at the period immediately following the great Battle of Waterloo.

After witnessing the irretrievable rout of his troops in the dreadful engagement on the 18th ult. Buonaparte returned in haste to Paris, where he arrived at eleven o'clock on the night of the 20th, at the very time when the Parisians were exulting at the reports of his success on the 15th and 16th*. His sudden and unexpected return, coupled with rumours of the great defeat of the 18th, changed their ill-founded exultation into a sullen grief.

The next morning the arrival of Buonaparte was known throughout Paris, and the public consternation became general. In the course of the day he summoned his Ministers, and stated to them explicitly, that *his Army was no more*, and that he required their assistance in the formation of another.

According to the account of this affair officially given in the Paris Papers, the battle was decidedly with Buonaparte at eight o'clock in the evening of the 18th, and promised a brilliant triumph for the following day. But we shall here quit our Abstract for a moment, and quote the French account verbatim:

"After eight hours fire, and charges of infantry and cavalry, all the army saw with joy the battle gained, and the field of battle in our power.—At half after eight o'clock four battalions of the middle guard, who had been sent to the platform on the other side of St. John, in order to support the cuirassiers, being greatly annoyed by their fire, endeavoured to carry the batteries with the bayonet. At the end of the day, a charge directed against their flank



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his love to my Dear H

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 2, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 2nd of 7 M 1815 / When I returned home last evening found Aunt Patty quite poorly with her old complaint the Cholic, but got a little releaved & I retired to rest but find that she had a poor night, is however bettebr this morning – Attended Liberty Street Meeting, in the mornng there was an appearance by one Sam Mott, as Stark Naught as any thing I ever heard – S Grellett near the close, spoke in an awakening manner, in the necessity of a preparation for Death; for the shadows of the eveng were stretching over some who were not far advanced in life - he said he did not wish to stamp his testimony, as if some sudden Death would occur he wished to excite the inquiry "Is it I Is it I" in every mind - it would hurt more to make a critical examination of their state & condition &c. – Between Meetings J Bower Lewis Rous ma nier ? & Capt Wood called to see us. R Island folks company was pleasant & the more so as they brought letters from home which mentioned the welfare of all I left – The leeter from my H enclosed one from our little John which she had guided his little hand & mind to write, I recd on also from Br David - they were no small releaf to my mind as I was getting veebry anxious to be at home –
In the Afternoon Willet Hicks preached well, after meeting closed at the door I met Wm Wright who had returned to NYork as he did in [Newport](#) went with him to his fathers & took tea, & set the latter part of the eveng with Daniel Minturn –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 3, Monday: On June 30 and on this day, a Treaty of Peace with the Bey of Algiers.

READ THE FULL TEXT

The Bey agreed to cease exacting tribute, and to release all prisoners of war.

Also, our commissioners at Ghent made a commercial convention with Great Britain, to last four years, and stipulation, for absolute reciprocity by abolishing, in direct trade, all discriminations.

READ THE FULL TEXT

[Napoléon Bonaparte](#) arrived at the Atlantic port of Rochefort north of Bordeaux, hoping to escape to the United States of America. Meanwhile the French government prepared 18 articles known as the Convention of Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 3rd 7M 1815 / Buisy all the forenoon preparing for a passage home, but in the Afternoon found to my disappointment that the Capt had defer'd Sailing till tomorrow – My mind is now quite anxious to be getting home - & tho' I receive every attention & much more than I deserve, & my frs still desirous of a protracted stay, yet time begins to hang heavy – The purpose



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for which I came is answerd, & even more than answerd –I feel thankful for this opportunity of being with my friends, & above all for the newe'd evidence of the continuance of divine regard which has been mercifully vouchsafed – My heart has been fraught with gratitude, tenderness & love to my friends here, & greatly indeed has my love been excited for my dear H & our dear little boy at home – they now begin to claim my thoughts & occasion some anxiety --Toward night called a little while on Ruth Winteringham – In the evening went up with Aunt to set a little while with Benj & Wife & found they had set out to see us -- we returned & found them setting in the front Room -- I must not close the account of this day without inserting, that After tea I walked up to Collumbia [sic] College -which is most beautifully situated at the foot of Park Place, before it is a fine green plat & a flowring grove of Trees – two of them which are Button Wood are the largest I have ever seen. Park Place was formerly called Robinson Street & is one of the Widest, most airy & fine built that I have observed in the City. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#), or [Hathorne's](#), 11th birthday.

The cornerstone for [Baltimore's](#) Washington Monument was set.

Richard Bland Lee read the [Declaration of Independence](#) in the Hall of the House of Representatives at the Capitol.

In New-York, officers from the French frigate *Hermione* sat in the reviewing stands in front of City Hall as American troops paraded before them. Although “patriotic tars” attempted to “haul down the British colors,” the group was dispersed by the police. In the harbor a “steam vessel of war,” complete with cannon, was being tested — and was passing its tests.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



French Minister of War Louis Davout carried the Convention of Paris to the allies at the Neuilly bridge, where it was signed by all parties.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 4th of 7 M 1815 / This morning took a Walk round fly Market from thence to Washington Market which I think the handsomest I have seen in the City – To a Newporter the Provisions exhibited & sold at these public Stands are almost incredible – At Washington I bought some dry'd Peaches & Cherrys, the latter I hope will keep till I get home, being desirous to treat my H & our little boy with some of them – While walking round great stir begun to take place in the City in commemoration of Independence – The noise & Bustle became unpleasant – I hastened home & in the course of the forenoon called on Saml Wood & took leave of him – employed my time till



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Dinner time in making a few Memorandums, & writing a short address to Uncle & Aunt wherein I more freely express my feeling at parting with them than I could at the Moment by word of Mouth

Dined at 1 / 2 OClock & parted with my dear & affectionate relatives which proved quite as much as my Manhood could encounter, & as it was articulation became difficult - when we got to the Wharf the Packet had hauled some distance in the River but at five minutes before 2 OClock we were on board her & at 1 / 2 past 5 OC we passed safely thro' Hurl Gate we saw a schooner on shore that went thro' just before us - At 1 / 2 past 8 OClock off Sands Point Light - a little before which we took tea - The Capt Says we are under fine way & a good Prospect before us - We have on board Jacob Bunting a young fr from Philads - who seems to be quite companionable - There is also with us a Presbyterian Minister from Portland whose name is Elijah Kellog he appears to be remarkably liberal in his conversation, & is well acquainted with most of our friends of that Place & speaks well of them - at tea table he took the Liberty to make a Prayer which I did not savor so well as his conversation - There are many other Passengers, & many of them I have not yet ascertained their names - those of [Newport](#) are Jonathon Bowen, Robt Robinson, & Robt Stevens Jr - At the table we found the want of a Woman to do the honors of the table -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 5, Wednesday: [John Thoreau, Jr.](#)'s 1st birthday.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5th of 7 M 1815 / On Board the Alonzo Capt Westcot Rose this Mornng just as the sun was rising in a clear horizon from the Water - I have several times rose early & gone on the Hill to see this sight but never before had the opportunity, it was truly beautiful - We find ourselves off Crane Neck on L Island & only about 60 Miles from NYork - a poor run last night, which I hope will be compensated by a good breeze & favorable tide today tho the prospect before us is Dull - I slept comfortably & had to sympathize with several who lay on the Cabin floor -

At 11 OC of Oldmans harbor on L Island in a flat Calm At 2 OC while at dinner the Wind Breezed up finely - I find we have on board Doctor John Waterhouse of Philadelphia son of Benj Waterhouse - & Ray Clarke of [Greenwich](#) who is one of my old school fellows -a renewal of acquaintance with him is very pleasant - At Sunsett of Oyster Pond with a good breese - At 1 / 2 past 9 OC a little past Gull light with a good breese - The Air is very clear & we have the very singular sight of five Light Houses all in view at once Vizt Gull, Saybrook, Montaugue, New London & Watch Hill

In the course of the eveng I have discovered that there was a man on board by the name of Saml G Adams of Richmond Virginia, by whom I enquired after & sent my love to Thos Ladd - at several times engaged in agreeable conversation with Parson Kellog. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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July 6, Thursday: The [Duke of Wellington](#) and Marshall Gebhard Leberecht von Blücher, Fürst von Wahlstatt entered Paris at the head of their allied army. Blücher made a demand of the city leaders, for 100,000,000 francs plus new uniforms for all of his 110,000 troops. British Foreign Secretary Viscount Castlereagh reached Paris to negotiate a 2d Peace of Paris.

[John Wedderburn Halkett](#) remarried, with Lady Katherine Douglas.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 6th of 7th 1815 / Found ourselves this mornng under Block Island & not far from Point Judith in a flat Calm & came to Anchor where we lay till near 11 OC when the Wind & tide favoring we made some headway - Amused ourselves with the Spy Glass in looking at Block Island & scenes around in Charleston - which with a little conversation with the Passengers & the prospect of being home tonight made the time not very tedious - In the course of this day made some acquaintance with Saml Dana of Cambridge & Echabod Goodwin of Berwick - At 2 OC Dined & at 1 / 4 before 3 OC turned Point Judith - At 3 OC by the Assistance of the Glass Saw the Steeples of [Newport](#) which soon became in full view - at the sight of which my heart **LEAPS** - At 1 / 2 Past 4 OC Turned Beaver tail light at 6 OC Arrived Banisters Wharf & in a few minutes to my home where I found my beloved H & our little John both well & very glad to see me. - This with my safe return to them is cause of gratitude - In taking a retrospect of my visit this evening, it all looks pleasant & I feel thankful, that I have been - it may prove beneficial to me many ways - I have had but few advantages in seeing the World, this little jant may tend & I think has already tended to enlarge my view of men & things - There is an increasing body of Friends in NYork, & some considerable number of well concerned Members -but alas for the spirit of the World - which appears to me, must be very prevalent among them -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 7, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 7 of 7 M / It takes sometime to get settled after a voyage my head still feels the motion of the vessel & my mind the many scenes of NYork - Sister Ruth & Mary set the evening with us to whom I endeavor'd to relate some of the occurences of my visit

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 8, Saturday: King Louis XVIII returned to the Tuilleries from Ghent to reestablish a government for the Kingdom of France.

The name of the Académie Impériale de Musique (Paris Opéra) was changed to the Académie Royale de Musique.

In the port of Rochefort, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) boarded the French ship *La Saale* to be transported to the United States of America (the vessel would be unable to proceed because of the presence of *HMS Bellerophon*).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 8 of 7 M / Resumed the usual rounds of Trade &c, a number



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of my friends have called to see me wo seem pleased with my return

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 9, Sunday: Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévant replaced Joseph, comte Fouché, duc d'Otrante as Prime Minister of France.

After nine years, Frankfurt-am-Main was reconstituted as a free city.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 9 of 7 M / Our Meetings (I believe) were seasons of heaviness to most present - In the mornng a few words spoken

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 11, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 11 of 7 M / A tea table Sister Ruth mentioned the decease Henry Russel of [Providence](#) - This was the first I have heard that tho' he has been Sick some weeks & dead some days -My mind was forcibly impressed with the Language "Be ye also ready, for in the day & hour & ye Know not" - I put up at his house when at the Quarterly Meeting in the Winter of 1814 was kindly entertained, & he & his wife felt much as a Bother & Sister. - I also heard this Afternoon of the decease of my friend James Denson Ladd of Virginia & his wife who Arrived but a Short time after him -James was here in the Summer of 1809 for his health when I became acquainted with him, & since have recd one letter from him & written him two - Thus our friends are passing away -& soon very soon must we follow them - Oh the vast necessity of apreparation for the change - this I forcibly feel as I write it -4th day 12th of 7 M 1815 / Richard Mott & his companion John Clapp arrived in town last eveng - I called at his lodging this morning & spent a little time with him very agreeably, & he agreed to dine with us tomorrow

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 13, Thursday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) handed his sword to a British officer. Sez he:⁵⁵

I come like Themistocles to throw myself upon the hospitality of the British people.



The British discovered a nude statue of Napoleon in the basement of the Louvre and carried it off: it would grace the home of [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#).⁵⁶ From this point forward it would cost the British people over £400,000 per year to guard their “Themistocles,” but the man was history. When he died they would mutilate his corpse, and his penis, tagged “Little Piece of Human Flesh,” happens to be still in circulation in England, being passed from hand to hand at various classy big-city auctions.

(The wars of the 1800-1815 period had cost France alone about 1/60th of its male population, or about 500,000 young men. But Britain also had lost little pieces of human flesh here and there.)

With the defeat of [Napoleon Bonaparte](#), [Mme. Jeanne-Françoise-Julie-Adélaïde “Juliette” Récamier](#) ([Madame Récamier](#)) was able to return to Paris and restart her famous *salon*, at which she received guests frequently while semi-reclining upon a piece of furniture, a backless daybed or couch, which would become known as a *récamier* in her honor:

“And Amy, what is she going to do?” asked Mrs. March, well pleased at Laurie’s decision and the energy with which he spoke.

“After doing the civil all round, and airing our best bonnet, we shall astonish you by the elegant hospitalities of our mansion, the brilliant society we shall draw about us, and the beneficial influence we shall exert over the world at large. That’s about it, isn’t it, ‘Madame Récamier?’” asked Laurie with a quizzical look at Amy.

“Time will show. Come away, Impertinence, and don’t shock my family by calling me names before their faces,” answered Amy, resolving that there should be a home with a good wife in it before she set up a *salon* as a queen of society.

55. This raises an interesting question. When did [Themistocles](#) throw himself upon the hospitality of the British people?
56. This statue stands all of fifteen feet tall, exclusive of its pedestal. Well, but it must weigh a bit more than the Little General did even at the most corpulent stage of his old age, as well.

At her salon, which for a long period of time was held in her separate rented suite in an old Paris convent at the Abbaye-aux-Bois, one of the featured guests was her associate [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#). A painting by Jacques-Louis David hanging in the Louvre depicts Mme. Récamier semi-reclining on her récamier as a younger woman,⁵⁷ as of 1800 before she had been exiled from Paris by

57. I've checked it out, and M. Chateaubriand does **not** appear in his own portrait eating one of the double-thick center cut of beef tenderloin, stuffed and braised, the dish named in his honor. Nor is he reclining on a récamier (the illustrated piece of furniture, named in her honor), or upon Mme. Récamier herself for that matter — he's just relaxing in a comfortable pair of pants with mussy hair:



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Napoleon for her quasi-Royalist sentiments.



With the defeat of [Bonaparte](#), a portion of the reform in [Switzerland](#) was cancelled, and patricians regained decisive positions in [Lucerne](#)'s politics.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13 of 7 M / Rich Mott this mornng appointed a Meeting for the inhabitants of the Town this Afternoon at 5 OC – He attended our Meeting in the course & delivered a short but Sound pertinent & very lively testimony – at the close his afternoon meeting was mentioned by D Buffum & general informations requested – He with his companion dined with us, their company was pleasant & gratifying – At the hour appointed a large number of people collected, several of the most respectable of inhabitants attended - among who were Wm Ellery Snr Wm Ellery Junr, Doct Mann. Christopher G Camplin, Benj Hazard, Doct Hazard Wm Hunter & Nath Hazard -

Richard was much favored in his testimony his opening was "The Kingdom of God consisteth not in Meats or Drinks, but in

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Righteousness, peace & Joy in the Holy Ghost - this subject he handled well & his communication was attended with a remarkable degree of Life & Power, which drew the attention of people who sat very solidly & it appeared to me that Truth Reigned & the savor thereof spread over most minds present - he concluded in A very solemn & reverend supplication - All this was cause of rejoicing to many minds present. & it appears the Audience were well satisfied. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 14, Friday: The USS *Epervier*, an 18-gun sloop of war with approximately 128 men on board, was somehow lost at sea sometime after this date. No trace has ever been found.

LOST AT SEA



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6 day 14 of 7 M / The people speak much in favor of our Meeting Yesterday, & from the feeling manner in which some who may be denominated the World people speak of it - I am ready [to] hope it was a season wherein Truth was Triumphant & that some lasting benefit may result to some minds, which however may not be seen in many Days

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 15, Saturday: Realizing his situation had become just hopeless, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) had formed a plan to embark on some ship heading toward the United States of America and had rushed to the coast of France. However, when he had arrived at the port of Rochefort he had found the entrance to the bay being blockaded by the “Billy Ruffian” or HMS *Bellerophon*, a veteran of the Battle of Trafalgar. Finally facing the prospect of capture and execution by French royalists, he surrendered to the captain of that man-of-war.

