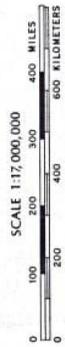
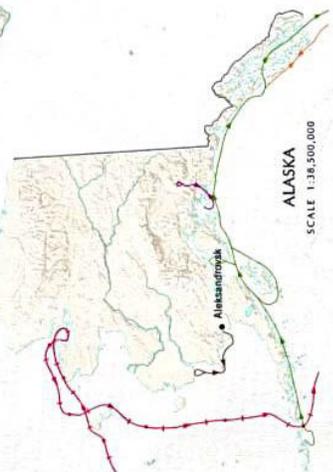


Compiled from information provided by
 William H. Goetzmann, University of Texas, 1966
 Albers Equal Area Projection



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THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1820. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Hugh H. Brown.

THE RHODE-ISLAND REGISTER AND UNITED STATES CALENDAR FOR 1820. [Providence](#): Hugh H. Brown.

This new series started by the publishers of the Bickerstaff series continued for 12 years.

[John Farmer](#)'s 35-page AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF AMHERST, NEW HAMPSHIRE, FROM THE FIRST SETTLEMENT TO 1820, published at Amherst (a 52-page 2d edition would be published at Concord, New Hampshire in 1837).

Publication, by Syrus Andrus and printing by Roberts & Burr in Hartford, Connecticut of the edition of the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA*; OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND; FROM ITS FIRST PLANTING, IN THE YEAR 1620, UNTO THE YEAR OF OUR LORD 1698. IN SEVEN BOOKS that [Henry Thoreau](#) would access in 1859 for use in CAPE COD (since Google Books has not as yet scanned this particular printing, what I have captured behind these buttons is the reprint put out by Syrus Andrus in 1853 and 1855).

MATHER'S MAGNALIA, I

MATHER'S MAGNALIA, II

➡ With the opening of the anthracite coalfields of Pennsylvania, the nation began a slow changeover from renewable wood fuel for home heating, to unrenovable stores of fossil fuel, which would not be complete until like 1880 or so. The railroads, of course, would lead the way to coal. The age of the woodpile and the ax was to give way to the age of the coal scuttle and the fuel bill.



(a device mentioned by Thoreau in WALDEN)



➡ We have no date either for the birth or the death of another child of Caleb Callender Billings and Betsey Brown Hammond Billings. The only information we have is that the child was female, was born between 1820 and 1825, was given the name Eliza Billings, and died in Bangor, Maine.

➡ The word “buff” was applied to the overcoat worn by volunteer New-York firemen, which was made in a standard buff color. (Later this term would be generalized to apply to any enthusiast about firefighting, and later than that, this term would be further generalized to apply to any enthusiast in any field: “opera buff,” “railroad buff.” But compare “sports aficionado,” “policy wonk,” “computer nerd.”)



➡ Even in this timeframe, there were still more Jews in the British and Dutch West Indies than in North America, almost entirely Sephardic, perhaps 6,000 down there as opposed to 4,000 up here. German Jews were, however, beginning to arrive in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars.



➡ [Walter Savage Landor](#)'s *IDYLLIA HEROICA DECEM. PARTIM JAM PRIMO PARTIM ITERUM ATQUE TERTIO EDIT SAVAGIUS LANDOR (Pisa)*.

➡ At about this point [Dr. John Edwards Holbrook](#) began a tour of France, Germany, and England. While in Paris he would work at the Jardin des Plantes.

➡ [Myron Holley](#) was reelected to the New York General Assembly.

➡ [William Hazlitt](#)'s LECTURES ON THE DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH; DELIVERED AT THE SURRY INSTITUTION.



DRAMA OF ELIZABETH I

➡ [Heckewelder, Johann Gotlieb Ernestus](#). A NARRATIVE OF THE MISSION OF THE UNITED BRETHREN AMONG THE DELAWARE AND MOHEGAN INDIANS, FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN THE YEAR 1740, TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1808... (Philadelphia: M'Carty & Davis).

REVEREND HECKEWELDER

➡ [William Godwin](#)'s OF POPULATION. AN ENQUIRY CONCERNING THE POWER OF INCREASE IN THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND, BEING AN ANSWER TO MR. MALTHUS'S ESSAY ON THAT SUBJECT, (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Ornie & Brown)

➡ [Theodatus Garlick](#) and his brother Abel Garlick excavated one of the aboriginal mounds near Cleveland, [Ohio](#) (many such mounds have now disappeared, due to a rise in the level of the lake as well as to construction within the city).

➡ [William Jardine](#) got married with a sister of his anatomy teacher at the University of Edinburgh, Professor John Lizars (he would be pursuing his anatomical studies not only in bed but also at medical school in [Paris](#)).

[George Heriot](#) depicted an unusually picturesque rock formation near Poitiers:



➡ [Thomas Harwood](#) put out a new edition of Sampson Erdeswicke's A SURVEY OF STAFFORDSHIRE: CONTAINING THE ANTIQUITIES OF THAT COUNTY.

SURVEY OF STAFFORDSHIRE

 The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) passed on vend his trademarked snake oil in a place where people hadn't caught onto him yet: Jackson, Missouri.¹



1. Keep on truckin', Reverend, keep a-keepin' on.

 [The Reverend Thaddeus Mason Harris, D.D.](#)'s THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE; OR, A DESCRIPTION OF ALL THE QUADRUPEDS, BIRDS, FISHES, REPTILES, AND INSECTS, TREES, PLANTS, FLOWERS, GUMS, AND PRECIOUS STONES, MENTIONED IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED. BY THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D.D. "HE SPAKE OF TREES, FROM THE CEDAR THAT IS IN LEBANON EVEN UNTO THE HYSSOP THAT SPRINGETH OUT OF THE WALL. HE SPAKE ALSO OF BEASTS, AND OF FOWLS, AND OF CREEPING THINGS, AND OF FISHES." 1 KINGS IV. 33. (Boston: Wells and Lilly—Court-Street).

TURTLE. תוּר TUR. Gr. *τεργεν*. Lat. *turtur*.
 Occ. Gen. xv. 9; Levit. i. 14; v. 7, 11; xii. 6, 8; xiv. 22,
 30; xv. 14, 29; Numb. vi. 10; Psalm lxxiv. 19; Cantic. ii. 12;
 Jer. viii. 7. ΤΡΥΓΩΝ, Luke ii. 24.

We have the authority of the Septuagint, the Targum, and of all the ancient interpreters, for understanding this of the *turtle*. Indeed it is one of those evident instances in which the name of the bird is by *onomatopœia* formed from its note or cry.

In our version of Psalm lxxiv. 19, we read, "O deliver not the soul of thy turtle-dove unto the multitude of the enemies:" but there are no traces of this metaphor of the *turtle-dove* in any old version whatsoever, which could not have missed it, at least not all of them, if it had ever been in their copies. The truth is, it is only the blunder of some negligent transcriber, propagated down to us, who took a ר ד, for an ר ר, and so wrote תוּר *thy turtle-dove*, for תוּר *confessing thee*; for so the ancients translate; "O give not up to beasts, a soul confessing thee!" This reading is that of the Septuagint and the Syriac; and HOUBIGANT approves it.

The turtle is mentioned among migratory birds, by Jeremiah viii. 7, and in this differs from the rest of its family, which are all stationary. The fact to which the prophet alludes, is attested by ARISTOTLE, Hist. An. l. viii. c. 3, in these words, "the pigeon and the dove are always present, but the turtle only in summer; that bird is not seen in winter:" and in another part of his work, he asserts that "the dove remains, while the turtle migrates." VARRO, and other ancient writers, make the like statement. Thus Solomon, Cantic. ii. 12, mentions the return of this bird as one of the indications of spring; "the voice of the turtle is heard in the grove."

 Lebel began an edition of the works of [François de Salignac de la Mothe-Fénélon](#), at Versailles.

 [Thomas Ewbank](#) began to manufacture metal tubing in New Jersey.

 [Stephen Elliott](#) was elected president of South Carolina College (the institution is now the University of South Carolina).

 [Robert Southey](#)'s A VISION OF JUDGMENT.

 [G. Franchère, Fils](#)'s *RELATION D'UN VOYAGE À LA CÔTE DU NORD-OUEST DE L'AMÉRIQUE SEPTENTRIONALE, DANS LES ANNÉES 1810, 11, 12, 13, ET 14* ([Montréal](#): Michel Bibaud, édit; De l'Imprimerie de C.B. Pasteur). The manuscript had been extensively edited and revised. It would be a prime source to [Washington Irving](#) for his trilogy *ASTORIA; OR, ANECDOTES OF AN ENTERPRISE BEYOND THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS*.

[For full text in French, click on the title page illustration, which appears on a following screen.]

 [Amos Eaton](#) was appointed as Professor of Natural History at the medical school of Castleton College in Vermont and, under the patronage of Stephen van Rensselaer, began a survey of Albany and Rensselaer counties that would continue into the following year.



 During this decade [James Fenimore Cooper](#) would be averaging \$6,500 per year from his writings. (That'd be like consistently bringing in better than a half-million per year, today.)



1820

1820

RELATION
D'UN
VOYAGE
A LA CÔTE DU
NORD-OUEST
DE
l'Amérique Septentrionale,
DANS LES ANNÉES
1810, 11, 12, 13, et 14.

PAR G. FRANCHÈRE, FILS.

MONTREAL:
DE L'IMPRIMERIE DE C. B. PASTEUR.
1820.



➔ [Ralph Cudworth](#)'s THE TRUE INTELLECTUAL SYSTEM OF THE UNIVERSE: WHEREIN ALL THE REASON AND PHILOSOPHY OF ATHEISM IS CONFUTED, AND ITS IMPOSSIBILITY DEMONSTRATED ... AND AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR: BY THOMAS BIRCH (London: R. Priestly). This edition would be available to [Henry Thoreau](#) in the personal library of [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#).

CUDWORTH'S SYSTEM, I

CUDWORTH'S SYSTEM, II

CUDWORTH'S SYSTEM, III

➔ The Reverend [Henry Root Colman](#) became a schoolteacher in [Boston](#).

➔ [John Payne Collier](#)'s THE POETICAL DECAMERON, OR, TEN CONVERSATIONS ON ENGLISH POETS AND POETRY, PARTICULARLY OF THE REIGNS OF ELIZABETH AND JAMES I.

➔ [John Chalkhill](#)'s THEALMA AND CLEARCHUS. A PASTORAL ROMANCE (Chiswick: from the press of C. Whittingham, 1820). [Henry Thoreau](#) would study this edition.



THEALMA AND CLEARCHUS

➔ [Professor Augustin Pyramus de Candolle](#)'s *ESSAI ÉLÉMENTAIRE DE GÉOGRAPHIE BOTANIQUE*.

BOTANIZING

➡ [Thomas Campbell](#) accepted the editorship of the New Monthly Magazine, and in the same year made another tour in Germany.

➡ John Adamson's LIFE OF [CAMÔES](#) (Longman).



➡ [Professor Philip Karl Buttmann](#) became head librarian to the king.

➡ During this year and the following one, [Professor Philip Karl Buttmann](#)'s *ÜBER DIE MINYAE DER ÄLTESTEN ZEIT* and his *ÜBER LERNA, DESSEN LAGE UND ÖRTLICHKEITEN*.

➡ By this point [William Cullen Bryant](#) had read William Wordsworth's LYRICAL BALLADS, which had caused a thousand Romantic springs to gush up into his heart, and so he added an introductory group of lines to his audience to go out under the open sky and list to the teachings of the still voice of Nature.²

At the age of 26 [Bryant](#) got married with Frances Fairchild.

➡ Although Augustin-Jean Fresnel would receive much credit for improvement of the British lighthouse system, during this year [David Brewster FRS](#) was already pressing for adoption of a dioptric apparatus, fully two years before Fresnel's adoption of such a device.

➡ [Henry Hart Milman](#)'s THE FALL OF JERUSALEM: A DRAMATIC POEM BY THE REV. H.H. HILMAN.

➡ [Beriah Green](#) moved to Kennebunk, [Maine](#).

2. While it would be tempting to allege that we have no record that Bryant ever appreciated the teachings of the still voice of Nature enough to actually venture outdoors, that would not be entirely accurate — for we do have a.) a record that once upon a time he took a vacation steamboat cruise on the Great Lakes and also b.) we know that once he walked down a sidewalk in New-York (we happen to know this because for some reason he struck another walker with a whip, whereupon that guy confiscated his whip).



1820

1820



[Robert Anderson](#) prepared, in 7 volumes, THE WORKS OF JOHN MOORE, M.D., WITH MEMOIRS OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS (Edinburgh).

1820

1820



In [London](#), [Benjamin Robert Haydon](#) rented [William Bullock](#)'s Piccadilly Egyptian Hall in order to stage the display of his over-the-top "Christ's Entry into Jerusalem." This exhibition would turn out to be popular, and profitable.



(View this oil on canvas at Mount St Mary's Seminary in Cincinnati, Ohio.)



This was the year of the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, and one of the delegates to this convention was the Reverend Joseph Tuckerman, who had gotten the blues in the previous year by witnessing a [slave](#) auction in [Charleston](#), South Carolina. An interesting factoid is that, despite what he had just witnessed, at this convention he assumed that free black citizens would not be eligible for state office, just as he assumed that white women would likewise be ineligible (some habits of mind don't go away very easily, or, at least, don't go away very easily when they maybe disturb **somebody else's** life agenda but fail to disturb **one's own personal** life agenda).

([Lemuel Shaw](#), who had been a state senator, was another delegate to this convention for amending the Massachusetts Constitution. When he would become Massachusetts Chief Justice and serve in that capacity for three decades — would he be less of a fool in regard to race than this reverend?)

([Charles Turner, Jr.](#) was another delegate to the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention.)

([John Keyes](#) was another delegate to the convention for amending the Massachusetts Constitution.)

(During this year and the following one, the Reverend [James Freeman](#) was serving as another delegate at the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention.)



Although nonsubscribers to the official state religion had been barred from holding public office and had been obligated by the letter of the law to pay taxes and penalties to the state for the maintenance and support of the established commonwealth church, at least the tax provisions had been unenforced since 1799, and in this year the new state constitution eliminated at least the test of religious affiliation for office.



The breech-loading rifle was invented and vastly “improved” the rate at which a shoulder weapon could be fired. (However, the Baker rifle, pictured below, would remain the standard firearm for the British Army through 1838.)



Cape Colored and European ivory hunters spread horses, wagons, and firearms through the South African interior. Hunting [elephants](#) from horseback (or fighting Nguni and Swazi bands), the usual tactic would be to approach to within range, dismount, fire, remount, and then gallop away in order to reload. These tactics would be adopted by the Afrikaners during the 1830s and would prove equally effective against rifle-armed British infantry during the South African wars of 1881 and 1899-1902. With a 12-bore (.747 caliber) double rifle of English or German manufacture, if you were a good shot, you could consistently expect to drop a deer at 250 yards. However, to hunt elephants, a 4-bore (1.052 caliber) double rifle of English or German manufacture would need to be used at pointblank range (it might well require 40 or more hits to bring the elephant down).



1820

1820

 [Edward Hitchcock](#) graduated from [Yale College](#)'s theological seminary.

[David Mack \(III\)](#) matriculated at [Williams College](#) (at some point he would switch over to [Yale](#)).

According to Arthur B. Darling's "Outline of the History of the State Church, 1691-1848" in POLITICAL CHANGES IN MASSACHUSETTS, 1824-1848 (New Haven: Yale UP, 1925):

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

From 1691 until 1780, Puritans ran the established commonwealth church. This intimate tie between church and state government lasted after Independence from Great Britain. In early post-Revolution years 1780-1799 legal battles were fought over what the rights and duties of religious dissenters were in regards particularly to mandated tithing to the state church. Although the repeated decision was that nonsubscribers to the official state religion DID in law have the duty of paying tithes -in the forms of taxes and penalties- to the state for the maintenance and support of the church, statutory neglect by the government was the norm from 1799 until the new constitution of the state was adopted in 1820. The new constitution did not clear up the issue of state church collections from the state's revenue, however: all it did substantially was eliminate the test of religious affiliation for office. Unitarians and Universalists were the major sects in power over the state church during the 1820s and 1830s. Both groups took advantage of the system to acquire church buildings and properties for their individual denominations. In reaction, Trinitarians and Congregationalists formed voluntary organizations throughout the state. Reasons for them doing this can be better understood by recognizing the fact that by 1848 -even after the "end" of the state church- the Unitarians had taken over over 120 church sites by means made legal by the state church system. Back to the 1820s and 1830s, however. The Unitarians gained firm control of [Harvard College](#), amidst vicious political combat. Orthodox Congregationalist response was the founding of Andover. In 1833, the state church was disestablished; legally enforced tithing was abolished; and voluntary organization in the state recognized religion was made universal. This entire series of incidents served to sever all intimate ties between the [Unitarian](#) and the Congregational churches in Massachusetts, according to Darling. (pages 22-4)

(James E. Stout, March 15, 1986)

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

 At about this point, it has been alleged, the wife of the Okinawan karate master Matsumura Sokon was achieving a reputation as a karate fighter in the Ryukyus. Reportedly she could lift a 60-kilo bag of rice with one hand (since this would not be put on the record until long after the fact, it is inherently dubious).



A collected edition of the poems of [Professor Thomas Brown](#) appeared, in four volumes. A friend and biographer, the Reverend Professor David Welsh, D.D. (1793-1845), superintended the publication of the professor's textbook SKETCH OF A SYSTEM OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND, PART FIRST: COMPREHENDING THE PHYSIOLOGY OF THE MIND (Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute).



Thomas Brown M.D.
PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY
IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

Engraved by R. H. G. from a Painting by Sir Allan Ramsay in 1768



1820

1820



The [Reverend Wilkes Allen](#)'s [THE HISTORY OF CHELMSFORD](#), FROM ITS ORIGIN IN 1653, TO THE YEAR 1820 — TOGETHER WITH AN HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THE CHURCH, AND A BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICE OF THE FOUR FIRST PASTORS. TO WHICH IS ADDED A MEMOIR OF THE PAWTUCKET TRIBE OF INDIANS. WITH A LARGE APPENDIX. BY WILKES ALLEN, A.M. PASTOR OF THE CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN CHELMSFORD. / Tell ye your Children, and let them tell their Children, and their Children, another generation. — *Prophet Joel.* / "*Majorum Gloria posteris lumen est;*" —Sal. (Haverhill: Printed by P.N. Green. 1820) was printed in 400 copies at the expense of the Town. This octavo volume of 192 pages has the distinction of being the very 1st such town history to be issued in such form, in this entire nation. The Reverend Allen's effort had been considerably enabled by a 36-page pamphlet issued in 1816, [FARMER'S MEMOIRS OF BILLERICA](#).

HISTORY OF CHELMSFORD

For the following about headman [Wannalancet](#), refer to page 157:

A WEEK: In these parts dwelt the famous Sachem Pasaconaway, who was seen by [Gookin](#) "at Pawtucket, when he was about one hundred and twenty years old." He was reputed a wise man and a powwow, and restrained his people from going to war with the English. They believed "that he could make water burn, rocks move, and trees dance, and metamorphose himself into a flaming man; that in winter he could raise a green leaf out of the ashes of a dry one, and produce a living snake from the skin of a dead one, and many similar miracles." In 1660, according to [Gookin](#), at a great feast and dance, he made his farewell speech to his people, in which he said, that as he was not likely to see them met together again, he would leave them this word of advice, to take heed how they quarrelled with their English neighbors, for though they might do them much mischief at first, it would prove the means of their own destruction. He himself, he said, had been as much an enemy to the English at their first coming as any, and had used all his arts to destroy them, or at least to prevent their settlement, but could by no means effect it. [Gookin](#) thought that he "possibly might have such a kind of spirit upon him as was upon Balaam, who in xxiii. Numbers, 23, said 'Surely, there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel.'" His son Wannalancet carefully followed his advice, and when Philip's War broke out, he withdrew his followers to Penacook, now Concord in New Hampshire, from the scene of the war. On his return afterwards, he visited the minister of Chelmsford, and, as is stated in the history of that town, "wished to know whether Chelmsford had suffered much during the war; and being informed that it had not, and that God should be thanked for it, Wannalancet replied, 'Me next.'"

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

THOMAS HUTCHINSON
REVEREND WILKES ALLEN

1820

1820

 [Asher Benjamin](#) designed the Ransom Stiles House of Argyle, New York.³



3. Ransom Stiles was a local merchant. Originally, you are likely to be told, the home had had several recessed chambers in its basement, which had led to a tunnel, that had gone some 500 feet to the west, that must have been used by escaping slaves back in the days of the Underground Railroad — unfortunately this has since all collapsed, or been bricked off, or something. Or, well, maybe, it never existed.

→ [John Aikin](#)'s SELECT WORKS OF THE BRITISH POETS IN A CHRONOLOGICAL SERIES FROM [BEN JONSON](#) TO BEATTIE. WITH BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL PREFACES BY DR. AIKIN.

JOHN AIKIN'S POETS

Also, in this year, completion of the multiple volumes of his ANNALS OF THE REIGN OF KING GEORGE THE THIRD: FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT IN THE YEAR 1760, TO THE DEATH OF HIS MAJESTY, IN THE YEAR 1820.

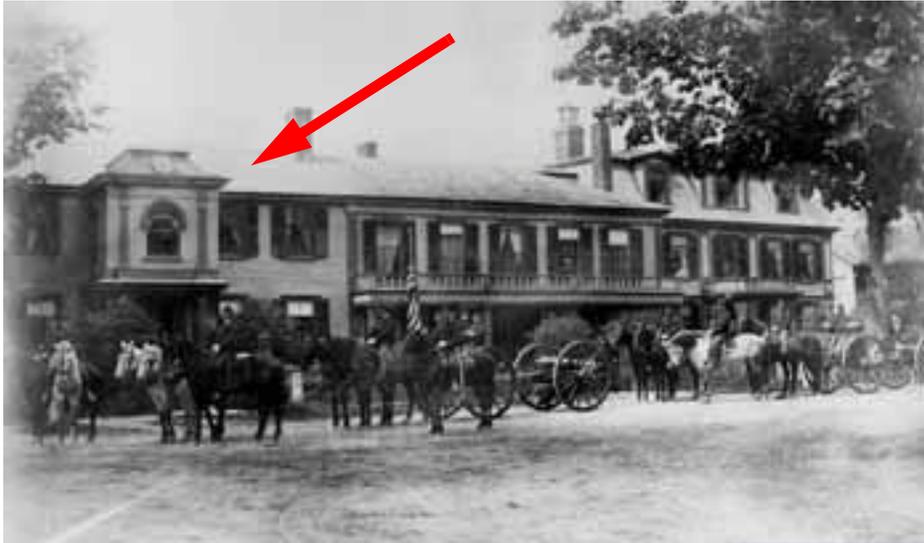
→ Republication of [Dr. Alexander Adam](#)'s 1772 textbook as THE RUDIMENTS OF LATIN AND ENGLISH GRAMMAR; DESIGNED TO FACILITATE THE STUDY OF BOTH LANGUAGES, BY CONNECTING THEM TOGETHER ... WITH A METRICAL KEY TO THE ODES OF [HORACE](#). This was the 2d New-York edition (E. Duyckinck and G. Long) and derived from the 9th English edition. This textbook would be used by [David Henry Thoreau](#) during his formal education.

RUDIMENTS OF GRAMMAR



→ [Dr. John Abercrombie](#)'s RESEARCHES ON THE PATHOLOGY OF THE INTESTINAL CANAL.

➡ It was Deacon [John White](#)'s self-appointed task to stop people from traveling on Sunday, and he was especially strict about Lowell Road. In about this year he built as his own home a duplicate section at the west end of his variety store. (This structure is now a central part of [Concord](#)'s Colonial Inn.)



THE DEACONS OF CONCORD

➡ During this year Professor Robert Hamilton₁ again served as librarian for [Marischal College and University](#)
TWO OR THREE ROBERT HAMILTONS

of [Aberdeen](#).

At Princeton College, students organized a [football](#) match which they termed "ballown."

SPORTS

Curling was introduced as a winter ice sport in the United States, at Pontiac, Michigan (of course, this game had been being played in Europe since the 16th Century, and in [Scotland](#) since the early 17th Century, and in Canada since 1807).

SKATING

Over the following two decades black Nova Scotians would begin playing an early form of ice [hockey](#).

➡ This was the state of Concord's finances:

In consequence of having to maintain *eight* bridges, and the liberal appropriations for schools and other objects, the taxes in [Concord](#) are supposed to be higher, in proportion to its wealth, than in many towns, amounting to about \$3 on every inhabitant. In 1803, the roads and bridges, independent of a highway tax of \$1000, cost \$1,244; in 1805, \$967; in 1807, \$1,290; and on an average, for the last 40 years, about one eighth of all the town expenses. The following table will



exhibit the appropriations for several periods since.

Year.	State Tax.	County Tax.	Minister.	Incidental.	Total.
1785	£711. 6s. 4d.	£25. 3s. 3d.	£100. 10s. 9d.	£748. 8s. 1d.	£1,585. 8s. 5d.
1790	£128. 9s. 4d.	£32. 16s. 6d.	£113. 19s. 6d.	£596. 2s. 11d.	£871. 18s. 3d.
1795	\$613.33	\$233.16	\$646.66	\$2,327.15	\$3,820.31
1800	\$611.33	\$161.56	\$567.26	\$2,763.52	\$4,103.78
1810	\$662.14	\$398.92	\$633.05	\$3,010.47	\$4,704.58
1820	\$568.94	\$331.13	\$794.17	\$4,243.92	\$5,938.16
1830	\$222.00	\$417.17	\$709.00	\$4,072.01	\$4,781.01

The amount of debts due from the town, in 1825, was \$3,284.04, and in 1831, \$5,288.65.⁴

4. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David 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.)



A “shoe factory” was started in [Concord](#). At that time shoemaking was a skill-intensive and labor-intensive trade that required little capital investment. It was quite common in Lynn, Massachusetts for a home to have a “ten-footer,” that is, a ten-foot-square shed, in its side or back yard, in which you could find a male shoemaker sitting with a lapstone resting on his leather apron, cutting and shaping shoes. Binders, usually women, would sit in the main house, stitching the inner and outer soles to the uppers. The plan was, therefore, that the handcrafted articles made in such ten-footers in Concord yards, almost finished, would be carried to this central processing building for packing and shipping to wholesalers. The [shanty](#) that [Henry Thoreau](#) would eventually construct on [Walden Pond](#) would in many respects resemble one of these familiar “ten-footers” used by the Lynn and Concord cobblers.⁵ There are some problems with the following table. The first problem is that it makes it appear that there were considerably fewer persons of color in [Concord](#), than there actually were, because it counts only heads of households. The second problem, more important, is that it makes the magic date 1780 of the “Massachusetts Bill of Rights” far more significant, in the elimination of Northern slavery, than actually it had been. Precious little seems actually to have happened in that year to improve the lives of persons of color in Massachusetts, or their societal standing!

Concord MA Population

1679	?	480 whites
1706	?	920 whites
1725	6 slaves	1,500 whites
1741	21 slaves	?
1754	19 slaves	?
1780: Passage of the Massachusetts Bill of Rights		
1783	15 blacks	1,306 whites
1790	29 blacks	1,556 whites
1800	38 blacks	1,641 whites
1810	28 blacks	1,605 whites
1820	34 blacks	1,754 whites
1830	28 blacks	1,993 whites

5. Significantly, hides to cure, to manufacture these Lynn shoes, came from Boston’s “shadow city” on the Pacific Ocean: Los Angeles. Influential citizens of this West Coast region, Aryan sons-in-law using the *señoritas* of the *latifundistas* and/as breeding stock, were, very often, consumptive junior males of rich families, seeking relief from the Boston climate. The Richard Henry Dana, Jr. of the TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST narrative noticed that these Bostonians had seemed to have left their morals behind, when they became citizens of what was in actuality the most violent region of the Old West. So, when you think of Lynn shoes, think not only of the local cottage labor, think also of the cowhides of the American frontier, and of the slave auction block of downtown “*El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles de la Porciunucula*.” It is by no accident that one of [Henry David Thoreau](#)’s best friends was named “HGO” Blake, and that the LA [Times](#) newspaper was founded by General Harrison Gray Otis. Dana Jr. was not the only young Bostonian to visit Los Angeles, he was simply one of the few of these men who visited Los Angeles and returned.

During the 1820s and 1830s, [Friend William Basset](#) would be prospering as a shoe merchant of Lynn, involved in the centralization of that industry. He would be taking control of manufacturing, by putting job work out to local cordwainers while finishing off the rough shoes in his own central shops. He would be active in the local [Quaker](#) circles, and a leader in the town government.

 The use of [pipe](#) and/or [snuff](#) box by women became associated with age, and as a result came to be avoided by younger women. [Tobacco](#) use therefore began to be a boundary between masculinity and femininity, in the North if not in the South.⁶

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

 James W. Eastburn and Robert C. Sands's A TALE OF THE WARS OF KING PHILIP.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

 According to Joseph Felt's ANNALS OF SALEM, in this year an exhibition of a buffalo, and an exhibition two camels, and a caravan comprised of a lion, a llama, and an ocelot, were touring Massachusetts.

 It was in approximately this year that the tradition began, for *aficionados* of the bullfight to attend the ritual tugging on by the *matador*, in his hotel room, of his glittering skin-tight bandage designed to minimize outflow of blood and known euphoniously as the *traje de luces*.

6. For righteousness to have a beginning, its beginning must of necessity have been in unrighteousness. Get over it.



1820

1820



Beginning in this year and continuing into the two following years, Gilbert Stuart would be working on his portrait of James Monroe.



1820

1820

Prexy

Veep

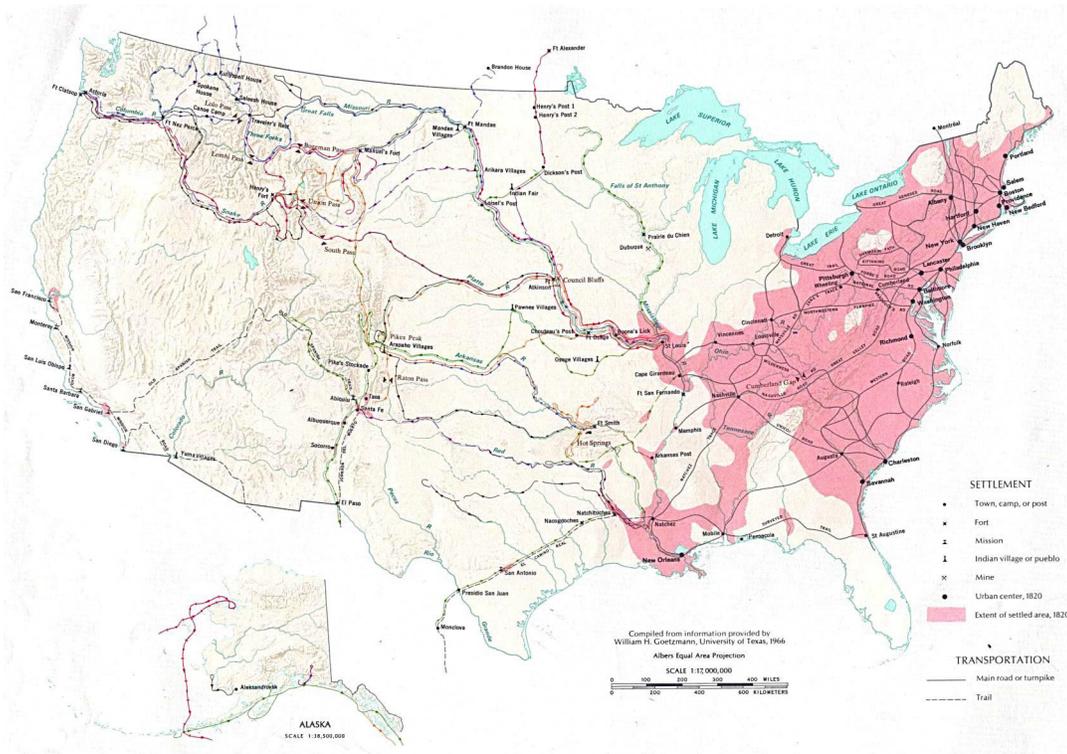
1789-1797	George Washington	of [No party]	John Adams	1789-1797
1797- 1801	John Adams	Federalist	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	1797- 1801
1801-1809	<u>Thomas Jefferson</u>	Democratic-Republican	Aaron Burr George Clinton	1801-1805 1805-1809
1809-1817	<u>James Madison</u>	Democratic-Republican	George Clinton [No “Veep”] Elbridge Gerry [No “Veep”]	1809-1812 April 1812-March 1813 1813-1814 November 1814-March 1817
1817-1825	James Monroe	Democratic-Republican	Daniel D. Tompkins	1817-1825
1825-1829	John Quincy Adams	Democratic-Republican	John Caldwell Calhoun	1825-1829
1829-1837	Andrew Jackson	Democrat	John Caldwell Calhoun [No “Veep”] Martin Van Buren	1829-1832 December 1832-March 1833 1833-1837
1837-1841	Martin Van Buren	Democrat	Richard M. Johnson	1837-1841
1841	William Henry Harrison	Whig	John Tyler	1841
1841-1845	John Tyler	Whig	[No “Veep”]	1841-1845
1845-1849	James Knox Polk	Democrat	George M. Dallas	1845-1849
1849-1850	Zachary Taylor	Whig	Millard Fillmore	1849-1850
1850-1853	Millard Fillmore	Whig	[No “Veep”]	1850-1853
1853-1857	<u>Franklin Pierce</u>	Democrat	William R. King [No “Veep”]	1853 April 1853-March 1857
1857-1861	James Buchanan	Democrat	John C. Breckinridge	1857-1861
1861-1865	Abraham Lincoln	Republican	Hannibal Hamlin Andrew Johnson	1861-1865 1865
1865-1869	Andrew Johnson	Democrat / National Union	[No “Veep”]	1865-1869

Political Parties Then and Now

ROUND 1	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS	FEDERALISTS
1792		Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, et al. representing the North and commercial interests
1796	Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, et al. representing the South and landowning interests	
1817-1824	James Monroe's "factionless" era of good feelings, ho ho ho	
ROUND 2A	DEMOCRATS	NATIONAL REPUBLICANS
1828		John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and in addition the residents of border states
ROUND 2B	DEMOCRATS	WHIGS
1832	Andrew Jackson, representing the South and landowning interests, plus wannabees such as our small farmers, backwoods go-getters, the "little guy on the make" in general	John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, representing the North and the commercial interests, and residents of border states, and in addition the anti-Jackson Democrats
ROUND 3	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1856		Abraham Lincoln, William Henry Seward, representing Northerners, urbanites, business types, factory workers, and (more or less) the abolitionist movement
ROUND 4	DEMOCRATS	REPUBLICANS
1932-1960	F.D.R., representing Northeasterners, urbanites, blue-collar workers, Catholics, liberals, and assorted ethnics	Representing businesspeople, farmers, white-collar types, Protestants, the "Establishment," right-to-lifers, moral majoritarians, and in general, conservatism of the "I've got mine, let's see you try to get yours" stripe.

 Ongoing white⁷ exploration and expropriation of the American “Wilderness”:

 Long, S., 1819-1820 (Ft. Atkinson–Platte R.–Pikes Peak–Canadian R.–Ft. Smith)
 Bell, J., 1819-1820 (Huerfano R.–Ark. R.–Ft. Smith)



 In about this year, Friend Mary Mitchell of Nantucket wrote to Friend [Moses Brown](#) about the appointment of Abigail Pierce at the Yearly Meeting school in Nantucket.⁸

To Frances A. Bartlett, a young non-Quaker scholar allowed to attend the [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) on top of the hill in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), were added at some point during this year the daughters of Barnabas Bates — who had previously been turned away because they were not Quakers.

 New legislation dissolved the Circuit Court of Common Pleas in which Stephen Minott (2) was a judge.

7. “White” is, of course, a trope for decency, and civilization, and peace and progress. Everybody knows that.

8. Caution, this Friend Mary Mitchell of Nantucket was not Friend Maria Mitchell the astronomer, who was but two years of age at the time, nor was it her mother (who wasn’t named Mary).

 [Concord](#)'s wooden schoolhouse burned. A brick schoolhouse would be constructed to replace it. In this new building, one small room downstairs would be used for school, while the entire upper floor would be used by the Masons. A member of the school board, Deacon Nehemiah Ball, lived nearby.

In this year a sermon of the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#) would be printed, on "The obligations of parents to give their children a virtuous education."

 George Russell, born on September 23, 1795 son of Dr. Richard Russell, graduated in this year at the Medical Institution at Cambridge, and would establish a medical practice in Lincoln.

The population of Lincoln, which in 1764 had been 639 inclusive of 28 negroes, had at this point risen to 786.

According to a valuation taken [in Lincoln] in 1784, it appears that there were 143 polls, 26 of whom were not rateable; 88 dwelling-houses, 84 barns, 1 tan-yard, 1 grist-mill, and 21 other buildings; 454 acres of tillage land, 429 of English mowing, 800 meadow, 1502 pasturing, 2057 wood land, 2128 'other land,' and 137 unimproveable; 840 barrels of cider were made, 105 horses, 155 oxen, 266 neat cattle, 378 cows, 155 sheep, and 136 swine were held. Probably, if an estimate was made now [1835], it would not essentially vary from the above. The polls in 1790, were 156; the houses in 1801, 104. The population in 1764 was 639, including 28 negroes, and in 1790, 740; in 1800, 756; in 1810, 713; in 1820, 786; and in 1830, 709.⁹

Lincoln has been said to have been (despite lack of real statistics upon which to base such a claim) a reasonably healthy town:

From 1760 to 1770, to 1780, to 1790, to 1800, to 1810, to 1820, —Total.							
Intentions of Marriage	56	79	65	69	73	59	=401.
Marriages	38	40	35	48	87	56	=274.
Births	185	196	186	192	168	164	=1091.
Deaths	83	122	104	86	118	94	=607.

It appears from this table that the excess of births over the deaths is 484, more than two to one; and, according to the census, that, from 1790 to 1800, one in 86 died annually; from 1800 to 1810, one in 64; and from 1810 to 1820, one in 78; a result which is highly favorable to the healthiness of the town [of Lincoln].¹⁰

9. [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.)

10. Ibid.



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

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

In [Concord](#), Isaac Lee continued as a Selectman.

Thomas Wheeler was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

The census of [Concord](#), Massachusetts recorded three residents in the Freeman household on Brister's Hill: [Brister Freeman](#), [Love Oliver Freeman](#) (who was presumably ill, as she would die in August at the age of 49), and her young son John. A question obviously arises as to the whereabouts of the widowed Rachel Harrington LeGross — did these black Concordians perhaps see fit not to apprise the white visitor of the presence of a white Concordian? [ADDITIONAL RESEARCH HERE: PERHAPS THIS TWO-ROOM HOME WAS CONSIDERED TO BE TWO HOUSEHOLDS AND THE HOUSEHOLD OF THE WIDOW LEGROSS IS LISTED ELSEWHERE IN THE CENSUS? -- NEED TO CHECK]

The following table exhibits the appropriations for several objects at different periods in the town of Acton:¹¹

	1750	1760	1770	1780	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
Minister	£50	£52	£70	£3,562	£80	\$353	\$353	\$363	—
Schools	13	12	24	2,000	49	333	450	450	450
Roads	26	70	60	800	120	400	500	600	800
Incidental	20	12	80	10,000	100	500	1,000	1,400	600

The votes on the constitution [by citizens in [Concord](#)], as revised in 1820, were as follows: The first article 46 yeas and 77 nays; the 2d, 46 yeas, 81 nays; the 3d, 76 yeas, 49 nays; the 4th, 59 yeas, 68 nays; the 5th, 55 yeas, 72 nays; the 6th, 78 yeas, 50 nays; the 7th, 69 yeas, 58 nays; the 8th, 67 yeas, 60 nays; the 9th, 62 yeas, 65 nays; the 10th, 58 yeas, 68 nays; the 11th, 78 yeas, 48 nays; the 12th, 68 yeas, 58 nays; the 13th, 81 yeas; 44 nays; and the 14th, 49 yeas and 69 nays.¹²

The Population [of Acton] in 1764 was 611; in 1790, including [Carlisle](#), 853; in 1800, 901; in 1810, 885; in 1820, 1047; and in 1830, 1128.¹³

In 1820, there were 3 foreigners [in Lincoln] not naturalized, 81 engaged in agriculture, 5 in commerce, and 34 in manufactures. The militia is comprised in one company of about 50. An estimate, made by Dr. Stearns in 1820, appears in the church records in which the following "averages from the beginning of the town are determined (the nearest being taken

11. [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.)

12. Ibid.

13. Ibid.



1820

1820

when there is a fraction:) births, 22 in a year; baptisms, 19; admissions into church, 4; marriages, 4; and deaths, 10." These average annual estimates, will hold good now [1835], excepting in the baptisms, the number of which has diminished.¹⁴

Representatives of Lincoln¹⁵

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.			

The population of nearby [Carlisle](#), which in 1800 had been 634, had at this point risen to 681, but this trend would reverse.

The population [of [Carlisle](#)] in 1800 was 634; in 1810, 675; in 1820 681; in 1830, 566. In 1820, 119 persons were engaged in agriculture, 1 in commerce. and 34 in manufactures. The valuation in 1831 gives the following results: 138 rateable polls, 17 not rateable, 83 dwelling-houses, 88 barns, 4 grist and saw mills; 314 acres of tillage land, 524 acres of upland mowing, 661 acres of meadow, 294 acres of pasturing, 882 acres of woodland, 3607 acres unimproved, 884 unimproveable, 213 acres used for roads, and 109 acres covered with water; 46 horses, 200 oxen, 474 cows and steers; 3668 bushels of corn, 541 bushels of rye, 490 of oats, 362 tons of English hay, and 468 tons of meadow hay. By comparing the valuations for several periods since the incorporation it will appear that the town has made little or no progress, but in many things has retrograded.¹⁶

14. Ibid.

15. Ibid

16. Ibid.



1820

1820

These were the 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

Treasurers of [Carlisle](#)

Samuel Heald	1780-1785
Simon Blood, Jr.	1786-1788
Samuel Green	1789-1803
Nathan Green	1804-1819
Nathan Green	1820-1828
John Nelson	1829—

Justices of the Peace of [Carlisle](#)

Name	Died	Age
Jonathan Heald	December 28, 1816	60
Nathaniel Hutchinson	July 30, 1820	34
Asa Parlin	October 8, 1822	68
Jonathan Heald, Jr.		
John Heald		
John Nelson		

1820

1820

➡ During the following two decades, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon would be putting himself through a process of self-education in which he would be teaching himself Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, in order better to study theology — and would wind up in his study of theology becoming an atheist.



➡ Mary E. Miles was born in [Rhode Island](#), to free parents of color, of moderate means.¹⁷ It is presumed that she attended public schools in Rhode Island and did some teaching before she entered the Massachusetts State Normal School of which the Reverend Samuel Joseph May was the principal.

MARY BIBB

➡ The parents of Paulina Kellogg having died, at the age of approximately six or seven she went to live in the home of a strict and religious aunt in LeRoy, New York.

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS

17. It is not known that this Miles family was related to the John Miles who was of [Concord](#), Massachusetts in 1637, as no connection to [Rhode Island](#) appears within the first three generations. They are more likely to have acquired this name by way of a white servant of John Hill named Alice Miles who, on March 10, 1661/1662, court records indicate, having been found guilty of “fornication with a Negro,” had been sentenced to be whipped “till her backe be bloody.”

1820

1820

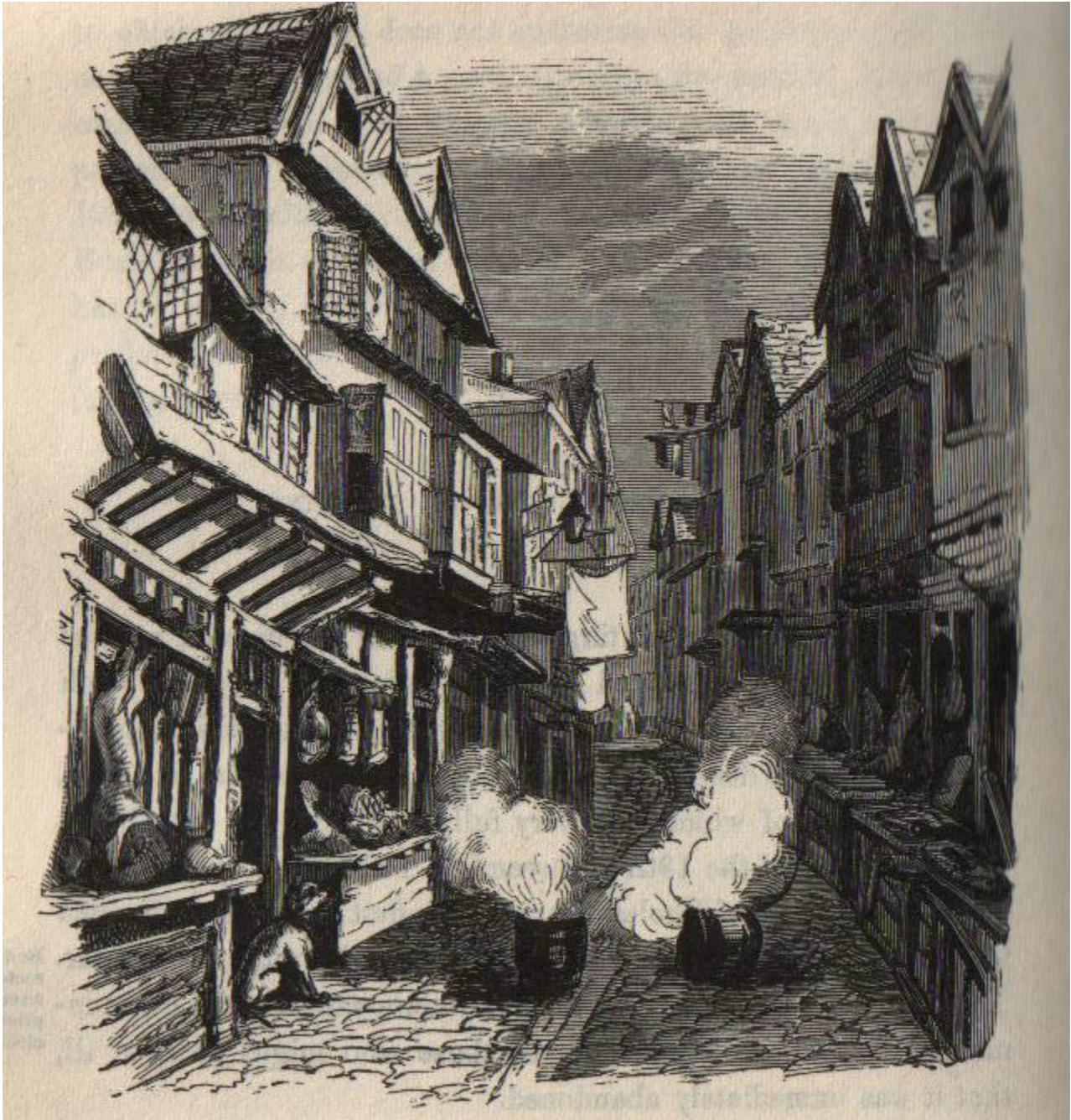


1820

1820



During this decade, in Prussia, bans on the smoking of [tobacco](#) would be lifted during outbreaks of [cholera](#) because of the hope that the odorous fumes would provide some barrier to infection. (In this illustration we see barrels of tar being burned in the streets with the same general idea of a protective miasma.)



1820

1820

➡ At the age of 18, Lydia Maria Francis ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) became a teacher in Gardiner, [Maine](#). There she began to make herself familiar with the thought of Emanuel Swedenborg.



The Reverend [Andrew Bigelow](#) was ordained as an Evangelist and delivered and published SERMON AT THE DEDICATION OF THE FIRST CONGRESSIONAL MEETING-HOUSE IN EASTPORT, MAINE.

➡ The Reverend Daniel Dana took on, briefly, the presidency of [Dartmouth College](#).

DANIEL DANA (president 1820-1821): Reluctant to take on the presidency of an institution so recently embattled, Daniel Dana, a Newburyport, Massachusetts minister was finally convinced by the Trustees to become the fourth president in the Wheelock Succession in 1820. Plagued by ill health and exhausted by the strain of the presidency, he resigned just one year later.¹⁸



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

1820

1820

→ Elijah Demond graduated in divinity at Andover Theological Seminary.



→ Four sisters of the [Catholic](#) Ursuline teaching order came to inhabit a convent set up near the [Boston](#) cathedral.

→ The manse with the tiny rooms and the pair of chimneys, that had been constructed in [Concord](#) in 1770 and had been being referred to as the “Old Ripley Mansion,” was during this period coming to be referred to as the “Old Manse.” Was this to distinguish it from a newer ministerial residence?



→ There was at this point not even a wall along the river side of [Fort Niagara](#), and the interior of the post was completely exposed to fire from Fort Mississauga. Peace was its only prayer, and the 1820s would in fact be a time of peace along the [Niagara River](#). The garrison of the fortress was small, only sufficient to guard the portage route around [Niagara Falls](#). A similar garrison served the British for a similar purpose on the opposite shore.

Peter and Augustus S. Porter instituted a ferry service across the [Niagara River](#), and for tourists a series of gardens, walks, bridges, and staircases from which [the sublimity](#) of the scenery might best be appreciated.

In this year two American whiskey smugglers went over the [Niagara Falls](#) (but not, apparently, on purpose). During this decade the “fashionable” tour, for Americans, was a string of attractive venues that followed quite

closely the path of our most rapid economic development, up the grand Hudson lined with cliffs and with stately homes from New-York to Albany and the glamorous Saratoga and Ballston watering-holes of “the springs” and then west along the route of the [Erie Canal](#) to an experience of [the sublime](#) at [Niagara Falls](#).¹⁹ This was referred to as “the northern route.”



Since the 1820s, fashionable [tourists](#) had used their travels to stake a claim to status. But scenic tourism made the most powerful claim of all: not about money, but about gentility. In that sense, the cult of scenery was indeed a kind of “conspicuous aesthetic consumption,” as Raymond Williams termed it.... [I]ts most powerful offer was internal: the assurance that one truly deserved the social authority awarded to the “refined and cultivated” classes.

During this decade the Crawford brothers would be monopolizing the tourist business to and through Crawford Notch in the White Mountains of [New Hampshire](#). Initial publication of [Salma Hale](#)’s textbook THE HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA FROM THEIR FIRST SETTLEMENT AS COLONIES TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN IN 1815, employing as author identification “A Citizen of Massachusetts.”

[Alvan Fisher](#) depicted the great horseshoe falls at “Niagara Falls.”



[Nicolò Paganini](#) published 24 caprices for unaccompanied violin that remain among the most difficult works ever written for the instrument. (He would also challenge musicians with such compositions as his 12 sonatas for violin and guitar, 6 violin concerti, and 6 quartets for violin, viola, cello, and guitar.)

[WALDEN](#): Near at hand, upon the topmost spray of a birch, sings the brown-thrasher -or red mavis, as some love to call him- all the morning, glad of your society, that would find out another farmer’s field if yours were not here. While you are planting the seed, he cries, -“Drop it, drop it, -cover it up, cover it up, - pull it up, pull it up, pull it up.” But this was not corn, and so it was safe from such enemies as he. You may wonder what his rigmarole, his amateur Paganini performances on one string or on twenty, have to do with your planting, and yet prefer it to leached ashes or plaster. It was a cheap sort of top dressing in which I had entire faith.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

NICOLÒ PAGANINI

19. There is a very extensive literature on the 19th-Century aesthetic of the sublime. Steady yourself before you consult it by watching baseball games on TV until you are utterly bored out of your mind, then begin with Edmund Burke’s A PHILOSOPHICAL INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN OF OUR IDEAS OF THE SUBLIME AND BEAUTIFUL. To study our changing attitudes toward the landscape, consult Paul Shepard’s MAN IN THE LANDSCAPE: A HISTORIC VIEW OF THE ESTHETICS OF NATURE (NY: Knopf, 1967) and Elizabeth McKinsey’s NIAGARA FALLS: ICON OF THE AMERICAN SUBLIME (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1985).

1820

1820



➡ At about this point the Fulani emirate was founded in Adamawa, West Africa. (The Hamdallahi caliphate would endure in Mali until 1864.)

➡ Captain Jonathan Winship of the *O’Kane* out of Brighton, Massachusetts sighted a pod of sperm whales near [Japan](#).

In about this decade, in the development of the whaling industry on the North Pacific, conflicts would be beginning between Japanese authorities and whalers captained by white men.²⁰

20. You will note that I cannot write “white whalers” because a large proportion of the whaler seamen manning these New England ships were not white.

1820

1820



In his journal for this year, on the road to Stonewall,²¹ [Waldo Emerson](#) would attempt to deal with a disturbingly [homoerotic](#) attraction:



In an 1820 journal Emerson addresses what was for him apparently an anxiety-ridden collision with homoerotic experience. There he describes a passion, inexplicable even to him who had explained Nature itself, for a young man named Martin Gay. This passion both unnerved and fascinated him. His puzzlement echoes in his diary entry asking of Gay, "Why do you look after me? I cannot help looking out as you pass." The friendship, frustratingly, remained distant, and so Emerson transformed what little reality he possessed into a more useful fiction, writing a brief play that he accredited to an invented author. The author is Froedmer; his play is "The Friends." Gay appears in it as Malcolm, and Emerson drew a little sketch in the text, beneath which he wrote as a plea to his friend, "grant me still in joy or sorrow / In grief or hope to claim thy heart." Froedmer/Emerson writes lines even more intense: "Malcolm I love thee more than women love" (Gilman et al., 1: 291-92). Malcolm and Froedmer join hands there with David and Jonathan, whose love in the Bible was described as passing the love of woman.

There is a strange face in the Freshman class whom I should like to know very much. He has a great deal of character in his features & should be a fast friend or a bitter enemy. His name is Gay. I shall endeavour to become acquainted with him & wish if possible that I might be able to recall at a future period the singular sensations which his presence produced at this.



(The last name only is used, and it is crossed out in the journal.)

21. Refer to Bryne R.S. Fone's A ROAD TO STONEWALL: MALE HOMOSEXUALITY AND HOMOPHOBIA IN ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE, 1750-1969.

1820

1820



Perhaps thy lot in life is higher
 Than the fates assign to me
 While they fulfil thy large desire
 And bid my hopes as visions flee
 But grant me still in joy or sorrow
 In grief or hope to claim thy heart
 And I will then defy the morrow
 Whilst I fulfil a loyal part.

MEMORY SKETCH OF MARTIN GAY, BY EMERSON

In his Journal for 1821



Most American bathing consisted of sponge baths over a basin, presumably in the kitchen during the winter and in the back yard during the summer, supplemented in season by occasional dips in ponds or streams. Before this year, for instance, no house in Quincy, Massachusetts had any indoor facility for bathing.



1820

1820

 [Ammi White](#) died in Westmoreland, New Hampshire at the age of 66.

 The first US tidewater canal, the [Fox Creek Canal](#), was completed.

Architect and canal engineer [Benjamin Henry Latrobe](#) died of yellow fever in New Orleans.

The Commissioners of the land office were authorized to survey and sell lots on the Onondaga salt spring reservation, as with other unappropriated lands in the state, the proceeds to go to the Commissioners of the [Canal Fund](#). \$20,000, from the first sales is to be applied to the improvement of navigation on the Oswego River.

 A company was incorporated to dig a half a mile of [canal](#) between [Ipswich](#) and Essex, commencing at Fox Creek and running to the Chebacco River. The canal would cost nearly \$1100 and would become navigable early in 1821. The stock was divided into twenty-seven shares of \$40 each and was to pay nearly 6% on the original amount. As an inlet from the Merrimack River for ship timber required in Essex, the canal would prove cost-effective.

 Gas street lighting was quite common in central north [London](#) (but not until the 1860s would gas be widely distributed for domestic purposes).

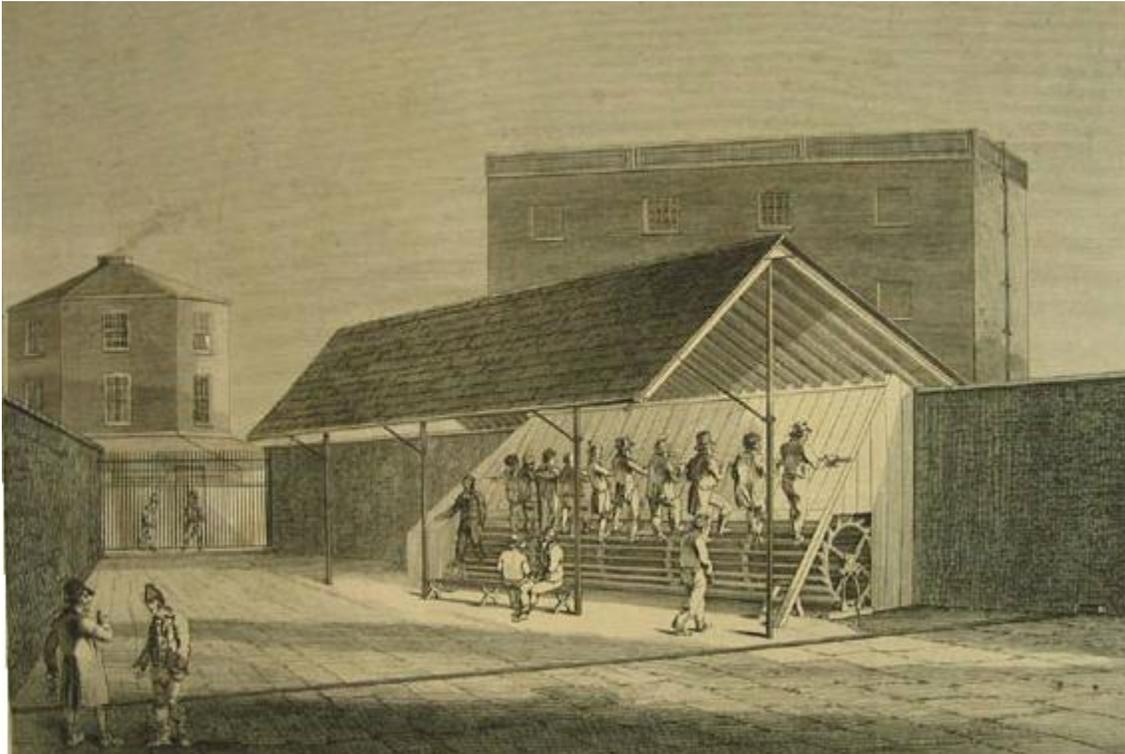
The streets of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (population 11,745), such as Town Street and Back Street, began to be furnished with lamps.

1820. Population of the town, 11,745. The streets were furnished with lamps, and a spirit seemed to be awakened for public improvements. The melancholy tidings of the death of James Burrill, Jr. U.S. Senator from this State, were received here on the 30th of December, and cast a deep gloom over the whole community. On Sunday, the 31st, the unwelcome news was announced from the pulpits of all the churches, and at the close of morning service, the bells commenced a tolling and continued till night, and the flags at half-mast were displayed on the numerous flag-staves through the day. He was a citizen justly honored and esteemed, and went off in the height of his useful Senatorial career. The newspapers, which had a few days before recorded his eloquent speech on the Missouri question, were now shrouded in mourning at the irreparable loss.

1820

1820

 In [London](#), the Surrey House of Correction opened at Brixton Hill. This would be the 1st English prison to use the treadmill.



At the original panorama at Leicester Square in [London](#), Henry Aston Barker presented a depiction of [Sir John Franklin](#)'s and Buchan's attempt to sail to the North Pole by way of the Spitzbergen Islands.

 [London Magazine](#) and [John Bull](#) were founded.

LONDON

1820

1820

→ [Charles Lamb](#)'s [ESSAYS OF ELIA](#) would be published in [London Magazine](#), 1820-1822.



LONDON

→ Samuel Lambert's [INFORMATION USEFUL FOR NAVIGATORS](#) was printed in Salem MA by the firm of T.C. Cushing (see following screen). Finding one's [latitude](#) at sea, if the sky is clear, is a no-brainer. You need to have been keeping track of the days you have been at sea, of course, so you will know what day it is. That's what your ship's log is for. Then, for [navigation](#), you need to be able to sight, and identify, a celestial body, and you need to wait and watch until you can see that it is reaching its highest point, its "zenith," in the sky. Then, while it is making its meridian passage at this highest point, what you do is utilize your nautical instrument to measure the vertical angle which that celestial body makes with the horizon — and then you can look up that angle on the correct page in the handy booklet tables of declination that you took with you when you sailed. (You did remember to bring along your mariner's booklet of [INFORMATION USEFUL FOR NAVIGATORS](#), right?) For example, if you observe the vertical angle of the sun above the horizon, its altitude in the sky, on a particular [calendar](#) date, to be, say, $40^{\circ}26'34''$, what you will do is subtract that from 90° (for purposes of this subtraction, you need to write down this 90° as $89^{\circ}59'60''$), and if you don't make any arithmetic errors, the difference you will get will be $49^{\circ}33'26''$. Look up the correct almanac table for the sun's declination on today's calendar date per the ship's log, obtain a figure, and add that figure to your $49^{\circ}33'26''$ figure — and the result will be your present latitude. Write it down in your ship's log. It is your best clue as to where you are at, since you have still not been able to calculate your [longitude](#), a vastly more difficult problem. For instance, if the sun's declination in this example is $3^{\circ}41'34''$, the total is $53^{\circ}15'00''$ — and on your map you can see that that is the latitude of Galway Bay, Ireland.

→ The Edinburgh [Phrenological](#) Society was established by [George Combe](#), [Andrew Combe](#), David Welsh, James Brownlee, William Waddell, and Lindsey Mackersey.

→ [Walter Scott](#) came to [London](#) and was created a Baronet, knighted, made "Sir." His [THE ABBOTT](#) and [THE MONASTERY](#).

1820

1820

➡ To obtain furs in which to attire white people elsewhere, hunting had by this date virtually destroyed the populations of seals and otters along the west coast of the North American continent. Women and children began to wear a loose-fitting bodice termed a “blouse,” and a new item of adornment was a Christian cross pendant with the tiniest watch set in its center. Two new materials, plume velvet with narrow satin stripes, and levantine satin very soft and rich to the touch, began to be used for evening dresses. Flat black, and Highland tartan patterns, were also very much in vogue for evening dresses, with Calcedonian caps of white satin, or with what were termed “Ivanhoe” caps of black tulle and geranium satin (after the new novel by Sir Walter Scott). In England, hoop skirts were going out of style and their passing was being lamented by some: “I fear we shall regret them in spite of their unbecoming appearance. They have the effect of leaving a little room in the Drawing-room crowds [the drawing-room referred to here was the one at Buckingham Palace] so as to prevent your being squeezed to death.”