Es ist vollbracht, the finale of a pasticcio called Die Ehrenpforten, by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#), was performed for the initial time.

→ July 16, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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*1st day 16 of 7 M / Excepting a few words spoken in the Afternoon
our Meetings were both silent – both dull seasons to me
Set up last night with Thos Hornsby who was exceedinly ill from
the effects of an over dose of Camphor –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 18, Tuesday: [Timothy Alden, Jr.](#) placed an advertisement in the [Crawford Messenger](#) announcing the establishment in Meadeville, Pennsylvania of “Alleghany College.”



July 19, Wednesday: According to an article in the [Caledonian Mercury](#) of Edinburgh, Scotland for August 3, Thursday, 1815, an announcement had been made by the “WAR-OFFICE” on July 29th in which was contained the intelligence that as of the date of July 19th, Captain Fisher having been killed in action, [Lieutenant John Thoreau](#) became Captain of Company. England being England, here is a poetic commemoration of the struggle that resulted in this fatality and this promotion:

**“Lines written after reading an account of the Late Battle,”
by “W.A.”⁵⁸**

How soon the world's pacific prospects fade
And sink in sombre shade.
Those joys which lately we with rapture viewed
Those peaceful charms;
To War's alarms
Once more give way;
Mad Discord! not sufficiently imbrued
With deeds of blood, and cursed destructive power
Would still prolong its short remaining hour,
Short I should hope, for lo! the embattled plain
Proof of its potent sway
Lies heaped with myriads of its victims slain.

Once more the fiend in human form appears,
The Monstrous hydra rears
His seven-fold, hideous features, to our sight
Rebellion thrives,
The tyrant strives,
But strives in vain
To bring his traitorous forces to the fight,
He ne'er can cope with England's proudest boast,
Who leads to victory, in himself a host,
Whose troops are those heroic Britons born,
Whom nothing can restrain;
Who dare proud Gallia's power, her empty vauntings scorn.

But pause! and contemplate this scene of blood,
This endless widowhood,
To many a thousand sorrows, joys, and fears:
The mother's sighs,
The Orphan's cries,
The parent's grief,
In agonising strains assail our ears—
Say then; shall England's sufferers bleed in vain,

58. This would appear on November 1st on page 331 of [The New Monthly Magazine IV](#).



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In this blest land sure no one will refrain
To give a pittance to their country's need,
Tho' small it gives relief,
And heals the wound by want made deep indeed.

What tho' my feelings for my country yearn,
And claim my first concern,
Yet fine supporters of this glorious day,
Allied by birth,
And every worth,
To honour's cause;
Your dauntless prowess shines with brightest ray!
And while we sojourn in this world below,
May we no discord, no disunion know,
Firm to each other, shew mankind like men
Support, enjoy our laws,
And drive oppression from his murderous den.

(With Napoleon having handed over his sword as of July 13th, this battle of the 19th would have been one of the mopping-up operations against French diehards.)



July 20, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20th of 7th M / Silent Meeting – In the last (Preparative) Wm Mitchell Preposed publishing his intentions of Marriage with Mary Wilcox – Charles Smith & his wife of Philadelphia were at Meeting & in the Afternoon I met him in Br D Rs Shop & invited him to give us a call, he accordingly came up & set about an hour with us & was agreeable in conversation. They take tea at father Rodmans. – Sister Rebecca & Betsy Peckham set the Afternoon Br John Joined us at tea –6th day 21 of 7 M / Cousin Thos Gould arrivd in town last eveng from Albany & gave us a call this forenoon –We took tea with our old neighbors Sam Vernon & his Wife – –the old man in his place at table returned thanks for his interview with his friends, & craved that it might be render'd a season of instruction to us. – & I dont know but his desire was answered for among all the visits we hade made them I do not recollect one quite so agreeable – In mentioning this to my H as we returned I found her sentiment was the same. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 22, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22 of 7 M 1815 / This Afternoon took my H & John & went to Connanicut to Cousin Molly Howland. The object of this visit was to see Cousin Abigail Casey, the old Lady seem'd very glad to see us as was cousin Howland & told us many little accounts in conversing on some old Buckthorn trees Which stood near the house. They told us that they were the same trees which our old Great Great Grandfather Moury planted & must now be much over 100 Years old - on all the land on which she lived & owned she planted Buckthorn & Flagroot, being a doctress she made great use of these Articles - The house in which cousin Howland lives stands on the same spot on which my great Grandfather Saml Clarke did & some of the vestages of his beautiful garden still remain, it is a beautiful spot & calculated to afford every comfort &



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pleasure which can ebe enjoyed this side of the grave - in walking round my mind an Idea visited the ancient residents who I hope are now in a better Mansion - In going over the wind blew hard & being but myself & one more man on board I was not a little affraid of the consequences - we returned & got home little after sunset & had a very pleasant Visit as was the excursions in general — This is the first time John was [last two lines nearly illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23 of 7 M 1815 / In the forenoon [first six line nearly illegible]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 24, Monday: King Louis XVIII of France ordered the arrest of 57 high ranking political and military officials of the Empire, on charges of treason.

 July 27, Thursday: There was a [manumission](#) on the island of Jamaica:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
July 27, 1815	Mary Taylor	Frank	£80
July 25, 1815	Edward Bullock	Ann al Mary Ann	£90
January 16, 1816	Trustees of Vere Free School	Mary Ann Shand & her child Margaret Ann Kohler	£140
February 1, 1816	Mary Douglas	Patrick Douglas	10 shillings
April 2, 1816	Catherine Denniss	William Norman	£50
November 25, 1817	Francis Elliott	Charles Clarke	10 shillings
March 10, 1817	Thomas Prescott	Julian Kein	10 shillings
June 4, 1817	Thomas Anderson	Thomas Anderson, Daniel Anderson	no value
July 2, 1817	Jacob Lopez Fonseca & ux.	Mary Lalote	£32
June 3, 1817	William Jno James & Hugh James	Eleanor Hackett & her children Samuel Malcolm Facey, James Malcolm Facey	£200
July 1, 1818	Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27th of 7 M / In the first Meeting R Davis bore a short testimony & was concluded by Fatthebr Rodman - In the last Monthly htere was considerable buisness - Wm Mitchell & Mary Wilcox published their intentions of marriage & Aza ARnold & Abby Dennis {illegible} -theirs in a meeting appointed for the [—] 3 OC Pm {too faint to understand} & I believe a low time



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to most present.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 28, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 28 of 7 M / Attended the meeting for consumation of Aza Arnolds & Abby Dennis Marriage - which was large & solid the young folks succeeded well. D Buffum A Robinson & Ruth Weaver & Hannah Dennis had short testimonys.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 29, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) made out his will, leaving the residue of his estate to Augusta.

→ July 30, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 7 M / In the forenoon Father Rodman appeared much to my satisfaction - Also Cousin Anne Greene - In the Afternoon Father again in a few words - After tea took a walk round the Hill with Br D Rodman - Returned & found J Sherman & Sister Eiza sitting with my H

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 31, Monday: The British government announced that [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) would be banished to [St. Helena](#).

AUGUST

→ August: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) wrote STAR OF THE BRAVE and NAPOLEON'S FAREWELL.

During this month and the following one, [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s *BELLES LETTRES*, *SIBYLLINE LEAVES*, and *BIOGRAPHIA LITERARIA* were being put through the presses.

→ August: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft](#) settled near Bishopsgate.

→ August 1, Tuesday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts, second of four children of [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) and Ruth Charlotte Smith Dana. The other children of this marriage:

- Ruth Charlotte Dana (1814-1901)
- Edmund "Ned" Trowbridge Dana (1818-1869)
- Susan Dana (1820-1822)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 1st of 8th M 1815 / This morning recd information from NYork Caty Wickham that Niobe had been sick two days & an half when she left their & her situation considered dangerous - this information has affected my mind with much seriousness having felt forebodings while I was there that when she came to be sick



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her case would be hard, & the increased nearness which is felt toward her at that time creates no small anxiety on her acct.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 3, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3 of 8th M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting & in order to give Hannah & John (who went with me) a longer ride we took a new rout over the Beach to Purgatory & went thro' the roads tha way & came into the Main road our by Peleg Sandfords This made a pleasing variety, besides which we went away from home at the early hour of 6 OClock which made it very cool & pleasant riding - we got to Uncle Thurstons at 8 OClock & there took breakfast where we met with Wm Rotch Jr Thos Arnold & several other interesting friends - At meeting the first in testimony was James Greene, more lengthy than I ever heard him -sound & pertinent & according to my sense attended with a good degree of Gospel Power next Father Rodman & then my old friend & former Correspondent Thomas Anthony & next Obadiah Davis, lengthy & sound, clear & powerful & Divine favor seem'd evidently extended thro' the whole sitting - In the last buisness went on with remarkable unanimity O Davis & others made frequent [?] remarks as did R Greene & others which I thought {last three lines too faded } [top of next page] dined at Uncle Thurstons where I met Sarah Greene had a little intersting conversation with her on the subject of her intended journey as companion to Betsy Purinton on a religious visit to Some meetings in & on the way to Baltimore Yearly Meeting - I found Sarahs ideas & mine corresponded well & she felt nearer to me than she ever did before - tho' I have known her a long time yet I never had much intimate acquaintance with her

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 5, Saturday: The new 44-gun frigate USS *Java* (so named after a British vessel defeated by the Americans) got underway from the shipyard of Flannigan & Parsons at [Baltimore, Maryland](#). Captain [Oliver Hazard Perry](#) would pick up spare rigging at Hampton Roads and New York before sailing the new vessel to [Newport, Rhode Island](#) to recruit its crew. The frigate would stand out from Newport in the face of a bitter gale on January 22, 1816 on the way to the Mediterranean but a mast would snap with 10 men aloft, killing 5. During April the vessel would be off Algiers as Captain Perry attempted under flag of truce to persuade the Dey of Algiers to honor a treaty he had signed. It would sail to Tripoli with the USS *Constellation*, the USS *Ontario*, and the USS *Erie* in a display of the new strength of the United States of America. After visiting the ports of Syracuse, Messina, Palermo, Tunis, Gibraltar, and Naples, the frigate would return to Newport early in 1817 and be taken in for restoration at the naval yards of Boston.

Austria demanded the return of all art works taken by [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) from its lands (including from northern Italy).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 5th of 8 M 1815 / The Audit met at father Rodmans to settle inventory [?] of the Meeting at the past year - Benj Mott was with him [two illegible lines] to [Portsmouth](#) with I accordingly [--] stepped into his Chaise & rode with him to Cousin Zacheus Chases where I found them as comfortable as old



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folks [the last half of this page too faint to read]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 7, Monday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) was transferred to *HMS Northumberland* for transport to [St. Helena](#).

 August 8, Tuesday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) became a prisoner under transportation, destined for the island of [St. Helena](#) that was just the right distance away from France.

Of course, the defeat at Waterloo, and the events that had followed, had brought an end to the [Italian](#) judicial career of [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 8 of 8 M 1815 / This afternoon I witnessed a solemn scene - I called in the latter part of the Afternoon to see Matthew Barker who has been a long time very low & in great distress & apparantly Dieing for several Days, about 20 Minutes after I went into the room the scene closed, his distress continuing till near the close - When he breathed his last my sensations exceeded any thing I ever felt on seeing any person depart from time, my whole frame was shaken - every day brings us all nearer to the like Awful period & every scene like this is a solemn warning to us. to have our minds prepared for the event. - for some time he has not been entirely rational - & when I saw him this mornng & at the final close he was past sensing much for any thing but his distress - I staid & assisted in laying him out

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 9, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4 day 9 of 8 M / We had a pleasant call from Mary Morton Attended the funeral of Matthew Barker a few words deliverd by a friend at the house - Sarah Earl & Dorcas Wharton set the Afternoon & Jacob Clarke took tea with us -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 10, Thursday: British forces once again occupied the island of Guadeloupe.

 August 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 8 M / My mind for some time has been on desolate places & our Mornng meeting a silent barran time to me but in the Afternoon life spring up much to my consolation & comfort -there was [—] was sweet & precious [—] Eunice Earl Set the evening & took tea with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 17, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th of 8th M 1815 / I was thankful under a sense of



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favor in meeting today it seemed to be generally a good time – but I have been humbly to acknowledge, in the language I heard Joseph Martin this morning, in speaking of himself he said "I am a poor needy creature in spiritual things." This is just my case, & tho' there was a sense of favor in meeting this forenoon & generally thro' the course of the day yet while in meeting I could not keep the ballance the whole time, unprofitable thoughts sometimes Krept in, but it was not so hard to get rid of them as I have sometimes found it. – Near the close of the meeting by a Friend his sentence was expressed "Abel offered a Sacrifice which was not acceptable, because it was not offered in sincerity of heart & purity of intention [—] Martha & Hannah Gould set the Afternoon & took tea with us –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 18, Friday: Dedication of the University Hall at [Harvard College](#), designed by Charles Bulfinch.

 August 20, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 20 of 8 M / Took John before breakfast over to the Point & went into the Water with him. The dear little fellow seemed very reluctant at being soused under Water but he has seemed very smart & lively all day after it – In the mornng meeting father Rodman deliver'd a short testimony – In the Afternoon Mary Morton in a [?] of encouragement also Hannah Dennis - The afternoon was a season of some favor to me for which I desire to be thankful -After tea took a pleasant walk on the point with my dear H & Polly Macclish - John & Caleb [?] company, the little fellows seemd highly pleased –

[Newport](#) 8th M 20th 1815

Stephen Gould [surrounded with a flourish]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 24, Thursday: Two numbers for a farce called *Der traverstirte Aeneas* by Carl Maria von Weber, Mein Weib ist capores J.183 and *Frau Lieserl, juhe!* J.184, were performed for the initial time, in Prague.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 24th of 8th M 1815 / At meeting my mind was brought to look back & commemorate the mercys & tender dealings of my heavenly Father from early time to the present day - Several of my early associates were brought fresh to my mind who begun well & went on so for a season, but finally lost sight of the days of their espousals & alass, at last, their right in society - My mind was humbled & tendered in a remarkable degree under their considerations, & in reflecting that notwithstanding all my sins & transgressions & short comings in many respects, I am still kept alive still at seasons favor'd with the evidence that divine love is Yet extended, gratitude was raised in my heart to the Author of all mercies in a degree which I seldom experience, & desires raised that the present time might prove as a renewal of covenant – while I was thus ruminating - a short testimony was deliver'd by a friend & succeeded by other short

ones by Mary Morton & Hannah Dennis, -the two last were Sweet as marrow to my feelings, it Seemed as if they both had been diped into my feelings in a manner which was remarkable, & may be memorable to me & some others present -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 25, Friday: Franz Schubert applied for the position of director of the elementary school attached to the monastery of the Scottish Order in Vienna (this would not happen).

It being the birthday of King Louis XVIII, Choeur et couplets pour la St. Louis and Vive le roi! for solo voice and piano to words of Desaugiers by Luigi Cherubini were performed for the initial time, in Paris.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 25 of 8 M 1815 / This Afternoon Our dear Sister Ruth returned from her visit to None Partners where she hath been with Uncle Wmm Mitchell and passed some weeks very agreeably. Uncle Wm has reurned to consumate his intended marriage with Mary Willcox. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 26, Saturday: In München, Clarinet Quintet J.182 by Carl Maria von Weber was performed for the initial time.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 26 of 8 m / Have been much occupied today in removing Lydia Tucker to board with Avis Knowles - She has now passed 85 Years & has become so infirm as to be unable to take care of herself - Sister Ruth Set part of the Afternoon & took tea with us & gave a very intersting account of her late Journey. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 27, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 27th of 8 M / Our mornng meeting was silent except a few words toward the close of it by father R - In the Afternoon towards the close D Buffum expressed his humble gratitude for the present favor, considering it to have been a season wherein divine good had been extended, he exhorted us to "ask & if we rightly asked we should receive" to our consolation & Ruth Weaver then expressed the text "Seek first the Kingdom of Heaven &c & the meeting closed - In the evening with my H called at the Widow Eastons to See William Thurston & his wife who arrived last eveng from N York. This call was agreeable. Wm & his wife were very open & friendly when I saw them at their home & I feel a disposition to do as well by them at mine, as they did by me at theirs. The sorrowful tidings reached town this Afternoon that John Gardiner a young man of this town was drown'd last evening coming



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from N York - he went into the boat in the Stern of the Packet which slid over & turned him into the Water, every possible effort was made to save him but in vain, he was son of John Gardiner formerly of this town a late Vendue Master -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 28, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 28th of 7th M 1815 / My H set the Afternoon at her fathers, I went up & took tea with her

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 29, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 29th of 8 M / My Mother, wife & son after tea went over to Thos Robinsons & set till nearly dusk, their visit they said was very agreeable. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30, Wednesday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) would be visiting Augusta, at Six Mile Bottom, until September 4th.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 30th of 8th M / Set the Afternoon & took tea at Br J Rodmans
It is a season of great dullness in buisness, my trade affords but little pecuniary Assistance, yet I am far from feelings as discouraged as I have sometimes when things of an outward nature have been low, for which I do feel thankful. -Our visit at Br Johns was very pleasant & while setting with them I could but say in my mind, "Behold how good & how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in love" -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 31, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th 31 of 8 M / A Stormy morning pretty high wind & rain - I feel much dicouraged with the prospect of [Portsmouth](#) Notwithstanding it looked like a difficult undertaking to go to [Portsmouth](#), yet as several who usualy go were like to be detained at home, my H & I took Chaise & went - The wind blew a violent gale at N E & it rained hard & I got wet, thro' on my arms - but by means of a camblet Cloak Hannah got wet not at all, & neither of us was very little incommoded by the undertaking -In the first meeting Anne Almy appeard in a Sweet & fervant Supplication - then Hannah Dennis in testimony, the Mary Morton in fervant supplication again, & to me it was a good Meeting as I have no doubt it was to many others present whose hearts rejoiced in a fresh evidence of renew'd life in themselves & felt it extended to others - In the last meeting we had but little buisness -


 September: [Walter Savage Landor](#) had quickly become dissatisfied with Tours, and after a conflict with his landlady his party set off for [Italy](#). The married couple would finally settled at Como, where they would remain for three years. Even at Como [Landor](#) would have a problem, for at the time Caroline of Brunswick, lawful wife of the Prince Regent of England, was in residence — [Landor](#) would fall under suspicion of acting as an agent of her husband, dispatched to observe her conduct during their divorce proceedings.

An anonymous fake biography of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) appeared:

**AMOURS SECRETTES
DE
NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE**

When Nappy, on Isle Sainte Hélène one evening in the winter of 1817, would glance through this book,



he would be heartily amused. He would comment that actually he had sexually “known” none of the women mentioned:

They make a Hercules of me!


 September 1, Friday: A council was held at Detroit, and the hatchet buried by the tribes represented. These were the Seneca, Delaware, Shawnee, Wyandot, Pottawatomie of Lake Michigan, Ottawa, and Chippeway, with the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), and Sauk. Other treaties were made with the Pottawatomies of the Illinois, the Piankeshaw, Osago, Iowa, Kansa, Fox, Kickapoo, and bands of the Dakota (Sioux). The posts of Prairie du Chien (at the conflux of the Wisconsin River with the Mississippi River) and Michilimackinac (at the Michigan Strait in the Great Lakes) were reoccupied.

Württemberg joined the [German](#) Confederation.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 1st of 9 M 1815 / My H & John spent the Afternoon at D Buffum Junrs. Sister Rith & I joined them at tea & spent the evening with them - this is the first visit I have ever paid David & Susan since they were house keepers

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 September 2, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 2nd of 9the M / I have had the teeth Ach & the head ach all Day & this Afternoon, I find the difficulty increased - Anne & Nancy Almy gave us a short call this forenoon which was pleasant. - I see by the Newspaper of this day that John Benson son of the late Martin Benson, has within a week or two been drowned at Sea, he was a distant relation of mine on the Wanton side, - he was a steady young man, & remarkably afable in his deportment & having known him intimately from his boyhood felt an attachment to him -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 3, Sunday: The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) and [Mrs. Abigail Hubbard Flint](#) were dismissed from the membership of the Congregational Church in the Lunenburg portion of Fitchburg, to the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts.⁵⁹

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 9th M 1815 / I have staid at home all Day with the Tooth Ach & Ague in my face - My H & John attended Meeting & said in the forenoon Father Rodman & Mary Morton preached & in the Afternoon Father, D Buffum & Ruth Weaver.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 4, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 4th of 9th M / My Ague & Tooth Ach hangs on very hard I had little or no sound sleep last night & it has not been sufficiently easy thro' the day to admit of my taking a nap - This circumstance prevents my attending the Meeting Appointed this Afternoon for Uncle Wm Mitchell & Mary Willcox to Solemnize their marriage - My H, John & Polly Mclish went & say there was no preaching, but that the Meeting was large & well conducted - & that the old couple performed their cerimony with propriety -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 5, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 5th of 9 M / The Ague in my face was somewhat better this mornng tho' more swollen than Yesterday. this Afternoon it seems to be very painful again, but got easy just before I went to bed. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 6th of 9 M / Soon After I got into bed last night my face began to ach & as fast as I got easy in one position my head & neck would be so tired that it proved an inducement to try another. So it went on for a long time & I thought I could sympathise with some I have seen on a Sick bed who could find no comfortable place to lay their "Aching head & weary limbs" - however I caught short naps thro' the night & feel if any thing rather better than yesterday morning - Tho' appearances were favorable in the morning, yet I have had much hard pain thro' the Day, also In the eveng I suffered considerable but on the Average I think I have been better than yesterday - Father & Mother Rodman took tea with us - Cousin Hannah Gardiner & my Mother set the eveng - Uncle Earl Job Sherman & B & D Dorman called a little while -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

59. There doesn't seem to be any evidence that this was anything more than a polite fiction. There's no record to show, for instance, that any of the members of this immediate family (as opposed to the extended group of Flint relatives) actually resided in Salem or ever became involved with that First Church in Salem.

 September 7, Thursday: Carl Maria von Weber arrived back in Prague intent on ending his relationship with the Estates Theater.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 7th of 9 M 1815 / Last eveing Elisha Thornton came [teacher and educator] to Town & was at our Meeting today & one appointed by him at 5 OC for the inhabitants of the Town - In the forenoon My H told me he had much to communicate both in Testimony & Supplication & again in Testimony & supplication this Afternoon - I am so unwell that I thought best not to go out - tho' I did this mornng, while the sun shone warm, go as far as father R's to carry John to school - The Ague in my face is not quite as tedious as yesterday but I have more fever upon me.

-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 8, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 8th of 9th M / Elisha Thornton has an appointed meeting at [Portsmouth](#) this forenoon. - I have been better on the whole but far from well May H, John & I took tea this Afternoon with Cousin Borden & Mary Tillinghast

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 9, Saturday: John Singleton Copley died in London at the age of 77.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 9th of 9 M / Last night took a portion of Jalap & Calomel which I think must be beneficial from the effect produced but my face continues to Ach considerably yet - Rather a hard time with my face this eveng, tho' it has been pretty comfortable some parts of the Day -- Elishas Thornton, in town toaday & expects to be at Meeting tomorrow

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 10, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 10th of 9th M / Though my face was not in very good condition I attended Meetings - Elisha in the forenoon was large & much favor'd in testimony - In the Afternoon he again was much favor'd in testimony tho' life was several times low in the course of it yet it rose again & I believe his services was greatly owned - in Supplication he was great indeed - Some thought they never heard any thing equal to it - Hannah & I with John, took tea with him at father Rodmans, & we were gratified with an opportunity in his company.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1815

1815



September 11, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 11th of 9th M 1815 / Elisha Thornton left Town this Mornng for home. - I am now pretty much restored to my usual health - a little fever however hangs about me & my face is a little swollen - I feel thankful for the favor - pain of body, is heard [hard] to bear, but a little now & then may teach us how to apprise health when we have it

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 12 Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 12 of 9 M / Wm Thurston & his Wife of N York & Sally Easton Set the Afternoon & eveng with us - & Sister Ruth joined us at tea. - Their visit was very pleasant.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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September 13, Wednesday: Newspapers were announcing the successful “conclusion” of a treaty with the Dey of Algiers:

TREATY WITH ALGIERS.
WASHINGTON CITY, SEPT. 5.

We understand that despatches have been received from Com. Decatur, announcing the pleasing intelligence of his having, on the part of the United States, concluded a treaty of peace with the Dey of Algiers. With the conditions of the treaty of course we are unacquainted; but we learn generally that they are such as Com. Decatur thought proper to dictate.

Copy of a letter from Com. Decatur to the Secretary of the Navy, dated
U. S. Ship Guerriere, off Cape Palos,
June 20, 1815.

Sir—I have the honour to inform you, that on the 19th inst. off Cape Palos, the squadron under my command captured an Algerine brig of twenty-two guns and one hundred and eighty men. After a chase of three hours, she ran into shoal water, where I did not think it advisable to follow with our large ships, but despatched the Epervier, Spark and Spiffire, to whom she surrendered after a short resistance. Twenty-three men were found dead on board. We received from her eighty prisoners, the residue of her crew having left her in boats. Many of them must have been killed by the fire of our vessels, and one of the boats was sunk. None of our vessels, sustained any damage, nor was there a

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 13 of 9 M / This morn'g between 9 & 10 OC My dear & very affectionate Mother Sail'd in the Sloop Express Capt Bliss for N York with a fine fresh wind a little to the eastward of North. -She expects to be gone some weeks & tho I do not live in the house with her Yet seeing her every day shall miss her much -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 14th of 9 M / Our Meeting was mostly silent - there were divers present whose faces seem'd to bespeak devotion, & for a Season It Seem'd as if my mind was favor'd, but dicoragement

*prevailed Subjects that were unprofitable intruded on the mind
& the savor of the early part of the meeting was hreatly impaired
Tho' I trust not wholly lost*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 15, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 15 of 9 M / Took tea with my H at Thos Peckhams - In the eveng took a walk with Sister Mary to the lower end of the town & stoped a while at the Widow Avis Carpenters

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 16, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 16 of 9 M / Heard today of a dirty case on [Nantucket](#), which is a warning to all, to look well to their standing. The tempter is allways at work & I believe few, very few if any have attained to that State which renders them secure from his attacks. - I have humbly to confess that at no time in my life have I felt a greater necessity to crave the blessing of preservation than of late, & especially within a few Days -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17 of 9 M 1815 / Our meetings were both Silent excepting in the Afternoon a short but very sweet & encoraging testimony from Mary Morton - In the eveng went over to her fathers & set a while in their interesting company

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 18, Monday: In the Caribbean, a hurricane struck the island of St. Bartholomew.

 September 19, Tuesday: Charles Melvin Jr. (2) was born in [Concord](#) to Charles Melvin (1) and Betsy Farrar Melvin. He would die on November 29, 1841 in Concord.

THE MELVINS OF CONCORD

 September 20, Wednesday: Representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, and Russia met in Paris to work out a new peace treaty. The allied powers agreed to compel France to return all works of art taken from them during the *florut* of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#). The allies required that France give up 2/3ds of the territory won between 1790 and 1792, plus Savoy, that it pay 600,000,000 francs in reparations and 200,000,000 francs for the construction of forts along its border to protect its neighbors, and that it pay for 150,000 allied soldiers to man various fortresses throughout France for seven years.

 September 21, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 21 of 9 M / Our meeting was a comfortable season -Daniel Clapp from Pomfret expressed a few words signifying that he felt that among us which united in perfect brotherhood -Sister Eliza

1815

1815

set the Afternoon, & Sally Brown joined us in the evening. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 22, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 22 of 9 M / We took tea with Aunt A Carpenter – A wet & rather dreary day within & without. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 23, Saturday: Unable to persuade his king Louis XVIII to appeal to the allies to rescind or modify their ultimatum, Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévent resigned as Prime Minister of France.

During the 18th Century there had been some 15 violent storms sweeping across New England, but none of them approached the fury of the hurricane that hit the southern New England coastline at 9AM on this day, known as the “Great September Gale of 1815.” The eye of the hurricane came ashore at Old Lyme in Connecticut and the greatest destruction was done along the path of the storm’s “eastern quarter,” such as in [Providence](#).



1815. The glad tidings of Peace were announced here February 12, and our streets were thronged with delighted men and women, and resounded with acclamations of joy. The town was brilliantly illuminated in the evening, and although it was intensely cold, the streets were thronged to a late hour by persons of both sexes and of all ages, and the sound of mirth resounded from almost every dwelling. Many, however, who had been carried along by



this tide of rejoicing, had cause to mourn when the excitement had subsided, and the "sober second thought" of reflection had returned. They had speculated largely, when prices were high, and vast amounts were invested in merchandise, the value of which, on restoration of peace, "fell, like Lucifer, never to rise again." Many failures were the consequence; but to people at large, peace came as a blessing.

This year was signalized by the Great Storm and high tide. The storm commenced Sept. 22, and the wind was violent, and increasing through the night and the succeeding morning, many houses were unroofed, and other blown down. The tide on the 23d, rose to an extraordinary height, the gale from the South-East was of unparalleled severity, both combined, they drove the principal part of the shipping in the harbor from its moorings up the river against Weybosset bridge, which in short time gave way, and the whole was driven up and landed on the northern shore of the cove. A large sloop was left a considerable distance North of Great Point, now the site of the State Prison, and between that point and the upper part of the Canal basin, were upwards of thirty sail, of a burthen from 500 tons downwards. The water entirely filled the lower stories of the buildings in Market-street, west of the bridge, and a portion of the brick wall of the Washington Insurance building, in the third story, was broken in by the bowsprit of the ship Ganges, as she was driven rapidly by in the foaming current. A sloop of some 50 or 60 tons was driven across Weybosset-street, into Pleasant-street, where she grounded. The Baptist meeting-house, built for Rev. Mr. Cornell, near Muddy Dock, now Dorrance-street, was entirely destroyed. Many houses, stores and barns were swept from the wharves in South Water, Weybosset and some other streets, into the cove, where many of them were crushed to pieces. The water at the junction of Westminster and Orange-streets was at least six feet in depth. Two human beings only here lost their lives in this storm, which was matter of great wonder, when so many were perilled. No measures were taken to ascertain the damage done by the storm, but it was estimated at about a million of dollars.



1815

1815

A large trunk of the public papers of former [Rhode Island](#) governor [Stephen Hopkins](#) were swept out of the house in which they were stored, and lost (Hopkins's house, which now stands adjacent to Benefit Street, at that time stood adjacent to what is now Main Street, within reach of the waters). By noon the storm had passed up into the wildernesses of the north and was breaking up, but the high winds had stalled the ebbing of the high tide, and then over these high waters came rushing the additional waters driven by the storm, pushing up Narragansett Bay and concentrating at the docks of Providence. First there had been the fury of the wind and then came the fury of the water:

Wind:

The vessels there were driven from their moorings in the stream and fastenings at the wharves, with terrible impetuosity, toward the great bridge that connected the two parts of the town. The gigantic structure was swept away without giving a moment's check to the vessel's progress, and they passed to the head of the basin, not halting until they were high up on the bank....

Water:

Stores, dwelling houses, were seen to reel and totter for a few moments, and then plunge into the deluge. A moment later their fragments were blended with the wrecks of vessels, some of which were on their sides, that passed with great rapidity and irresistible impetuosity on the current to the head of the cove, to join the wrecks already on the land.

Some 500 buildings were destroyed in this city. The Indiaman *Ganges* was forced all the way up Westminster Street to Eddy Street, where its bowsprit pierced the 3rd story of the city's Market House.⁶⁰



In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Moses Brown](#) would be making a detailed tabulation of the various trees that had toppled in his yard. The salt spray was carried from the ocean 40 or 50 miles inland. Apples and other fruit were blown off the trees, the corn was injured, and fences and trees were prostrated. In particular the

60. Some 4-foot-long metal tubes jammed into the marshy soil and sediment layers at Succotash Marsh in East Matunuck, [Rhode Island](#) (at the west side of the ocean entrance of the [Narragansett Bay](#)) by Tom Webb of the Geological Sciences Department of [Brown University](#), have revealed that there has been a series of overwash fans created by storm tidal surges, indicating that seven category-three hurricanes have struck Narragansett lowlands in about the past millennium. The 1st such overwash fan that has been revealed dated to the period 1295-1407CE, the 2nd to the period of roughly the first half of the 15th Century, the 3rd to approximately 1520CE (give or take a few decades), and the 4th to the historic storm of the 14th and 15th of August, 1635. The 5th such overwash fan obviously dates specifically to this historic storm of September 23, 1815.