➡ The Contessa Giulia Spada dei Medici died at the age of 39. [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) would edit a collection of writings in her honor, *UNA VISITA AL CIMITERO DI MACERATA*, by various authors.²²

There were revolts in Spain and [Italy](#) against the rule of the Bourbons. In Madrid, there was a mutiny by troops who refused to go to South America to oppose revolution. Spanish liberals continued opposition against the Bourbons in Spain, and King Ferdinand VII was forced to restore the constitution of 1812. Palermo revolted briefly. [Naples](#) formed a Republic. There was revolution in Portugal. In England, there was the dissolution of Parliament, and the Cato street conspiracy. Throughout Europe, there were Royalist reactions.

[Mount Vesuvius](#) was also obviously in revolt, or had indigestion or something:



➡ Material on the Reverend Samuel Joseph May’s nonviolence follows:



Peace advocates of the 1820s regularly condemned offensive wars, but few went as far as May and repudiated all war and force. He scorned the Revolution as unchristian. His friend William Ladd, founder of the American Peace Society, admitted that he had “the same trouble that you [the Reverend Samuel Joseph May] have with the war of the revolution.” Like May, Ladd believed that if genuine peace principles had prevailed among the Founding Fathers, England would have granted its colonies independence the same way a father frees his growing son.

May contended that the Founding Fathers’ great mistake was their “specious” assertion that the use of force “was justified of God.” The country hailed the war as a blessing to the nation and to mankind but forgot the suffering, death, and destruction it had caused. He believed that the Fathers’ military victories, unfortunately, helped make war a legitimate instrument to

22. Beltrami, G.C. “Una Visita al Cimitero di Macerata.” *COMPONEIMENTI IN PROSA ED IN VERSA DE CATENATI RECITATI NELLA STRAORDINARIA ADUNANZA DEI 18 AGOSTO AD ONORARE LA MEMORIA DELL’ILLUSTRE ACCADEMICA CONTESSA GIULIA SPADA DEI MEDICI DAMA DELLA CROCE STELLATA* (Macerata: Stamperia Cortesi, 1820).

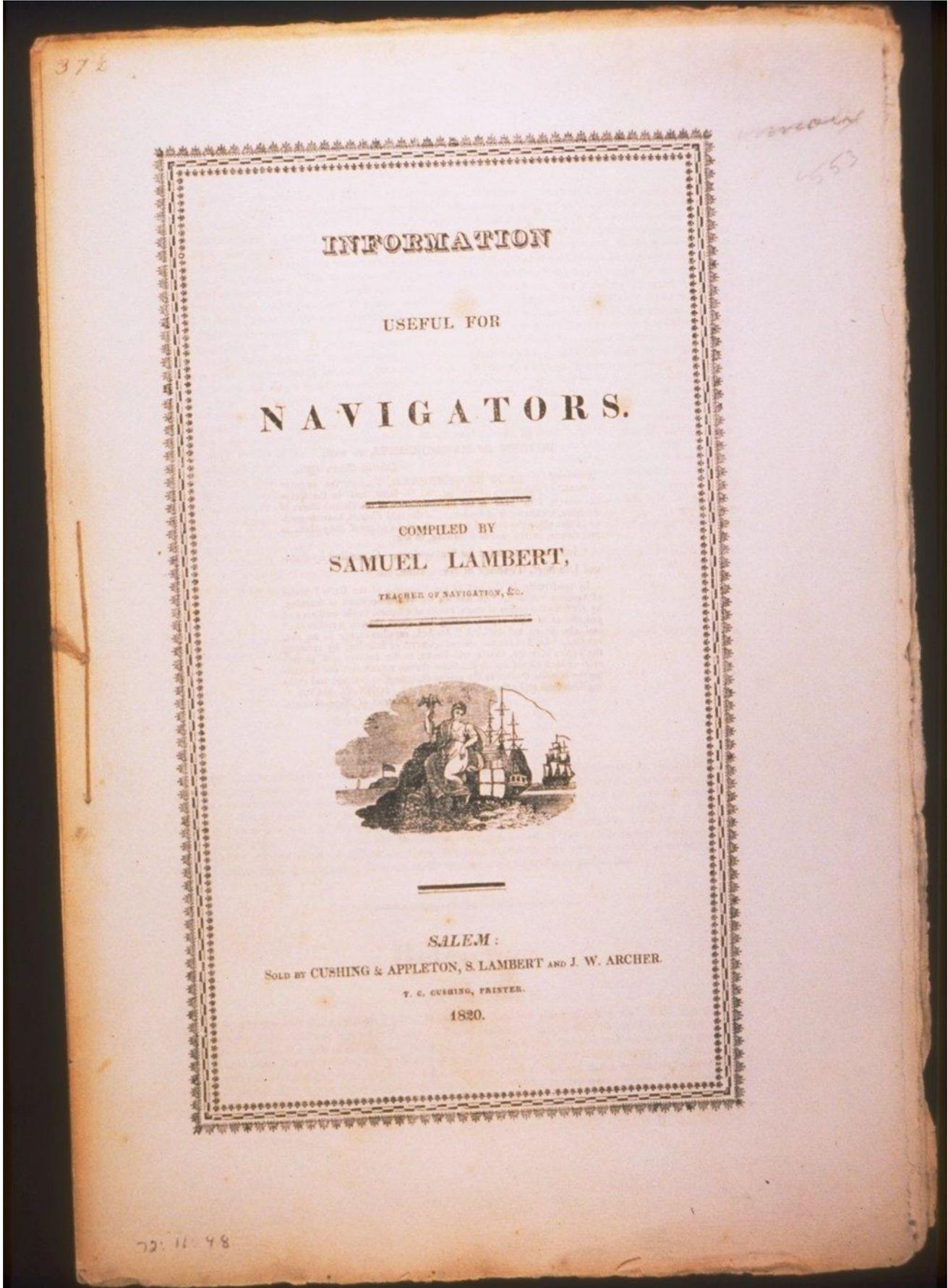
HDT

WHAT?

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1820

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redress national grievances. He later claimed that the Revolutionary War "was begun in violation of the rights of man – that it was sustained by fraud and corruption ... [and] accompanied by acts of terrible cruelty." Anyone who held that God approved of war advocated atheism. "If wars are necessary and justifiable," May contended, "there cannot be a benevolent being at the head of the universe. He must be malevolent – a devil."

During the early 1830s, other peace advocates followed May in condemning the Revolution as a violation of Christian ethics. Thomas S. Grimké, lawyer, [slaveholder](#), and brother of the famous Grimké sisters [Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)], also decried the revolutionary generation's use of violence. He believed that the Fathers should have chosen to die as martyrs rather than as warriors; "not on the battle field of murder and suicide, but on the scaffold or in the flames of martyrdom." William Ladd was willing to "beard the lion in his den" and condemned the Fathers for employing violent means, although at the time the American Peace Society would not have approved this declaration.

After formation of the New England Non-Resistance Society in 1838, severe censures of "our Fathers" for their use of violence increased dramatically. Charles K. Whipple's EVILS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR emphasized the themes of mercy and forbearance found in the New Testament. He declared that the Founding Fathers could have won independence through passive resistance and thereby put war on the road to complete abolition. Because of the Fathers' ill-chosen course, the nation had been established upon false principles and left a legacy of violence. Samuel May, Jr., reminded his cousin that "our fathers made a wicked covenant with the supporters of the greatest wrongs man can inflict on their fellow man." The nation continued to fill the corrupt vessel of the Fathers with war, intemperance, licentiousness, and worst of all, [slavery](#). Instead of freedom and liberty, corruption and irreligion, he believed, were the fruits of independence.

 The artist John Lee Douglas Mathies or Mathews, who signed his paintings J.L.D. Mathies, painted a portrait of the Seneca headman *Sagoyewatha* "Red Jacket" in Canandiagua²³ and hung it on the wall in the entryway of his Clinton House hotel in Rochester, [New York](#).

 A 31 1/2 inch by 25 inch map "[Boston](#) and Vicinity" was engraved by Edward Gillingham on the basis of actual surveys by John G. Hales.²⁴

CARTOGRAPHY

MAPS OF BOSTON

23. In addition this leader would be drawn from life by Henry Inman (1801-1846), painted several times by John Mix Stanley (1814-1872), and painted several times by Charles Bird King (1785-1862), and would sit for a primitive portrait by Robert Weir (1803-1889).

24. This would be republished in 1829 and 1833 by Nathan Hale with appropriate alterations.

1820

1820

➡ At the turn of the century one could hope to cover about 25 miles per day. If one traveled by stage-wagon, one could expect 2mph at best; if by stagecoach, 4mph at best; if by the new mail-coach, 7mph at best. By the 1820s, however, due primarily to improvements in road surfaces but also to some improvements in vehicles, one might expect to attain a top speed of about 10 mph.



➡ From 1820 into 1829, Josiah Quincy, Sr. would be the president of the initiative which would eventually become the Boston Athenæum.

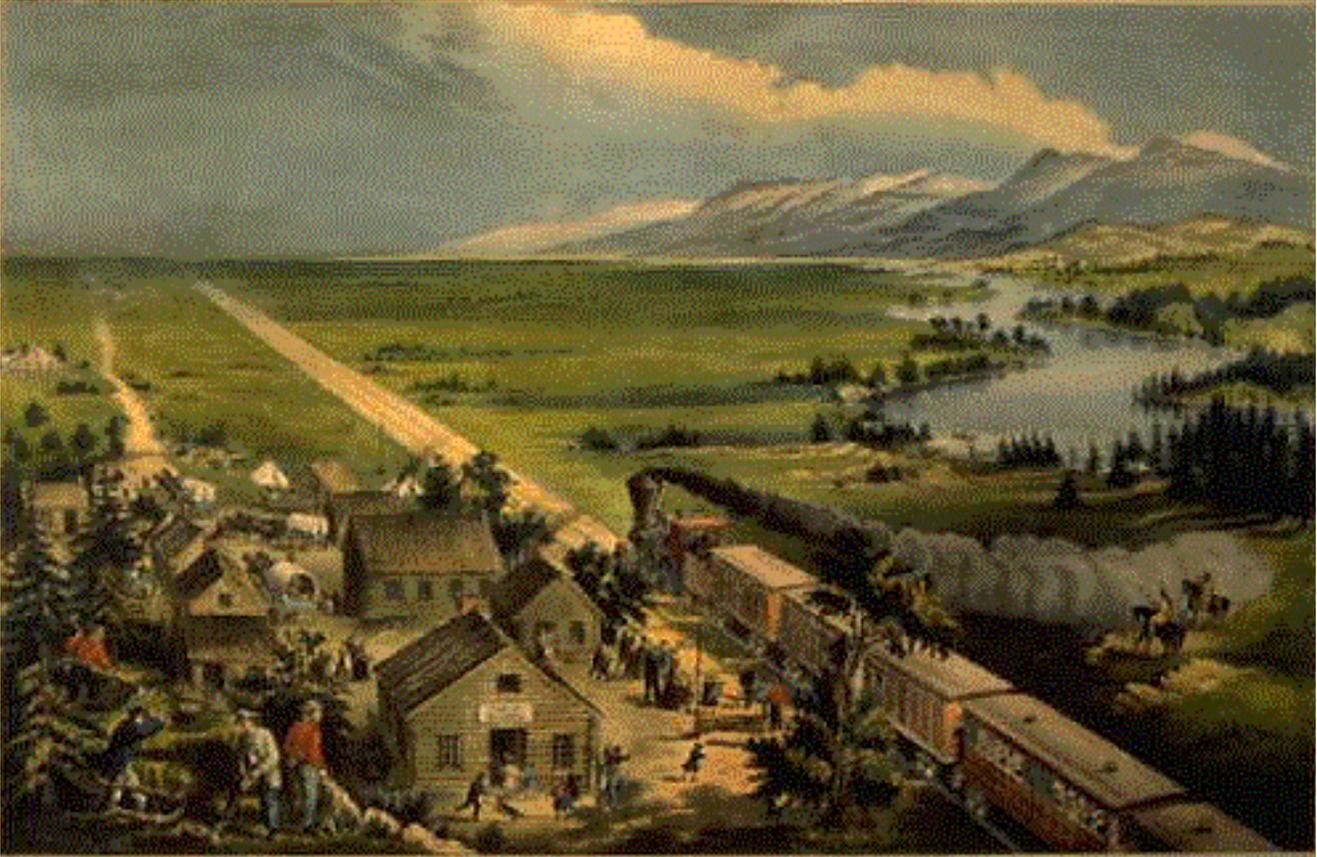
➡ Charles Grandison Finney, trained as a lawyer, entered the law offices of Benjamin Wright at Adams, New York.

1820

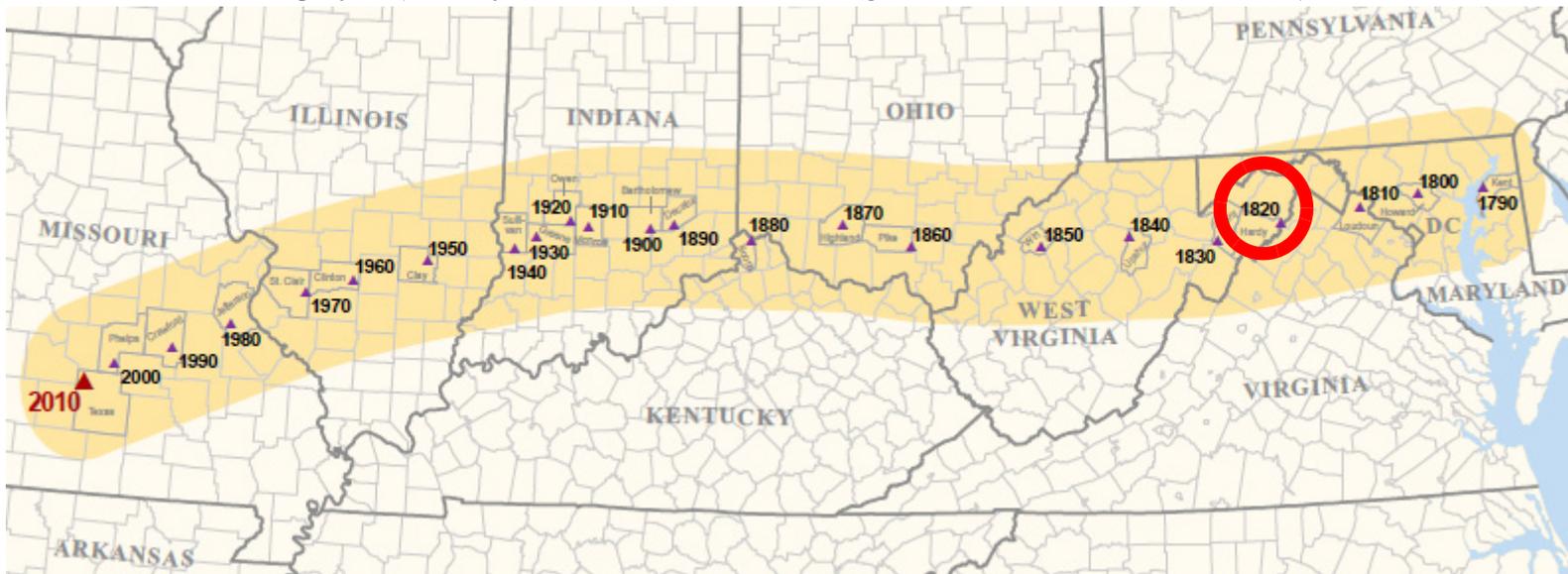
1820



As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland from [Baltimore](#). By this period the center of population had relocated some 127 miles, as the result of a general westward expansion almost exactly along the 39th parallel, to an unimpressive glen the woods some 16 miles south of Woodstock, Virginia, more than four miles per year.



As of 1860 this center of population would lie in a field 20 miles to the south of Chillicothe, Ohio: about seven miles per year. (Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)



Massachusetts had at this point very few almshouses, and those that existed had almost all been formed subsequent to 1790. In New York, there were only some 30 almshouses in about 130 of the larger of the towns and cities, and with a few exceptions, these also had been formed after the turn of the century.

 The First Church of Dedham MA divided during the selection of a new minister. The “non-communicant” townspeople of the parish and a liberal 14-member minority of the congregation selected the Reverend Alvan Lamson, whereupon the 18-member conservative majority of the members of the church withdrew from the parish, and presumed that because they were the majority of the actual congregation, they were entitled to the church building, its furnishings, and the church records. The liberals, however, elected new deacons and brought a lawsuit to take control of the church property. The jury decided in February in favor of the liberals, and in October Chief Justice Isaac Parker of the Massachusetts Supreme Court handed down this decision:

When the majority of the members of a Congregational church separate from the majority of the parish, the members who remain, though a minority, constitute the church in such parish and retain property belonging thereto.

Effectively, in this case, a liberal minority had expelled a conservative majority, and had set a precedent for doing so.²⁵ The outcome would be a splitting of congregations throughout Massachusetts. In [Concord](#), the Trinitarian Congregational Church would withdraw from the First Parish Church, which later would become [Unitarian](#). Within the next couple of decades a quarter of the 544 Congregational churches in Massachusetts would become known as Unitarian rather than Trinitarian.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

 The Reverend [James Freeman](#) and Samuel Cary co-wrote FUNERAL SERMONS PREACHED AT [KING’S CHAPEL, BOSTON](#).

 The town of [Ipswich](#) dealt with the need of its paupers for an alms-house: “The whole number in the alms-house, when visited, was forty-seven. Of these, twenty-three were brought to poverty, directly or indirectly, by intemperance.”

There are a number of standard texts on the history of American drinking/temperance and there is the organ of a scholarly group called the Alcohol & Temperance History Group, [Social History of Alcohol Review](#). None of these treat the question of the history of actual consumption in any great detail, the historiography in this field having long been tethered to [the temperance movement](#) — in effect, to focuses on “thought” and “political action” rather than upon “social history” and “historical ethnography.” However, the period of Henry Thoreau’s lifetime, 1817 to 1862, falls across what is believed to be the great historical divide in American drinking—going from an era in which there was little restraint on consumption ([alcohol](#) was generally regarded as “The Good Creature of God”) to a much more temperate sensibility characterized by:

- a long-term shift from [whiskey](#) to [beer](#)
- [ethanol](#) consumption down to about 1/3rd the “pre-shift” level
- drinking of [alcohol](#) confined, by and large, to men

25. Bear in mind, however, that the use of the term “conservative” in such a context is anachronistic, because no politician would until January 1830 characterize a party such as the Tories of England as “conservative.”

1820

1820

In Ipswich it was agreed that it was permissible for people to sit in meetings with their hats on.



As we reflect on the moral transactions of this and other ancient towns, we are compelled to notice one fact, however ominous of evil, however discouraging to our hope. This fact is, that, as such communities have increased in numbers, wealth, and years, so have they departed from the justifiable strictness of their ancestors. We look in vain for that measure of vigilance, promptness, and activity, which the officers of each corporation anciently manifested against the workers of iniquity. We look in vain for the ready obedience, which the vicious were constrained to yield to the commands of their social authorities. Our disease is open before us. Wise and happy shall we be, if we apply the needed remedies.

Pierre Huber's RECHERCHES SUR LES MOEURS DES FOURMIS INDIGENES, which had in 1810 in French provided an account of a battle of the ants, was at this point published in English as THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ANTS.

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.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

POLK WEBSTER

KIRBY AND SPENCE

WILLIAM KIRBY WILLIAM SPENCE

1820

1820

François Huber (1750-1831, the father) had studied bees: *NOUVELLES OBSERVATIONS SUR LES ABEILLES: ADRESSEES A M. CHARLES BONNET*. Geneve: Barde, Manget, 1792; NEW OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BEES translated from the original, 1806 (Edinburgh: A. Smellie); 2d ed. Edinburgh, printed for J. Anderson, 1808; 3d ed. Edinburgh, printed for W. & C. Tait and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1821; *NOUVELLES OBSERVATIONS SUR LES ABEILLES*. 2. ed., rev., corr. et considerablement augm. Paris, J.J. Paschoud, 1814; OBSERVATIONS ON THE NATURAL HISTORY OF BEES. A new edition, with a memoir of the author, practical appendix, and analytical index. London, printed for T. Tegg, 1841.

Pierre Huber (1777-1840, the son) studied ants and would be praised by Darwin in ORIGIN OF SPECIES: *RECHERCHES SUR LES MOEURS DES FOURMIS INDIGENES*, 1810; THE NATURAL HISTORY OF ANTS. Tr. from the French, with additional notes, by J.R. Johnson. London, printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1820. The types of ant which Thoreau observed warring most likely were *Camponotus* and *Monomorium*:

- typical carpenter ants of southern New England, often red and having a minor form about $\frac{1}{4}$ " in length and a major form about $\frac{1}{2}$ " in length: *Camponotus castaneus*, *Camponotus ferrugineus* or *ferruginus*, *Camponotus herculeanus*, *Camponotus nearcticus*, or *Camponotus novboracensis* or *noveboracensis*
- typical black ants of southern New England, about $\frac{1}{16}$ " in length: *Monomorium* (*Monomorium*) *pharaonis* ([Carolus Linnæus](#)) which would nest only in buildings, or *Monomorium* (*Monomorium*) *viride* or *viridum peninsulatum* if nesting outdoors



WALDEN: I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die. In the mean while there came along a single red ant on the hillside of this valley, evidently full of excitement, who either had despatched his foe, or had not yet taken part in the battle; probably the latter, for he had lost none of his limbs; whose mother had charged him to return with his shield or upon it. Or perchance he was some Achilles, who had nourished his wrath apart, and had now come to avenge or rescue his Patroclus. He saw this unequal combat from afar, -for the blacks were nearly twice the size of the red,- he drew near with rapid pace till he stood on his guard within half an inch of the combatants; then, watching his opportunity, he sprang upon the black warrior, and commenced his operations near the root of his right fore-leg, leaving the foe to select among his own members; and so there were three united for life, as if a new kind of attraction had been invented which put all other locks and cements to shame. I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer.



WALDEN: ... There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.

I took up the chip on which the three I have particularly described were struggling, carried it into my house, and placed it under a tumbler on my window-sill, in order to see the issue. Holding a microscope to the first-mentioned red ant, I saw that, though he was assiduously gnawing at the near foreleg of his enemy, having severed his remaining feeler, his breast was all torn away, exposing what vitals he had there to the jaws of the black warrior, whose breast-plate was apparently too thick for him to pierce; and the dark carbuncles of the sufferer's eyes shone with ferocity such as war only could excite. They struggled half an hour longer under the tumbler, and when I looked again the black soldier had severed the heads of his foes from their bodies, and the still living heads were hanging on either side of him like ghastly trophies at his saddlebow, still apparently as firmly fastened as ever, and he was endeavoring with feeble struggles, being without feelers and with only the remnant of a leg, and I know not how many other wounds, to divest himself of them; which at length, after half an hour more, he accomplished. I raised the glass, and he went off over the window-sill in that crippled state. Whether he finally survived that combat, and spent the remainder of his days in some Hotel des Invalides, I do not know; but I thought that his industry would not be worth much thereafter. I never learned which party was victorious, nor the cause of the war; but I felt for the rest of that day as if I had had my feelings excited and harrowed by witnessing the struggle, the ferocity and carnage, of a human battle before my door.

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.

KIRBY AND SPENCE

ANTS

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➡ From this year into 1824 Alexis de Tocqueville would be living in Metz with his father while attending secondary school and the College Royal (at which he would study rhetoric and philosophy).



Abraham Lincoln also was able to attend school, but only briefly.



Along the lines of [James Adair](#)'s 1775 HISTORY OF THE INDIANS ... and Elias Boudinot's 1816 STAR IN THE WEST, that had featured 10-lost-tribes-of-Israel theories that fueled the doctrines of [American Exceptionalism](#), at about this point Ethan Smith put out his VIEWS OF THE HEBREWS. Many have presumed that this effort, the most exclusively religious of such texts, must have influenced Joseph Smith's BOOK OF MORMON — but this is problematic. James Fenimore Cooper would rely upon this crap and would feature a 10-tribes theorist in his 1848 novel OAK OPENINGS.



➡ Mendon built its [Unitarian](#) Church, by voluntary contributions, for the use of the 1st Parish. The town chose the Honorable Jonathan Russell and Doctor Daniel Thurber as its delegates to the convention for revision of the Massachusetts State Constitution.

1820

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➡ Arthur Young died:

: Yet there were other works for British dukes to do. George Loudon, Quintinye, Evelyn, had taught them to make gardens. Arthur Young, Bakewell, and Mechi, have made them agricultural. Scotland was a camp until the day of Culloden. The Dukes of Athol, Sutherland, Buccleugh, and the Marquis of Breadalbane have introduced the rape-culture, the sheep-farm, wheat, drainage, the plantation of forests, the artificial replenishment of lakes and ponds with fish, the renting of game-preserves. Against the cry of the old tenantry, and the sympathetic cry of the English press, they have rooted out and planted anew, and now six millions of people live, and live better on the same land that fed three millions.

➡ Elizabeth Barrett's "The Battle of Marathon." She was at the time 14 years of age and had not yet had the riding accident that would cripple her spine. Her father, who was a wealthy landowner, had 50 copies of it privately printed up for her.



➡ Amelia Opie's TALES OF THE HEART.



➡ Samuel Brown, Theophilus Brown's father, died.



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[William Wordsworth](#)'s THE RIVER DUDDON, A SERIES OF SONNETS: VAUDRACOUR AND JULIA: AND OTHER POEMS; THE MISCELLANEOUS POEMS OF WILLIAM WORDSWORTH in four volumes; MEMORIALS OF A TOUR ON THE CONTINENT.

Wordsworth's Poems, in Chronological Sequence

- Oxford, May 30, 1820
- June 1820
- Memorials of a Tour on the Continent, 1820
- Dedication
- Fish-women — On Landing at Calais
- Bruges
- Bruges
- After visiting the Field of Waterloo
- Between Namur and Liege
- Aix-la-Chapelle
- In the Cathedral at Cologne
- In a Carriage, upon the Banks of the Rhine
- Hymn for the Boatmen, as they approach the Rapids under the Castle of Heidelberg
- The Source of the Danube
- On approaching the Staub-bach, Lauterbrunnen
- The Fall of the Aar — Handec
- Memorial, near the Outlet of the Lake of Thun
- Composed in one of the Catholic Cantons
- After-thought
- Scene on the Lake of Brientz
- Engelberg, the Hill of Angels
- Our Lady of the Snow
- Effusion in Presence of the Painted Tower of Tell at Altorf
- The Tower of Schwytz
- On hearing the "Ranz des Vaches" on the Top of the Pass of St. Gothard
- Fort Fuentes
- The Church of San Salvador, seen from the Lake of Lugano
- The Italian Itinerant, and the Swiss Goatherd — Part I, Part II
- The Last Supper, by Leonardo da Vinci
- The Eclipse of the Sun, 1820
- The Three Cottage Girls
- The Column intended by Buonaparte for a Triumphal Edifice in Milan
- Stanzas composed in the Simplon Pass
- Echo, upon the Gemmi
- Processions. Suggested on a Sabbath Morning in the Vale of Chamouny
- Elegiac Stanzas
- Sky-Prospect — From the Plain of France
- On being Stranded near the Harbour of Boulogne
- After landing — the Valley of Dover, November 1820
- At Dover
- Desultory Stanzas, upon receiving the preceding Sheets from the Press
- The River Duddon. A Series of Sonnets
- To the Rev. Dr. Wordsworth
- Not envying Latian shades — if yet they throw
- Child of the clouds! remote from every taint
- How shall I paint thee? — Be this naked stone



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- Take, cradled Nursling of the mountain, take
- Sole listener, Duddon! to the breeze that played
- Flowers
- “Change me, some God, into that breathing rose!”
- What aspect bore the Man who roved or fled
- The Stepping-stones
- The same Subject
- The Faery Chasm
- Hints for the Fancy
- Open Prospect
- O mountain Stream! the Shepherd and his Cot
- From this deep chasm, where quivering sunbeams play
- American Tradition
- Return
- Seathwaite Chapel
- Tributary Stream
- The Plain of Donnerdale
- Whence that low voice? — A whisper from the heart
- Tradition
- Sheep-washing
- The Resting-place
- Methinks ’twere no unprecedented feat
- Return, Content! for fondly I pursued
- Fallen, and diffused into a shapeless heap
- Journey renewed
- No record tells of lance opposed to lance
- Who swerves from innocence, who makes divorce
- The Kirk of Ulpha to the pilgrim’s eye
- Not hurled precipitous from steep to steep
- Conclusion
- After-thought
- A Parsonage in Oxfordshire
- To Enterprise
- Ecclesiastical Sonnets. In Series
- Part I. — From the Introduction of Christianity into Britain to the Consummation of the Papal Dominion
- Introduction
- Conjectures
- Trepidation of the Druids
- Druidical Excommunication
- Uncertainty
- Persecution
- Recovery
- Temptations from Roman Refinements
- Dissensions
- Struggle of the Britons against the Barbarians
- Saxon Conquest
- Monastery of Old Bangor
- Casual Incitement
- Glad Tidings
- Paulinus



1820

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- Persuasion
- Conversion
- Apology
- Primitive Saxon Clergy
- Other Influences
- Seclusion
- Continued
- Reproof
- Saxon Monasteries, and Lights and Shades of the Religion
- Missions and Travels
- Alfred
- His Descendants
- Influence Abused
- Danish Conquests
- Canute
- The Norman Conquest
- Coldly we spake. The Saxons, overpowered
- The Council of Clermont
- Crusades
- Richard I
- An Interdict
- Papal Abuses
- Scene in Venice
- Papal Dominion
- Part II. — To the close of the Troubles in the Reign of Charles I
- How soon — alas! did Man, created pure —
- From false assumption rose, and, fondly hailed
- Cistercian Monastery
- Deplorable his lot who tills the ground
- Monks and Schoolmen
- Other Benefits
- Continued
- Crusaders
- As faith thus sanctified the warrior's crest
- Where long and deeply hath been fixed the root
- Transubstantiation
- The Vaudois
- Praised be the Rivers, from their mountain springs
- Waldenses
- Archbishop Chichely to Henry V.
- Wars of York and Lancaster
- Wicliffe
- Corruptions of the higher Clergy
- Abuse of Monastic Power
- Monastic Voluptuousness
- Dissolution of the Monasteries
- The same Subject
- Continued
- Saints
- The Virgin
- Apology



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- Imaginative Regrets
- Reflections
- Translation of the Bible
- The Point at Issue
- Edward VI.
- Edward signing the Warrant for the Execution of Joan of Kent
- Revival of Popery
- Latimer and Ridley
- Cranmer
- General View of the Troubles of the Reformation
- English Reformers in Exile
- Elizabeth
- Eminent Reformers
- The Same
- Distractions
- Gunpowder Plot
- Illustration. The Jung-Frau and the Fall of the Rhine near Schaffhausen
- Troubles of Charles the First
- Laud
- Afflictions of England
- Part III. — From the Restoration to the Present Times
- I saw the figure of a lovely Maid
- Patriotic Sympathies
- Charles the Second
- Latitudinarianism
- Walton's Book of Lives
- Clerical Integrity
- Persecution of the Scottish Covenanters
- Acquittal of the Bishops
- William the Third
- Obligations of Civil to Religious Liberty
- Sacheverel
- Down a swift Stream, thus far, a bold design
- Aspects of Christianity in America — I. The Pilgrim Fathers
- II. Continued
- III. Concluded. — American Episcopacy
- Bishops and Priests, blessed are ye, if deep
- Places of Worship
- Pastoral Character
- The Liturgy
- Baptism
- Sponsors
- Catechising
- Confirmation
- Confirmation continued
- Sacrament
- The Marriage Ceremony
- Thanksgiving after Childbirth
- Visitation of the Sick
- The Communion Service
- Forms of Prayer at Sea

1820

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- Funeral Service
- Rural Ceremony
- Regrets
- Mutability
- Old Abbeys
- Emigrant French Clergy
- Congratulation
- New Churches
- Church to be Erected
- Continued
- New Churchyard
- Cathedrals, etc.
- Inside of King's College Chapel, Cambridge
- The Same
- Continued
- Ejaculation
- Conclusion
- Memory
- To the Lady Fleming
- On the same Occasion
- A volant Tribe of Bards on earth are found
- Not Love, not War, nor the tumultuous swell
- To _____
- To _____
- How rich that forehead's calm expanse!
- To _____
- A Flower Garden at Coleorton Hall, Leicestershire
- To the Lady E. B. and the Hon. Miss P.

 Singapore was added to the British Empire.

 [Felicia Dorothea Hemans](#)'s "Stanzas to the Memory of the Late King," and her THE SKEPTIC attacking [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and [Percy Bysse Shelley](#).

 James Catnach's STREET BALLADS.

 [William Blake](#)'s pictures: woodcuts for Thornton's VIRGIL; poem/pictures ON HOMER'S POETRY and ON VIRGIL issued for 1st time.

WILLIAM BLAKE

 [John Keats](#)'s HYPERION.

 John Clare's POEMS DESCRIPTIVE OF RURAL LIFE.

1820

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➡ In this year in which the Federalist Party dissolved and, no longer having any organized opposition, the Jefferson Democrats in consequence disbanded, James Mason was beginning the practice of law in Winchester VA.

➡ By this year, preventive vaccination with cowpox was common in the North. The small pox was becoming more rare. Did the Thoreau family of [Concord](#), Massachusetts practice this commonplace family health measure? If so, at what age was little David Henry inoculated with the cow pox?

VARIOLA

➡ [John Augustus Stone](#) of [Concord](#) made his debut as an on-stage old man in the role of Old Norval in the play "Douglas," at the Washington Garden Theater in [Boston](#).



1820

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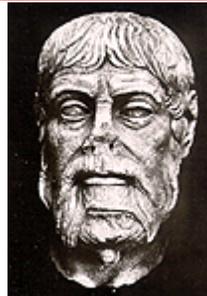
→ [George Bancroft](#) was awarded the PhD at the University of Göttingen.



He would go on to study under Friedrich Ernst Daniel Schleiermacher in Berlin, until 1821. While in Europe he would study oriental languages and the Higher Criticism, and meet [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#).

→ [Henry Thoreau](#)'s translations of [Pindar](#) and "Fragments of [Pindar](#)" and "Pindaric Odes from HM13204" which would appear in [The Dial](#) during 1843 and 1844 would be out of a 2-volume German edition of this year *WERKE, URSCHRIFT, UEBERSETZUNG IN DEN PINDARISCHEN VERSMAASSEN UND ERLAUTERUNGUN VON FRIEDRICH THIERSH* with notes and a facing-page German translation, published in this year by Gerhard Fleicher in Leipzig.

READ PINDAR'S ODES



→ The lad [Horace Greeley](#), in New Hampshire, had as one of his filial chores the filling and lighting of his mother's [pipe](#). By this point, however, the smoking of pipes among women was coming to be a signature habit marking the older generation. The younger women were beginning to consider it a "dirty" and "masculine" habit, and not beginning it. American traders, opening a trail to Santa Fe, found the ladies of that city smoking "seegaritos" of [tobacco](#).

CIGARETTES

➡ The Reverend Thomas Robert Malthus's PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY CONSIDERED WITH A VIEW TO THEIR PRACTICAL APPLICATION demonstrated that unlimited savings would “destroy the motive to production” and that therefore it was quite all right, if you could afford it, for you to buy your wife a nice new fur coat and a diamond pendant. –Meanwhile, he suggested, we should have sense enough to keep the common people actively working at public projects.



Jean-Baptiste Say's *LETTRES À M. MALTHUS SUR DIFFÉRENTS SUJETS D'ÉCONOMIE POLITIQUE, NOTAMMENT SUR LES CAUSES DE LA STAGNATION GÉNÉRALE DU COMMERCE.*

➡ It was during this decade that the fad for wasp waists began. After the waist had been constricted as much as possible by a whalebone corset, as many ruffles and flounces and bustles as possible would be added both above and below in order to exaggerate the effect. Dissection of female corpses from this period revealed that in some extreme cases the torso had been systematically squeezed to such an extent that the small intestine was divided into two masses, one below the waist and one above, with only a single vertical pipe connecting the upper with the lower mass.²⁶

➡ Dr. Lewis Caleb Beck botanized extensively in eastern Missouri and in nearby regions of Illinois. After returning to New York, he would prepare a gazetteer of that region's mineral and botanical potential.

French chemists isolated quinine (an alkaloid) from the bark of Cinchona, making possible the production of a purified chemical treatment for malaria.

PLANTS

The new British commissioner of Cooch Behar in India discovered that the *Camellia sinensis* tree was growing in Assam on these southern slopes of the Himalayas just as it grew in China, where kept as shrubs it was the source of Chinese tea. He sent samples down to Calcutta, to Nathaniel Wallich, the newly appointed botanist of the government of India. It would require only the passage of 30 years, before tea would be being produced in the valley of the Brahmaputra on a truly massive scale, and with unheard-of economies. The Chinese monopoly would be ruined.

BOTANIZING

26. Of course the heathen Chinese were binding women's feet to indicate that they were of such high status that they needed to do no work — but that custom was barbaric and shows no points of similarity.

1820

1820

→ During this decade our medical profession would be beginning to take a more relaxed attitude toward the imputed perils of [tea](#) because, due to an increasing expense of the leaves at three shillings, four shillings, and even five shillings the pound, our teasips were beginning to brew their caffeine fix not nearly so strong. The doctors, of course, should have been doing everything within their power to increase the drinking of [Chinese](#) tea, especially in the USA, because the more of this tea infusion people consumed during this period the less ethanol they would be consuming — and [alcoholism](#) was of course one of our most major killers.

DOPE

→ According to the economic historian Angus Maddison, at this point [China](#) was producing 29% of the world's total annual gross economic product, and [India](#) was producing 16%. (I don't know, but would like to know, what %age was being produced by the USA.)

→ Dr. John Marshman and Joannes Lassar completed a task they had undertaken in 1811, a translation of the New Testament into [Chinese](#) characters. Dr. Livingstone and Dr. Morrison founded a medical clinic in [Macau](#).

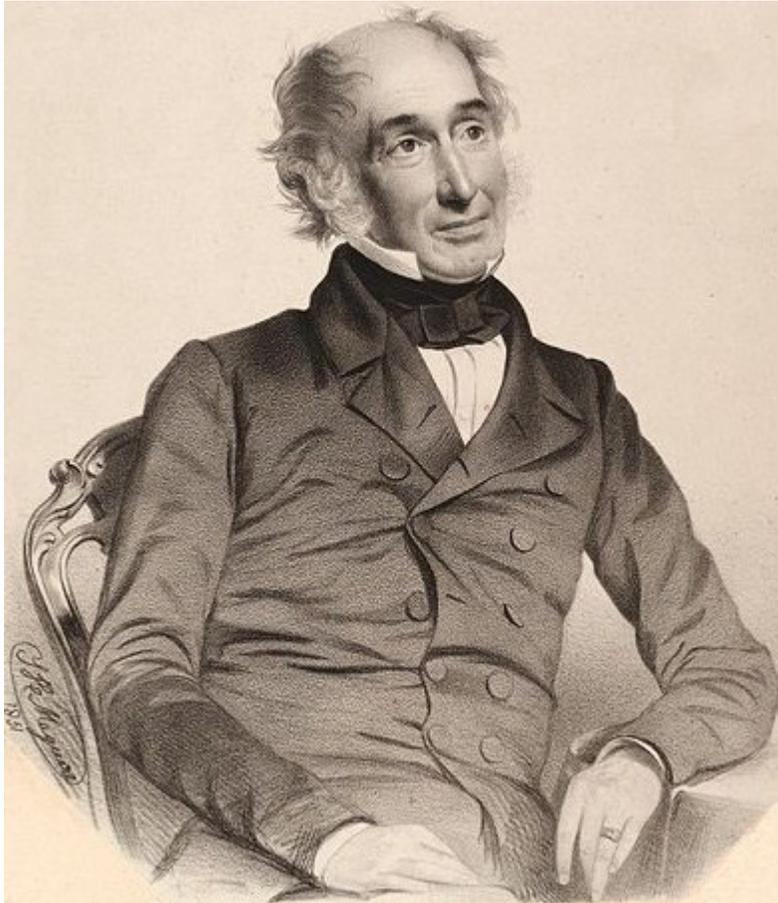
→ At the suggestion of [Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#), the ships used to transport ice, and [Frederic Tudor](#)'s ice warehouses in Havana, Cuba, [Charleston, South Carolina](#), and the West Indies, would begin to use cheap sawdust, an industrial waste product from [Maine](#), during the 1820s to gradually reduce losses due to melting below the figure of 8%.

1820

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 The botanist Frederick Pursh died at the age of 46.

The final of the two volumes of [William Jackson Hooker](#)'s *MUSCI EXOTICI*, devoted to new foreign mosses and other cryptogamic plants. With the help of Banks, he became Regius Professor of Botany at the University of Glasgow.

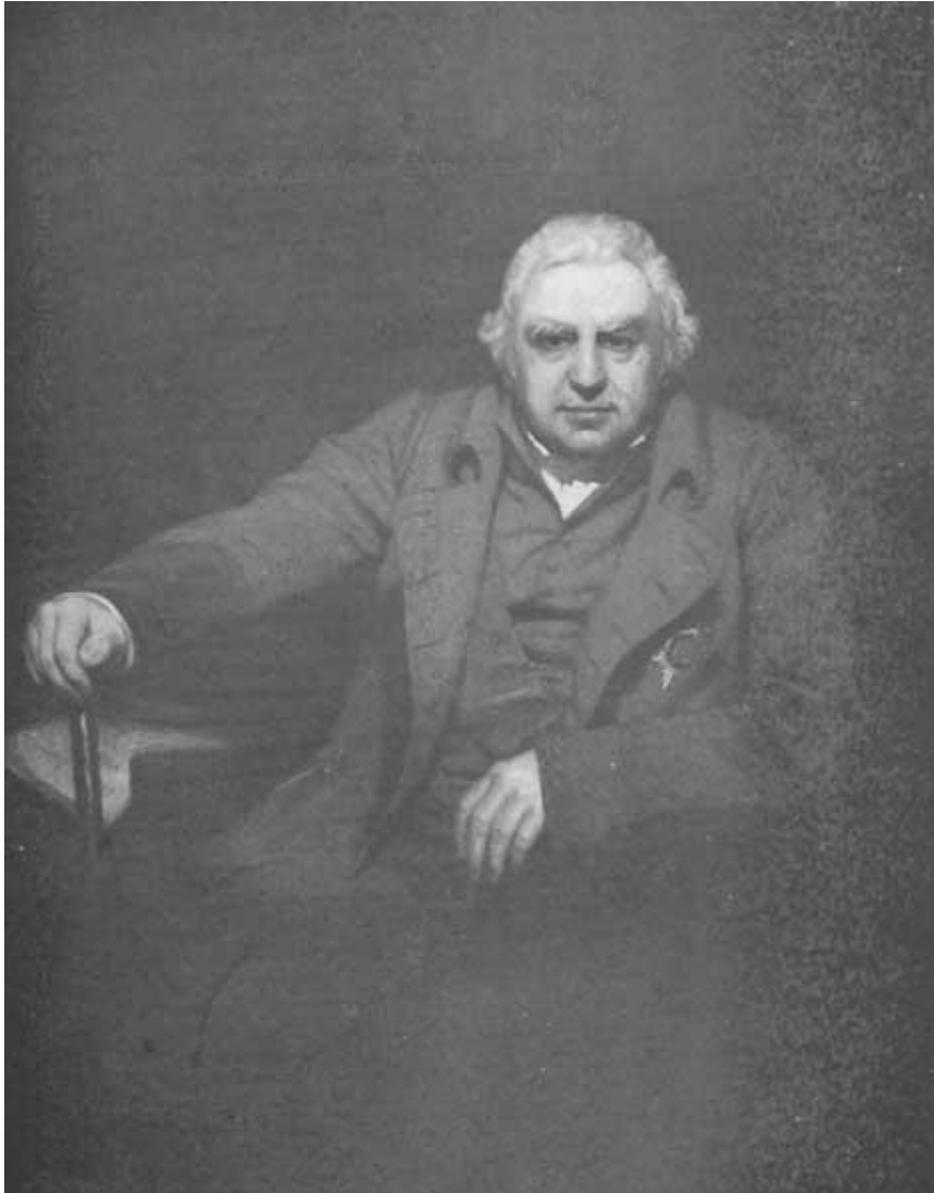


BOTANIZING

1820

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With the death of Joseph Banks, there was a real possibility that the rare plants at Kew would be dispersed among other private gardens. [Professor Hooker](#) led a campaign to transform Kew into a national treasure.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**1820****1820**

[Dr. Jacob Bigelow](#) was one of a committee of five selected to form the “American Pharmacopoeia.” It was he who came up with the nomenclature scheme for *materia medica* of substituting a single for a double word whenever practicable, a scheme which afterward would be accepted by the British Colleges.

[BOTANIZING](#)

1820

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The [Essex, a whaler](#), sank after an attack by a sperm whale. The white members of the crew, in order to survive after their shipwreck, had resort to cannibalism. The crew members of color were of course the first to die and be eaten — the only crew members to survive would be of the white color. Only a few Quakers would survive — and only by drawing lots and killing and eating the Quaker who drew the short straw. This ship's captain, [disowned Friend George Pollard, Jr.](#), would live out his life on [Nantucket Island](#) as a night watchman, but it would be generally recognized in this ship's home port that “on Nantucket we do not speak of the *Essex*.”



While attending the public schools of Mühlhausen and the city Gymnasium, John Augustus Roebling had also been being tutored privately to qualify him for entrance to the Royal Polytechnic School at Berlin. At the Institute during the 1820s he would be studying under [G.W.F. Hegel](#) and the tradition in the Roebling family, however accurate it might be, has become that he was this philosopher's favorite:



It is impossible to study him diligently and not be profoundly influenced by his teachings, and for a youth like John A. Roebling to have been brought into intimate contact with his dominating personality, was ... a privilege, because it opened the boy's eyes to the spiritual reality back of the change and decay of material phenomena....

His course of study at the Institute, however, would have consisted mostly of architecture and engineering, bridge construction, hydraulics, and languages, rather than of Hegelian idealist philosophy. Meanwhile, in America, during this same decade, [George Ticknor](#), an alumnus of Göttingen, would be seeking to introduce the sorts of reform at [Harvard College](#) which would raise it from the level of a high school to that of a “respectable” high school. And Harvard did try! One of the innovations of this decade, for instance, would be the tradition of “Class Day,” and an annual reunion of its graduates.



[Alexander Young, Jr.](#) graduated with distinguished honor from [Harvard](#). He would go on to the [Harvard Divinity School](#), although perhaps not immediately, as the school listed only the following gentlemen as commencing their ministerial studies in this year:

- Samuel Todd Adams
- John Goldsberry (Brown University)
- William Farmer
- William Henry Furness
- Ezra Stiles Gannett
- Henry Brown Hersey
- Benjamin Kent
- Calvin Lincoln

(In these early years of the [Divinity School](#), there were no formal class graduations as students would be in the habit of studying there for varying periods until they obtained an appropriate offer to enter a pulpit.)



The Poor Man’s Friend Society was established at Halifax, Nova Scotia. On October 9th, Cape Breton was reannexed to Nova Scotia, constituting a county that would send two members to the General Assembly, and the laws and ordinances of Nova Scotia were extended thereto.

1820

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➡ During this decade, [John Leonard Knapp](#) would be authoring a series of anonymous articles for [Time's Telescope](#) under the byline "The Naturalist's Diary." This series of articles would in 1829 form the germ of his most successful work, also anonymous, *THE JOURNAL OF A NATURALIST*, a work which would see publication in four editions, of which Thoreau would make extensive use. The book is an account of the natural history, country life and agriculture along the escarpment from Alveston to Thornbury in Gloucestershire, inspired by the Rev. [Gilbert White's](#) *THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE*. J.W. White described him as "a charming botanist and traveller through the inexhaustible regions of nature." His last years would be spent at Alveston where he was a churchwarden. His time was now spent almost entirely in the pursuit of Natural History and the cultivation of his garden.



BOTANIZING

➡ William Tudor's *LETTERS ON THE EASTERN STATES* recommended that the New England farmers imitate the success of the drainage companies of the Fens region of England, by draining swamplands to create polder plots so they could raise crops of market veggies.²⁷

27. This was prior to the era of the Environmental Impact Assessment. The only indicators of success or failure were in the farm's profit-and-loss sheet.

→ *YAMOYDEN*, A TALE OF THE WARS OF [KING PHILIP](#); IN SIX CANTOS. BY THE LATE REV. JAMES WALLIS EASTBURN AND HIS FRIEND (New-York: James Eastburn, Clayton & Kingland), a narrative poem of pathos and longing describing a “fair lake, unruffled and sparkling,” on the waters of which lay “the green isle of lovers.” Said lake, however, is in the midst of “fens where the hunter ne’er ventured to tread” because it exists only in the imagination: “[H]e who has sought to set foot on its shore, / In mazes perplexed, has beheld it no more.”

SWAMP

→ An architect named Ithiel Town, who had constructed a church in New Haven, Connecticut, was granted a patent for a new type of bridge termed the “lattice truss” bridge. This design avoided large timbers and intricate joins with iron fittings by the use of treenails, that is, round oak pins. It employed chord and web members of one standard size, usually 4x10. Since it freed piers and abutments from horizontal thrusts, they could be less massive. Within a decade such bridges would be being constructed all over the United States. Many of the remaining rural bridges of New England which we commonly refer to as “covered bridges” are more correctly designated “Ithiel Town Trusses.”

→ A Dutchman, Van Houten, developed the modern techniques for extraction of [cocoa](#) powder. (Previously, solid chunks of chocolate had been crushed and dissolved in hot water to produce the chocolate beverage.)

→ Rufus Porter, dreamer of dreams such as the “aerial locomotive,” devised a *camera obscura* as an aid to his business of While-U-Wait portraits and landscapes. Realism being a thing much more in demand in painting, in those days of yesteryear before the development of “technological means of perfect imitation” such as the Daguerreotype, he used his device to focus an image over which he could quickly and efficiently sketch the outlines of the commissioned portrait or landscape. Well, at least it was a selling point.

→ Some [Catholic](#) French-Canadians had migrated at this point to Worcester.

→ The 1st recorded gravity measurement in [Canada](#) was made by Lt. Edward Sabinel, a member of William Edward Parry’s Northwest Passage expedition.

CARTOGRAPHY
THE FROZEN NORTH



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 During this year and the following one, Mary Anning would be excavating the 1st nearly complete fossil Plesiosaurus.²⁸



THE SCIENCE OF 1820

In this year Gideon Mantell and William Buckland also discovered dinosaur remains.²⁹ Gideon Mantell discovered, in England, a fossil trunk of a tree resembling that of a tropical palm — evidence that once upon a time there had been there a much warmer climate.

PALEONTOLOGY

 During this year and the following one it would be Abner Forbes, hired from elsewhere, who would be the schoolmaster for Concord's grammar students.

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

28. This fossil when it would be reported in 1823 would demonstrate the correctness of an analysis offered in 1821 on the basis of more fragmentary remains by Henry De la Beche and the Reverend William Daniel Conybeare.

29. However, this term “dinosaur” is something of an anachronism as of 1820, as it would not even be coined as a word in the language for another 22 years, until 1842.



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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	



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According to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, [Concord](#) constructed its three primary schoolhouses in this year:

These three schoolhouses were all built in one year, of logs or timbers laid one upon another. After the new jail was built in 1788, the old log or timber jail was used as a shop. From my earliest remembrance to perhaps 1815 or thereabouts, it was used as a hatter's shop. Ephraim Williams and Joseph Brown made hats in it in my early day.... [One of the new schoolhouses was erected] by the burial ground; one in East quarter opposite [the] house now (1870) of [Mr. Waldo Emerson](#); one on land where Judge Brooks's house stands, opposite the house which Nathan Brooks occupied until his death. Dr. Heyward gave the bell weight as 125 lbs. The committee to build these four schoolhouses were Deacon Thomas Hubbard, Deacon Jarvis [Francis Jarvis], and Josiah Davis. When they had about finished, Deacon Jarvis proposed a quill as appropriate for a vane on the grammar schoolhouse. Deacon Hubbard, who was an extreme and exclusive utilitarian though a very liberal and just man, said, "No, no vane; it is useless. I will do with the town as I do with my own affairs. I never expend money for any useless matter for myself, and I cannot consent to do so with the town's money." Deacon Jarvis took hold of the buttons on the back of Deacon Heyward's coat and asked what these buttons were for. Deacon Heyward laughed and said he had forgotten them and would not go without them and added, "I will consent to the vane."

According to pages 26-27 the town also had begun a debating club at least by this year:

This was formed about 1820, possibly earlier. Certainly it was in full life and active when my brother Charles left college in 1821. It included all the active and educated men of middle age, and younger. They met weekly in the brick schoolhouse through the cool season and perhaps through the summer. A new president was elected each month; I think they took turns in this office. A question for debate was selected for each meeting; at the proceedings a part was assigned to take the affirmative and a part the negative. The discussions were (as is usual in such clubs) generally temperate and as able as the intelligence of the speakers would make them. But as they were required to take the side assigned whether true or not, they presented often times much sophistry. Sometimes there was sparring and unpleasant contradiction. I found the club in full energy when I left college in 1822. I joined it and so also did [Richard Hildreth](#), who taught [at] the Academy. I was then elected secretary. When I left town in 1827, this club was in full operation, but in the next winter it gave way to the better organization of the Lyceum.

CONCORD LYCEUM



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We learn on page 144 that it was in about this year that John D. Bates returned from Holland to [Concord](#):

As far back as I can remember, Mr. Tilly Merrick, who went to Europe in the last century and dwelt thereafter in Concord, was thought much of and held in high respect on account of this opportunity of foreign observation. Mr. Abel Barrett went to England in the first of this century on business and remained until his death in Liverpool. Mr. Jonathan Wheeler also went about the same time for the same purpose. Capt. Caleb Bates was a shipmaster and went many times to Europe. His son, John D. Bates, went as a boy to a mercantile house in Holland, and there remained until his fullness of manhood, and returned about 1820. Capt. Stephen Jarvis was also a shipmaster. He went to Russia, England, France, Germany, Scandan[avia], Italy, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, the East Indies. All of these spent their vacations at their homes in Concord. Mr. William Munroe, the giver of the library building, spent most of his time (for twenty years or more) in Europe, Great Britain, France, Germany, Italy etc., on business and in travel. He was at home at intervals. In the latter part of his life he spent the warm season in Concord and the cold months in Boston or New York; the very last one or two years were spent entirely in Concord. He died in 1877 at his home.



[Concord](#) contained at this point 9 foreigners who had not been naturalized. In the town, there were a total of 262 engaged in agriculture, 16 in commerce, and 140 in manufactures.

POPULATION.— Concord possesses few of those advantages of water-power, peculiar to many manufacturing towns, which favor a rapid growth. It is dependent on the industry of its inhabitants, its improvements in agriculture and the mechanic arts, and the general advancement of the surrounding country, for its increase in wealth and population. The incorporation of other towns, principally within its original limits, has, at various times, reduced its population and resources, and renders it difficult to estimate its growth with accuracy. In 1706 the polls were 230, nearly half as many as they now [1835] are; but they were scattered throughout six now incorporated towns. In 1753, just before the incorporation of Lincoln, the polls were 442, greater than at any other period in our history prior to 1820; and it is probable the population and wealth of the town was proportionably great. The population in 1764, including part of Carlisle, then belonging to Concord, was 1584, of whom 736 were white males, 821 white females, and 27 negroes. There were 6 slaves in 1725; 21 in 1741; and 19 in 1754. September 1, 1783, three years after the town was reduced to its present [1835] territorial limits, it contained 1321 inhabitants, of whom 15 were blacks. In 1790, there were 1590. The following table give



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the number at three different periods since.

	1800		1810		1820	
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.
Under 10 years	202	195	207	195	210	207
From 10 to 16	121	126	115	101	117	138
From 16 to 26	142	189	153	168	184	165
From 26 to 45	159	172	162	175	186	205
45 and upwards	158	177	150	179	150	192
	<u>782</u>	<u>859</u>	<u>787</u>	<u>818</u>	<u>847</u>	<u>907</u>
Blacks		38		28		34
Total		<u>1679</u>		<u>1633</u>		<u>1788</u>

In 1820 there were 9 foreigners not naturalized, 262 engaged in agriculture, 16 in commerce, and 140 in manufactures. From the above statement and a subsequent one on the valuation, it will appear that the town, from 1800 to the close of the war in 1815, remained nearly stationary. Since that time it has had a slow but gradual increase. The proportion of births to the deaths is estimated at about 3 to 1, producing a large redundant population, which is scattered in every state in the union. The associations with "Old Concord" are dear to many in distant lands, who owe their ancestral origin to its inhabitants.³⁰



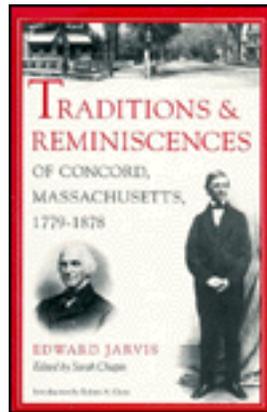
According to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878 (as edited by Sarah Chapin and published in 1993 by the U of Massachusetts P), until Lemuel Curtis moved to Burlington (Massachusetts?) in this year, he had been making time pieces and wall clocks at [Concord](#)'s "Milldam":

David Loring made lead pipe at the site of Warner's pail factory [from] about 1830 to after 1847. Nathanael Munroe made 8-day clocks on the dam. He had eight hands [employees] to help him. He removed to [Baltimore](#) about 1818. Lemuel Curtis made time pieces, [and] wall clocks, on the dam. He moved to Burlington about 1820. Benjamin R. Haggar made seaman's compasses in a building on the spot where Mrs. Barber now (1876) lives. He moved to [Baltimore](#) about 1818. Peter Wheeler exported beef and pork, packed and salted, to the West Indies until his death in May 1813, aged 58. He lived in the house now occupied by Nathan Stow. Andrew Edwards made organs in a shop where William Monroe afterwards made [pencils](#). H. David Hubbard made [pencils](#)

30. [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.)

previously in an old shop on the north corner of Walden and Heywood streets next east of Mr. [John] Vose's tan yard. Major James Barrett and Jonathan Hildreth made bellows for family use and sold them in [Boston](#), 1822. Nathan Barrett carried on coopering and sent a large quantity of barrels to Boston and Brighton for the beef and pork packers. Stephen Wood had a tan yard on the mill dam. John Vose had one on Walden St. near Heywood St. next to the pond. Stephen Barrett also on his farm near the Carlisle line.... Mr. Joshua Jones drew wire in his shop by use of the trip hammer wheel. Small rods were drawn through steel plates with holes successively smaller until he reached the desired size. At the same time Mr. Jones made cut nails, cutting [them] by machine from the end of iron plates of proper thickness and width. Then these header pieces were put into a vice with a [indecipherable] and the upper end pounded by hand and a head made.



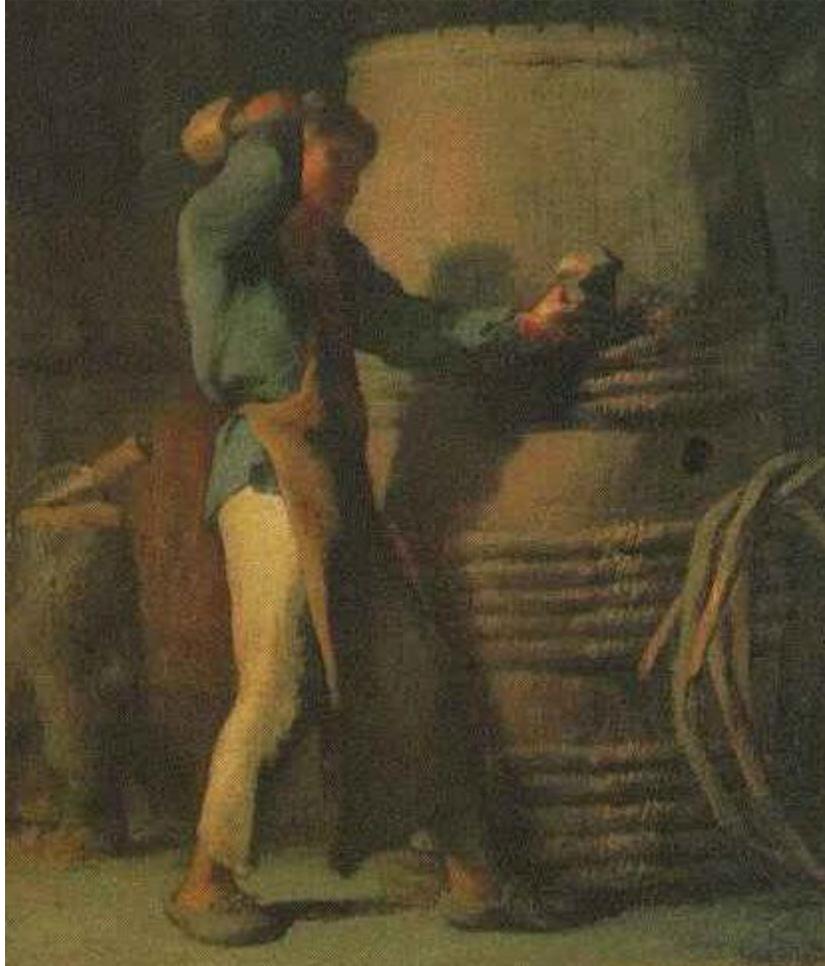
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WHAT?

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At some point during this decade the Methodist Reverend Abel Stevens entered [George Whitefield](#)'s tomb and held the evangelist's skull in his hands.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



Also, during the decade of the 1820s, US courts, in the cities at least, were tending to acquit doctors accused of "quickenings," as it was called, that is, causing the termination of a pregnancy during the first trimester. The authorities were reluctant to prosecute such cases, although these activities were clearly against all the laws on the books. The approximate statistic we have for the first three decades of the 19th Century is that there was an abortion for about every 25-30 live births, but this ratio was rising rapidly until by the 1850s it would be one for about every 5 or 6.³¹

During this decade stoves made for the burning of wood and of coal were being introduced into New England kitchens, to make it less necessary for the cook always to be broiling and steaming herself over an open fire.

This decade saw the introduction of the preprinted standard "comic valentine" card, that could be sent to hurt someone's feelings. (By the 1840s a large number of such cards would be being purchased and sent each Valentine's Day, but this dubious art form would not reach its perigee until the 1890s.)

At some point during this decade David Walker, all six feet of him, opened a 2d-hand clothing store on the [Boston](#) waterfront where commercial sailors might purchase their navy skudgies.