1815

1815

original apple tree near Woburn MA of the Loammi Baldwin apple got knocked over:



At the time Captain [Paul Cuffe](#)'s ship was fortunately out of harm's way in New-York and Philadelphia.

In [Newport](#), [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) recorded in his journal that:

7th day 23 of 9 M / This forenoon we had the most severe Gale that Newport ever experienced - it commenced before day break to Rain Thunder & lighten, continued to increase gradually till a little before 9 OC when it suddenly increased & the tide rose with surprising velocity such as was never seen before - The wind & tide making such devastation of Vessels houses Stores & even lives as appalled all Skill to save. The destruction of houses was chiefly on the Long Wharf & on the Point - Andrew Allens wife, three children & a girl that lived with them were all in the house when it went off into the cove & they were all drowned - Over the Beach John Irish in attempting to save his boat was drowned - & two men who lived with Godfrey Hazard in trying to save their Sheep were also drowned. - Shocking was the Scene I have no powers to describe it, tho' at a more lesure Moment I intend to attempt a more full description Our cellar was full of Water, but we lost nothing of consequence. - We were humbly thankful it was no worse



1815

1815

Many boats were destroyed at [Boston](#) wharves:



I recollect being engaged near my father's saw-mill handling lumber with my brothers [[Adin Ballou](#) was 12 years old] when the stock of boards around us, piled up to season, began to be caught away by the rising wind and blown about strangely. We endeavored to pick them up and replace them for a while, but found ourselves borne along and almost lifted from the ground in spite of our utmost exertions. We were soon in danger of limb and life from the flying rubbish and lumber, and betook ourselves to a place of safety at the substantial farmhouse, which was built heavily and strong enough to resist the stoutest storm. The wind increasing, buildings began to be unroofed, smaller structures were moved out of place or completely demolished, apple and forest trees were upturned by the roots, and even the stoutest dwellings creaked and trembled before the mighty gusts that seemed to threaten destruction to everything that happened to be in their way.

The tempest, which began about 7 o'clock in the morning, reached its height at noon, when it was little else than a hurricane. Multitudes of people were filled with terror and consternation. I confess that I was, and hastening to my chamber, obtained what relief and composure I could from the unseen world by earnest supplication. I gained something of trust and calmness, but hardly enough to overcome all my fearful apprehensions, for there seemed to be no place of refuge from impending danger and my faith was not of the surest type.

When the storm subsided, the inhabitants of southern New England looked with amazement on the devastations it had caused. Inland the noblest timber lots were covered with prostrate trees and upturned earth, the finest orchards were laid waste, rail-fences, wood, and lumber were scattered far and wide, roads were rendered impassable by accumulated debris, and incalculable damage had been done to buildings on every hand, many of the lighter ones being wholly destroyed. In seaport towns and along the shore, still greater havoc, if possible had been wrought. The ocean rolled in upon the coast its mountainous waves, which, in thickly settled localities, inundated the wharves, streets, and exposed places of business, filled the cellars and lower stories of dwellings and warehouses near the water line, causing the occupants to flee for their lives, and destroying immense amounts of property that chanced to be within reach. The wind drove before it all sorts of sea-craft, even the largest vessels, sinking some, wrecking others, and landing many high on the beach, far away from tide-water. The remains of sloops and schooners, gradually dismantled and abandoned, appeared on the sand banks and along the coast for years, victims of the Storm-King's insatiate power. Such was the "great gale" of 1815, the like whereof has never been seen by New Englanders since the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock.

Many of the trees on the Boston Common were blown down.



1815

1815

When, in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), Henry Thoreau would argue for the liberty to travel unnecessarily on the Sabbath, he was arguing against one of the pet projects of the very most prominent citizen of his town, Squire Samuel Hoar. For a story had it that when the great hurricane of 1815 had devastated the woodlands around [Concord](#), one old farmer exclaimed:

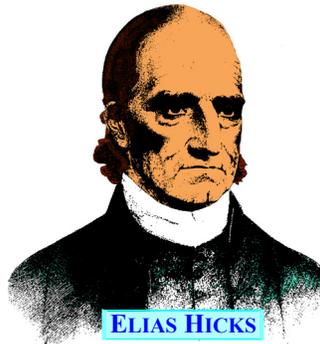
I wish the wind'd come on Sunday! -Sam Hoar would've stopped it.

A WEEK: History has remembered thee; especially that meek and humble petition of thy old planters, like the wailing of the Lord's own people, "To the gentlemen, the selectmen" of Concord, praying to be erected into a separate parish. We can hardly credit that so plaintive a psalm resounded but little more than a century ago along these Babylonish waters. "In the extreme difficult seasons of heat and cold," said they, "we were ready to say of the Sabbath, Behold what a weariness is it." - "Gentlemen, if our seeking to draw off proceed from any disaffection to our present Reverend Pastor, or the Christian Society with whom we have taken such sweet counsel together, and walked unto the house of God in company, then hear us not this day, but we greatly desire, if God please, to be eased of our burden on the Sabbath, the travel and fatigue thereof, that the word of God may be nigh to us, near to our houses and in our hearts, that we and our little ones may serve the Lord. We hope that God, who stirred up the spirit of Cyrus to set forward temple work, has stirred us up to ask, and will stir you up to grant, the prayer of our petition; so shall your humble petitioners ever pray, as in duty bound -" And so the temple work went forward here to a happy conclusion. Yonder in Carlisle the building of the temple was many wearisome years delayed, not that there was wanting of Shittim wood, or the gold of Ophir, but a site therefor convenient to all the worshippers; whether on "Buttrick's Plain," or rather on "Poplar Hill."

Many of the local historians of [Concord](#), and many Thoreauvian scholars, have made this sort of connection. It is the sort of connection in which they deal, between one prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes and another prominent citizen of Concord MA with prominent attitudes. It is, I might say, an easy association. But how many such historians and scholars know that when Thoreau would grow up in Concord in the following generation, and would take such attitudes, he was seconding the attitudes of the great Quaker preacher, [Elias Hicks](#)? For Hicks had pronounced in opposition to the so-called Blue Laws, laws which for instance entitled the Quakers of Philadelphia to stretch chains across the public street during their First Day silent worship in order to prevent the noise of the passage of carriages. For Hicks, First Day was just another day, of no greater or lesser holiness than any other weekday. He would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on First Day just as he would come in from the fields, change his clothing, put on his gloves, and go off to Meeting for Worship on Fourth Day (Wednesday). But this was not merely a matter of preference for Friend Elias, any more than it was a matter of preference for Squire Hoar: it was a principle. Blue laws were laws, and laws were enacted by governments, and therefore such laws were infringements upon religion, sponsored by the state apparatus which should be allowed have no connection whatever with religion. In this direction lay a great danger, sponsored by the Squires of this world who would like nothing better than to be able to legislate the religious convictions of other people. Thus, when the Governor of New York issued a Thanksgiving Proclamation, Friend Elias was greatly alarmed, that he

*“has
by recommending a religious act
united the civil and ecclesiastical authorities,
and broken the line of partition between them,
so wisely established
by our enlightened Constitution,
which in the most positive terms
forbids
any alliance between church and state,
and is the only barrier
for the support of our liberty and independence.*

*For if that is broken down
all is lost
and we become the vassals of priestcraft,
and designing men,
who are reaching after power
by subtle contrivance
to domineer over the consciences
of their fellow citizens.”*



ELIAS HICKS

The terminology and the cadence was not Thoreauvian, but Thoreau’s attitudes as proclaimed in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) would be identical with this.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Subsequent to this historic gale, and in consequence of it, [John Farrar](#), Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at [Harvard College](#), who had since 1807 been maintaining and analyzing weather records in Cambridge, would be able to elaborate upon the insights of [Benjamin Franklin](#) into the nature of the “nor’easter” weather phenomenon by conceptualizing such hurricanes as “a moving vortex and not the rushing forward of a great body of the atmosphere” (he had noted not only the lagging times of arrival of the winds at Boston versus New-York and the wind’s opposite directionality, as had Franklin, but had also been able to analyze mathematically the veering of the wind as a fluid phenomenon).

 September 24, Sunday: Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu replaced Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Bénévvent as prime minister of France.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 9 M 1815 / Was this forenoon called out as a member of Engine Company N 5 to clear the Streets so that in case of fire the Engine might pass - we worked hard and effected our purpose, & it was shocking to behold the poor sufferers looking round among the ruins to look for the few things which remained of theirs - many of them had their all blown away - In the Afternoon, I went to Meeting & after tea we saw the funeral of poor Allens wife & three Children which was as long, & I believe the longest, I ever saw. The young woman who lived with them was buried from the Point - on the edge of the evening My H Sister R & Polly Macklish took a walk on the point to view the Ruins - a sad & sorrowful Sight

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 25, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2 day 25 of 9 M / Went this Afternoon to carry a bequest of some old cloaths from Uncle Stanton to old Jonathon Walker who told me he was born in April 1728 - his sister Sarah is totally blind & they live together - I dont know as I eversaw (on every count) two more wretched looking beings - Our Alms house is cleaner, their beds look as if they were worn out, & what remains of them exceeding dirty - It was affecting to see them, & it afforded some little releaf to think I had the means of helping them a little

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 26, Tuesday: A Holy Alliance between Russia, Austria, and Prussia, designed to combat liberalism and maintain the Vienna accords, was signed in Paris by the three monarchs.

 September 27, Wednesday: As Austrian troops cleared a jeering mob from the parade ground in front of the Tuileries and from nearby streets, British engineers removed the four horses of San Marco from the triumphal arch of the Carrousel. This statuary was to be returned to Venice.

1815

1815

→ September 28, Thursday: [Nicolò Paganini](#)'s lawyer submitted abundant testimony and evidence as to the low moral character of [Angiolina Cavanna](#) to a [Genoa](#) court, in support of his claim that he had been the victim of an extortion plot by her father Ferdinando Cavanna, a poor tailor. The father would reduce his accusation of "abusing the innocence" of 17-year-old Angiolina to "breach of promise."

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28 of 9 M / In the first meeting Hannah Dennis Prayed & Father Rodman preached – in the last (Monthly) buisness went on pretty well considering– J Dennis served as clerk in the absense of D Williams - I thought life was low – At dinner we had Sarah Fowler, Elizabeth Lawton & wife & Geo Dennis

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 29, Friday: In the Caribbean, a hurricane struck the island of Barbados.

Two celebratory works by Franz Schubert, Namensfeier für Franz Michael Vierthaler and Gratulations-Kantate, were performed for the initial time, in the Waisenhaus, Vienna.

→ September 30, Saturday: The total debt of the United States amounted to \$119,600,000. The estimated cost of the war was at this date \$80,500,000.

FALL 1815

→ Fall: Having made himself a free man, [Austin Steward](#) proceeded to improve himself.



In the autumn when the farm work was done, I called on Mr. Comstock for some money, and the first thing I did after receiving it I went to Canandaigua where I found a book-store kept by a man named J.D. Bemis, and of him I purchased some school books.

No king on his throne could feel prouder or grander than I did



1815

1815

that day. With my books under my arm, and money of my own earning in my pocket, I stepped loftily along toward Farmington, where I determined to attend the Academy. The thought, however, that though I was twenty-three years old, I had yet to learn what most boys of eight years knew, was rather a damper on my spirits. The school was conducted by Mr. J. Comstock, who was a pleasant young man and an excellent teacher. He showed me every kindness and consideration my position and ignorance demanded; and I attended his school three winters, with pleasure and profit to myself at least.

 Fall/Winter: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) was writing ALASTOR.

OCTOBER

 October: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) wrote THE SIEGE OF CORINTH.

 October: [The Christian Disciple](#) contained an anonymous tribute, written by the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#), to [Mrs. Rebecca Kettell Thoreau](#). Professor Robert A. Gross describes this in his "Faith in the Boardinghouse: New Views of Thoreau Family Religion".⁶¹

[R]eligion in early nineteenth-century New England was a family matter, and as biographers from Sanborn on have recognized, Thoreau was surrounded in his youth by relatives caught up in the holy wars that divided the sons and daughters of Puritans against one another. His grandparents on both sides were once pillars of the establishment. When John and Rebecca Thoreau moved from Boston to Concord in the late 1790s, they immediately entered the Reverend Ezra Ripley's village circle, worshipping at his church, hosting him for tea, and joining in his Federalist crusade against radicalism and "infidelity." Allied with them were Captain Jonas Minot, a prominent figure in the local elite, and his new wife Mary Dunbar, who arrived from Keene, New Hampshire, in 1798 with four children, including twelve-year-old daughter Cynthia, from her first marriage to the former minister Asa Dunbar. Though no church member himself, Minot was a faithful servant in Ripley's campaign for orthodoxy; from 1797 to 1800 he headed a key instrument of that effort, the Charitable Society Library, to which the Thoreau family readily donated volumes of sermons and moral advice. Rebecca Thoreau, widowed in 1801, had a strong streak of piety. As a young woman, she agonized over the state of her soul, fearing to join her local church "without clear evidence of regeneration," and even after she overcame those doubts, she continued to thirst for spiritual experience. In the winter of 1810, Concord felt the stirring of a mini-revival as anxious members of Ripley's congregation gathered in one another's homes for "religious conferences," usually under the parson's supervision. Rebecca Thoreau played host to one such meeting before the minister, fearful of

61. Robert A. Gross. "Faith in the Boardinghouse: New Views of Thoreau Family Religion," [Thoreau Society Bulletin](#), Winter 2005

"disputations and irregularities," called the whole thing off. At her death in 1814, Ripley eulogized the widow as a Christian after his own heart. Serenely indifferent to theological controversy, she focused on holy living. "One of the best of mothers," Ripley wrote in an anonymous tribute for The Christian Disciple in October 1815, the faithful woman "excelled many [C]hristians in meekness, charity, and patient submission to the will of God."

➡ October: HMS *Northumberland* arrived a [St. Helena](#) with [Napoléon Bonaparte](#). Also arriving were HMS *Icarus*, *Havannah*, *Peruvian*, *Zenobia*, *Red Pole*, plus *Bucephalus* and *Ceylon* transporting the 53d Regiment. Gosh, do you suppose the British had assembled enough security considering that this guy no longer had his sword?

During the [War of 1812](#) the first *Vermont* had transported government stores and troops. During this month, near Ash Island, the vessel suffered its final breakdown. Its owners, James Winans and John Winans, would remove its engine and boilers to sell to the Lake Champlain Steamboat Company. Its captain, John Winans, would reside at Ticonderoga and be buried in Poughkeepsie.



➡ October 1, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 1st of 10 M 1815 / Our meeting this forenoon was a comfortable season to many present - D Buffum was (for him) large in testimony. Then John Weaver read the London Epistle for last year - then Mary Morton appeared in a Sweet testimony - In the Afternoon we were Silent but I believe it was a season of favor -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 3, Tuesday: In the Haute Marne of France, after a loud boom was heard in the small city of Chassigny, a stone fell out of the open sky (enough remains of the original approximately nine pounds for us to understand that this meteorite originated as part of the surface of Mars).

SKY EVENT



1815

1815

 October 4, Wednesday: Elisabetta, regina d'Inghilterra, a drama by Gioachino Rossini to words of Schmidt after Federici after Lee, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, Naples. The work was presented on the name day of the king, who was present along with the royal family.

In Fitchburg, the [Reverend Timothy Flint](#), his wife and their three children clambered into a 2-horse wagon and began their journey to the great rivers of the west, as a missionary family for the Missionary Society of Connecticut. In this year they would pass through Cincinnati, Indiana, and Kentucky. They would spend a total of seven or eight years in the Ohio and Mississippi valleys (they already had relatives there, previous emigrants in other canvas-covered wagons; [Micah P. Flint](#) would study for the law and be admitted to the bar in Alexandria, Mississippi before dying an early death).