1820	\$141	\$103.0
1821	\$136	\$90.6

31. D'Emilio, J. and E.B. Freedman. INTIMATE MATTERS: A HISTORY OF SEXUALITY IN AMERICA. NY, 1988.



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1822	\$141	\$78.3
1823	\$126	\$83.6
1824	\$116	\$90.8
1825	\$119	\$106.5
1826	\$119	\$100.7
1827	\$120	\$94.1
1828	\$114	\$91.4
1829	\$112	\$90.5
1830	\$111	\$87.2



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According to Paul A. David's "The Growth of Real Product in the United States before 1840: New Evidence, Controlled Conjectures" in the Journal of Economic History for June 1987, there have been three distinguishable episodes of economic growth between 1790 and 1860:

	Per Capita Output Index	Annual Per Capita Growth
1800	64.4	baseline
1810	61.9	-0.4%
1820	67.6	0.9%
1830	84.0	2.2%
1840	100.0	1.8%
1850	110.4	1.0%
1860	137.0	2.2%

This period we are here considering, the period of the growth spurt which began during the 1820s and lasted until sometime in the mid-1830s, was the second of the three, and during this economic era per capita income was to rise at a rate of about 2.5% per year before eventually slowing to 0.6% for a lusterless decade. We know, of course, who produces such wealth. Per Stanley Lebergott's MANPOWER IN ECONOMIC GROWTH (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964):

Our US Labor Force During Thoreau's Lifetime

	Free Laborers Older Than 10	Slave Laborers Older Than 10	Total Laborers Older Than 10
1800	1,370,000	530,000	1,900,000
1810	1,590,000	740,000	2,330,000
1820	2,185,000	950,000	3,135,000
1830	3,020,000	1,180,000	4,200,000
1840	4,180,000	1,480,000	5,660,000
1850	6,280,000	1,970,000	8,250,000
1860	8,770,000	2,340,000	11,110,000



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[Baron Joseph-Marie de Gérando](#)'s *LE VISITEUR DU PAUVRE / MÉMOIRE QUI A REMPORTÉ LE PRIX PROPOSÉ PAR L'ACADÉMIE DE LYON SUR LA QUESTION SUIVANTE: "INDIQUER LES MOYENS DE RECONNAÎTRE LA VÉRITABLE INDIGENCE, ET DE RENDRE L'AUMÔNE UTILE À CEUX QUI LA DONNENT COMME À CEUX QUI LA REÇOIVENT"* (Paris).

LE VISITEUR DU PAUVRE

During the decade of the 1820s Vienna, the sex capital of Europe, would boast 20,000 sex-worker women, [prostitutes](#), out of a total population of 400,000, which would have amounted to one of these working women for every seven male Viennese.³²

Also, during the decade of the 1820s, with all 5 feet and 6 inches of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) out of the picture,³³ the Whig ladies of England would be able once again to procure their finery in Paris. One of the French innovations which was becoming current was what we would now term a "corset," but it was then being referred to as a "divorce" — because it not only shoved up the breasts but also separated them into two distinct bulges in what has now become the conventional manner. Whereas, up to this point, under-drawers had been worn only by males, by prostitutes, and by stage dancers — Western women wearing instead a tight "invisible petticoat" over their loins — uniformly by the end of this decade Western women would have learned to wear drawers of the new, cheap, easily washable [cotton cloth](#), and thus to completely eliminate risk of genital exposure while riding or while dismounting from carriages. Meanwhile, Western males were changing their culottes or breeches for the trousers of the peasant, the *sans-culotte*. That innovation had in fact begun in 1790s but had been, for the time being, local to France and to French political sympathies. As these long breeches became popular among the English and the Americans, and acquired the old English term "trousers," the tailors began to make them tighter. In England, George "Beau" Brummel took tightness to the extreme, by devising a "stirrup" strap which passed under the instep of the boot between the sole and the heel. Pope Pius VII was incensed at this piece of male clothing — which we would call "stirrup pants" and which could be made in close-woven cotton nankeen or in doeskin leather — because he considered this sort of attire to be sexually obscene. However, once he had died in 1823 and was no longer to be offended, men would be losing interest in showing their legs.

32. However, a significant percentage of the income of these sex workers came from well-to-do gentlemen who visited the city specifically to indulge in its sex trade. (It would be a bit early to refer to these visitors as "tour-ists," as that term probably would not become current until the next generation.)

33. The misinformation that the guy was barely 5 foot 2 inches springs from misunderstanding of an old French measurement system, the French *piéd de roi* being by British standards nearly thirteen inches long.

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In 1827 [William C. Nell](#) became a student in the public school system of Boston and in 1829 he graduated and received THE LIFE OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN in recognition of academic achievement. He was, however, excluded from the awards banquet for the honors winners. An enterprising young man, he arranged to be present at his own awards banquet — by serving at table. You guessed it, young Will was a student of color, attending the first separate colored grammar school in America, the African Meeting-house School or [Smith School](#) on the back slope of Beacon Hill. In adult life, he would become the major leader of the campaign to integrate Boston's schools, along with the barber John T. Hilton.



(Notice that although white men of this period generally feared social contamination by inferior blacks, even an intimate touching, as by a barber, could be permissible, as depicted here in a Virginia barbershop — so long as the relationship was one clearly marked as an intransitive one, between a superior or customer and an inferior or servant.)



To prevent slavemasters from dumping old, sick, and crippled [slaves](#) at the door of the public poorhouse, South Carolina adopted a measure to prohibit the [manumission](#) of slaves unable to care for themselves.

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Would Secretary of State John Quincy Adams be the friend of the slave? At a time when this man could have been putting his whole being and future on the line by defending the personhood of slaves, he was doing nothing of the sort. In this year in which as part of the effort to suppress the [international slave trade](#) the [Antelope](#) was being captured with a cargo of 281 slaves by the revenue cutter *USS Dallas*, Adams was serving as President Monroe’s Secretary of State. While, to his diary, he commented that someone should step up and defend those slaves as persons, in fact he involved himself in the case in no way.

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

There was a critical difference in international law between the [Antelope](#) seizure of 1820, involving a Spanish flag vessel at a time when Spain still sanctioned the trade, and the [La Amistad](#) case of 1839 involving a rebellion on what, at least legally, was a [pirate](#) ship. Unfortunately, Adams was more sensitive to such legal niceties than he ever would become to real issues such as human freedom. A prick he was, a prig he was, a self-righteous posturer he was — hero of human freedom never would he be.³⁴



“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

34. Remember that in 1783 John Quincy Adams had visited the British Museum in London to view the seal of his ancestor Saer de Quincy upon the original parchment of the Magna Carta. He would come to consider his representing the blacks of the [La Amistad](#) as of the greatest importance only because the *Amistad* had been seized by the [USS Washington](#) without warrant, in a “gross violation” by the US government of a principle underlying this foundational document which his eponymous ancestor had helped to create. In other words, he wasn’t defending the black defendants at all — but was defending instead the historical significance of his alleged white ancestor Saer de Quincy.



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He had relatives down south, who worked black slaves on their plantations, and there is no evidence that this familial entanglement with slavery ever gave him any little bit of trouble. Note that the white people of the South, who earlier had been not at all fixated upon the absolute value of their system of human [enslavement](#), had in fact been perfectly congenial to speculations that it might be an excellent idea to simply walk away from all this, had by this point generally revised their attitude toward human enslavement. Their economic self-interest had changed due to the immense profits to be derived from the labor-intensive cotton crop: by this point they were vehemently in favor of race slavery.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The attitude of the South toward the slave-trade changed *pari passu* with this development of the cotton trade. From 1808 to 1820 the South half wished to get rid of a troublesome and abnormal institution, and yet saw no way to do so. The fear of insurrection and of the further spread of the disagreeable system led her to consent to the partial prohibition of the trade by severe national enactments. Nevertheless, she had in the matter no settled policy: she refused to support vigorously the execution of the laws she had helped to make, and at the same time she acknowledged the theoretical necessity of these laws. After 1820, however, there came a gradual change. The South found herself supplied with a body of slave laborers, whose number had been augmented by large illicit importations, with an abundance of rich land, and with all other natural facilities for raising a crop which was in large demand and peculiarly adapted to slave labor. The increasing crop caused a new demand for slaves, and an interstate slave-traffic arose between the Border and the Gulf States, which turned the former into slave-breeding districts, and bound them to the slave States by ties of strong economic interest.

As the cotton crop continued to increase, this source of supply became inadequate, especially as the theory of land and slave consumption broke down former ethical and prudential bounds. It was, for example, found cheaper to work a slave to death in a few years, and buy a new one, than to care for him in sickness and old age; so, too, it was easier to despoil rich, new land in a few years of intensive culture, and move on to the Southwest, than to fertilize and conserve the soil.³⁵ Consequently, there early came a demand for land and slaves greater than the country could supply. The demand for land showed itself in the annexation of Texas, the conquest of Mexico, and the movement toward the acquisition of Cuba. The demand for slaves was manifested in the illicit traffic that noticeably increased about 1835, and reached large proportions by 1860. It was also seen in a disposition to attack the government for stigmatizing the trade as criminal,³⁶ then in a disinclination to take any measures which would have rendered our repressive laws effective; and finally in such articulate declarations by prominent men as this: "Experience having settled the point, that this Trade *cannot be abolished by the use of force*, and that blockading squadrons serve only to make it more profitable and more cruel, I am surprised that the attempt is persisted in, unless as it serves as a cloak to some other purposes. It would be far better than it now is, for the

35. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM.

36. As early as 1836 Calhoun declared that he should ever regret that the term "piracy" had been applied to the slave-trade in our laws: Benton, ABRIDGMENT OF DEBATES, XII. 718.

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African, if the trade was free from all restrictions, and left to the mitigation and decay which time and competition would surely bring about."³⁷



For some two decades the US customs collector at [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) had been a brother-in-law of [James DeWolf](#) who had a major investment in the illicit [international slave trade](#), an official who could be counted on not to interfere with the importation of generations of fresh slaves from Africa into the United States of America. In this year, however, that convenient arrangement came to an end. –No more [slaves](#) were to be disembarked in broad daylight at this New England port!

The African Freedmen's Society of [Providence](#) had become the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. At first the Bethel group had met in the homes of members and in the meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street (when the white [Quakers](#) were not in the building, the black folks were of course allowed to sit anywhere they pleased, even downstairs rather than in the building's dilapidated "pigeon loft"; the unused segregated seats would be torn out in a building renovation in 1822). Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place



had been removed by the authorities, it had been replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. In the previous year members of the local black community had met at the 1st [Baptist Church](#), the nation's oldest Baptist church, to discuss their need for an African Meeting House. In this year the African Union Meeting and School House Society's new facility was erected at Meeting Street and Congdon Street (this currently houses the Congdon Street Baptist Church). At this point the congregation purchased a lot on top of College Hill on Meeting Street, and they would be constructing a building on this lot in 1866. (In 1961 the building would have become so shaky that the congregation would sell the plot to Brown University in order to purchase their current Bethel Church on Hope Street at the intersection of Rochambeau Avenue.)

37. Governor J.H. Hammond of South Carolina, in *LETTERS TO CLARKSON*, No. 1, page 2.

Early in this decade [Rhode Island](#)'s black citizens would be being stripped of their hard-won voting rights, and segregated in the public schools. White rioters would be destroying property in [Providence](#)'s "Hard-Scrabble," the 1st separate black neighborhood, off what is now North Main Street near University Heights.

At about this point, down in [Little Rest](#) (now [Kingston](#)), [Rhode Island](#), [Cato Pearce](#) was being hired as a farm worker by Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior, at his farm homestead. (Potter was a state Representative who had recently run unsuccessfully for Governor, and his political attitudes might be said to be somewhat to the right of unreconstructed since he favored, for instance, that the bankrupt be thrown in debtors' prison; the son Potter, Junior would attempt to follow in his father's political footprints, with a more liberal bent, but would have his greatest success as a scholar.³⁸)



The efforts of [Cato](#) to make a personal contribution were being supported by, among others, two white men, elders in the Quidnesset [Baptist](#) Church of [North Kingstown](#), William Northrop and Thomas Cole.

(It seems clear that there was a reason why Cato could not affiliate with the Quakers of North Kingstown, in his desire to preach. Although Quaker practice would have allowed him to rise during silent worship and speak, in fact it seems there were only a couple of men attending the Quaker meeting in that town at that time, and they weren't offering words to each other but simply sitting in silence.)

It was in about this year that the significant event occurred, which would cause us to retitile Cato Pearce's 1842 autobiography, when it eventually came to be republished, as "JAILED FOR PREACHING." The event is of significance to us not so that we can experience a sense of outrage, senses of outrage being easy enough to arrange, but so that we can get an approximation of what real human life amounted to in southern Rhode Island during the early years of the 19th Century. It is noteworthy, for instance, that despite the fact that Joshua Pearce, Cato's former master, had beaten him as a child, and despite the fact that as a young man he had had the first mate of Captain Rogers's schooner lay him over the capstan and go after him with the end of a rope, in these goings-on in about 1820 the plantation manager Elisha Potter did not actually put into play the horse-

38. For instance, EARLY HISTORY OF NARRAGANSETT WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED. Providence RI, 1935



whip he held in his hand. It had been used as a prop, to threaten but not to inflict injury. Most likely, by this point in time the tenor of life on the former slave plantations of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations had changed somewhat. It had become socially unacceptable for a white man to thus administer lashes to a now-“free” person of color. The reason why Cato was put in jail was, Potter needed to resolve upon some alternative punishment. Thus it was that, rather than risk social disapprobation by whipping Cato, Potter “got the officer — the jailer — and put [Cato] in jail.” Cato had committed no crime and Potter held no official town or state government post such as sheriff or judge, that would legally permit him to commit a person to incarceration; nevertheless, Potter’s informal power in the community was so great that he could use it to have the local jailer take a free man into the jailhouse merely for having failed to abide by his wishes. And Potter felt no inhibitions about treating a free black man the way Cato’s slave parents would have been treated by their white masters.

When Mr. Potter had done his breakfast he come out with his horse-whip in his hand. Says he, “Why wa’nt you here last night to do the chores.” I told him I hired some body. He said he wouldn’t have him on his place. He said he hired me. He said he didn’t understand why I went away to preach. Says he, “I won’t have no nigger preachers – I’ll horse-whip you;” and he swore. Says I, “Don’t strike me, Mr. Potter....” Well he said they had a good minister there, and they wouldn’t have no nigger preachers, and said he would put me where he could find me. So he went and got the officer – the jailer – and put me into jail.

Cato was incarcerated in the jail for “two nights and parts of two days....” Fortunately, the county court was in session.

Sheriff Allen and a number of the great men came in to visit them that was in prison, and asked me what I was put in for. I told ‘em for preachin’ – but yet I couldn’t help weepin’. [One of the visitors] said, “You won’t stay here but a few minutes – he had done perfectly wrong – we will have you out in a few minutes.” Then they gave me some money and went out and told Elisha Potter they would give so long to take me out [or] they was goin’ to prosecute him if he didn’t. About half an hour after that, I could see Elisha Potter through the grate, comin’ up the back side and in the back way, and [he] got the jailer to talk with me while he stood down to the bottom of the stairs. And the jailer took me in another room and told me that Mr. Potter said I might go every Saturday night and stay till Monday mornin’ and have meetins where I was a mind to. I told the jailer I had nothin to do with Elisha Potter. “If he had put me in here, amen – if I have got to stay here and die, amen to it: I have nothin’ to do with him. I never have stole nor cheated nor done any thing wrong to him.... I said I hadn’t nothin’ ‘gainst Elisha Potter: I loved him as well as ever. At that Elisha Potter come up stairs and said I had better go to work – he liked me well, and I might go to meetin’ when I was a mind to. I told him I didn’t calculate to work for him any more. Then he told me to go and git my things, and I come out.

We notice that the situation in Rhode Island had even changed to such a degree by this point in time that once prominent whites visiting Little Rest learned of Potter jailing Cato, they became so upset that they threatened to prosecute Potter, the most important personage by far in that entire district. Then, it was an act of repentance and humility for Potter to invite Cato to continue to work for him and to offer that in the future he would have the weekend off to attend Sunday services. Then, it was an act of dignity as well as independence, that Cato rejected the offer, wanting “nothin’ to do” with Elisha Potter in the future.

A joke broadside was circulating in Boston on the anniversary of the abolition of the [international slave trade](#). One of the jokes was in the form of a toast offered by a black man:

De day, one of does great nashumnal hepox will call fort de sensumbility and de herhaw of good feelum of ebery son and daughter of Africa in dis world, and good many udder place beside....



ME HAPPY SO ME SING



For the following two decades at the Harpers Ferry Armory in the mountains of Virginia, John H. Hall of Portland, Maine would be creating a “uniformity principle” of interchangeable manufacture. Referred to as “the American system of manufactures” by the British, this made use of special-purpose machines to produce parts so accurately sized that they were interchangeable on the battlefield. The military very much liked the idea that in the course of a battle a weapon could be field-assembled from salvageable parts of unusably damaged weapons!³⁹ Hall’s pioneering in mechanized arms production and the manufacture of interchangeable firearm components was to lay a solid foundation for America’s emerging factory system.

39. If only they could similarly field-assemble new operatives from the salvageable parts of unusably damaged operatives!

1820

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 Martin Robison Delany's free seamstress mother took up her children and vanished into western Pennsylvania when Virginia authorities threatened her with prison for attempting to teach her black children to read.

 The African Methodist Episcopal Zion communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church adopted its first "Discipline," part of which was a declaration against [slavery](#).

 The 1820s would see the beginning of the use of the term "red nigger" as a description of the native American.⁴⁰

 John Thompson was about eight years of age, and a white boy he was escorting, Henry Ashton, was teaching him how to read, out of WEBSTER'S SPELLING BOOK and INTRODUCTION TO THE ENGLISH READER:

I was sent to the school house with the white children, to carry their dinners, it being a distance of two miles, and therefore too far for them to go home for them. There were two of these children relatives of my master, whose father had once been rich, but who, through misfortune, left his children almost penniless at his decease.

Little Henry, one of the children, was one morning, while walking leisurely to school, repeating over his lesson, when I said to him, "How I would like to read like you." "Would you?" said he, "Then I will learn you." I told him, if his Uncle knew it, he would forbid it.

"I know it," he answered, "But I will not tell him; for he would then stop you from going with me, and I would have to carry my own dinners!" Thereupon we made a mutual promise to reveal our secret to no person.

Henry was about my own age, being the elder of the two children; his sister, Jane, being about five years old. He commenced teaching me from his book my letters. We sometimes started an hour or two before school time, that we might have more leisure for our undertaking. We had a piece of woods to pass on our way, which also facilitated the practical operation of our plans, as we could, by going into them, escape the observation of the other school children, or of passers by in the road. We even sometimes took Jane to the school house, leaving her to play with the other children, while we returned to our school in the woods, until the school bell rang.

I made such rapid progress that Henry was encouraged and delighted. When my father knew of the matter, he gave Henry some money with which to purchase me a book, which he did of one of the scholars, who, being advanced into a higher lesson, had no longer use for this book.

I now lost no time, but studied my lessons every leisure moment, at all convenient times. I went thus with the children to school about three years, when I became the body servant of John Wagar, and had to give my attention to him and his horse.

John being six miles from home, at a boarding school, was only at home from Saturdays until Mondays. During his absence I had to attend to his pony, and do small jobs about the house, which did not prevent my continuing my studies, although my opportunities to do so were not now as good as formerly; still, my little teacher improved every chance that offered of giving

40. By the time of the struggle over native treaty rights to gig pike during the spawning season on certain ponds in Wisconsin in the early 1990s, the terms of abuse preferred by angry white sportsfishermen had become "woods nigger" and "spear chucker."



his instructions.

I soon got through my first book, Webster's Spelling Book, after which Henry bought me the Introduction to the English Reader. He also commenced setting me copies, as he thought it time I was commencing to write, though he still kept me at reading until I had nearly completed my second book, when our school was broken up by the return of John Wagar from the boarding school, he having completed his education.

John, whose father was very rich, hardly treated Henry, a poor orphan boy, with common courtesy or decency, and was unwilling even to sit and eat with him at table. Mrs. Ashton, Henry's mother, noticed this conduct of John's, and also that his father sided with him in all his complaints against Henry, and knowing the cause she did not wish longer to remain where she was; so she, with the children, removed to Alexandria, where Henry is now doing a large dry goods business, in which, by honesty and skill, he has accumulated considerable wealth.

When Henry was about to leave the plantation, he said to me, "I am sorry, John, that I cannot teach you longer, as I had intended to learn you through the English Reader, and also to write a good hand. But you must not forget what you have learned, and try to improve what you can by yourself."

This parting filled my heart with sorrow, for I loved Henry Ashton like a brother. I followed him with my eyes until distance closed the view; and my affectionate prayers and good wishes always have, and always will, follow him, for to him I owe the rudiments of one of my greatest blessings, my education. Through this I have been enabled to read the Word of God, and thereby learn the way of salvation; and though I could never repay these services, yet God has doubly paid him, for before I left Maryland his name ranked among the most respectable and wealthy of country merchants.

John Thompson would later be able to continue his efforts to learn how to read, and then to write, with the assistance of a poor Englishman:

After this I continued to read and write at every opportunity, often carrying my book in my hat, that I might lose no chance of using it. When I was with Richard Thomas, in the south part of the State, I became acquainted with a poor Englishman, who lived near the plantation. He, seeing my strong desire to learn, proposed to instruct me, after exacting from me a promise of secrecy in the matter. He continued to teach me from the first of March until the October following, when he and his daughter, (his whole family,) died.

1820

1820



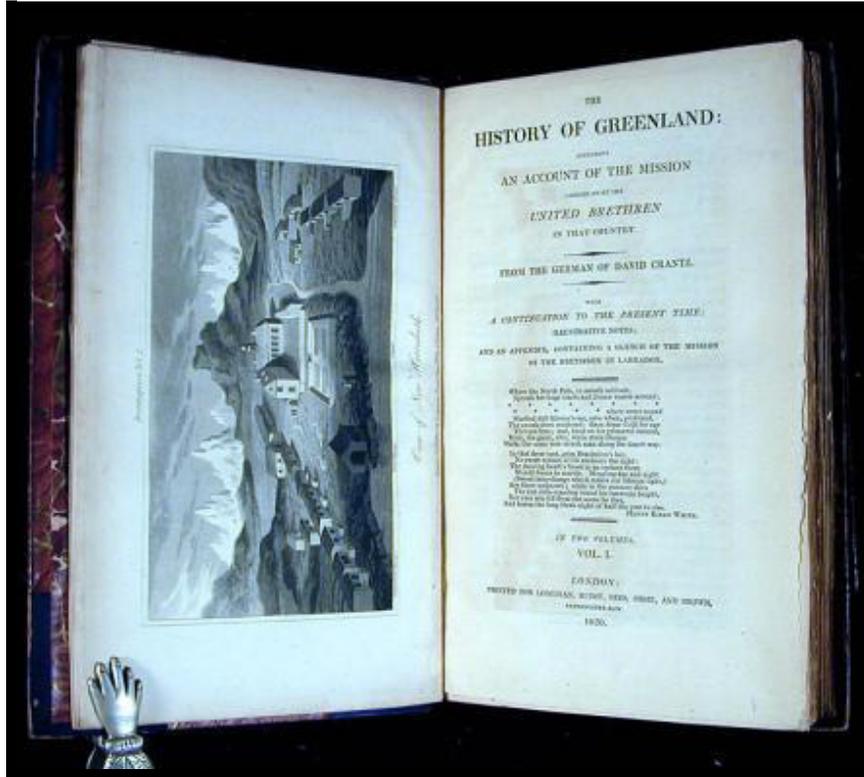
After having been engaged for a period as a tutor in the family of Mr. Marshall, a wealthy planter on Sullivan's Island near [Charleston](#), South Carolina, [Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#) enrolled as a medical student at [Harvard College](#) (he would soon abandon these studies).

[Thaddeus William Harris](#) received his MD degree from [Harvard Medical School](#). He would find himself unable to make a comfortable living as a physician. However, he already had begun, in connection with his medical studies, his careful study of the habits of certain insects and plants.



The father of this new Dr. Harris, the Reverend Thaddeus Mason Harris, a Congregationalist minister, in this year was preparing his *THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE*.

→ [David Crantz](#)'s THE HISTORY OF GREENLAND: CONTAINING A DESCRIPTION OF THE COUNTRY, AND ITS INHABITANTS AND PARTICULARLY, A RELATION OF THE MISSION, CARRIED ON FOR ABOVE THESE THIRTY YEARS BY THE UNITAS FRATRUM, AT NEW HERRNHUTH AND LICHTENFELS, IN THAT COUNTRY. BY DAVID KRANTZ [sic]. TRANSLATED FROM THE HIGH-DUTCH AND ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND OTHER COPPER-PLATES, published in this year, eventually would be among the last books Thoreau would be recorded as having withdrawn from the [Harvard Library](#).



We may well note that the material which [Henry Thoreau](#) considered of relevance, and extracted from this volume,

“HUCKLEBERRIES”: In short the whortleberry bushes in the Northern States and British America are a sort of miniature forest surviving under the great forest, and reappearing when the latter is cut, and also extending northward beyond it. The small berry-bearing shrubs of this family, as the crowberry, bilberry, and cranberry, are called by the Esquimaux in Greenland, “berry grass,” and Crantz says that the Greenlanders cover their winter houses with “bilberry bushes,” together with turf and earth. They also burn them; and I hear that somebody in this neighborhood has invented a machine for cutting up huckleberry bushes for fuel.

was widely discrepant with the material which the missionaries themselves considered to be of primary significance in what they were recording:

[At first some missionaries supposed the Greenlanders] had neither a religion nor idolatrous worship; nor so much as any ceremonies to be perceived tending to it: hence the first missionaries entertained a supposition, that there was not the



least trace to be found among them of any conception of a divine Being, especially as they had no word to express him by. But when they came to understand their language better, they found quite the reverse to be true, from the notions they had, though very vague and various, concerning the soul, and concerning spirits; and also from their anxious solicitude about the state after death. And not only so, but they could plainly gather from a free dialogue they had with some perfectly wild Greenlanders, that their ancestors must have believed a supreme Being, and did render him some service; which their posterity neglected by little and little, the further they were removed from more wise and civilised nations; till at last they lost every just conception of the Deity; yet, after all, it is manifest, that a faint idea of a divine Being lies concealed in the minds even of this people, because they directly assent, without any objection, to the doctrine of a God, and his attributes.

When a native declared to a missionary the reasoning of his mind before his conversion, he said,

"It is true we were ignorant heathens, and knew nothing of God, or a Saviour; and, indeed, who should tell us of him till you come? but thou must not imagine that no Greenlander thinks about these things. I myself have often thought: a 'kajak' (a boat) with all its tackle and implements, does not grow into existence of itself; but must be made by the labour and ingenuity of man; and one that does not understand it would directly spoil it. Now the meanest bird has far more skill displayed in its structure, than the best 'kajak'; and no man can make a bird: but there is still a far greater art shown in the formation of a man, than of any other creature. Who was it that made him? I thought myself that he proceeded from his parents, and they from their parents; but some must have been the first parents; whence did they come? common report informs me, they grew out of the earth: but if so, why does it not still happen that men grow out of the earth? and from whence did this same earth itself, the sea, the sun, the moon, and stars, arise into existence? Certainly there must be some Being who made all these things; a Being that always was, and can never cease to be. He must be inexpressibly more mighty, knowing, and wise, than the wisest man. He must be very good too, because that everything that he has made is good, useful, and necessary for us. Ah, did I but know him, how would I love him and honour him! But who has seen him? who has ever conversed with him? None of us poor men. Yet there may be men too that know something of him. O that I could but speak with such! therefore, as soon as ever I heard you speak of this great Being, I believed it directly, with all my heart; because I had so long desired to hear it."

1820

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It would be during this decade that a Russian whaler stopped by San Nicolás Island off the [California](#) coast. The crew, made up of Inuit from the Kodiak Islands, would of course slaughter as many of the native Americans there as they could. In this year an adobe trading post was being constructed overlooking the ocean at a cliff near Mission San Juan Capistrano, and this station would become the headquarters for an extensive trade in hide and other commodities between the mission and various Boston schooners.

“LONE WOMAN”



But in this year and the next, there would be drought in California.⁴¹ In this year, also, a “shoe factory” was being started up in [Concord](#), Massachusetts. At least some of the leather utilized in the construction of these Concord shoes would be coming from the coast of *Alta California*, where the town of Los Angeles would be becoming [Boston](#)’s “shadow city” of the West Coast.⁴² At that time shoemaking was a skill-intensive and labor-intensive trade that required little capital investment. It was quite common in Lynn MA for a home to have a “ten-footer,” that is, a ten-foot-square shed, in its side or back yard, in which you could find a male shoemaker sitting with a lapstone resting on his leather apron, cutting and shaping shoes. Binders, usually women, would sit in the main house, stitching the inner and outer soles to the uppers. The plan was, therefore, that the handicrafted articles made in such ten-footers in Concord yards, almost finished, would be carried to this central processing building for packing and shipping to wholesalers.

41. According to Mike Davis (a bestselling truckdriver as famous in LA as is that bestselling taxi-driver in Boston whose book is on all the newstands), the urbanization of the Greater Los Angeles Metropolitan Area seems to have taken place during one of the most unusual episodes of climatic and seismic benignity of our Holocene era. There have been two megadroughts in Los Angeles’s prehistory dwarfing anything within our experience. During the past couple of centuries, the longest drought in Southern California has lasted a mere six years, but these megadroughts, which occurred during the “Middle Ages” of Europe, held sway respectively for 140 years and for 220 years. (Generally, abundant rainfall in the Los Angeles region correlates with the El Niño ENSO phenomenon, extended drought with the La Niña ENSO phenomenon.)

42. Significantly, hides to cure, to manufacture these Lynn shoes, came from Boston’s “shadow city” on the Pacific Ocean: Los Angeles. Influential citizens of this West Coast region, Aryan sons-in-law using the *señoritas* of the *latifundistas* and/as breeding stock, were, very often, consumptive junior males of rich families, seeking relief from the Boston climate. The [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) of the [TWO YEARS BEFORE THE MAST](#) narrative noticed that these Bostonians had seemed to have left their morals behind, when they became citizens of what was in actuality the most violent region of the Old West. So, when you think of Lynn shoes, think not only of the local cottage labor, think also of the cowhides of the American frontier, and of the slave auction block of downtown “*El Pueblo de la Reina de Los Angeles de la Porciunucula*.” It is by no accident that one of Thoreau’s best friends was named “HGO” Blake, and that the LA [Times](#) newspaper was founded by General Harrison Gray Otis. Dana Jr. was not the only young Bostonian to visit Los Angeles, he was simply one of the few of these men who visited Los Angeles and returned.

Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations around 1820

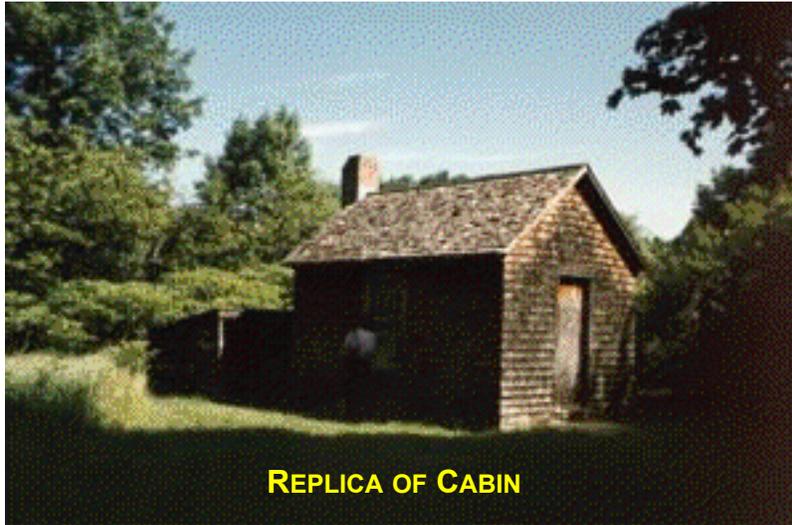
	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal
1814	strong	warm El Niño strong
1815	absent	cold La Niña
1816	absent	cold La Niña
1817	moderate +	warm El Niño moderate +
1818	absent	cold La Niña
1819	moderate +	warm El Niño moderate +
1820	absent	cold La Niña
1821	moderate	warm El Niño moderate
1822	absent	cold La Niña
1823	absent	cold La Niña

The southern ocean / atmosphere “seesaw” links to periodic Indonesian east monsoon droughts, Australian droughts, deficient Indian summer monsoons, and deficient Ethiopian monsoon rainfall causing weak annual Nile floods. This data is presented from Tables 6.2-6.3 of Quinn, William H. “A study of Southern Oscillation-related climatic activity for AD 622-1900 incorporating Nile River flood data,” pages 119-49 in Diaz, Henry F. and Vera Markgraf, eds. EL NIÑO: HISTORICAL AND PALEOCLIMATIC ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OSCILLATION. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.



ENSO

The cabin [Henry Thoreau](#) would eventually construct on [Walden Pond](#) would in many respects resemble one of these familiar “ten-footers” used by the Lynn and Concord cobblers:



Baring Brothers & Company, in [London](#), the “House of Baring,” a 58-year-old banking empire which had among other things financed [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s purchase of the Louisiana territory from Napoleon and had helped finance the British Army during the Napoleonic wars, was characterized by a French writer as “Europe’s sixth great power.”

1820

1820

→ John Trumbull presented his painting of the signing of the [Declaration of Independence](#). Thomas Jefferson would hang an engraving of this painting at Monticello alongside a copy of the Declaration, near his most treasured maps, moose antlers, mastodon bones, native American objects, and other assorted self-magnifying bric-a-brac.⁴³



→ Charles King Newcomb was born.

→ Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)), who would have been approximately 23 years old, bore a son named Peter who would grow up having to labor as an indentured servant, by the new husband Thomas to whom she had been assigned by her master — once again increasing the prosperity of this master.

43. Stein, Susan R. THE WORLDS OF THOMAS JEFFERSON AT MONTICELLO. NY, 1993, pages 69, 162, 193-5

1820

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➡ At the age of 22, [John Warner Barber](#) completed his apprenticeship to the engraver Abner Reed and became an engraver in [Windsor, Connecticut](#).



WINDSOR, CONNECTICUT

➡ News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- Charles Xavier Thomas de Colmar (1785-1870) began the 1st calculator to be mass-produced, his “Arithmometer.”
- German physicist Johann Salomo Christoph Schweigger presented a paper at the University of Halle describing his electromagnetic experiments. He had found that the strength of a current running through a wire can be measured based on the amount of deflection of a compass needle, in effect creating a galvanometer.
- While attempting to find applications for Friedrich von Schelling’s *naturphilosophie* in which everything that happened, happened in a dynamic resolution of mutually opposing tensions, Hans Christian Ørsted (1777-1851) forced so much electric current through a thin wire — that suddenly it began to glow, brightly.
- Between this year and 1860 (by which time the New York [Herald](#) would be stamping up to 20,000 impressions per hour), the print productivity of the [paper-and-ink](#) printing process would be increasing by two full orders of magnitude. Meanwhile, the expensive single copper prints which had been utilized in the printing industry for the production and reproduction of images (multimedia) were being replaced by the less expensive re-usable lithographic stones. In the next decade, the utilization of images in the print media would be doubling, to the rate of an average of 10 new images per week in Great Britain. The new process would seem limited only by the rate at which the available artists, such as George Cruickshank, could draw, as there did not seem to be any natural limit to the number of political scandals which could be exposed — or to the level of sarcasm which could be displayed by the humorist.

ELECTRIC WALDEN

HISTORY OF THE PRESS

Colin H. Bloy has characterized the change in the method of manufacture of ink during this decade as follows: “The adoption of the power grinding machine may be said to be the most significant event in the history of ink-making....” It is intriguing to muse on the idea that the Thoreau family, and especially [Henry Thoreau](#), in the development of a new technique for the fine-grinding of [graphite](#) after [Charles Jones Dunbar](#) would discover, in 1821 in New Hampshire, a good source of mineral graphite, would be at the forefront of “the most significant event in the history of ink-

making,” especially since in the presumption of so many folks today, Thoreau had been put down as a mere pencil-maker while being “honored” as an anti-technologist or even a Luddite!



Another hardship of the early ink-maker was ... the amount of physical effort required to grind his pigments by hand. The development of hand- and power-driven grinding machines must have been greeted with open arms. Mechanical hand millers were available at the turn of the nineteenth century, but, so far as can be ascertained, the first really significant step was taken in the 1820s. The stimulus to produce a really good power-driven grinding machine was given by the development of the printing machine. By modern standards, inks ground by hand were very coarse and were found to be unsuitable for use on high-speed equipment. Although no exact date can be put to this innovation, Friedrich Koenig, the inventor of the first successful printing machine, found himself obliged to invent a new grinding machine to provide the inks to work on his machines.⁴⁴ The accompanying illustration of the works of Lorilleux in Paris is dated 1824 ... a roller grinding mill driven by steam.... The adoption of the power grinding machine may be said to be the most significant event in the history of ink-making.... When ink-making became industrialized -and an arbitrary date for this would be 1850- and the printer who made his own inks became a rarity, some of the romance of ink-making departed. From being essentially a craft, the secrets of which were jealously guarded and passed on verbally, it became more a science, although not completely.⁴⁵

44. Goebel, *UNSERE FARBE*, page 41

45. Bloy, Colin H. *A HISTORY OF PRINTING INK, BALLS AND ROLLERS, 1440-1850*. Barnet (Hertfordshire, England): Wynkyn de Worde Society, 1967, pages 51-52, 84

1820

1820



Benjamin Silliman, Sr. engraved and published a sketch of the estate of Daniel Wadsworth by its owner, in REMARKS MADE, ON A SHORT TOUR, BETWEEN HARTFORD AND [QUEBEC](#).... (New Haven CT: Converse).



(This is a travel report which would be accessed by [Henry Thoreau](#) in 1851.)

We passed close to the small island, called Crab-Island, to which the dead and wounded of both fleets were carried, and which was the common grave of hundreds of friends and foes. The particular details of the scenes of horror which attended and succeeded the [Battle of Plattsburg of September 11, 1814] – of the shocking mutilations of the human form, in every imaginable mode and degree, and of the appalling display on the beach, of so many bodies, dead and wounded, preparatory to their conveyance either to the hospital or the grave, I shall, for obvious reason, omit. Even now, their bones, slightly buried on a rocky island, are partly exposed to view, or being occasionally turned up by the roots of trees, blown down by the wind, shock the beholder, and their buttons, and other parts of their clothes, (for the military dresses in which they were slain, were also their winding sheets,) are often seen above the ground. Long may it be, e'er the waters of this now peaceful lake are again crimsoned with human blood.



1820

1820



On White Island in the Isles of Shoals outside Boston Harbor, a stone lighthouse was erected, with the beacon some 90 feet above the line of the surf. Sometime before this, according to Captain Samuel Haley, resident upon Smuttynose Island, he had shifted a flat stone and discovered several bars of silver, evidently a [pirate](#) cache, and during the 1920s he would use the funds obtained by sale of the silver, some \$3,000, to construct a local seawall and a stone wharf. By means of a breakwater known as Haley's Breakwater he would connect Malaga Island, not much more than a 300 x 500-foot pile of rocks and most likely given this name by Spanish sailors, with Smuttynose.



In the Persian/Arabian Gulf, a peace treaty ended [piracy](#) and would lead to a century and a half of British supremacy.

1820

1820



The school systems of England were during this period completely under the sway of the “monitorial” system sponsored by the institutionalists Alexander Bell and Joseph Lancaster. Some 20 of these child-abuse centers, masquerading as common schools but incarcerating easily 200 children in each classroom, had been set up in New York State alone. The disciplinarians who were running these “monitorial” child-abuse centers were considering the [Swiss](#) teacher [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#) to be, at best, “a distressing type of the German.”⁴⁶ Their excuse, had they needed an excuse, would have been that, had they tried to do anything better, there would not have been an adequate supply of competent teachers willing to work at the prevailing level of salaries — and, of course, such an excuse may well have been close to reality.



In this year [Charleston](#)’s population –for purposes of this count presuming both whites and blacks to be human beings– was estimated to have reached 23,300.

During the early 1820s, Charleston’s “Fireproof Building” would be constructed of stone and iron. (Unfortunately, such buildings would prove all too vulnerable. One after another of these early efforts at supposedly safe buildings would be destroyed in catastrophic fires, proving again and again the adage about taking two steps forward and one step backward. The problem was that people kept loading these fireproof buildings full of combustible furnishings: “The intensity of the heat was so great and the torrent of fire so impetuous, that everything wooden or brick, fire-proof or not, disappeared before it like columns of snow.” In 1853 New-York’s Crystal Palace would turn into a torch despite being constructed of nothing but sheet glass and cast iron, and then the same thing would occur to San Francisco’s Palace Hotel despite 12-foot-thick

46. Obviously, the popular image of the Teuton has changed considerably since that Vaseline-on-the-lens era, for nowadays, when we are tempted to think stereotypically of “a distressing type of the German,” we think perhaps of the German lady who confessed that she felt compelled to step on ants because they were so weak and helpless, rather than of an “idealistic dreamer” such as Pestalozzi.



1820

1820

foundation walls and despite a frame of wrought iron and despite the fact that all its stairwells had been meticulously crafted in nothing but brick and stone. It'd be deja vu over and over again. As I learned in design incident after design incident during my 7 years in the nuclear power industry, in general, whenever we reassure our anxiety by supposing that dangers have been planned out, we tend "economically" to exchange some unmeasured portion of this planned safety margin which has so reassured us for our convenience in this or that little detail, with the result all too often being, as at Brown's Ferry and then Nine Mile Island, the creation of a safety excursion with potentially enormous consequences, and with the result occasionally, as at Chernobyl and Fukushima Daiichi, being a sudden total and irreversible disaster.)



1820

1820

→ Friend [Elias Hicks](#) was visited on his farm near Jericho on *Paumanok* “Long Island” by his cousin [Edward Hicks](#) of Newtown, Pennsylvania. They had things in common. According to the art historian Eleanore Price Mather, cousin Elias appeared in all of Edward Hicks’s more than 60 “Peaceable Kingdom” paintings, even



those described as “Kingdoms with Quakers Bearing Banners.” According to Frederick Tolles, two of this series include a verbal allusion to [Hicksite](#) doctrine, and it is possible to identify the various Quaker

personages the painter Hicks positions in these paintings.



We note in passing that the image of two races sitting down together, and the image of the white human child cohabiting with other of God's creatures, may each be taken as an early trope for one and the same thing: racial integration in America, as opposed to Jim Crow segregation.



From this year into 1823, pursuant to an 1819 act of Congress, our naval units would be raiding slave traffic off the coast of Africa.



US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

For instance, during this year the *negreros* *Endymion*, *Plattsburg*, *Science*, *Esperanza*, and *Alexander* would be captured on the African coast by ships of the United States navy and forwarded to the ports of New-York and *Boston* (HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, pages 6 and 15; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, pages 122, 144, and 187).⁴⁷

THE TRAFFIC IN MAN-BODY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;⁴⁸ but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel

47. However, the *negrero* *General Artigas* would succeed in importing a dozen *slaves* into the United States (FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1824, page 42).



Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.⁴⁹

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."⁵⁰ In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.⁵¹ Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."⁵² The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."⁵³ As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.⁵⁴ Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."⁵⁵ Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."⁵⁶ In 1821 a committee of Congress

48. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.

49. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.

50. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.

51. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.

52. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

53. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.

54. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.

55. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.

56. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.



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characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."⁵⁷ Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."⁵⁸ The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruisers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruiser being on the coast."⁵⁹ Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.⁶⁰ Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws,

57. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.

58. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

59. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.

60. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.



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"American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."⁶¹ The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."⁶² The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;⁶³ the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."⁶⁴ Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."⁶⁵ One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."⁶⁶ Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."⁶⁷ In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.⁶⁸ Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.⁶⁹ A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."⁷⁰

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.⁷¹ Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.⁷² In certain cases there were

61. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.

62. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.

63. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.

64. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.

65. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.

66. R. W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

67. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

68. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.

69. Cf. above, pages 126-7.

70. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.

71. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.



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those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "[Antelope](#)," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.⁷³ A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,⁷⁴ and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia.

On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....⁷⁵

72. Cf. editorial in [Niles's Register](#), XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —

PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.

PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.

Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.

Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.

May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.

PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.

Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and \$3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.

July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.

Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.

PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.

Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.

Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —

Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.

March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.

Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.

PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.

The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.

73. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.

74. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.



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A crossover point which would have an interesting impact later, upon the US Civil War: importation of [slavery](#)-produced [cotton](#) into the British Isles had risen even higher than the importation of [slavery](#)-produced [cane sugar](#).

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The history of slavery and the slave-trade after 1820 must be read in the light of the industrial revolution through which the civilized world passed in the first half of the nineteenth century. Between the years 1775 and 1825 occurred economic events and changes of the highest importance and widest influence. Though all branches of industry felt the impulse of this new industrial life, yet, "if we consider single industries, cotton manufacture has, during the nineteenth century, made the most magnificent and gigantic advances."⁷⁶ This fact is easily explained by the remarkable series of inventions that revolutionized this industry between 1738 and 1830, including Arkwright's, Watt's, Compton's, and Cartwright's epoch-making contrivances.⁷⁷ The effect which these inventions had on the manufacture of cotton goods is best illustrated by the fact that in England, the chief cotton market of the world, the consumption of raw cotton rose steadily from 13,000 bales in 1781, to 572,000 in 1820, to 871,000 in 1830, and to 3,366,000 in 1860.⁷⁸ Very early, therefore, came the query whence the supply of raw cotton was to come. Tentative experiments on the rich, broad fields of the Southern United States, together with the indispensable invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, soon answered this question: a new economic future was opened up to this land, and immediately the whole South began to extend its cotton culture, and more and more to throw its whole energy into this one staple.

Here it was that the fatal mistake of compromising with slavery in the beginning, and of the policy of *laissez-faire* pursued thereafter, became painfully manifest; for, instead now of a healthy, normal, economic development along proper industrial lines, we have the abnormal and fatal rise of a slave-labor large farming system, which, before it was realized, had so intertwined itself with and braced itself upon the economic

75. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.

76. Beer, *GESCHICHTE DES WELTHANDELS IM 19^{TE} JAHRHUNDERT*, II. 67.

77. A list of these inventions most graphically illustrates this advance: —

1738, John Jay, fly-shuttle. John Wyatt, spinning by rollers.

1748, Lewis Paul, carding-machine.

1760, Robert Kay, drop-box.

1769, Richard Arkwright, water-frame and throstle. James Watt, steam-engine.

1772, James Lees, improvements on carding-machine.

1775, Richard Arkwright, series of combinations.

1779, Samuel Compton, mule.

1785, Edmund Cartwright, power-loom.

1803-4, Radcliffe and Johnson, dressing-machine.

1817, Roberts, fly-frame.

1818, William Eaton, self-acting frame.

1825-30, Roberts, improvements on mule.

Cf. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, pages 116-231; *ENCYCLOPEDIA BRITANNICA*, 9th ed., article "Cotton."

78. Baines, *HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE*, page 215. A bale weighed from 375 lbs. to 400 lbs.



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forces of an industrial age, that a vast and terrible civil war was necessary to displace it. The tendencies to a patriarchal serfdom, recognizable in the age of Washington and Jefferson, began slowly but surely to disappear; and in the second quarter of the century Southern slavery was irresistibly changing from a family institution to an industrial system.

The development of Southern slavery has heretofore been viewed so exclusively from the ethical and social standpoint that we are apt to forget its close and indissoluble connection with the world's cotton market. Beginning with 1820, a little after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when the industry of cotton manufacture had begun its modern development and the South had definitely assumed her position as chief producer of raw cotton, we find the average price of cotton per pound, 8½d. From this time until 1845 the price steadily fell, until in the latter year it reached 4d.; the only exception to this fall was in the years 1832-1839, when, among other things, a strong increase in the English demand, together with an attempt of the young slave power to "corner" the market, sent the price up as high as 11d. The demand for cotton goods soon outran a crop which McCullough had pronounced "prodigious," and after 1845 the price started on a steady rise, which, except for the checks suffered during the continental revolutions and the Crimean War, continued until 1860.⁷⁹ The steady increase in the production of cotton explains the fall in price down to 1845. In 1822 the crop was a half-million bales; in 1831, a million; in 1838, a million and a half; and in 1840-1843, two million. By this time the world's consumption of cotton goods began to increase so rapidly that, in spite of the increase in Southern crops, the price kept rising. Three million bales were gathered in 1852, three and a half million in 1856, and the remarkable crop of five million bales in 1860.⁸⁰

Here we have data to explain largely the economic development of the South. By 1822 the large-plantation slave system had gained footing; in 1838-1839 it was able to show its power in the cotton "corner;" by the end of the next decade it had not only gained a solid economic foundation, but it had built a closed oligarchy with a political policy. The changes in price during the next few years drove out of competition many survivors of the small-farming free-labor system, and put the slave *régime* in position to dictate the policy of the nation. The zenith of the system and the first inevitable signs of decay came in the years 1850-1860, when the rising price of cotton threw the whole economic energy of the South into its cultivation, leading to a terrible consumption of soil and slaves, to a great increase in the size of plantations, and to increasing power and effrontery on the part of the slave barons. Finally, when a rising moral crusade conjoined with threatened economic disaster, the oligarchy, encouraged by the state of the cotton market, risked all on a political *coup-d'état*, which failed in the war of 1861-1865.⁸¹

79. The prices cited are from Newmarch and Tooke, and refer to the London market. The average price in 1855-60 was about 7d.

80. From United States census reports.

81. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM.



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At the Massachusetts Constitutional Convention, a suit named [Daniel Webster](#) dramatically pleaded the case for property qualifications:

“Power **naturally** and **necessarily** follows property!”

–Hey, lawyer guy, you don’t need to shout, it’s an obvious point and you’ve got a sympathetic audience.

Early in the year, the family of Samuel Ringgold Ward, lost property, relocated itself from the Eastern Shore of [Maryland](#) to Cumberland County, New Jersey:

What was the precise sensation produced by the departure of my parents, in the minds of their owners – how they bore it, how submissively they spoke of it, how thoughtfully they followed us with their best wishes, and so forth, I have no means of knowing: information on these questionable topics was never conveyed to us in any definite, systematic form. Be this as it may, on a certain evening, without previous notice, my mother took her child in her arms, and stealthily, with palpitating heart, but unfaltering step and undaunted courage, passed the door, the outer gate, the adjoining court, crossed the field, and soon after, followed by my father, left the place of their former abode, bidding it adieu for ever. I know not their route; but in those days the track of the fugitive was neither so accurately scented nor so hotly pursued by human sagacity, or the scent of kindred bloodhounds, as now, nor was slave-catching so complete and regular a system as it is now. Occasionally a slave escaped, but seldom in such numbers as to make it needful either to watch them very closely when at home, or to trace them systematically when gone. Indeed, our slave-catching professionals may thank the slaves for the means by which they earn their dishonourable subsistence; for if the latter had never reduced running away to system, the former had never been needed, and therefore never employed at their present wretched occupation, as a system. “’Tis an ill wind that blows nobody good.”

At the time of my parents’ escape it was not always necessary to go to Canada; they therefore did as the few who then escaped mostly did – aim for a Free State, and settle among Quakers. This honoured sect, unlike any other in the world, in this respect, was regarded as the slave’s friend. This peculiarity of their religion they not only held, but so practised that it impressed itself on the ready mind of the poor victim of American tyranny. To reach a Free State, and to live among Quakers, were among the highest ideas of these fugitives; accordingly, obtaining the best directions they could, they set out for Cumberland County, in the State of New Jersey, where they had learned slavery did not exist – Quakers lived in numbers, who would afford the escaped any and every protection consistent with their peculiar tenets – and where a number of blacks lived, who in cases of emergency could and would make common cause with and for each other. Then these attractions of Cumberland were sufficient to determine their course.

I do not think the journey could have been a very long one: but it must be travelled on foot, in some peril, and with small, scanty means, next to nothing; and with the burden (though they felt it not) of a child, nearly three years old, both too young



and too weakly to perform his own part of the journey. One child they had laid in the grave; now their only one must be rescued from a fate worse than ten thousand deaths. Upon this rescue depended their continued enjoyment of each other's society. The many past evils inseparable from a life of slavery, their recently threatened separation, and the dangers of this exodus, served to heighten that enjoyment, and doubly to endear each to the other; and the thought that they might at length be successful, and as free husband and wife bring up their child in the nurture and admonition of the Lord, according to the best of their ability, stimulated them to fresh courage and renewed endurance. Step by step, day after day, and night after night, with their infant charge passed alternately from the arms of the one to those of the other; they wended on their way, driven by slavery, drawn and stimulated by the hope of freedom, and all the while trusting in and committing themselves to Him who is God of the oppressed. I can just remember one or two incidents of the journey; they now stand before me, associated with my earliest recollections of maternal tenderness and paternal care: and it seems to me, now that they are both gathered with the dead, that I would rather forget any facts of my childhood than those connected with that, to me, in more respects than one, all-important journey.

Struggling against many obstacles, and by God's help surmounting them, they made good progress until they had got a little more than midway their journey, when they were overtaken and ordered back by a young man on horseback, who, it seems, lived in the neighbourhood of my father's master. The youth had a whip, and some other insignia of slaveholding authority; and knowing that these slaves had been accustomed from childhood to obey the commanding voice of the white man, young or old, he foolishly fancied that my parents would give up the pursuit of freedom for themselves and their child at his bidding. They thought otherwise; and when he dismounted, for the purpose of enforcing authority and compelling obedience by the use of the whip, he received so severe a flogging at the hands of my parents as sent him home nearly a cripple. He conveyed word as to our flight, but prudently said he received his hurts by his horse plunging, and throwing him suddenly against a large tree. Through this young man our owners got at the bottom of their loss. There was the loss of the price of my mother, the loss of my present and prospective self, and, what they had had no reason before to suspect, the loss of my father! Some say it was the commencement of a series of adversities from which neither the estate nor the owners ever afterwards recovered. I confess to sufficient selfishness never to have shed a tear, either upon hearing this or in subsequent reflections upon it.

After this nothing serious befell our party, and they safely arrived at Greenwich, Cumberland County, early in the year 1820. They found, as they had been told, that at Springtown, and Bridgetown, and other places, there were numerous coloured people; that the Quakers in that region were truly, practically friendly, "not loving in word and tongue," but in deed and truth; and that there were no slaveholders in that part of the State, and when slave-catchers came prowling about the Quakers threw all manner of peaceful obstacles in their way, while the Negroes

made it a little too hot for their comfort.

...

After his escape, my father learned to read, so that he could enjoy the priceless privilege of searching the Scriptures. Supporting himself by his trade as a house painter, or whatever else offered (as he was a man of untiring industry), he lived in Cumberland County, New Jersey, from 1820 until 1826; in New York city from that year until 1838; and in the city of Newark, New Jersey, from 1838 until May 1851, when he died, at the age of 68.

➡ The ratio of horses to humans in the United States of America was one to four. Bear in mind that although horses were considered expendable, and were expended quite as ruthlessly as slaves, they were, like slaves, not cheap. A stagecoach line could expect a horse to last in service only about three years, at most four, and such a line might be keeping 300 or 400 horses in service at all times, taking them out of harness and leading them off and shooting them in the head immediately that they began to drag on their side of the traces. Not for a post horse the luxury of a retirement pasture, or a carrot and a pat on the nose, or a curry-comb.



➡ By this date 72 out of every 100 New Englanders worked a small farm, down from 85 out of every 100 three decades before. Of the remaining 28 out of every 100 New Englanders, 21 worked in the new mills which were being positioned wherever water power was available.⁸²

➡ The New-York Mirror asserted that the ice box for preserving milk, butter, vegetables, and fresh meat during the summer heat was just as much an “article of necessity” as having a carpet on the floor of one’s parlor.

COOLNESS

82. Refer to waterpower development in Lowell, Massachusetts.

1820

1820



During this year a book of lithographs of [Egyptian](#) antiquities was issued. Illustrated here are the statues ascribed to [Memnon](#) which figure in the legend of [Aurora](#) as referred to by [Henry Thoreau](#) in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#):





1820

1820

A WEEK: We read that Aristæus "obtained of Jupiter and Neptune, that the pestilential heat of the dog-days, wherein was great mortality, should be mitigated with wind." This is one of those dateless benefits conferred on man, which have no record in our vulgar day, though we still find some similitude to them in our dreams, in which we have a more liberal and juster apprehension of things, unconstrained by habit, which is then in some measure put off, and divested of memory, which we call history. According to fable, when the island of Ægina was depopulated by sickness, at the instance of Æacus, Jupiter turned the ants into men, that is, as some think, he made men of the inhabitants who lived meanly like ants. This is perhaps the fullest history of those early days extant. The fable which is naturally and truly composed, so as to satisfy the imagination, ere it addresses the understanding, beautiful though strange as a wild-flower, is to the wise man an apothegm, and admits of his most generous interpretation. When we read that Bacchus made the Tyrrhenian mariners mad, so that they leapt into the sea, mistaking it for a meadow full of flowers, and so became dolphins, we are not concerned about the historical truth of this, but rather a higher poetical truth. We seem to hear the music of a thought, and care not if the understanding be not gratified. For their beauty, consider the fables of Narcissus, of Endymion, of Memnon son of Morning, the representative of all promising youths who have died a premature death, and whose memory is melodiously prolonged to the latest morning; the beautiful stories of Phaeton, and of the Sirens whose isle shone afar off white with the bones of unburied men; and the pregnant ones of Pan, Prometheus, and the Sphinx; and that long list of names which have already become part of the universal language of civilized men, and from proper are becoming common names or nouns, – the Sibyls, the Eumenides, the Parcae, the Graces, the Muses, Nemesis, &c. It is interesting to observe with what singular unanimity the farthest sundered nations and generations consent to give completeness and roundness to an ancient fable, of which they indistinctly appreciate the beauty or the truth. By a faint and dream-like effort, though it be only by the vote of a scientific body, the dullest posterity slowly add some trait to the mythus.

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

ENDYMION

JOHN KEATS



WALDEN: Most men appear never to have considered what a house is, and are actually though needlessly poor all their lives because they think that they must have such a one as their neighbors have. As if one were to wear any sort of coat which the tailor might cut out for him, or, gradually leaving off palmleaf hat or cap of woodchuck skin, complain of hard times because he could not afford to buy him a crown! It is possible to invent a house still more convenient and luxurious than we have, which yet all would admit that man could not afford to pay for. Shall we always study to obtain more to these things, and not sometimes to be content with less? Shall the respectable citizen thus gravely teach, by precept and example, the necessity of the young man's providing a certain number of superfluous glow-shoes, and umbrellas, and empty guest chambers for empty guests, before he dies? Why should not our furniture be as simple as the Arab's or the Indian's? When I think of the benefactors of the race, whom we have apotheosized as messengers from heaven, bearers of divine gifts to man, I do not see in my mind any retinue at their heels, any car-load of fashionable furniture. Or what if I were to allow -would it not be a singular allowance?- that our furniture should be more complex than the Arab's, in proportion as we are morally and intellectually his superiors! At present our houses are cluttered and defiled with it, and a good housewife would sweep out the greater part into the dust hole, and not leave her morning's work undone. Morning work! By the blushes of Aurora and the music of Memnon, what should be man's **morning work** in this world? I had three pieces of limestone on my desk, but I was terrified to find that they required to be dusted daily, when the furniture of my mind was all undusted still, and I threw them out the window in disgust. How, then, could I have a furnished house? I would rather sit in the open air, for no dust gathers on the grass, unless where man has broken ground.



1820

1820

WALDEN: That man who does not believe that each day contains an earlier, more sacred, and auroral hour than he has yet profaned, has despaired of life, and is pursuing a descending and darkening way. After a partial cessation of his sensuous life, the soul of man, or its organs rather, are reinvigorated each day, and his Genius tries again what noble life it can make. All memorable events, I should say, transpire in morning time and in a morning atmosphere. The Vedas say, "All intelligences awake with the morning." Poetry and art, and the fairest and most memorable of the actions of men, date from such an hour. All poets and heroes, like Memnon, are the children of Aurora, and emit their music at sunrise. To him whose elastic and vigorous thought keeps pace with the sun, the day is a perpetual morning. It matters not what the clocks say or the attitudes and labors of men. Morning is when I am awake and there is a dawn in me. Moral reform is the effort to throw off sleep. Why is it that men give so poor an account of their day if they have not been slumbering? They are not such poor calculators. If they had not been overcome with drowsiness they would have performed something. The millions are awake enough for physical labor; but only one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion, only one in a hundred millions to a poetic or divine life. To be awake is to be alive. I have never yet met a man who was quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face?

NARCOLEPSY

Note: For \$295 you can obtain this 26 1/2" by 20" original folio copperplate engraving out of the 2nd edition of DESCRIPTION DE L'EGYPTE OU RECUEIL DES OBSERVATIONS ET DES RECHERCHES QUI ONT ETE FAITES EN EGYPTE PENDANT L'EXPEDITION DE L'ARMEE FRANCAISE. (DESCRIPTION OF EGYPT AND COLLECTION OF OBSERVATIONS AND RESEARCH THAT WERE DONE IN EGYPT DURING THE EXPEDITION OF THE FRENCH ARMY), a work of eleven large folio volumes of plates and 26 octavo volumes of text on hand-made, chain-linked, rag paper, originally commissioned by Napoleon Bonaparte and then republished in Paris by C.L.F. Panckoucke from 1820 to 1830. Yes, everything's for sale in capitalism, even Nappy's withered authentic penis (which passed from art auction to art auction in England, and eventually was purchased by an American urologist).

1820

1820

Napoleon's penis does not photograph well. It looks, report has it, sort of like a worm. Here, therefore, so you won't be too terribly disappointed, is the preserved organ of Grigori Rasputin, still in a museum in Russia,



and to make your day complete, a photograph of Napoleon's sword and pistols, currently at the West Point Military Academy:



The price for the DESCRIPTION DE L'EGYPTE is high because only 1,000 copies of this work were ever produced (beware, do not offer to purchase any copies of the guy's withered authentic penis).