 October 5, Thursday: In [Carlisle](#), Deacon John Robbins was excused from his duties on account of infirmities, and was replaced by Deacon John Green.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 5 of 10 M / Our Meeting was Silent - Life low in my mind,
tho' I trust others were refreshed by the incomes of it*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 6, Friday: Great Britain annexed Ascension Island in the South Atlantic.

The *Genesee Packet* arrived at [Fort Niagara, New York](#).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 6 of 10 M ? / This forenoon went over to Avis Knowles to carry Lydia Tucker a few things sent by Aunt A Carptner for her comfort - found Lydia low & wearing out fast. - as I was returning in Washington street I met with Our old neighbor Saml Vinson who asked me to walk with him further up as he had a mind to view the ravages of the late Storm & visit the place where he served his time which is now The Goddards shop, in walking round it, he related many Anecdotes of his youth with his usual pleasantries - we then took a turn as far up as the North Battery & home thro' the street that lead by the Alms house & parted on the parade. Some of his conversation was edifying. he spoke particularly as we passed our Meeting house of his feelings in it when he was a lad & once of latter years on hearing John Casey preach - he said when he reflected now far John had deviated from morality in his Youth & how firmly established & fervent he was now in the Cause of Truth, the consideration was humbling & affecting to his mind

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 7, Saturday: Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), landed at Pizzo with a force of 250 from Corsica, in an attempt to win back the throne of Naples.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 7 of 10 M / My H, & Sister R Set the evening at Thos Robinsons. I joined them the latter part of it very agreeably, as my visits there always prove - Mary Morton expects to leave them in a few days & most probable the Old folks will fell doubly



1815

1815

*striped when she has left them - They appear to bear their late
privation of property by the Storm with firmness, christian
firmness. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 8, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

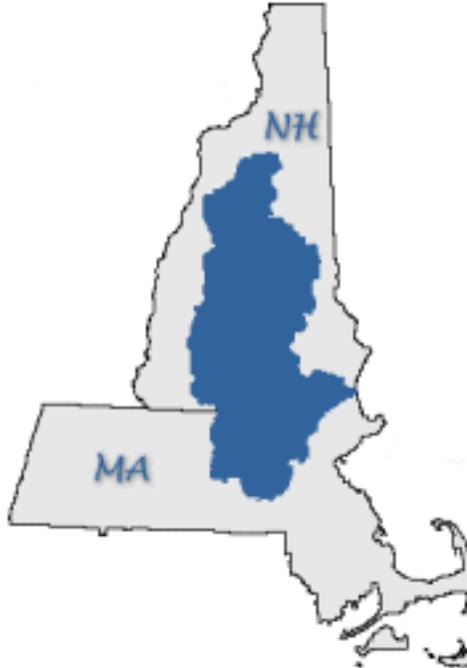
*1st day 8th of 10 M 1815 / Our forenoon meeting was very small
owing to the rain. M Morton was concerned in a short but very
lively testimony - In the Afternoon the meeting was larger &
silent -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1815

1815

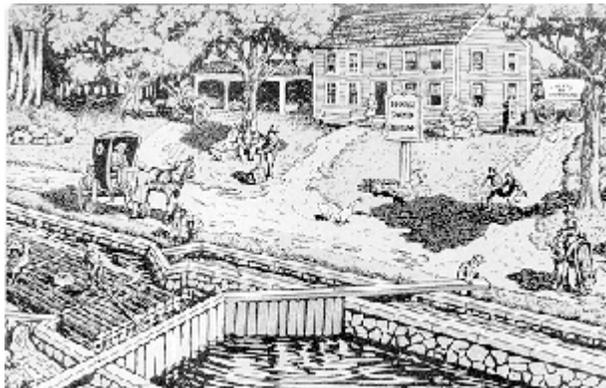
 October 9, Monday: The Merrimack River had finally been made navigable all the way from Boston to Concord, New Hampshire. Barges of 60 to 75-foot length, with sails for when the wind was in the right direction, could be poled along by boatmen who would plant their 20-foot, iron shod poles in the river bottom at the bow and then walk the length of the boat to the stern, pushing it along. Using such means it was taking



7 to 10 days to get a barge of produce down the river from Concord to Boston, part of the reason being that in

HISTORY OF CONCORD NH

the 6-mile stretch between the Merrimack and the Billerica millpond on the Concord River, the boatmen had to push the load against the mild current.⁶² It took considerably longer, of course, to get the barge back up against the current of the swift Merrimack River to Concord NH. But all of this new transportation and freightage activity was utterly bypassing Newburyport MA — the difficult bar of Plum Island and its associated shallows across the mouth of the Merrimack had proved to be this port’s kiss of death. That city would become a backwater through which nobody would ever again ship cargo, despite the fact that some of the money that had created the Middlesex Canal had come from this city’s investors. —And yet, this new canal which was forever destroying Newburyport’s prospects would be usable for only a few decades before railroads would render it quite useless for anything except the relocation of water from one place to another!

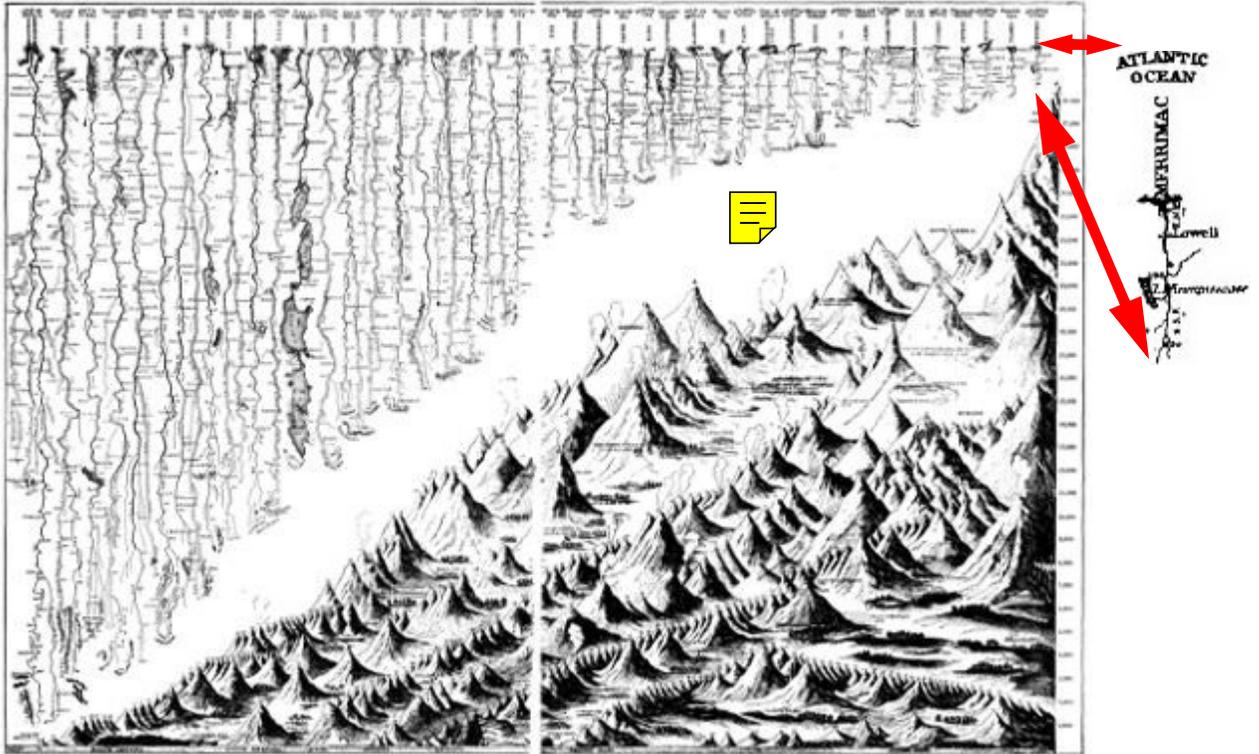


62. Initially it had been presumed that the waters of the Merrimack River would flow south through this section of the canal, but it had been discovered during construction of the canal that the Concord River was at that point 25 feet higher than the Merrimack.

1815

1815

At the extreme right of this 1917 illustration of the major rivers of this globe with their lengths and tributaries, we find the Merrimack River of New England to have been the very shortest considered worth mentioning:



On this date the Garrison family (the mother, Lloyd and his acting-out elder brother James, and their little sister) became part of the general exodus out of this failed dream of a metropolis, by sailing out of Salem harbor on the brig *Edward*, bound for better opportunities in [Baltimore](#). [William Lloyd Garrison](#) was a “leftie” who was being punished in public school until he became able to write with his right hand:

JOB FEELS THE ROD YET BLESSES GOD.



Lloyd would endure fourteen seasick days before they reached their destination, and then the firm which was going to employ his mother would quickly fail and collapse, stranding the family there in the midst of a slave/slavemaster culture.





1815

1815

➡ October 11, Wednesday: The [Reverend Lemuel Capen](#) got married with Mary Ann Hunting, daughter of Asa Hunting and Abigail Blaney Hunting of Roxbury, Massachusetts. This couple would produce six sons and three daughters.

➡ October 12, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12 of 10 M / Our meeting was pretty well attended. Anne Greene was concerned in a lively & engaging testimony addressed to the Youth - Then D Buffum in a lively & pertinent communication recommended & enforced the "necessity of Self examination." The meeting I thought a favor'd one - Rebecca Waterhouse & Abigail Grelea, also Sister Mary took tea with us & Set the evening -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 13, Friday: In Naples, Joachim Murat, brother-in-law of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) who had attempted to reclaim the Neapolitan throne by force, faced a [firing squad](#).

➡ October 15, Sunday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) reached St. Helena and his final exile. Who?

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 15 of 10 M / Yesterday & today I have been quite Sick with a great Cold which has prevented my attending Meeting My H went this Afternoon & said Anne Greene & Hannah Hosier bore testimony to the Truth - In the course of the day I have read most of James Goughs Journal, many parts of it has proved edifying to my mind

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 17, Tuesday: [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), a British prisoner after his defeat at Waterloo, stepped ashore at the island of [St. Helena](#) from HMS *Northumberland*. In order to prevent any escape the military presence would be increased, and the local population doubled in size.



ST. HELENA RECORDS

In the Caribbean, a 3-day hurricane struck the island of Jamaica, stranding vessels and causing loss of life.

➡ October 18, Wednesday: Two numbers for a play celebrating the Battle of Leipzig by Carl Maria von Weber, *Wer stets hinter'n ofen kroch* J.186 and *Wie wir voll Glut* J.187, were performed for the initial time, in Prague.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 18 of 10 M / My Cold is getting better today My H & John are taken with it & both seem to be pretty strongly affected

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ October 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



1815

1815

5th day 19 of 10 M / A Silent meeting & to me a pretty good one
-My H & John are still quite poorly with the influenza-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 22, Sunday: [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#)'s 3d birthday.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 22 of 10 M 1815 / In the forenoon meeting our friend D Buffum was engaged in a lively testimony. - In the Afternoon our frd Joseph Taber & Stephen Carpenter from Vermont were at meeting & Joseph proved himself to be a deep Baptizing Minister tho' apparantly a young man - they came upon us quite unexpectedly -we heard nothing of their being in this country till it was mentioned at the close of the morning meeting, but their coming was somewhat like the coming of Titus to the brethren formerly -it had Seemed like a low time among us for some times, & I trust the preaching of Joseph was a comfort to many present - his supplication was living & powerful.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 23, Monday: Denmark transfered Pomerania to Prussia and received the Duchy of Saxwe-Lauenburg in return.

 October 26, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 26 of 10 M / Rode with B Hadwen to [Portsmouth](#) to sttend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting - My H having a hoarse & severe cold which rendered her unable to go & attend to the Services of the day as Clerk - We stoped a few minutes at Saml Thurstons before meeting - The first meeting was Silent & the last heavy & so much of a certain disposition prevaling that as respects myself -, I doubt whether I gained much benefit by it. when money is to be raised the wheels are always cloged, & while there are individuals who do not do their propotion of the expence of Society - there must always be trials which without great care & christian forbearance, will create disunity - We dined at Cousin Zacheus Chases, found the old man comfortable to what I expected, & the family whom I have long loved, enjoying themselves in good degree as in former times but I think Cousin Chase & his wife are verging fast to the final close tho' the may yet live to see many go before them who are much younger -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 28, Saturday: Johannes Simon Mayr sent his most promising pupil, Gaetano Donizetti, from Bergamo to Bologna to study with Padre Mattei. He simultaneously appealed to the Congregazione di Carità of Bergamo to support the boy for two years.

 October 29, Sunday: Dan Emmett was born in Mount Vernon, Ohio.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 29th of 10th M 1815 / Our Morning meeting was silent.

In the Afternoon our Frd D Buffum was very lively in a short Testimony "If thou does well shall it not be well with thee, but if thou doest not well Sin layeth at the Door - he observed that before the law, under the law & now in the Christian dispensation, peace was & is the result of doing well & illustrated the subject with much life, which I doubt not reached many minds present as well as my own - In the evening I called a little while at D Williams on buisness, & passed a little while in pleasant conversation - & set the residue at Home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 30, Monday: [Andrew Jackson Downing](#) was born in Newburgh, New York. His parents Samuel Downing and Susanna Brown Downing were natives of Lexington, Massachusetts who had removed to upstate New York upon their marriage.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 30 of 10 M / This morning my mind was favor'd with the arisings of life & tenderness & has continued most of the Day in a degree beyond what is usual. I desire to be thankful for the favor. a little relief from the dry destitute & barran condition which I have suffered for several days is refreshing.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 31, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 31 of 10 M / Neighbor Eddy was in the Shop this Morning & in conversation an anecdote of an Indian preacher I thought instructing - he said that an Indian preaching remarked that he compared a white man to an Onion there were many skins to take off before we come to the heart - When the Power of God took hold of a whiteman there were many things to obstruct its progress to the heart - but when the Power of God took hold of the poor Indian he had nothing but his Blanket to be striped of & without it he is naked & bare. -whether the remark is correct with respect to the Indian I leave but certain I think the comparison is instructive as respects the white man
Aunt Patty Gould & Sister Mary Set the Afternoon with us & the latter the evening - John has staid from school today being quite sick with a Cold attended with a hard cough & some considerable fever*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NOVEMBER

 November: Bailiffs entered 13 Piccadilly Terrance on behalf of the creditors of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#); Mrs. Clermont and George Anson Byron went to stay at Piccadilly Terrace.



1815

1815



November 1, day: In the ledgers of Samuel Hodges Jr, manager of a cotton thread mill in Stoughton, Massachusetts, this was the record for one employee, Jedediah Southworth, who appears to have been middle management:

Debits: r to amt of charges brought from labour book No 1 p 103 - \$20.54
small comb, shirting, No 10 warp, biscuits, 1/2 paper pins by your wife, ax handle, by Luther grinding new, regrinding ax by Luther, calico, filling, mug, pitcher
Contra — credit brought from labour book No 1 p 102nd, boarding Mary Holmes 9 weeks 4 1/2 days from Aug 1915 to this day (Nov 1, 1815) \$14.62,
boarding your daughter Mary
carting from Boston 2 bls flour for Mr Presbury @ 40 cents \$1.60,
charging Mr Presbury for your horse to Timothy Gay's 3 miles 1/5 \$.25
horse and cart to Stoughton Meeting House \$.20
charging Simeon Presbury for your horse and cart twice to mill \$.40
carting from Boston 1 bbl molasses 1 bbl flour 1/4E sugar, 1/4E coffee \$1.10,
boarding your daughter Sally, and other horse and cart items
a debt to JS transferred to next page Feb 24, 1816
Dr to crediting S Presbrey for butter and molasses, biscuits, shirting, shoes, the lending of a sley (NC) 1 whiplash, gingerbread, warp, 2nd more expensive whiplash, order on Thomas Hunting at factory prices, in part for one pair of Monaco boots by Consider A Southworth for Miss Polly Bird etc = \$47.91
Cr 1816 charging Otis Briggs for a horse \$.50,
7/9 carting 2599lb cotton from Boston \$5.20 and \$.80 more for other articles
7/30 carting to Boston 550 lbs yarn and bringing back corn, rye, rum, coffee, rice \$2.00,
8/20 carting to Boston 400 lbs cotton yarn from there E10-0-0 shingles, 25 gal rum \$3.00, drawing logs to sawmill — milldam from there & horse to Stoughton meeting house \$.65, 9/11
drawing timber and plank for the mill \$.75
9/30 carting to Boston 500 lb yarn \$1.00
from Boston 2000 shingles \$.80
1 bushel onions \$.67 = \$49.54



1815

1815



November 2, Thursday: George Boole was born.



Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

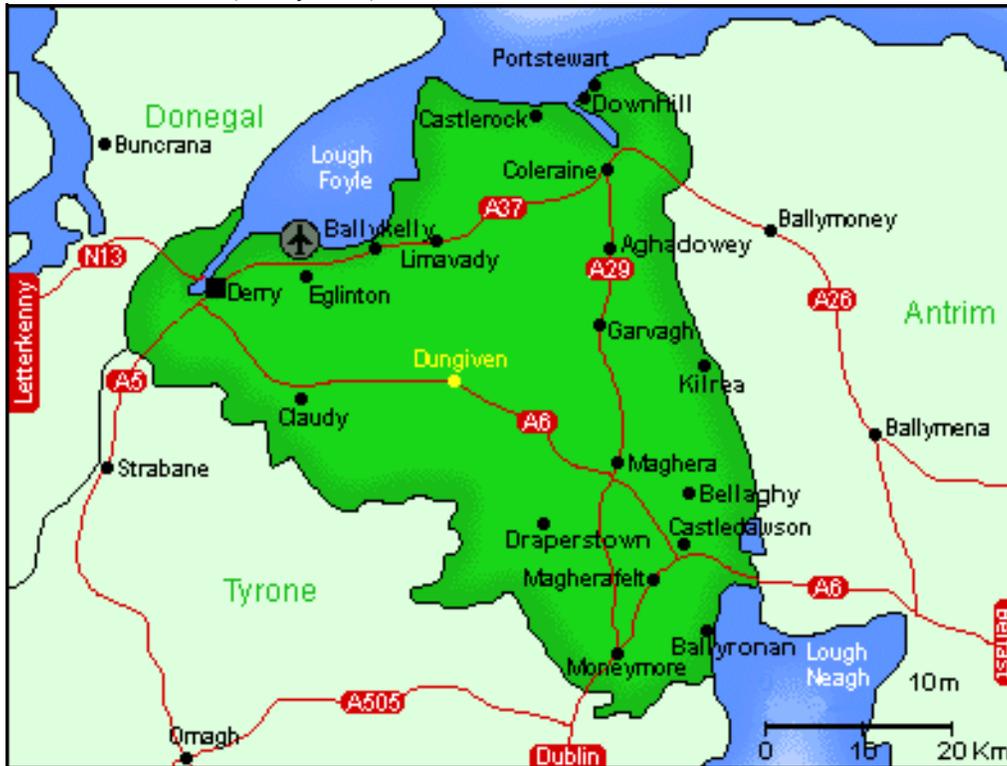
*5th day 2nd of 11th M 1815 / A considerable number of friends
being absent at the Quarterly Meeting now sitting at Swansea -
Our meeting was quite small, but I trust there were minds present
who were favor'd with devotion*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1815

1815

➡ November 3, Friday: John Mitchel was born at Camnish near Dungiven, County Londonderry, [Ireland](#), the son of a nonconformist (Presbyterian) minister.



A setting of the *Salve regina* in D by Antonio Salieri was performed for the initial time, in Nikolsburg.

➡ November 4, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 4 of 11 M / Friends who have returned from the Quarterly Meeting give a favorable account - they say Christopher Healy Benjamin Taber & Mary Allen were there & concerned very largely in Public testimony - The first meeting held nearly three hours - & it was late before the last meeting ended - It proved a season of favor, to many minds - I was glad to hear that friends were comforted together & should have been glad to have assembled with them but it did not seem best to leave home at the time for various reasons

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 5, Sunday: Great Britain declared a protectorate over the Ionian Islands.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5th of 11 M / In the morning our frd D Buffum was concerned in a lively testimony, he said that while he had been sitting the saying of an Ancient Minister whom he had heard in early life had reviewed with considerable force & interest in his mind the saying was "Honesty is the best Policy" this he said he frequently repeated in his public communications & David considered it very important & set forth the necessity of being honest to men, honest to ourselves & honest to God, on the

subjects he enlarged to the quickening of some minds present In a manner which I hope will not be forgotten – Hannah Dennis then deliverd a short but lively testimony encouraging us to work in the vineyards of our own hearts for the life was low &c – In the Afternoon father Rodman delivered a short testimony, the first time he has appeard in six weeks -After meeting Attended the funeral of George Hall Aged 83 years -Set the eveng at home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 9, Thursday: A missionary needs a wife. The Reverend [William Ellis](#) got married with Mary Mercy Moor. The couple would be posted by the London Missionary Society to the South Sea Islands.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 9th of 11th M 1815 / Our Meeting was small silent & short, & I believe generally a dull season. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 10, Friday: John Winans, A.W. Bowman, C.P. Van Ness, and E.D. Woodbridge were granted a 23-year monopoly to build steamboats along the Vermont shore and navigate the Vermont waters of Lake Champlain “by the force of steam.”

 November 11, Saturday: Was stürmet die Haide herauf?, a song for baritone and keyboard by Carl Maria von Weber, was performed for the initial time, as a part of Gordon und Montrose, oder Der Kampf der Gefühle, a play by Reinbeck after von Diericke, in Prague.

1815

1815



November 12, Sunday: Elizabeth Cady was born in Johnstown, New York [NEW YORK](#).

[ELIZABETH CADY STANTON](#)

With Friend Lucretia Mott she would organize in 1848 the first US women's rights convention, and from 1852 she and Susan B. Anthony would lead the women's movement. She would be the editor of Revolution, a militant women's rights magazine, from 1868 to 1870, and would be president of the National Woman Suffrage Association from 1869 to 1890.



Elizabeth Cady Stanton

[FEMINISM](#)

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 12 of 11 M / Our mornng Meeting was silent & I thought solid. - In the Afternoon Anne Greene appear'd in testimony & warn'd us of the dangers of the "broad road" pointed out the happy consequences of waling in that which is straight & narrow & remind'd us that "short running makes long friends" - Father Rodman appear'd in a short communication "Thus saith the Lord of Hosts consider your ways" & improv'd upon the passage with propriety & I thought his testimony was savory - At this Meeting General Jacob Brown attended, he has made a considerable conspicuous figure on the Military Theatre during the last War -he was formerly a member of our Society & is said to have kept a school in N York, but first departed from us by marrying out, & then became a Military character - he sat in meeting as if he was no stranger to Friends Meetings yet I thought his countenance look'd as if he soared above the Witness for Truth in his mind.-

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



November 14, Tuesday: As he lay dying, with the help of his solicitor Caspar Carl van Beethoven drew up a will naming his wife Johanna van Beethoven and his brother [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) as co-guardians of his 9-year-old son Karl van Beethoven. (The brother, seeing this, would demand and be promised sole guardianship. However, after his departure the dying man would add a codicil stipulating that nevertheless the boy couldn't be removed from the care of his mother).



1815

1815

→ November 15, Wednesday: [Caspar Carl van Beethoven](#) died in Vienna of [tuberculosis](#). His will named his brother [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) as sole guardian of his 9-year-old son Karl, who couldn't however be removed from the care of his wife Johanna.

[John Banvard](#) was born.

Augusta went to live at 13 Piccadilly Terrace.

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

→ November 16, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 17th[sic] of 11th M / Our meeting was small & Silent but I believe was a solid favor'd opportunity - to me it was peculiarly so, untill bodily infirmity prevailed so as to render the mind incapable to enjoy it - And this Afternoon I feel my mind cover'd with the covering that is sweet & precious - but alas my Frailtys how they predominate & hinder my progress -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ November 18, Saturday: British troops surrounded 60 Boer rebels at Slachtenek, giving them no option but to surrender. Five would be hanged.

→ November 19, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 19th of 11th M 1815 / The day was rainy & both meetings were small & silent. three women only in the Afternoon namely Hannah Dennis Ruth Rodman & Aunt Wait Lawton who was in town on a visit. - Set the eveng at home & my H & I read alternately

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ November 20, Monday: John Stokes, to counter a tendency to "excessive corpulency," began a 1,000-mile walk. He would walk at the rate of 50 miles per day, walking 12 hours per day, and would complete his thousand on December 19th.⁶³

[Charles Theodore Russell](#) was born in Princeton, Massachusetts. He would be the brother of Thomas Hastings Russell (1820-1911) and the father of Charles Theodore Russell, Jr. and Cambridge Mayor and Massachusetts Governor William Eustis Russell (9th child and 4th son, January 6 [8?], 1857, Harvard Class of 1877, summa cum laude at Boston University Law School in 1879-July 16, 1896).

The 2d Treaty of Paris reduced France's boundaries to those of 1790 and demanded a 700,000,000 franc indemnity. France promised to abolish her [international slave trade](#) by 1819 and to limit the trade, until then, to her own colonies. An allied army would occupy France for no more than five years. Savoy was joined with Sardinia. Monaco was made a protectorate of Sardinia. Landau was given to Bavaria. The Saarland went to Prussia. Serbia became a principality under Turkish rule. The perpetual neutrality of Switzerland was recognized. The Quadruple Alliance (Austria/Prussia/Russia/Great Britain) agreed to meet periodically to monitor the treaty.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: At the beginning of the nineteenth century England held 800,000 slaves in her colonies; France, 250,000; Denmark, 27,000; Spain and Portugal, 600,000; Holland, 50,000; Sweden, 600; there were also about 2,000,000 slaves in

63. Of course, now you want to know whether he in fact succeeded in controlling this tendency to put on weight.

— Sorry, that information is not on record.



Brazil, and about 900,000 in the United States.⁶⁴ This was the powerful basis of the demand for the slave-trade; and against the economic forces which these four and a half millions of enforced laborers represented, the battle for freedom had to be fought.

Denmark first responded to the denunciatory cries of the eighteenth century against slavery and the slave-trade. In 1792, by royal order, this traffic was prohibited in the Danish possessions after 1802. The principles of the French Revolution logically called for the extinction of the slave system by France. This was, however, accomplished more precipitately than the Convention anticipated; and in a whirl of enthusiasm engendered by the appearance of the Dominican deputies, slavery and the slave-trade were abolished in all French colonies February 4, 1794.⁶⁵ This abolition was short-lived; for at the command of the First Consul slavery and the slave-trade was restored in An X (1799).⁶⁶ The trade was finally abolished by Napoleon during the Hundred Days by a decree, March 29, 1815, which briefly declared: "À dater de la publication du présent Décret, la Traite des Noirs est abolie."⁶⁷ The Treaty of Paris eventually confirmed this law.⁶⁸

In England, the united efforts of Sharpe, Clarkson, and Wilberforce early began to arouse public opinion by means of agitation and pamphlet literature. May 21, 1788, Sir William Dolben moved a bill regulating the trade, which passed in July and was the last English measure countenancing the traffic.⁶⁹ The report of the Privy Council on the subject in 1789⁷⁰ precipitated the long struggle. On motion of Pitt, in 1788, the House had resolved to take up at the next session the question of the abolition of the trade.⁷¹ It was, accordingly, called up by Wilberforce, and a remarkable parliamentary battle ensued, which lasted continuously until 1805. The Grenville-Fox ministry now espoused the cause. This ministry first prohibited the trade with such colonies as England had acquired by conquest during the Napoleonic wars; then, in 1806, they prohibited the foreign slave-trade; and finally, March 25, 1807, enacted the total abolition of the traffic.⁷²

64. Cf. Augustine Cochin, in Lalor, *CYCLOPEDIA*, III. 723.

65. By a law of Aug. 11, 1792, the encouragement formerly given to the trade was stopped. Cf. *CHOIX DE RAPPORTS, OPINIONS ET DISCOURS PRONONCÉS À LA TRIBUNE NATIONALE DEPUIS 1789* (Paris, 1821), XIV. 425; quoted in Cochin, *THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION* (Booth's translation, 1863), pages 33, 35-8.

66. Cochin, *THE RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION* (Booth's translation, 1863), pages 42-7.

67. *BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS*, 1815-6, page 196.

68. *BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS*, 1815-6, pages 195-9, 292-3; 1816-7, page 755. It was eventually confirmed by royal ordinance, and the law of April 15, 1818.

69. *STATUTE 28 GEORGE III.*, ch. 54. Cf. *STATUTE 29 GEORGE III.*, ch. 66.

70. Various petitions had come in praying for an abolition of the slave-trade; and by an order in Council, Feb. 11, 1788, a committee of the Privy Council was ordered to take evidence on the subject. This committee presented an elaborate report in 1739. See published *REPORT*, London, 1789.

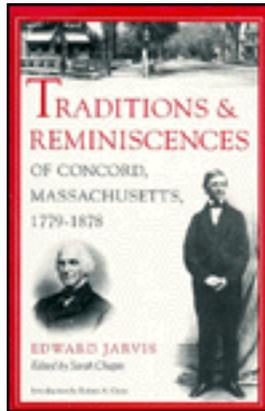
71. For the history of the Parliamentary struggle, cf. Clarkson's and Copley's histories. The movement was checked in the House of Commons in 1789, 1790, and 1791. In 1792 the House of Commons resolved to abolish the trade in 1796. The Lords postponed the matter to take evidence. A bill to prohibit the foreign slave-trade was lost in 1793, passed the next session, and was lost in the House of Lords. In 1795, 1796, 1798, and 1799 repeated attempts to abolish the trade were defeated. The matter then rested until 1804, when the battle was renewed with more success.

72. *STATUTE 46 GEORGE III.*, ch. 52, 119; *47 GEORGE III.*, sess. I. ch. 36.

According to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, page 60:



On Thanksgiving Day almost every family had a turkey for dinner. But very few had it at any other time. Most farmers and many others kept hens and ate them from time to time. I remember the Thanksgiving appointed by the President in the peace of 1815. It was in April, out of the season of turkey or poultry. My father bought a leg of veal for the dinner. We, the children, were very much disappointed that we had not turkey. We were all Federalists and had a great dislike for the war and no respect for the President's Thanksgiving as such, yet we were very willing to eat turkey even on that occasion.



November 21, Tuesday: Milos Obrenovic I became Prince of Serbia.

“Col. Stephen Pearl, one of the most striking characters among the early settlers of Burlington [Vermont] died, at his home, where for many years distinguished strangers ‘from within or without the state’ and the poor and friendless alike had been received with generous hospitality. Col. Pearl was a captain at Bunker Hill, a colonel of the Rutland county militia and present at the ‘Rutland Shay’s Rebellion,’ also town clerk of Burlington and sheriff of the county.”⁷³

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 21 of 11 M / This morning between 8 & 9 O'clock Mother & Uncle Stanton arroved in the Packett Express from N York. Mother has been gone.... Weeks & her return is a very pleasant circumstance.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 22, Wednesday: The Imperial and Royal Landrechte of Lower Austria (court for the nobility and clergy of Lower Austria) appointed Johanna van Beethoven guardian of her son Karl, with [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) as co-guardian.

Muzio Clementi was named treasurer of the London Philharmonic Society.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 22 of 11 M / This day we had the pleasure of Mother &

73. THREE CENTURIES IN THE CHAMPLAIN VALLEY: A COLLECTION OF HISTORICAL FACTS AND INCIDENTS. Tercentenary Edition, 1909.



1815

1815

Uncle Stanton to dine with us - Uncle set most of the Afternoon but went out to tea - Mother Staid to tea & set the evening -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 11 M / This morning rose early & went to Avis Knowles & found Lydia Tucker had just left time - I spoke for a Coffin return'd to Breakfast & made further arrangements for her funeral - which brought it near meeting time - Our first meeting was silent - In the last John Weaver Spoke for a certificate, & after the buisness was ended he addressed the meeting in a few feeling expressions, like a farewell opportunity, which I believe came from the heart & I trust went to the heart of some present -Set most of the evening at Aunt A Carpenters with Uncle Stanton. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 24, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 24th of 11 M / This Morning early Uncle Stanton sailed in Packet Arora for N York. - In the Afternoon attended the funeral of Lydia Tucker which was small. her remains were interd in the upper burying ground in the Meadow field. - This eveng Thos Hornsby arrived from New York - his health very feeble.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 25, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 25th of 11th M 1815 / My mind has been favor'd today with right & good feelings for which I desire to be thankful - On considering the State of Society in the Poor department, I have frequently in the course of the Day Said "By whom shall Jacob Arise for he is small. Standing under the appointment of Overseer of the poor the pressure of those concerns fall heavily upon me - but little money to be had from the treasury & the demands for the poor great - In addition to which the Monthly Meeting is greatly in debt - The prospect is therefore dark, for Poor R Island on whom the scripture is & has been, long literally fulfilled "The poor ye have always with you".