1820

Here are some reconstructions of what the two colossal ruined statues may once have looked like. First, the one on the south:

1820



1820

1820

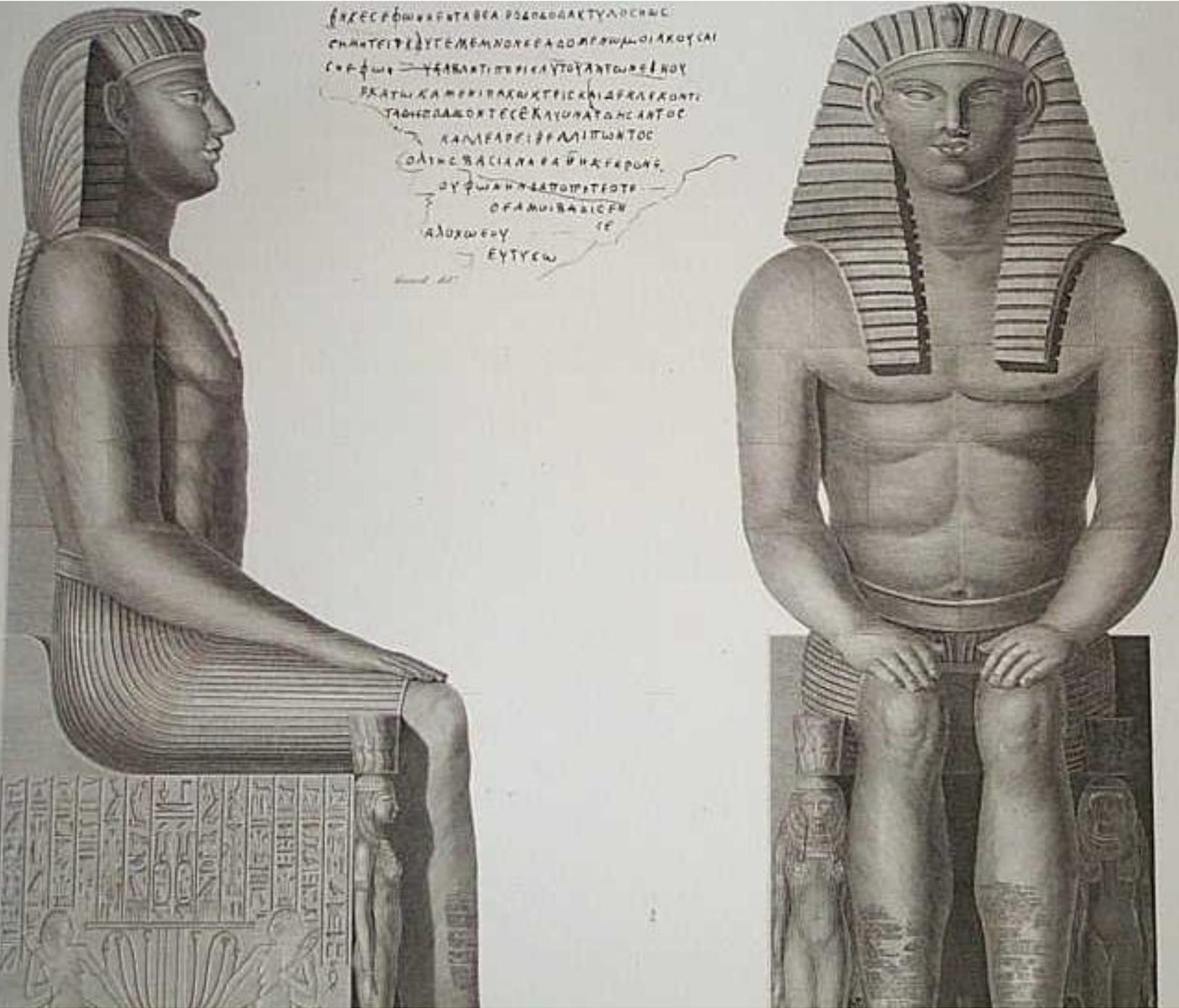
And what the south statue presumably looked like when viewed from the back:



1820

1820

The one on the north seems to have differed in its inscriptions as well as slightly in its artwork:



1820

1820

➡ At some point during this decade the author of a number of travel books, Anne Royall, visited the campus of [Brown University](#) and expected some rather particular attention but did not attract it. She recorded that: “I called several times at the house of the President, but never found him in.” (I decided to check this out, and during the Winter/Spring 2000 semester several times stopped by the home of the President of Brown University, Gordon Gee, a gregarious man in a bow-tie well known to the student body, at random intervals, and indeed I also never found him in.)



PROVIDENCE
RHODE ISLAND



NOBODY HOME

➡ An editorial in the [Manufacturers' and Farmers' Journal](#) predicted that immigrants would choose to remain in the New England states rather than journey on to the west, because of the certainty that in New England they would be able to find gainful employment for all their healthy children seven years of age and older. According to the DIGEST OF MANUFACTURES, in this year in the textile mills of Massachusetts, 43% of the employees were children. In Connecticut an even higher percentage, 47%, were children. The highest percentage of child labor was of course in [Rhode Island](#), where more than a majority, 55%, of the workers in the textile mills were children.⁸³ (Never mind, during this decade the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations would be creating a historical society — and this historical society would devote itself to pointing out to all posterity the errors and imperfections of Rhode Island ways. ;-)

83. It was perhaps not in this year, but we know there were “whipping rooms” in the mills, and one overseer reported whips in [Rhode Island](#) that were “strips of leather 14 inches long and four inches wide and three-eighths of an inch thick.” This overseer reported having seen such whips into which tacks had been inserted. You may have heard of such rooms used in regard to the motivation of recalcitrant slaves. If so, you may extend your concept to include the motivation of recalcitrant children.

The Formation of Historical Societies

1791	Massachusetts Historical Society
1804	New-York Historical Society
1812	American Antiquarian Society
1820s	Maine and Rhode Island Historical Societies
1830s	Virginia, Vermont, Connecticut, and Georgia Historical Societies
1840s	Maryland Historical Society
1845	New Jersey Historical Society
1849	Minnesota Historical Society
1850s	South Carolina Historical Society
1859	Historical Society of the Territory of New Mexico



"The chief practical use of history is to deliver us from plausible historical analogies."

— James Bryce, 1888



Here is what [Henry Thoreau](#) would make of this historical-society phenomenon:

A WEEK: Strictly speaking, the historical societies have not recovered one fact from oblivion, but are themselves, instead of the fact, that is lost. The researcher is more memorable than the researched. The crowd stood admiring the mist and the dim outlines of the trees seen through it, when one of their number advanced to explore the phenomenon, and with fresh admiration all eyes were turned on his dimly retreating figure. It is astonishing with how little co-operation of the societies the past is remembered. Its story has indeed had another muse than has been assigned it. There is a good instance of the manner in which all history began, in Alwákidis' Arabian Chronicle: "I was informed by *Ahmed Almatin Aljorhami*, who had it from *Rephâa Ebn Kais Alámiri*, who had it from *Saiph Ebn Fabalah Alchâtquarmi*, who had it from *Thabet Ebn Alkamah*, who said he was present at the action." These fathers of history were not anxious to preserve, but to learn the fact; and hence it was not forgotten. Critical acumen is exerted in vain to uncover the past; the **past** cannot be **presented**; we cannot know what we are not. But one veil hangs over past, present, and future, and it is the province of the historian to find out, not what was, but what is.

PEOPLE OF A WEEK

SIMON OCKLEY

1820

1820



For some two decades the US customs collector at [Bristol, Rhode Island](#) had been a brother-in-law of [James DeWolf](#) who had a major investment in the illicit [international slave trade](#), an official who could be counted on not to interfere with the importation of generations of fresh slaves from Africa into the United States of America. In this year, however, that convenient arrangement came to an end. –No more [slaves](#) were to be disembarked in broad daylight at this New England port!

The African Freedmen's Society of [Providence](#) had become the Bethel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. At first the Bethel group had met in the homes of members and in the meetinghouse of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street (when the white [Quakers](#) were not in the building, the black folks were of course allowed to sit anywhere they pleased, even downstairs rather than in the building's dilapidated "pigeon loft"; the unused segregated seats would be torn out in a building renovation in 1822). Such churches were disapproved of by the white community, but as one meeting place



had been removed by the authorities, it had been replaced by another, and sometimes two or three. In the previous year members of the local black community had met at the 1st [Baptist Church](#), the nation's oldest Baptist church, to discuss their need for an African Meeting House. In this year the African Union Meeting and School House Society's new facility was erected at Meeting Street and Congdon Street (this currently houses the Congdon Street Baptist Church). At this point the congregation purchased a lot on top of College Hill on Meeting Street, and they would be constructing a building on this lot in 1866. (In 1961 the building would have become so shaky that the congregation would sell the plot to Brown University in order to purchase their current Bethel Church on Hope Street at the intersection of Rochambeau Avenue.)

Early in this decade [Rhode Island](#)'s black citizens would be being stripped of their hard-won voting rights, and segregated in the public schools. White rioters would be destroying property in [Providence](#)'s "Hard-Scrabble," the 1st separate black neighborhood, off what is now North Main Street near University Heights.

At about this point, down in [Little Rest](#) (now [Kingston](#)), [Rhode Island](#), [Cato Pearce](#) was being hired as a farm worker by Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior, at his farm homestead. (Potter was a state Representative who had recently run unsuccessfully for Governor, and his political attitudes might be said to be somewhat to the right of unreconstructed since he favored, for instance, that the bankrupt be thrown in debtors' prison; the son Potter, Junior would attempt to follow in his father's political footprints, with a more liberal bent, but would have his greatest success as a scholar.⁸⁴)



The efforts of [Cato](#) to make a personal contribution were being supported by, among others, two white men, elders in the Quidneset [Baptist](#) Church of [North Kingstown](#), William Northrop and Thomas Cole.

(It seems clear that there was a reason why Cato could not affiliate with the Quakers of North Kingstown, in his desire to preach. Although Quaker practice would have allowed him to rise during silent worship and speak, in fact it seems there were only a couple of men attending the Quaker meeting in that town at that time, and they weren't offering words to each other but simply sitting in silence.)

It was in about this year that the significant event occurred, which would cause us to retitile Cato Pearce's 1842 autobiography, when it eventually came to be republished, as "JAILED FOR PREACHING." The event is of significance to us not so that we can experience a sense of outrage, senses of outrage being easy enough to arrange, but so that we can get an approximation of what real human life amounted to in southern Rhode Island during the early years of the 19th Century. It is noteworthy, for instance, that despite the fact that Joshua Pearce, Cato's former master, had beaten him as a child, and despite the fact that as a young man he had had the first mate of Captain Rogers's schooner lay him over the capstan and go after him with the end of a rope, in these goings-on in about 1820 the plantation manager Elisha Potter did not actually put into play the horse-whip he held in his hand. It had been used as a prop, to threaten but not to inflict injury. Most likely, by this

84. For instance, EARLY HISTORY OF NARRAGANSETT WITH AN APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS MANY OF WHICH ARE NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED. Providence RI, 1935



point in time the tenor of life on the former slave plantations of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations had changed somewhat. It had become socially unacceptable for a white man to thus administer lashes to a now-“free” person of color. The reason why Cato was put in jail was, Potter needed to resolve upon some alternative punishment. Thus it was that, rather than risk social disapprobation by whipping Cato, Potter “got the officer — the jailer — and put [Cato] in jail.” Cato had committed no crime and Potter held no official town or state government post such as sheriff or judge, that would legally permit him to commit a person to incarceration; nevertheless, Potter’s informal power in the community was so great that he could use it to have the local jailer take a free man into the jailhouse merely for having failed to abide by his wishes. And Potter felt no inhibitions about treating a free black man the way Cato’s slave parents would have been treated by their white masters.

When Mr. Potter had done his breakfast he come out with his horse-whip in his hand. Says he, “Why wa’nt you here last night to do the chores.” I told him I hired some body. He said he wouldn’t have him on his place. He said he hired me. He said he didn’t understand why I went away to preach. Says he, “I won’t have no nigger preachers – I’ll horse-whip you;” and he swore. Says I, “Don’t strike me, Mr. Potter....” Well he said they had a good minister there, and they wouldn’t have no nigger preachers, and said he would put me where he could find me. So he went and got the officer – the jailer – and put me into jail.

Cato was incarcerated in the jail for “two nights and parts of two days....” Fortunately, the county court was in session.

Sheriff Allen and a number of the great men came in to visit them that was in prison, and asked me what I was put in for. I told ‘em for preachin’ – but yet I couldn’t help weepin’. [One of the visitors] said, “You won’t stay here but a few minutes – he had done perfectly wrong – we will have you out in a few minutes.” Then they gave me some money and went out and told Elisha Potter they would give so long to take me out [or] they was goin’ to prosecute him if he didn’t. About half an hour after that, I could see Elisha Potter through the grate, comin’ up the back side and in the back way, and [he] got the jailer to talk with me while he stood down to the bottom of the stairs. And the jailer took me in another room and told me that Mr. Potter said I might go every Saturday night and stay till Monday mornin’ and have meetins where I was a mind to. I told the jailer I had nothin to do with Elisha Potter. “If he had put me in here, amen – if I have got to stay here and die, amen to it: I have nothin’ to do with him. I never have stole nor cheated nor done any thing wrong to him.... I said I hadn’t nothin’ ‘gainst Elisha Potter: I loved him as well as ever. At that Elisha Potter come up stairs and said I had better go to work – he liked me well, and I might go to meetin’ when I was a mind to. I told him I didn’t calculate to work for him any more. Then he told me to go and git my things, and I come out.

We notice that the situation in Rhode Island had even changed to such a degree by this point in time that once prominent whites visiting Little Rest learned of Potter jailing Cato, they became so upset that they threatened to prosecute Potter, the most important personage by far in that entire district. Then, it was an act of repentance and humility for Potter to invite Cato to continue to work for him and to offer that in the future he would have the weekend off to attend Sunday services. Then, it was an act of dignity as well as independence, that Cato rejected the offer, wanting “nothin’ to do” with Elisha Potter in the future.

A joke broadside was circulating in Boston on the anniversary of the abolition of the [international slave trade](#). One of the jokes was in the form of a toast offered by a black man:

De day, one of does great nashummal hepox will call fort de sensumbility and de herhaw of good feelum of ebery son and daughter of Africa in dis world, and good many udder place beside....



ME HAPPY SO ME SING



1820

1820



[Zachariah Allen](#) began, on a worn-out plot of 40 acres in [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#) which he was unable to lease any longer even as pasture, an experiment in silviculture that now seems to us to have been the first such attempt in New England and perhaps in the entire United States (this woodlot has become part of the present-day Lincoln Woods State Park). He planted trees and began a 67-year period of keeping careful track of expenses. The cost of planting these trees was \$45 and the plot had been appraised to have a value of \$600.

At about this time, the American potato and eggplant members of the nightshade family (*Solanacea*) already having gained a widespread acceptance, the [tomato](#) (*Lycopersicon esculentum*) member of that family was also beginning to gain acceptability in the USA as a food for civilized people. In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Michel Felice Corne again attempted to grow the tomato in his garden – and this time, unlike in his Salem MA garden in 1802, the plant would grow very well and produce a succulent harvest. Soon his neighbors would be planting tomatoes as well! During this decade, several cookbooks would be including tomatoes in recipes. William Cobbett, your ordinary journalist with a penchant for fighting lost battles, having lost the bones of Tom Paine (!), decided to warn against the influence of the [potato](#). Nobody, of course, paid the slightest attention, not because he had lost his hero's bones, nor because over-reliance on a single staple crop can't be an exceedingly risky business proposition — but because you've got to join them you simply can't fight them.

FAMINE

THOMAS PAINE

THE NIGHTSHADES (SOLANACEAE)

- — [Solanum tuberosum](#)
- — [Tomato Lycopersicon esculentum](#)
- — chili peppers
- — eggplant
- — deadly nightshade
- — [Nicotiana tabacum](#)
- — henbane
- — Jimson weed
- — petunia
- — plus some 2,000 other species grouped into 75 genera



Since Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Johnson and Mary “Polly” Johnson are not listed as having their own [New Bedford](#) household in the federal census of this year, clearly at that point they had not yet become householders. In all likelihood they were at that time living in the home of the young Quaker merchant Charles Waln Morgan, who moved from Philadelphia to New Bedford in that year, since in Mrs. Morgan's journal we find the notation “Polly Johnson (came to us 1st mo 22nd 1820),” and since Rhoda Durfee, a child of Polly's first marriage, and Nathan Johnson, also worked for the Morgans.

1820

1820

→ [Edwin Forrest](#) made his theatrical debut at the Walnut Street theatre in Philadelphia, in the tragedy *Douglas*.



At a demonstration of the effects of [nitrous oxide](#), this 14-year-old continued to recite a long passage from [Shakespeare](#)'s *Richard III* even while under the influence.

→ [Richard Harlan](#) was appointed a physician in the Philadelphia Dispensary.

→ The Anonymous Fantasy Novel *SYMSONIA: A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY*, possibly by Captain John Cleves Symmes, was published under the pen name "Captain Adam Seaborn."

WALDEN: Yet we should oftener look over the taffarel of our craft, like curious passengers, and not make the voyage like stupid sailors picking oakum. The other side of the globe is but the home of our correspondent. Our voyaging is only great-circle sailing, and the doctors prescribe for diseases of the skin merely. One hastens to Southern Africa to chase the giraffe; but surely that is not the game he would be after. How long, pray, would a man hunt giraffes if he could? Snipes and woodcocks also may afford rare sort; but I trust it would be nobler game to shoot one's self.-

“Direct your eye sight inward, and you'll find
A thousand regions in your mind
Yet undiscovered. Travel them, and be
Expert in home-cosmography.”

What does Africa, -what does the West stand for? Is not our own interior white on the chart? black though it may prove, like the coast, when discovered. Is it the source of the Nile, or the Niger, or the Mississippi, or a North-West Passage around this continent, that we would find? Are these the problems which most concern mankind? Is Franklin the only man who is lost, that his wife should be so earnest to find him? Does Mr. Grinnell know where he himself is? Be rather the Mungo Park, the Lewis and Clarke and Frobisher, of your own streams and oceans; explore your own higher latitudes, -with shiploads of preserved meats to support you, if they be necessary; and pile the empty cans sky-high for a sign. Were preserved meats invented to preserve meat merely? Nay, be a Columbus to whole new continents and worlds within you, opening new channels, not of trade, but of thought. Every man is the lord of a realm beside which the earthly empire of the Czar is but a petty state, a hummock left by the ice. Yet some can be patriotic who have no *self-respect*, and sacrifice the greater to the less. They love the soil which makes their graves, but have no sympathy with the spirit which may still animate their clay. Patriotism is a maggot in their heads. What was the meaning of that South-Sea Exploring Expedition, with all its parade and expense, but an indirect recognition of the fact, that there are continents and seas in the moral world, to which every man is an isthmus or an inlet, yet unexplored by him, but that it is easier to sail many thousand miles through cold and storm and cannibals, in a government ship, with five hundred men and boys to assist one, than it is to explore the private sea, the Atlantic and Pacific Ocean of one's being alone.-

“Erret, et extremos alter scrutetur Iberos.
Plus habet hic vitæ, plus habet ille viæ.”
Let them wander and scrutinize the outlandish Australians.
I have more of God, they more of the road.

It is not worth the while to go round the world to count the cats in Zanzibar. Yet do this even till you can do better, and you may perhaps find some “Symmes' Hole” by which to get at the inside at last. England and France, Spain and Portugal, Gold Coast and Slave Coast, all front on this private sea; but no bark from them has ventured out of sight of land, though it is without doubt the direct way to India. If you would learn to speak all tongues and conform to the customs of all nations, if you would travel farther than all travellers, be naturalized in all climes, and cause the Sphinx to dash her head against a stone, even obey the precept of the old philosopher, and Explore thyself. Herein are demanded the eye and the nerve. Only the defeated and deserters go to the wars, cowards that run away and enlist. Start now on that farthest western way, which does not pause at the Mississippi or the Pacific, nor conduct toward a worn-out China or Japan, but leads on direct a tangent to this sphere, summer and winter, day and night, sun down, moon down, and at last earth down too.

LEWIS AND CLARK

HENRY GRINNELL

SYMMES HOLE

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

HABINGTON



Toothbrushes were on sale in many country stores. It was a known practice to “wash one's teeth” of a morning, although this form of personal hygiene was not yet so universally practiced as it is today (!).



1820

1820



“Freddy” (Frederick Douglass), age about two, got a little sister named Kitty, bringing to a total of five the number of Bailey children being raised by the grandmother Bet or already delivered by her into their lifetimes of servitude.

1820

1820

→ Young Master [Henry Thoreau](#) in [Skeleton Suit](#) and [“Brutus” Haircut](#)? What was known as the “skeleton suit,” as attire for young boys, would not begin to go out of popularity until the 1830s after having been in vogue since the 1790s.



Dickens would characterize this attire, in 1839 in his *SKETCHES BY BOZ*, as having been “straight blue cloth cases in which small boys used to be confined before belts and tunics had come in ... fastening him into a very tight

jacket, with an ornamental row of Buttons over each shoulder and then buttoning his trousers over so as to give his legs the appearance of being hooked on just under the arm-pits.” Would young David Henry have worn such a “skeleton” suit? –If so, the costume’s pants would have been quite full, as that had been the style from about 1820 on. Also, would Thoreau have had the “Brutus” hairstyle that was popular for boys during that period, with short hair brushed down over his forehead?

Per Professor Walter Roy Harding’s THE DAYS OF [HENRY THOREAU](#) (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966):

“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

WALTER HARDING’S BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 1 (1817-1823) -Downing gives a cursory account of the Thoreau and Dunbar heritage and more fully traces the nature and movement of the Thoreau family in the first five years of Henry’s life.

Thoreau’s father, John, while intellectual, “lived quietly, peacefully and contentedly in the shadow of his wife,” Mrs. Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau, who was dynamic and outspoken with a strong love for nature and compassion for the downtrodden.

- 1st Helen -quiet, retiring, eventually a teacher.
- 2nd John Jr. -“his father turned inside out,” personable, interested in ornithology, also taught.
- 3rd Henry (born July 12,1817) -speculative but not noticeably precocious.
- 4th Sophia -independent, talkative, ultimately took over father’s business and edited Henry’s posthumous publications.

The Thoreau’s constantly struggled with debt, and in 1818 John Sr. gave up his farm outside Concord and moved into town. Later the same year he moved his family to Chelmsford where he opened a shop which soon failed and sent him packing to Boston to teach school.

(Robert L. Lace, January-March 1986)

 [Dangerfield Newby](#) was born in Fauquier County, Virginia in about this year, a light mulatto product of a union between the [slavemaster](#) Henry Newby, a Scotsman, and his [slave](#) woman Elsey. He would grow up in the district around Culpeper, which was rolling, grazing terrain, mostly devoted to the raising of sheep.



➡ In New-York, Edmund Kean appeared as Richard III.

➡ During this period the Anglican bishop of Calcutta, the Reverend Doctor Middleton, was attempting to hook Rajah Rammohan Roy into the establishment's flock. A "grand career" within Christianity would be open to him upon a simple "change of faith." Rammohan would be "honored in life," he would be "lamented in death," in fact he would be "honored in England as well as in [India](#)," indeed his "name would descend to posterity as that of the modern Apostle of India." The Rajah would eventually respond with an allusion appropriate to a scholar of the Gospels: "Get thee behind me."

JANUARY

➡ January: In Venice, the Reverend [Barnard Hanbury](#) and [George Waddington](#) determined to go off together on an adventure in [Egypt](#) and Nubia.

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT

➡ January: In [The Edinburgh Review](#), Sydney Smith inquired "In the four quarters of the globe, who reads and American book? or goes to an American play? or looks at an American picture or statue?"

CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN LITERATURE

➡ January 1, Saturday: Spanish army units in Cádiz, destined for America, revolted against the Bourbon monarchy (the revolution would spread through the country so quickly that the king would be forced to summon the Spanish Parliament on March 7th and restore the constitution of 1812).

The New-York [Evening Post](#) published an interesting piece of doggerel about the sad condition of the national economy:

Old "Uncle Sam," in chasing bubbles,
Has jump'd into a peck of troubles,
Troubles, 'tis said, which sorely vex him,
and which 'tis feared will much perplex him.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 1st of 1st M 1820 / The Year begins with the end of the Week. — May this year prove to me a year of improvement May my

life be renewedly increased in religion. —⁸⁵

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 2, Sunday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) had been married to Penelope for 5 years but at this point they both realized their union had been an unhappy one:

ON MY WEDDING-DAY.

Here's a happy new year! but with reason
I beg you'll permit me to say —
Wish me many returns of the season,
But as few as you please of the day.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 2nd of 1st M / Our Meetings were both silent & pretty well attended. — particularly in the Morning my mind was favor'd with sweetness & religious sensibility, for which I desire to be thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 3, Monday: Mistress Love Adams Lawrence, daughter of John Adams, widow of the Reverend William Lawrence who had been for 31 years minister at Lincoln, died at the age of 95.

The [Providence Journal](#) began publication (it would appear on Mondays and Thursdays until becoming a daily newspaper in 1829).

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE JANUARY 3D, 1820 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).

85. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1815-1823: 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 12 for August 24, 1815-September 25, 1823; also on microfilm, see Series 7



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THIS NEWSPAPER WOULD BE APPEARING ON MONDAYS AND THURSDAYS; PUBLISHING IT DAILY WOULD NOT HAPPEN UNTIL 1829, WHICH IS AT THIS POINT 9 YEARS INTO A VERY UNCERTAIN FUTURE.



January 4, Tuesday: [Salma Hale](#) got married with Sarah Kellogg King, daughter of Seth King and Susan King of Suffield, Connecticut.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*On the 4th of January, 1820, after waiting about a month for an opportunity of descending, I now embraced the favourable advantage of proceeding in the boat of Mr. Barber, a merchant of New Orleans, to whose friendship and civility I am indebted for many favours.*”



January 5, Wednesday: Seyyid Ali Pasha replaced Dervis Mehmed Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This morning we again passed the outlet of the river called La Feve's Fork, coming in on our right. Its sources with the Pottoe, the Kiamesha, Little river of Red river, and with the Petit John forms an irregular and acute triangle, affording a large body of good land, and, as well as the latter, is said to be navigable near 200 miles, including its meanders. Its entrance is marked by a concomitant chain of hills and cliffs, which border the Arkansa, and proceed in a north-westerly direction. For about a mile and a half, these hills, of grauwacke slate, present the appearance of an even wall coming up to the margin of the river, and owe this singular aspect to their almost vertical stratification. Their summits are tufted with pine, and the opposite alluvial point, which was sandy, and to appearance scarcely elevated above inundation, possessed also a forest of similar trees.*”



January 6, Thursday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This evening we arrived at Mr. Daniel's, an industrious farmer, and provided with a rough-looking, but comfortable winter cabin. About two miles from hence, Mr. D., who lives upon a confirmed Spanish right, had erected a grist mill. Saw-mills were also about to be built at the Cadron, and two or three other places. The establishment of a town was now contemplated also at the Little Rock, by colonel Hogan, and some others. They had not, however, sufficient capital, and no doubt expected to derive some adventitious wealth from those speculators who were viewing various parts of the newlyformed territory.*”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6th of 1st M / Sat meeting under solemn reflections, arising from the Circumstance of the Sudden exit of Gilbert Chase who Died this morning about 2 OC after laying about 33 hours in an Apoplectic Fit. - Daniel Swinbourne also Died suddenly this morning, he had been complaining some Months, but rose & ate his breakfast as well as for some time, but in a few minutes after expired. - Last evening died at [Portsmouth](#) Phebe Barber she was a member of Society & a relation in the Mott family

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 January 7, Friday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Letter from the Secretary of the Navy, transmitting information in relation to the Introduction of [Slaves](#) into the United States.” –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 16 Cong. 1 sess. III, No. 36.

[Ludwig van Beethoven](#) appealed to the Imperial Royal Court of Appeal of Lower Austria to reverse the decision of the lower court of September 17, 1819, that his nephew Karl be cared for by his mother under a court-appointed guardian.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*We again arrived at the lower end of the Eagle’s-nest bend, from whence commenced the uninhabited tract of 60 or 70 miles.*”

 January 8, Saturday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*To-day we passed seven bends, making about 28 miles. The water at this, its lowest stage, appears to be perfectly navigable for the larger boats from the Little Rock to the Mississippi. By the cane which occurs in all the bends, and indeed by the apparent elevation, there are here great bodies of good land, free from inundation. The soil in some of the banks consists of an uncommonly rich dark Spanish brown loam.*”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 8th of 1st M / This day has been a day of seriousness, having to feel in carious subjects, which now seem to be pending. – how do I feel the force of the language “Have Salt in yourselves”

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 9, Sunday: Heinrich August Marschner got married for the 2d time, with Eugenie Franziska Jaeggi, an accomplished pianist, daughter of a valet, in Pressburg.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This forenoon we passed the fourth Pine Bluff, at the base of which we observed abundance of earthy iron ore, in flattened, contorted, and cellular masses, scattered about in profusion; much of it appeared to be pyrites, other masses more or less argillaceous and siliceous. Here, on the portions of the high bank which had sunk down by the undermining of the current, we saw the wax-myrtle of the Atlantic sea-coast.*”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 10th [?] of 1st M / At the hour appointed the funeral of Gilbert Chase met at His House & proceeded to the Meeting House, the gathering was large & D Buffum & H Dennis were engaged in solemn & impressive testimonys. – In the Afternoon Meeting Father Rodman was engaged in a rather short, but lively & to my mind pertinent testimony.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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January 10, Monday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This evening we arrived near to the termination of the second Pine Bluffs, which continue along the river for nearly two miles. We passed through seven bends of the river, and came about 27 miles. The frost was now succeeded by mild and showery weather, and the bald eagles [Falco Leucocephalus] were already nestling, chusing the loftiest poplars for their eyries.*”

In Lawrenceburg, Indiana, this had been planned as Palmer Warren’s wedding day but his fiancée (whose name is not of record) had renounced another suitor, Amasa Fuller, in favor of him. The jilted suitor came to the office of bridegroom-to-be Palmer Warren with a pair of dueling pistols, charged with four balls each, and confronted him with a note he was to sign to the effect that in the presence of the Almighty God, he renounced all pretensions to the young lady and acknowledged that he was a base liar and scoundrel. When the favored suitor declined to sign said note and refused to participate in a demanded [duel of honor](#), the jilted suitor shot and killed him there in his office. Amasa Fuller would [hang](#) for the murder of Palmer Warren on August 14th and the result would be a ballad, “Fuller and Warren,” a variant of which has been recorded as follows:

Ye sons of Columbia, attention all I’ll pray,
 And listen to a story I’m going to tell:
 It happened here of late in an Indiana State,
 Of a hero who but a few could excel....

It seems clear why the name of the bride-to-be in question is not on the record! — how must that Hoosier lass have reacted to the contemporary singing of such a ballad?

The first system of musical notation consists of a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat (B-flat) and a 6/8 time signature. The melody is written in a simple, folk-like style. Below the staff is a guitar-style chord diagram with two rows of strings. The first row contains the numbers 6, 8, and 2. The second row contains the numbers 2, 3, 0, 0, 2, 0, 0, 2, 2, 0, 0, 2, 0, 2, 2. The diagram indicates fingerings for various chords and intervals across the strings.

The second system of musical notation continues the melody from the first system. It features a treble clef staff with a key signature of one flat and a 6/8 time signature. The melody is simple and folk-like. Below the staff is a guitar-style chord diagram with two rows of strings. The first row contains the numbers 3, 3, 0, 2, 3, 3, 3, 0, 2, 0, 2, 3. The second row contains the numbers 0, 2, 0, 2, 0, 2, 3. The diagram indicates fingerings for various chords and intervals across the strings.