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 26, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 26 of 11 M / In our mornng meeting (which was well attended) our fr D Buffum was very lively in testimony - Ruth Weaver also said a little - In the Afternoon the Meeting was larger than usual for that part of the Day - we set in silence which was solid & I trust a favor'd season to many minds, to me

it was peculiarly so – In the eveng set a little while at Br Davids & called a few minutes at Father Rs - & the rest of the eveng at home with my H & read the whole of R Barclays Proposition on Perfection & have to lament that I fall far short of the state he describes as -- attainable by a christian –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 27, Monday: In Warsaw, [Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia](#) signed a constitutional charter for Poland.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 27th of 11th M / Called this evening at D Williams -his wife read a passage or two in N Moores life of S Paul, it was the part where she so ably delineates the Character of Voltaire - which Interested me exceedingly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 28, Tuesday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) petitioned the Imperial and Royal Landrechte of Lower Austria (court for the nobility and clergy of Lower Austria) to take full guardianship of his 9-year-old nephew Karl van Beethoven.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 28th of 11th M 1815 / This morning John Weaver & his family sailed for Troy in N York State where they expect to settle, thus poor [Rhode Island](#) is striped of its active & useful members, & where we shall get or to what state we shall be reduced to is hard to be foreseen, tho' at present I can hardly think the Monthly Meeting is weak, yet I think our streangth is weakening & with the removal or demise of a few more of the Standards, the weighty part will be gone & there does not appear to be any that will be likely to Succeed them with equal usefulness - Sister Mary Spent the day & evening with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 29, Wednesday: “Person of color” had by this point become established in the vocabulary of white Americans as a polite substitute for “Negro,” “Indian,” etc., as witness this brief obituary in the [Massachusetts Spy](#):

In Grafton, Sarah, a woman of color.

 November 30, Thursday: Meyer Beer (Giacomo Meyerbeer), his brother, and a servant departed from Paris for a trip to London.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 30 of 11th M / Our Monthly Meeting this day held in Town was well attended, a short testimony in the first meeting by father Rodman – In the last our discussions were of no great moment, & there was evidently but little life among us - Uncle Saml Thurston & J Lawton & Job Weedon dined with us - Eunice Earl & Sister Elizabeth set the evening & took tea with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1815

1815

WINTER 1815/1816

DECEMBER

➡ December: At [Harvard College](#)'s divinity school, the President and Fellows issued a circular soliciting funds in aid of the [Harvard Divinity School](#). After a sum of about \$30,000 was achieved, a "Society for promoting Theological Education in Harvard University" would be formed.

➡ December: With France in defeat [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#) cast a vote, in the Chamber of Peers, for the execution of Marshal Ney.

➡ December 1, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 1st of 12 M 1815 / Rode This morning to [Portsmouth](#) with Brother Isaac to attend the funeral of Phebe Chase wife of my cousin Isaac Chase who departed this life quietly about 6 O'clock in the evening last 3rd day. We got to the house about 1 / 2 an hour after the funeral had moved & the air being very cool & we suffering with the cold concluded to go in & set a little while in Silent Sympathy with cousin Isaac & his family & found him & one of his Sons So much unwell as to be unable to leave the room - the funeral was At 10 O'clock Am & at 12 at the meeting house. The latter circumstance we were not acquainted with or as cold as it was we should have rode on & endeavored to have overtaken the funeral. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ December 3, Sunday: Meyer Beer ([Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)) crossed the English Channel from Calais to Dover. This required 8 hours.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 12th M 1815 / In the morning the meeting was pretty well attended, quiet & solid. A Greene preached towards the close - In the Afternoon silent & solid but discouragement greatly my lot - In the evening set a little while at D Williams -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 4, Monday/5, Tuesday: In *MÉMORIAL DE SAINTE HÉLÈNE*, Las Cases explicated [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)'s remark about the rarest sort of courage: "As to moral courage, he had, he said, very rarely met with the two o'clock in the morning courage, unprepared courage," the spontaneous courage of a soldier awakening to danger in the middle of the night.

WALDEN: What recommends commerce to me is its enterprise and bravery. It does not clasp its hands and pray to Jupiter. I see these men every day go about their business with more or less courage and content, doing more even than they suspect, and perchance better employed that they could have consciously devised. I am less affected by their heroism who stood up for half an hour in the front line at Buena Vista, than by the steady and cheerful valor of the men who inhabit the snow-plough for their winter quarters; who have not merely the three-o'clock in the morning courage, which Bonaparte thought was the rarest, but whose courage does not go to rest so early, who go to sleep only when the storm sleeps or the sinews of their iron steed are frozen. On this morning of the Great Snow, perchance, which is still raging and chilling men's blood, I hear the muffled tone of their engine bell from out the fog bank of their chilled breath, which announces that the cars are coming, without long delay, notwithstanding the veto of a New England north-east snow storm, and I behold the ploughmen covered with snow and rime, their heads peering above the mould-board which is turning down other than daisies and the nests of field-mice, like bowlders of the Sierra Nevada, that occupy an outside place in the universe.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE
THE GREAT SNOW

HENRY OFTEN MENTIONS THE GREAT SNOW

THE WIKIPEDIA DESCRIBES THE YEAR WITHOUT A SUMMER



 December 5, Tuesday: Meyer Beer ([Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)) and his companions arrived in London.

In England, the Enclosure Movement was creating the necessity for new forms for the sports of the common people. Traditionally, gangs of males would oppose each other for possession of a kicked ball, with the game ranging freely over the common land. Although the “rules” of such “sports” varied wildly from place to place, these rules would always allow for two prime varieties known as “civil play” and “rough play,” the latter almost always involving fighting (usually, of course, hand to hand fighting, without weapons). A very common form of football was merely to kick the ball into one’s home village and manage to keep it there, so the game could be termed in all directness a patriotic sport. With enclosure of the common lands, it was becoming necessary to arrange for a field upon which football could be played, which meant that the sport needed sponsors. One of the 1st such sponsors was [Walter Scott](#), and on this date the 1st “modern” soccer match took place, at Carterhaugh in the Ettrick Forest of England, before a crowd of 2,000. It was Selkirk against Yarrow and the 1st match was won by Selkirk. Scott wrote a ballad of sorts for the team (American party politics could with justice be alleged to have arisen directly out of this sort of “team dueling”):

Then strip lads and to it,
 though sharp be the weather
And if by mischance
 you should happen to fall,
There are worse things in life
 than a tumble on heather
And life is itself
 but a game of football.

[FOOTBALL](#)
[SPORTS](#)
[BALL-ROLLING POLITICS](#)

 December 6, Wednesday: At the Luxembourg Palace, a court of Peers sentenced Marshal Michel Ney to death for treason.

While the Algerian fleet was at sea, the US had declared war and blockaded the port of Algiers. The US at this point traded some 500 Algerians held captive by our navy for some 10 Americans enslaved⁷⁴ in Algeria.

 December 7, Thursday: [Elizabeth Hussey Whittier](#) was born. (It is necessary to disambiguate between two persons of this name, one having been the sister of John Greenleaf Whittier and the other his niece, called “Lizzie.” This is the sister.)

Marshal Michel Ney was executed by [firing squad](#) in a Paris street (he would be the only one of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)’s marshals to be put to death).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

74. In the 1790s, Americans traded in and commandeered the labor of captive Africans. These creatures were, and are, conventionally referred to in the US print culture as “slaves.” In the same timeframe, however Algerian Moslems were commandeering and trading in the labor of US sailors they were taking prisoner off the coast of North Africa. These creatures were, and are, being referred to in the US print culture as “captives.” The difference between being “slaves” and being “captives” was, and is, in part the difference between being black humans and being white humans, and in part the difference between being, on the one hand, naturalized and essentialized, and being, on the other hand, personalized and individualized: slaves are slaves because they are ontologically enslaved, while captives are merely captive because despite being ontologically “free” people, despite being individual agents with intact wills, they are temporarily being held against their intact will. Glenn Hendler has pointed out that a term such as “slave” effectively made the condition of enslavement inevitable, because it provided the totality of the identity of the persons so described. The term “captive,” on the other hand, disallowed this totalization and connoted both resisting intelligences operating against the enslaved condition, and the unnaturalness and injustice of the condition itself. The insistence of (white) US writers in the 1790s on applying the term of art “captives” rather than the term of art “slaves” to their fellow citizens held by Moslems on the north coast of Africa should, I think, give us pause. Is it serving the purposes of communication, if we continue to accept such a nomenclature system, or is it instead a fertile source of miscommunication? Here, describing as I do above the white Americans being held along the coast of Africa as “slaves” rather than as “captives,” I am easily inverting the convention in order to draw attention to it.



1815

1815

*5th day 7th of 12 M / Our meeting was Small on the womens side of the house in consequence of the Rain - I thought it a season of favor, tho' "Jacob was very small" Yet a current of life appear'd to flow. - Hannah Dennis was very lively her opening was "Is there no balm in Gilead & is there not a Physician there." In the forepart of the meeting Jonathon Dennis requested that we set more compact which was repeated by father Rodman - Friends have heretofore been in the habit of Sitting scattering, Some near the door, whose age and standing would render a forward seat more appropriate. -
Last eveng about 10 OClock Died at [Portsmouth](#) Ruth Bringhurst widow of James Bringhurst late of Philadelphia -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 8, Friday: In an action that tells us everything we need to know about what was going down, the government of the Alabama and Mississippi Territory planned for the disposal of [slaves](#) they had taken in hand because they had been found being illegally imported into the territory. The plan was, sell them at auction, and divide the proceeds between the territorial treasury and whoever had informed on the illegal activity or had brought them in to the government. (Toulmin, DIGEST OF THE LAWS OF ALABAMA, page 637; STATUTES OF MISSISSIPPI DIGESTED, etc., edition of 1816, page 389). Clearly, this course of conduct was being indulged in not because it was of some benefit to the victim, to the rescued slave, but because it was of benefit to the rescuer, the redeemer — the government, which was regarding these rescued victims as at the very best an annoyance. One supposes that one ought to be grateful not to have learned, instead, that these victims had after their “rescue” been killed and thrown into a pit! Clearly, rescuing the victim was here not at all about rescuing the victim, but was all about rescuing the rescuer from the plight of being oppressed by the mere presence of these victims. –The question would seem to be: To how many other instances of antebellum antislavery can we attribute these same ignoble motives?

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The dozen or more propositions on the question of the disposal of illegally imported Africans may be divided into two chief heads, representing two radically opposed parties: 1. That illegally imported Africans be free, although they might be indentured for a term of years or removed from the country. 2. That such Africans be sold as slaves.⁷⁵ The arguments on these two propositions, which were many and far-reaching, may be roughly divided into three classes, political,

75. There were at least twelve distinct propositions as to the disposal of the Africans imported: –
1. That they be forfeited and sold by the United States at auction (Early's bill, reported Dec. 15: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 167-8).
 2. That they be forfeited and left to the disposal of the States (proposed by Bidwell and Early: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 181, 221, 477. This was the final settlement.)
 3. That they be forfeited and sold, and that the proceeds go to charities, education, or internal improvements (Early, Holland, and Masters: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 273).
 4. That they be forfeited and indentured for life (Alston and Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 170-1).
 5. That they be forfeited and indentured for 7, 8, or 10 years (Pitkin: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 186).
 6. That they be forfeited and given into the custody of the President, and by him indentured in free States for a term of years (bill reported from the Senate Jan. 28: HOUSE JOURNAL (reprinted 1826), 9th Congress 2d session, V. 575; ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 477. Cf. also ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 272).
 7. That the Secretary of the Treasury dispose of them, at his discretion, in service (Quincy: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 183).
 8. That those imported into slave States be returned to Africa or bound out in free States (Sloan: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 254).
 9. That all be sent back to Africa (Smilie: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 176).
 10. That those imported into free States be free, those imported into slave States be returned to Africa or indentured (Sloan: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 226).
 11. That they be forfeited but not sold (Sloan and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 270).
 12. That they be free (Sloan: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 168; Bidwell: HOUSE JOURNAL (reprinted 1826), 9th Congress 2d session, V. 515).



constitutional, and moral.

The political argument, reduced to its lowest terms, ran thus: those wishing to free the Negroes illegally imported declared that to enslave them would be to perpetrate the very evil which the law was designed to stop. "By the same law," they said, "we condemn the man-stealer and become the receivers of his stolen goods. We punish the criminal, and then step into his place, and complete the crime."⁷⁶ They said that the objection to free Negroes was no valid excuse; for if the Southern people really feared this class, they would consent to the imposing of such penalties on illicit traffic as would stop the importation of a single slave.⁷⁷ Moreover, "forfeiture" and sale of the Negroes implied a property right in them which did not exist.⁷⁸ Waiving this technical point, and allowing them to be "forfeited" to the government, then the government should either immediately set them free, or, at the most, indenture them for a term of years; otherwise, the law would be an encouragement to violators. "It certainly will be," said they, "if the importer can find means to evade the penalty of the act; for there he has all the advantage of a market enhanced by our ineffectual attempt to prohibit."⁷⁹ They claimed that even the indenturing of the ignorant barbarian for life was better than slavery; and Sloan declared that the Northern States would receive the freed Negroes willingly rather than have them enslaved.⁸⁰

The argument of those who insisted that the Negroes should be sold was tersely put by Macon: "In adopting our measures on this subject, we must pass such a law as can be executed."⁸¹ Early expanded this: "It is a principle in legislation, as correct as any which has ever prevailed, that to give effect to laws you must not make them repugnant to the passions and wishes of the people among whom they are to operate. How then, in this instance, stands the fact? Do not gentlemen from every quarter of the Union prove, on the discussion of every question that has ever arisen in the House, having the most remote bearing on the giving freedom to the Africans in the bosom of our country, that it has excited the deepest sensibility in the breasts of those where slavery exists? And why is this so? It is, because those who, from experience, know the extent of the evil, believe that the most formidable aspect in which it can present itself, is by making these people free among them. Yes, sir, though slavery is an evil, regretted by every man in the country, to have among us in any considerable quantity persons of this description, is an evil far greater than slavery itself. Does any gentleman want proof of this? I answer that all proof is useless; no fact can be more notorious. With this belief on the minds of the people where slavery exists, and where the importation will take place, if at all, we are about to turn loose in a state of freedom all persons brought in after the passage of this law. I ask gentlemen to reflect and say whether such a law, opposed to the ideas, the passions, the views, and the affections of the people of the Southern States, can be executed? I tell them, no; it is impossible - why? Because no man will inform - why? Because to

76. Bidwell, Cook, and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 201.

77. Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 172.

78. Fisk: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 224-5; Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 221.

79. Quincy: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 184.

80. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 478; Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 171.

81. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 172.



inform will be to lead to an evil which will be deemed greater than the offence of which information is given, because it will be opposed to the principle of self-preservation, and to the love of family. No, no man will be disposed to jeopard his life, and the lives of his countrymen. And if no one dare inform, the whole authority of the Government cannot carry the law into effect. The whole people will rise up against it. Why? Because to enforce it would be to turn loose, in the bosom of the country, firebrands that would consume them."⁸²

This was the more tragic form of the argument; it also had a mercenary side, which was presented with equal emphasis. It was repeatedly said that the only way to enforce the law was to play off individual interests against each other. The profit from the sale of illegally imported Negroes was declared to be the only sufficient "inducement to give information of their importation."⁸³ "Give up the idea of forfeiture, and I challenge the gentleman to invent fines, penalties, or punishments of any sort, sufficient to restrain the slave trade."⁸⁴ If such Negroes be freed, "I tell you that slaves will continue to be imported as heretofore.... You cannot get hold of the ships employed in this traffic. Besides, slaves will be brought into Georgia from East Florida. They will be brought into the Mississippi Territory from the bay of Mobile. You cannot inflict any other penalty, or devise any other adequate means of prevention, than a forfeiture of the Africans in whose possession they may be found after importation."⁸⁵ Then, too, when foreigners smuggled in Negroes, "who then ... could be operated on, but the purchasers? There was the rub - it was their interest alone which, by being operated on, would produce a check. Snap their purse-strings, break open their strong box, deprive them of their slaves, and by destroying the temptation to buy, you put an end to the trade, ... nothing short of a forfeiture of the slave would afford an effectual remedy."⁸⁶ Again, it was argued that it was impossible to prevent imported Negroes from becoming slaves, or, what was just as bad, from being sold as vagabonds or indentured for life.⁸⁷ Even our own laws, it was said, recognize the title of the African slave factor in the transported Negroes; and if the importer have no title, why do we legislate? Why not let the African immigrant alone to get on as he may, just as we do the Irish immigrant?⁸⁸ If he should be returned to Africa, his home could not be found, and he would in all probability be sold into slavery again.⁸⁹

The constitutional argument was not urged as seriously as the foregoing; but it had a considerable place. On the one hand, it was urged that if the Negroes were forfeited, they were forfeited to the United States government, which could dispose of them as it saw fit;⁹⁰ on the other hand, it was said that the United States, as owner, was subject to State laws, and could

82. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 173-4.

83. Alston: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 170.

84. D.R. Williams: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 183.

85. Early: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 184-5.

86. Lloyd, Early, and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 203.

87. Alston: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 170.

88. Quincy: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 222; Macon: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 225.

89. Macon: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 177.

90. Barker: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 171; Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 172.



not free the Negroes contrary to such laws.⁹¹ Some alleged that the freeing of such Negroes struck at the title to all slave property;⁹² others thought that, as property in slaves was not recognized in the Constitution, it could not be in a statute.⁹³ The question also arose as to the source of the power of Congress over the slave-trade. Southern men derived it from the clause on commerce, and declared that it exceeded the power of Congress to declare Negroes imported into a slave State, free, against the laws of that State; that Congress could not determine what should or should not be property in a State.⁹⁴ Northern men replied that, according to this principle, forfeiture and sale in Massachusetts would be illegal; that the power of Congress over the trade was derived from the restraining clause, as a non-existent power could not be restrained; and that the United States could act under her general powers as executor of the Law of Nations.⁹⁵

The moral argument as to the disposal of illegally imported Negroes was interlarded with all the others. On the one side, it began with the "Rights of Man," and descended to a stickling for the decent appearance of the statute-book; on the other side, it began with the uplifting of the heathen, and descended to a denial of the applicability of moral principles to the question. Said Holland of North Carolina: "It is admitted that the condition of the slaves in the Southern States is much superior to that of those in Africa. Who, then, will say that the trade is immoral?"⁹⁶ But, in fact, "morality has nothing to do with this traffic,"⁹⁷ for, as Joseph Clay declared, "it must appear to every man of common sense, that the question could be considered in a commercial point of view only."⁹⁸ The other side declared that, "by the laws of God and man," these captured Negroes are "entitled to their freedom as clearly and absolutely as we are;"⁹⁹ nevertheless, some were willing to leave them to the tender mercies of the slave States, so long as the statute-book was disgraced by no explicit recognition of slavery.¹⁰⁰ Such arguments brought some sharp sarcasm on those who seemed anxious "to legislate for the honor and glory of the statute book;"¹⁰¹ some desired "to know what honor you will derive from a law that will be broken every day of your lives."¹⁰² They would rather boldly sell the Negroes and turn the proceeds over to charity. The final settlement of the question was as follows: -

"SECTION 4.... And neither the importer, nor any person or persons claiming from or under him, shall hold any right or title whatsoever to any negro, mulatto, or person of color, nor to the service or labor thereof,

91. Clay, Alston, and Early: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 266.

92. Clay, Alston, and Early: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 266.

93. Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 221.

94. Sloan and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 271; Early and Alston: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 168, 171.

95. Ely, Bidwell, and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 179, 181, 271; Smilie and Findley: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, pages 225, 226.

96. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 240. Cf. Lloyd: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 236.

97. Holland: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 241.

98. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 227; Macon: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 225.

99. Bidwell, Cook, and others: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 201.

100. Bidwell: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 221. Cf. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 202.

101. Early: ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session, page 239.

102. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 9th Congress 2d session



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who may be imported or brought within the United States, or territories thereof, in violation of this law, but the same shall remain subject to any regulations not contravening the provisions of this act, which the Legislatures of the several States or Territories at any time hereafter may make, for disposing of any such negro, mulatto, or person of color."¹⁰³



December 9, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day [sic] 9 of 12 M / After dinner walked out to John Weedens & with him rode to W Shermans to visit his son Jacob in the capacity of overseers. we staid there some time & labor'd with him in the ability afforded, which was as much to my own satisfaction as I could expect but whether we left any favorable impression on him is uncertain. John carried me round by Richard Mitchells where we stoped & warmed - I then walked to cousin Chases & staid all night, found the Old man recruiting a little after a Severe attack of the influenzy which with his other complaints proves almost to much for his constitution - 1st day forenoon being cold & unpleasant I staid with cousin Chase till after dinner then walked home in Season to attend Our Afternoon Meeting Afternoon Henry Sherburns wife was buried - Also Francis Amie Alias Friend, the poor man was in [sic]

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 10, Sunday: Birth of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s daughter Ada (Augusta Ada King, countess of Lovelace), the 1st computer programmer, in [London](#).

The city of Danzig was much injured by the explosion of a powder-magazine.



December 10, Sunday: Captain [Paul Cuffe](#) sailed with a cargo of 38 people and their effects, bound for Sierra Leone on the coast of Africa.

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 December 11, Monday: [Charles Davies](#) graduated from the West Point Military Academy and was assigned to the artillery.



 December 12, Tuesday: New-York City mayor De Witt Clinton was appointed to prepare a memorial to the state legislature, proposing a [canal](#) across the state. He would circulate a petition to upstate counties.

 December 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 14 of 12 M 1815 / Attended meeting & tho' my mind has been pretty closely occupied in worldly concerns for the present Week, the opportunity was such as made me glad to be present -

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 December 15, Friday: Gioachino Rossini signed a contract with Duke Francesco Sforza Cesarini for an opera to be performed at the Nobile Teatro della Torre Argentina (this would eventually become *Il barbiere di Siviglia*).

Jane Austen's EMMA.

 December 16, Saturday: The United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil and Algarve was created by Prince Regent João.

 December 17, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day [sic] 17 of 12 M / Meetings both Silent - In the Afternoon my feelings were excited towards a young woman a member of Society & relation of mine who has lately married out of the good & correct order of Society (M E) whether the concern will amount to sufficient to pay her a visit I cannot Yet tell, - but the predominating desire of my mind is that she may not forsake the religion of her fathers & tho' she may be disowned I hope it may rouse her to a Sense of the value of her birth right & be the means of coming into society with usefulness, to us & benefit to herself-
Between meetings Benjamin Stanton Son of Benjamin Stanton of St Johns called to see us. he is second cousin to me & a branch of relationship which my father set much by - he came in for harbor for his Vessel Bound for N York & goes away again this Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 18, Monday: Having been removed as director of the Paris Conservatoire last year, and reinstated by [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) in the Spring, Bernard Sarrette was once again sacked by the royal government.

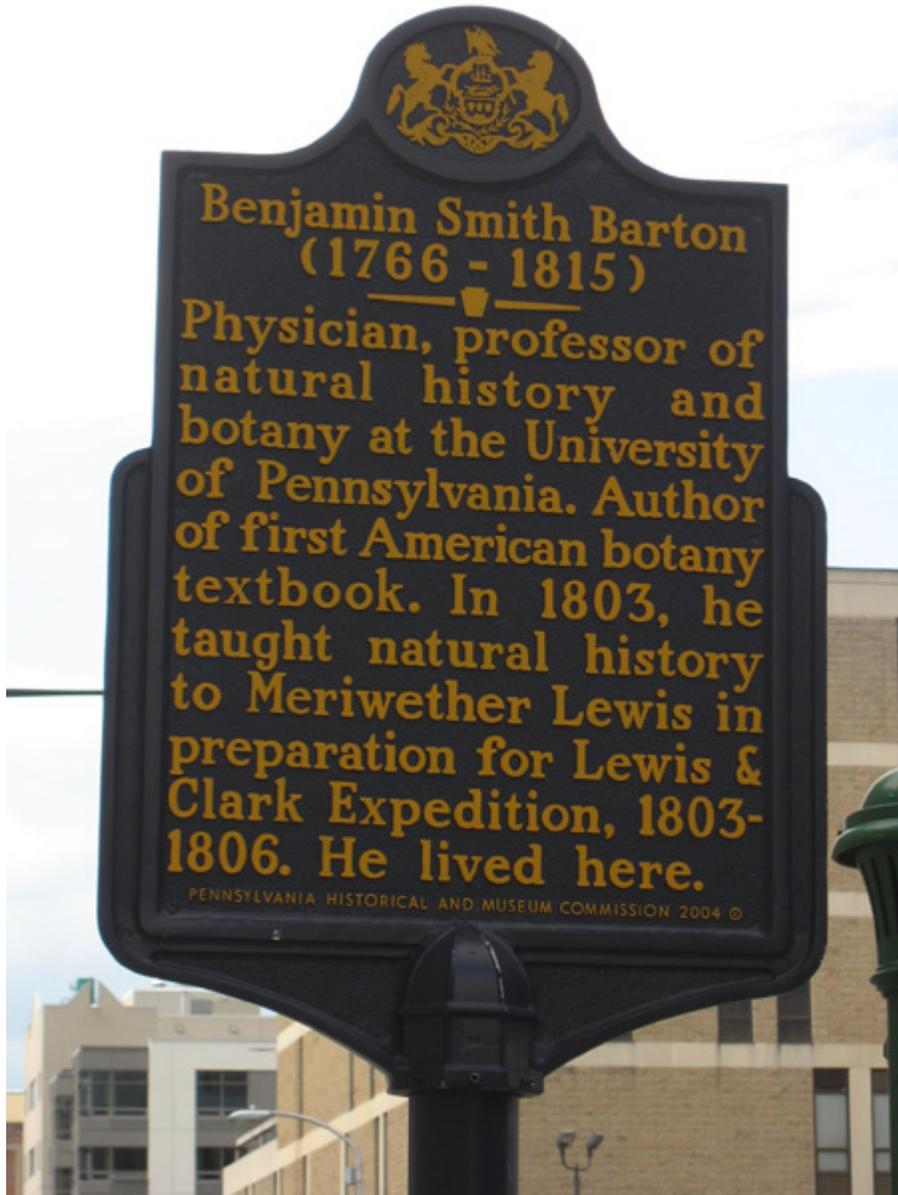
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 December 19, Tuesday: Meyer Beer ([Giacomo Meyerbeer](#)) visited Frederick Kalkbrenner in London. They played for each other. Meyerbeer was impressed by Kalkbrenner and his English piano.

In Ciudad Mexico, the revolutionary Father José Maria Morelos was executed by a Spanish [firing squad](#).

[Benjamin Smith Barton](#) died of [tuberculosis](#) in New-York.



 December 20, Wednesday: [James Legge](#) was born at Huntly, Aberdeenshire, Scotland. He would be educated at Aberdeen Grammar School and then Kings College, Aberdeen. After studying at the Highbury Theological College, London, he would go as a missionary to [China](#).

 December 21, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 21st of 12 M 1815 / I desire not to complain but do what



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I can in my day & generation, but certainly considering my outward circumstances my time is more occupied in the concerns of Society than I can afford - by ten OC this forenoon I was at the meeting house to fix the stove pipe - In the first meeting which was silent & well attended & the last which was preparative I set, then directly met with a committee to consider the State of the poor -we did not get thro' till almost 4 OC in the Afternoon, this consumed about 6 hours of my time today & put me behind hand in my work -

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December 22, Friday: In Prague, a cantata that Carl Maria von Weber had composed after the Battle of Waterloo, "Kampf und Sieg," was performed for the initial time. Although due to a storm and due to the [Christmas](#) season, the audience was a small one, applause was vigorous.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 22 of 12 M 1815 / On 4th day last the 20th inst Died after an illness of a few minutes in Little Compton that Aged friend & Patriarch Jeremiah Austin Senr Aged about 83 years - There are few men who have gone from works to reward that have left a Savor of christian Deportment so Sweet behind them "Behold an Israelite indeed in whom there is no Guile" I never had much acquaintance with him, as he came but seldom to Town & I went but seldom where he was, but I have sought all possible, or at least convenient opportunities to be in his company & have never failed to be much interested, either by his looks, which were Sweet & innocent, or by his conversation - he had lived long & was a very Active member in Society, faithful to the testimony in every respect, & a good example in plainness - his anecdotes of the trials he passed thro' when he was a member of one of the Meeting at or near the Long Plains - in the time of the Recoluntary War, when a number of friends fell off & Advocated War, was very teaching to a young mind. he sat one day some Years ago in my shop & related much of those days to me - his services in the Church for many years were great & certainly I believe no Star in the brightest constellation of heaven shone brighter in its orb, than did this heavenly minded man in his. -

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December 24, Sunday: The initial concert of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society took place at King's Chapel, Boston. Excerpts from the works of the two namesakes were performed by about 100 men and women singers, with organ and 12 other instruments.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24 of 12 M / The Mornng Meeting was a season of favor for which I desire to be thankful - In the Afternoon a groveling time -both meetings were silent - the morning was small in the womens side of the house in consequence of a little Rain & bad walking -Better attended in the Afternoon - This Afternoon Henry Sherburns wife was buried - Also Francis Amie Alias Friend. The poor man was in my shop in the Morning of the 20th inst. went



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home & after a little while went upstairs & lay down & when they went to call him to dinner, behold he was no More. - Tho' this poor man had been long unwell Yet the Sudden & unexpected call from time to Eternity is a solemn warning to Survivors.

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 December 25, Monday: Meeresstille und glückliche Fahrt, a cantata by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was performed for the initial time, in the großen Redoutensaal, Vienna along with the premiere of his overture Namensfeier.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 25 of 12 M 1815 / This has been a very pleasant day for the Time called [Christmas](#). The forepart of it was a clear sky & fine wholesome Air - The Afternoon was some cloudy as was the evening & the Air more raw - it is a great favor to the Poor of the Town that Winter thus keeps off - we have had no snow yet, & wood is plenty tho' at the great price of \$8 P Cord -- My H set the Afternoon at Br Davids - Rebecca Sessions set the evening with us -

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 December 26, Tuesday: Gioachino Rossini's drama semiserio Torvaldo e Dorliska to words of Sterbini after Coudry was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome. This was not well received.

 December 28, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28th of 12 M / Rode with Sister Ruth to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting - found ourselves very cold by the time we got to Uncle S Thurstons where we stoped & warmed, then rode to meeting. - In the first H Dennis prayed - In the last we had but little buisness, but life was apparently so low that it took us a considerable time to transact it -Wfter meeting we dined at Uncle Thurstons & rode home - Mt H had concluded to go to [Portsmouth](#) last night, but her own & Johns indisposition prevented this morning -

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 December 29, Friday: Meyer Beer (Giacomo Meyerbeer), his brother, and their servant departed from London for Paris.

 December 30, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 30 of 12 M 1815 / This day completed the 34th Year of my Age - to have lived 34 years & to be no better is real cause for Alarm - The Year rolls round but I feel Sensibly that it has gone, forever gone from me, & the reflection naturally arises that I am one Year nearer the Grave John has been better to day for which I feel a degree of thankfulness -

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December 31, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 31 of 12 M 1815 / Our meetings were very small owing to the very sloppy walking but few women attended - In the morning father Rodman delivered a short testimony - My own condition was truly poor, tho' I labor'd to get my mind fixed on serious subjects yet turn which way I would unprofitable & unsuitable matter for the occasion would work in - Thus I was renewedly confirmed that times & seasons are not at our command.

John has not been quite so well as yesterday, I believe Worms are his greatest difficulty.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: June 21, 2015

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.

General Events of 1815

SPRING	JANUARY	FEBRUARY	MARCH
SUMMER	APRIL	MAY	JUNE
FALL	JULY	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
WINTER	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER

Following the death of [Jesus Christ](#) there was a period of readjustment that lasted for approximately one million years.

-[Kurt Vonnegut](#), THE SIRENS OF TITAN



GO ON TO EVENTS OF 1816