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January 11, Tuesday: In the early morning a fire began on a lot in Baptist Church square in Savannah and spread with the winds (gunpowder illegally stored in the City Market on Ellis Square became part of the problem) to destroy 463 buildings for losses totaling \$776,000. The Savannah Republican would report that “the whole of the town north of Broughton Street to the Bay” was reduced to ashes, along with Savannah’s Branch Bank of the United States. Two-thirds of the city’s population had become suddenly homeless. Nothing was left standing from Bay to Broughton streets and Jefferson to Abercorn streets. Richard Wylly Habersham, the US District Attorney for Georgia, would write a poem about the disaster. The nation would respond with gifts totalling \$99,000 but since the city of New-York had placed an odious stipulation on its gift of \$12,000, the city of Savannah would refuse to accept New-York’s charity (the stipulation had been that Savannah pledge to distribute New-York’s donation “without distinction of color” — what an outrageous requirement!). The city would be rebuilt, as Boston had once been after a similar major urban conflagration, in brick.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: *“Soon after breakfast we came again in sight of the houses of the French hunters Cusot and Bartolemé, and found also two families from Curran’s settlement encamped here, and about to settle. I here obtained two fragments of fossil shells, apparently some species of oyster; one of which was traversed with illinitions of crystallized carbonate of lime, and contained specks of bovey coal, from which I concluded them to have been washed out of the Bluffs above. Besides these I was also shewn a small conch-shell, not apparently altered from its natural state, and probably disinterred from some tumulus. Some time after dark we arrived at Mr. Boun’s, a metif or half Quapaw, and interpreter to the nation, who lived at the first of the Pine Bluffs. Two or three other metif families resided also in the neighbourhood.”*



January 12, Wednesday: The Royal Astronomical Society was founded.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: *“We arrived at Monsieur Dardennes’, and to-day experienced a keen north-western wind. Water froze the instant it touched the ground.”*



January 13, Thursday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Letter from the Secretary of the Treasury, transmitting ... Information in relation to the Illicit Introduction of [Slaves](#) into the United States, etc.,” –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 16 Cong. 1 sess. III, No. 42.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: *“The weather still freezing. In the evening we passed Mr. Harrington’s, a farmer in very comfortable circumstances. Betwixt Morrison’s and this place, the river makes two cuts, through two bends of about eight miles each.”*

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 13th of 1st M 1820 / Our first meeting was silent but to my feelings was attended with a good degree of solemnity In the last which was our Select Meeting, so held according to a conclusion at the last, the usual buisness was transacted & to my feelings a goodly concern was manifested for the right ordering & managing the Affairs of Society in general, but perhaps less solid weight experienced than at some other times. –



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January 14, Friday: J. Dickinson of Nash Mill in the parish of Abbots Laughley was granted a patent for a machine that could cut paper and other materials into single sheets or pieces.

US Secretary of War John Caldwell Calhoun authorized the governor of the Michigan Territory, General [Lewis Cass](#), to lead a party of scientists, soldiers, Canadian voyageurs to manage the canoes, and native American guides and hunters into the wilderness, to survey the western portion of the Michigan Territory (present-day [Minnesota](#))'s geography and topography for purposes of a new map clarifying a border dispute between the United States of America and Canada, evaluate the flora and fauna, ascertain the numbers of the tribes of natives and their customs (and their loyalties, whether to the United States or to Great Britain), search for commercially valuable deposits of minerals, discover the true source of the Mississippi River (Cass Lake would be determined, erroneously, to be that northern source), and select and purchase sites for forts (especially at the important strait of Sault Ste. Marie). The expedition would consist of [42 men](#). The geologist would be [Henry Rowe Schoolcraft](#) who would in 1821 issue A NARRATIVE JOURNAL OF TRAVELS ... FROM DETROIT THROUGH THE GREAT CHAIN OF AMERICAN LAKES TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER, and then in 1832 correctly identify the source of the great river as Lake Itasca.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: *“This evening we arrived at the residence of the late Mr. Mosely, and about 20 miles below Harrington’s. His estates were said to be worth not less than 20,000 dollars, which had all been acquired during his residence in this territory. A proof that there is here also scope for industry, and the acquisition of wealth.”*



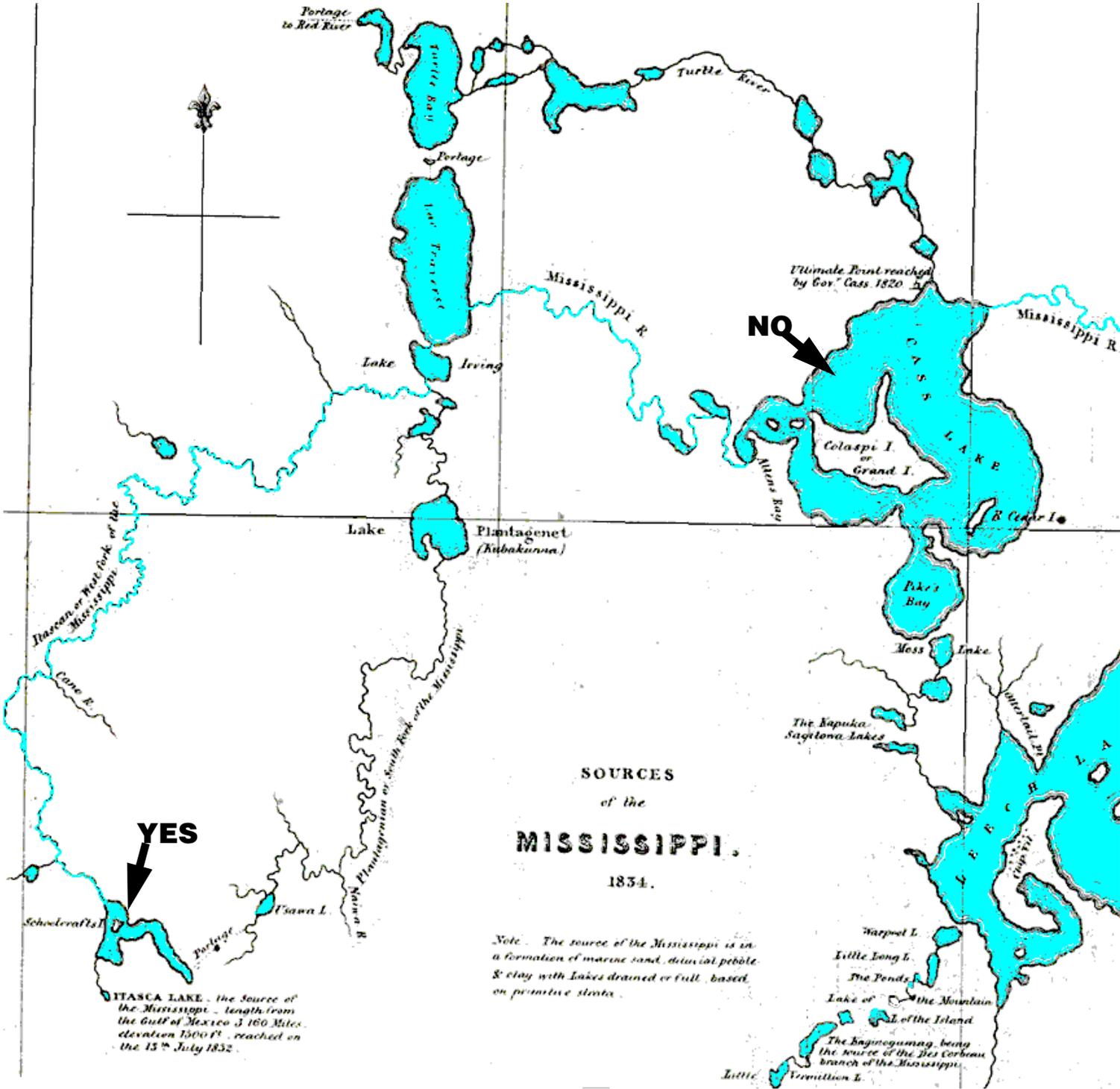
January 15, Saturday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: *“On the 15th we again arrived at the post of Osark, or as it is now not very intelligibly called, Arkansas, a name by far too easily confounded with that of the river, while the name Osark, still assumed by the lower villagers of the Quapaws, and in memory of whom this place was first so called, would have been perfectly intelligible and original. In the evening we had a storm of melting snow and hail, which, on the following morning was succeeded by a northwest wind, accompanied by a severe frost. The river was now, however, beginning to rise and assume a muddy tinge from the influx of the lagoons, and lower rivulets. A more extensive fresh cannot now be expected before the commencement of milder weather, and the thawing of the river towards its sources. The oldest settlers affirm, that the Arkansa had not, during their knowledge of it, ever been so low as before the present rise. The Ohio and Mississippi also continued too low for the navigation of the steam-boats.”*



January 16, Sunday: [Johannes Rebmann](#) was born at Gerlingen near Stuttgart, [Germany](#). He would become the initial European to sight the snows of Mount Kilimanjaro — and be ridiculed.

[Commodore James Barron](#) wrote a [duel](#) challenge letter to [Commodore Stephen “Our Country Right or Wrong” Decatur](#): *“Sir: Your letter of the 29th ultimo, I have received. In it you say that you have now to inform me that you shall pay no further attention to any communications that I may make to you, other than a direct call to the field; in answer to which I have only to reply that whenever you will consent to meet me on fair and equal grounds, that is, such as two honorable men may consider just and proper, you are at liberty to view this as that call. The whole tenor of your conduct to me justifies this course of proceeding on my part. As for your charges and remarks, I regard them not, particularly your sympathy. You know no such feeling. I cannot be suspected of making the attempt to excite it.
I am, sir, yours, etc.,
James Barron.”*

Two Russian vessels, the *Vostok* and the *Mirny*, Captain Mikhail Petrovich Lazarev, in expedition





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led by Thaddeus von Bellingshausen, reached 69° 25 minutes South and 1° 11 minutes [West?] and were halted by the Fimbul Ice Shelf. They sighted the Antarctic continent on their horizon, the 1st human beings to do so.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*Interest, curiosity, and speculation, had drawn the attention of men of education and wealth toward this country, since its separation into a territory; we now see an additional number of lawyers, doctors, and mechanics. The retinue and friends of the governor, together with the officers of justice, added also essential importance to the...*”

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 17 [?] of 1 M / The Morning meeting was silent till near the close of it when our friend D Buffum was engaged in a short & very lively testimony & the meeting closed under a good savor. – Silent in the Afternoon. – Anne Dennis came home with is & took tea & set the evening, her company was very pleasant. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 17, Monday: Anne Brontë, youngest of the sisters, was born: “*I would not send a poor girl into the world ... ignorant of the snares that beset her path; nor would I watch and guard her, till, deprived of self-respect and self-reliance, she lost the power or the will to watch and guard herself.*”

[Judith Hope](#)'s petition to remain among her relatives and friends in the state of Virginia after gaining her freedom was rejected by the General Assembly.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) for this and the following day we find: “*I again paid a visit to the prairie, which, as well as the immediate neighbourhood of the town, is in winter extremely wet, in consequence of the dead level, and argillaceous nature of the soil. The interesting plants and flowers which I had seen last year, at this time, were now so completely locked up in the bosom of winter, as to be no longer discernible, and nearly disappointed me in the hopes of collecting their roots, and transplanting them for the gratification of the curious.*”

 January 18, Tuesday: Anne Bronte, was born in the bleak parsonage of Haworth in Yorkshire, the final member of the family — because the mother would die while she was still an infant. The six children would be left largely to their own devices by their father, a clergyman. Anne's four older sisters would all be sent to boarding school but the two eldest would die, only Emily and Charlotte returning home. The girls, and their brother Branwell, would read voraciously and create their own elaborate stories and myths. Anne would be educated at home and would then work as a governess from 1841 to 1845.



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January 19, Wednesday: In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*On the 19th I bid farewell to Arkansas, and proceeded towards the Mississippi, in the barge of Mons. Notrebé, a merchant of this place, and the day following, without any material occurrence, arrived at the confluence of the Arkansa, a distance of about 60 miles. The bayou, through which I came in the spring, now ran with as much velocity towards White river, as it had done before into the Arkansa, its current and course depending entirely upon the relative elevation of the waters of the two rivers with which it communicates. The large island, thus produced, possesses extensive tracts of cane land, sufficiently elevated, as I am told, above inundation, as does also the opposite bank of the Arkansa. About 12 miles above the mouth, the site first chosen for the Spanish garrison, and which was evacuated in consequence of inundation, was pointed out to me. A house now also stands on the otherwise deserted spot, where once were garrisoned the troops of France, at the terminating point of the river. We now found ourselves again upon the bosom of one of the most magnificent of rivers, which appeared in an unbroken and meandering sheet, stretching over an extended view of more than 12 miles, and decorated with a pervading forest, only terminated by the distant horizon.*”

The US House of Representatives again considered the possibility of registering all [slaves](#), but again without any appreciable consequences.

“On motion of Mr. Cuthbert,
“Resolved, That the Committee on the Slave Trade be instructed to enquire into the expediency of establishing a registry of slaves, more effectually to prevent the importation of slaves into the United States, or the territories thereof.”
HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, page 150.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



January 20, Thursday: At a party thrown by [Lady Caroline Lamb](#), Lady Charlotte Bury was introduced to an artist named [William Blake](#). She said, later, that this “eccentric little artist by name Blake” whom she had encountered had “appeared gratified” to be able to talk with “a person who comprehended his feelings.” She also commented that he had appeared “careworn.”

Friedrich VI replaced Friedrich V as Landgrave of Hesse-Homburg.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 20 of 1 M / Our meeting rather small but to me a season of some life & favor, tho' previous to going, was very lean but by turning the mind inward & humbly craving help, I experienced the cloud raised a little, for which I desire to be thankful - in the last (Preparatory) we had no buisness but the usual. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 21, Friday: The Russian expedition to the antarctic led by Thaddeus von Bellinghausen discovered Peter I Island.

THE FROZEN SOUTH

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*I now embarked for New Orleans in a flat boat, as the steam boats, for want of water, were not yet in operation. Not far from this place, a few days ago were encamped, the miserable remnant of what are called the Pilgrims, a band of fanatics, originally about 60 in number. They commenced their pilgrimage from the borders of Canada, and wandered about with their wives and children through the vast wilderness of the western states, like vagabonds, without ever fixing upon any residence. They looked up to accident and charity alone for support; imposed upon themselves rigid fasts, never washed their skin, or cut or combed their hair, and like the Dunkards wore their beards. Settling no where, they were consequently deprived of every comfort which arises from the efforts of industry. Desertion, famine, and*



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sickness, soon reduced their numbers, and they were every where treated with harshness and neglect, as the gypsies of civilized society. Passing through Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, they at length found their way down the Mississippi to the outlet of White river and the Arkansa. Thus ever flying from society by whom they were despised, and by whom they had been punished as vagabonds, blinded by fanatic zeal, they lingered out their miserable lives in famine and wretchedness, and have now nearly all perished or disappeared. Two days after my arrival in the territory, one of them was found dead in the road which leads from the Mississippi to Arkansas. If I am correctly informed, there now exists of them only one man, three women, and two children. Two other children were taken from them in compassion for their miserable situation, and the man was but the other day seized by a boat's crew descending the river, and forcibly shaved, washed, and dressed. Down to the year 1811, there existed on the banks of the Mississippi, a very formidable gang of swindling robbers, usually stationed in two parties at the mouth of the Arkansa, and at Stack island. They were about 80 in number, and under the direction of two captains. Amongst other predatory means of obtaining property, was that of purchasing produce from boats descending the river, with counterfeit money. Clary and his gang of the Arkansa, had, some time in the autumn of 1811, purchased in this way some property from a descending flat boat. The owner, however, before leaving the shore, discovered the fraud, and demanded restitution, but was denied with insolence; and they proceeded, at length, so far as to fire upon his boat. These circumstances being related to the companies of several other flats who very opportunely came up at this time, and 12 of them being now collected, they made up a party to apprehend this nest of pirates. It was nearly night when they landed, and were instantly fired upon by the robbers. They at last arrived at the house which they occupied, broke it open, and secured Clary and two others who had attempted to hide themselves. A court martial was held over them, which sentenced Clary to receive a number of lashes from the crew of each boat, and the two other delinquents were condemned to confinement, and to work the boat in the place of two of the boatmen who were wounded. These men, on arriving at Natchez, were committed to prison, but no one appearing against them, they were of course acquitted. Clary confessed, that he and his crew had, within the week previous to his apprehension, bought and transmitted up the Arkansa, with counterfeit money, 1800 dollars worth of produce. It was also known that he had been a murderer, and had fled to the banks of the Mississippi from justice. The Stack island banditti have never been routed, and some of their character were still found skulking around Point Chicot and the neighbouring island, always well supplied with counterfeit money."

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January 22, Saturday: [William Francis Channing](#) was born, a son of the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#).



Edward Bransfield, on a Royal Navy expedition aboard the *Williams*, landed on King George Island in the South Shetlands and claimed it for Britain.

[THE FROZEN SOUTH](#)

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This morning we were visited by three Choctaws in quest of whiskey. Their complexions were much fairer than most of the Indians we meet with on the Mississippi. Two of them were boys of about 18 or 19, and possessed the handsomest features I have ever seen among the natives, though rather too effeminate. About 20 miles below the Arkansa, in the Cypress bend, we saw the first appearance of Tillandsia or Long moss.*”



January 23, Sunday: Edward Augustus Hanover, Duke of Kent and Strathern, 4th son of [King George III of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover](#) and father of the princess who would become [Her Majesty Victoria, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, Empress of India](#), died of pneumonia in Woodbrook Cottage at Sidmouth in Devon, England. The princess would be raised by her mother.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23rd of 1 M / Our Morning was pretty well attended by male & female considering that the ground is coverd with Snow. Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis were engaged in lively testimonys. –Silent in the Afternoon, but I believe true Worship was performed.

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

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In France, the [Princess of Wales](#), estranged wife of [Prince Regent George](#), was making plans to return to Italy when [King George III](#) of England died and her husband was acknowledged as [King George IV of England](#). Here the dude is, as he was depicted in this year in a savage woodcut by George Cruikshank:



She would therefore demand to be recognized as Queen of England! George IV would try to dissolve the marriage, insisting that a Bill of Pains and Penalties be introduced in the House of Lords. The bill accused her of adultery and although adultery would not have denied him his title, it would have denied her the title. Henry Peter Brougham, her legal adviser, would successfully defend her against the government charge — it must

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have all been some sort of misunderstanding.



After three months the bill would be abandoned for lack of support. An offer would be made to increase her annuity to £50,000 on the same terms as before, that she stay away. When George IV would be crowned on July 21, 1821, still refusing to recognize Caroline as his queen, he would ensure that she would be denied admittance to the ceremony as elsewhere described. (A few weeks later she would die of an intestinal

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obstruction, resolving the crisis.)



READ ABOUT THIS CASE



January 24, Monday: [Commodore Stephen “Our Country Right or Wrong” Decatur](#) responded to [Commodore James Barron](#)’s [duel](#) challenge letter of the 16th, “*Sir: I have received your communication of the 16th, and am at a loss to know what your intention is. If you intend it as a challenge, I accept it, and refer you to my friend, Commodore Bainbridge, who is fully authorized to make any arrangements he pleases as regards weapons, mode, or distance.*

*Your obedient servant,
Stephen Decatur.”*

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*On the 24th bodies of cane appear, indicative of an elevation above the usual inundations; it is, however, probable that these tracts are narrow, and flanked at no great distance by lagoons and cypress marshes subject to the floods. Many bends indeed presented nothing but cypress and black ash. From the Chicasaw Bluffs downward, along the banks of the Mississippi, we perceive no more of the Tulip tree (*Liriodendron tulipifera*), and but little of the Platanus, greatly reduced in magnitude, compared with what it attains along the Ohio. The largest tree of the forest here is that which is of the quickest growth, the Cotton-wood poplar (*Populus angulata*).*”



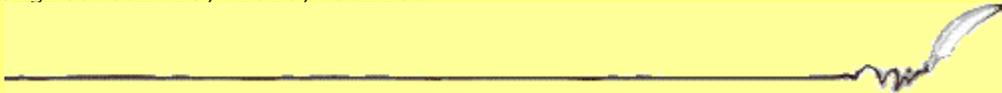
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January 25, Tuesday: While yet 16 years of age [Waldo Emerson](#) began his lifelong journal at Harvard College, calling this at first “The Wide World” and referring to himself by his current pen name, “Junio.” There are 12 of 13 booklets in existence, made out of sheets of unlined foolscap, folded folio and hand-stitched into gatherings which were then re-stitched to form a simple uncovered booklet. Book 5 has never been located.

Mixing with the thousand pursuits & passions & objects of the world as personified by Imagination is profitable & entertaining. These pages are intended at this their commencement to contain a record of new thoughts (when they occur); for a receptacle of all the old ideas that partial but peculiar peepings at antiquity can furnish or furbish; for tablet to save the wear & tear of weak Memory & in short for all the various purposes & utility real or imaginary which are usually comprehended under that comprehensive title Common Place book. O ye witches assist me! enliven or horrify some midnight lucubration or dream (whichever may be found more convenient) to supply this reservoir when other resources fail. Pardon me Fairy Land! rich region of fancy & gnomery, elvery, sylphery, & Queen Mab! pardon me for presenting my first petition to your enemies but there is probably one in the chamber who maliciously influenced me to what is irrevocable; pardon & favor me! – & finally Spirits of Earth, Air, Fire, Water, wherever ye glow, whatsoever you patronize, whoever you inspire, hallow, hallow, this devoted paper. – Dedicated & Signed Jan 25, 1820, Junio. –



January 26, Wednesday: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) moved to [Pisa](#).

[New York](#)'s J.W. Taylor proposed a amendment to the [Maine](#) statehood bill, prohibiting [slavery](#) in Missouri.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 26th of 1 M / Have been much engaged this week in taking the Inventory of Gilbert Chases personal effects, & in consequence of the illness of Benjamin Hadwen I am under the necessity of receiving the Town & State Tax for him which occupies my time & my mind - but I hope to receive no hurt. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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January 27, Thursday: While making its 2d circumnavigation of the globe at high southern latitudes, the Russian expedition led by Thaddeus von Bellinghausen first sighted the Antarctic mainland.

[THE FROZEN SOUTH](#)

Le bergère châtelaine, an opéra comique by Daniel-François-Esprit Auber to words of Planard, was performed for the initial time, in the Théâtre Feydeau, Paris.

On the island of St. Helena, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), who had been shooting chickens that invaded his garden, shot a goat that turned out to be Mme. Bertrand's favorite goat.

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: "*The whole country, generally speaking, along the river, appears uninhabited, though vast tracts of cane land occur in the bends. I am, however, informed that the cane will withstand a partial inundation. Since we left Point Chicot the river presents us with several magnificent views, some of 8, some of 12, and even 15 miles extent; but the absence of variety, even amidst objects of the utmost grandeur, soon becomes tiresome by familiarity. As above the Arkansa, the river still continues meandering. The curves, at all seasons washed by a rapid current, present crumbling banks of friable soil more or less mixed with vegetable matter. By the continued undermining and removal of the earth, the bends are at length worn through, the former tongue of land then becomes transformed into an island, and the stagnation and partial filling of the old channel, now deserted, in time produces a lake. Some idea of the singular caprice of the Mississippi current may be formed, by taking for a moment into view the extraordinary extent of its alluvial valley, which below the Ohio is from 30 to 40 miles in width, through all which space it has from time to time meandered, and over which it will never cease to hold occasional possession. On the opposite side of all the bends there are what are called bars, being platforms of sand formed by the deposition of the siliceous matter washed out of the opposite banks by the force of the current. These sand flats, sometimes near a mile in width, are uniformly flanked by thick groves of willows and poplars, the only kind of trees which survive the effects of the inundation to which these bars are perpetually subject.*"

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 27th of 1st M 1820 / Our first meeting was silent in the last (Monthly) I served as scribe to my mortification -buisness however I thought was conducted with as much weight as usual - Several of our friends Dined with us While at meeting My old mistress Mary Williams wife of David Williams departed this life after a protracted illness of a very distressing Nature of seven or eight months continuance. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



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January 28, Friday: The Russian expedition to the antarctic led by [Fabian Gottlieb von Bellingshausen](#) and [Mikhail Petrovich Lazarev](#) discovered the Alexander Coast.

THE FROZEN SOUTH

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*This morning we passed the settlement called the Walnut Hills, a situation somewhat similar to that of Natchez, consisting, however, of a cluster of hills of 150 or 200 feet elevation, laid out in a chain of agreeable farms. The banks, along the river, though not near so elevated as those of the Chicasaw Bluffs, are still far enough above the reach of inundation, and present a stratification and materials entirely similar: the same friable ferruginous clays, and also one or two beds of lignite, the lower about a foot in thickness, very distinct at this low stage of the water, and about three feet from its margin. The declivity for near half a mile back presents innumerable slips parallel with the river, and in one of the ravines large masses of sandstone were washed out towards the river: ...below the town. Out of its small quota of population, 37 individuals last summer died of the yellow-fever, said to have been introduced by the steam-boat Alabama. The gloomy mantling of the forest communicated by the Tillandsia usneoides or long moss, which every where prevails, is a never-failing proof of the presence of an unhealthy humidity in the atmosphere. The stagnating lagoons and bodies of reflux water also largely contribute to the unhealthiness of the climate. The vast extent and depth of this inundation is sufficiently evident by the marks along the banks of the river, which in places exhibited a rise of 50 feet above the present level!*”



January 29, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 29th of 1st M / Attended the funeral of Mary Williams, a considerable number of friends & others were there, but not as many as would have been had the weather been good – I served as a bearer. – Serious reflections, & my mind was lead to examine many subjects. – Mary Was a woman capable of great usefulness, “fitted to shine.” & was useful in many respects. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Upon the 8:32PM demise of the demented [King George III of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover](#) at Windsor Castle, [George Augustus Frederick, Prince of Wales](#), who had been serving as Regent of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland since 1811 due to his father the king’s incapacitation, became [George IV, King of Hanover and of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland](#). Ever the fancy dresser (if you can imagine this, he had attended his first House of Lords debate in 1783 attired in a black velvet suit embroidered with gold and pink spangle, with a pink satin lining, accessorized by high-heel pink footwear), his coronation crown was to sport 12,314 diamonds. The new king, obese, was possibly addicted to laudanum. He would become seriously ill and would reign only a decade before his own demise. His coronation would need to be postponed on account of his official wife Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#), a squat lady who was refusing to bathe or to change her underwear, who would manage despite discouragements to make her way to [London](#) — and would be greeting enthusiastic crowds.

George III	1760	1820
Regency	1811	1820
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William IV	1830	1837
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HDT

WHAT?

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January 30, Sunday: Sent south on a private venture by Captain Shireff, R.N., [Captain Edward Bransfield](#), in command of the British merchant ship *Williams*, sighted and landed on the Trinity Peninsula on the northern tip of Graham Land.

THE FROZEN SOUTH



Bransfield and Smith sighted the Antarctic Peninsula to the south of the South Shetlands.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 1 M / Our Morning Meeting was hurt by too much preaching. – In the Afternoon a short offering to pretty good



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acceptance. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 31, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 31st of 1 M / Have debated in my own mind pretty much all day about Quarterly Meeting & finally conceded this eveng to go. –it seems as if I am now able to go tho' exceedingly inconvenient & we know not how long we will be held in the way of our duty. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

In the diary of [Thomas Nuttall](#) we find: “*The cliffs of Natchez appear more elevated than those of the Petit Gulf. The lands, of an inferior soil, are also remarkably broken and deeply undulated. The crumbling precipice, of about 150 feet elevation, is continually breaking, by the action of springs and rain-water, into gullies and frightful ravines; the whole visible matter which composes the hills consisting of clays, ferruginous sand, and quartz gravel. A few years ago, the undermining of the current swept down a considerable part of the bank with several houses upon it. From the irregularity in the thickness of this ancient maritime alluvion, arises the great difference of depth at which water is here obtained. In the same vicinity water has been found at 35, and then again at 110 feet from the surface.*”

THOMAS NUTTALL

FEBRUARY

 February: [Horace Mann, Sr.](#) returned to [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as a tutor in Latin and Greek (later he would serve in addition as college librarian).

At the [Rhode Island](#) general assembly, George Field of Cranston introduced a bill for the establishment of a free school system throughout the state. After a brief discussion, the matter was postponed to a future session so that the assemblymen might sound out their political supporters in regard to such an innovation.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

 February 1, Tuesday: Under a plan of the economist David Ricardo the Bank of England began issuing gold ingots, for use by merchants making foreign payments (this would prove successful).

Adrien Boieldieu was named Professor of Composition at the Paris Conservatory.

Gaspere Spontini took up his position as Generalmusikdirektor in Berlin.

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

3rd day 1st of 2 M 1820 / Tho' it is very cold this morning the thermometer only at six above 0, I set out [from [Newport](#)] in a sleigh with Isaac Mitchell & sister E Rodman for [Providence](#). On our arrival at [Bristol](#) ferry found several friends in weighting but the Wind so very high that there was no prospect of going over, so we set out to go round over the Stone Bridge, & got to Abraham Barkers to dinner, from thence crossed at Slaid's



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ferry & reached the hospitable Mansion of our venerable friend Moses Brown about 1/2 after 6 OC in eveng who very kindly received us out of the Wind & cold & administered both to the necessities of ourselves & horse, all much fatigued. – here we lodged & found several friends whose company was very agreeable. – After breakfast the next morning we rode to the Yearly Meeting school House,⁸⁶ spent a little time & from thence to Providence & attended the Select Meeting which was small in consequence of the travelling - I was the only member present from our Meeting. I dined at Obadiah Browns & spent the Afternoon & evening at Joseph Anthony's where I also lodged - in the evening we were joined by several Rhode Island friends who crossed at Bristol. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 2, Wednesday: Lowell Mason was officially appointed as the organist of the Independent Presbyterian Church of Savannah, Georgia (he had already been performing that function for fully 5 years).

The *Thaddeus* was sailing beyond the frigid waters, heading into the blue Pacific, heading for Hawaii. Things were definitely looking up:

February 2, 1820 – This morning finds us rejoicing in prosperity. A fair wind from the South West sets our faces directly toward the scene of our anticipated labors. We are now 10° or 12° west of Cape Horn, and feel much as if we were on our way home. Capt. B. says again we could not ask for a better wind. Mercury this evening at sunset is 44°, that is 12° above freezing point at the close of a long summer day.

86. This new school was on what was then rural land, Friend Moses Brown's farm on Providence Neck northeast of what was then the city of Providence.



February 3, Thursday: [John Keats](#)'s hemorrhaging began. Trained in medicine, he recognized the blood as arterial and understood that this indicated that his disease was terminal.⁸⁷

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

5th day attended the Quarterly Meeting at large, in the first meeting we were burdened with several appearances from Micah Ruggles who I desire & pray may experience deeper Wisdom than he has yet known Thos Anthony was engaged in a lively testimony -there were several other appearances of which I can say but little.- -

In the last meeting there was but little buisness & the heft of the first meeting remained I dined at [Moses Browns](#), spent the remainder of the Afternoon & evening, in a very agreeable & edifying conversation with Moses & several friends there -lodged & next morning rode again to [Providence](#) & set out for home over India Bridge - we dined at James Maxwells in [Warren](#) & proceeded to [Bristol](#) Ferry but found Ice obstructed so that it was not prudent to cross & we returned to [Warren](#) & lodged at James Maxwells who very kindly entertained us. - 7th day, This Morning set out from [Warren](#) to Sleids ferry where we crossed in season to get to Abraham Barkers to dinner & got home before night. This little journey tho' attended with considerable bodily & mental suffering I trust has been a proffitable one to me - I was impressed with a belief that it was best for me to go being in health & not knowing how soon it may be otherwise with me. - time is both short & Uncertain many of my towns men & women have been removed the last year, some of whom promised a long & useful life.-1st day [Sunday] 6th of 2nd M 1820 / Our Meetings were both silent & to me seasons of labor. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Elisha Kent Kane](#) was born in Philadelphia.

87. He would succumb at the age of 25, four months after his engagement to Fanny Brawne as depicted in the Jane Campion movie "Bright Star" — Fanny's loveletters would be placed in the coffin.



Fanny would not languish forever in grief, but would marry with Louis Lindon, Esq. and bear him three children and lead a long life.

[Elisha Kent Kane](#) passed a relatively unremarkable childhood. A first-born child, his family moved several times as it grew, within the precincts of Philadelphia, finally moving to an estate named Rensselaer. According to his contemporaneous biographer, William Elder, Kane was an average student, who was accepted at the University of Virginia. In his second year of college he contracted rheumatic fever. This event, more than any other was to configure the rest of his life. The first outcome of his illness was his attraction to the world of medicine. Upon his graduation from the University of Virginia, Kane began the study of medicine in Philadelphia. By twenty-two, he had published a study of early pregnancy detection in the American Journal of Medical Sciences. More profound than this was the effect of the resulting terminal endocarditis on his world view. In the present time, of course, the existence of antibiotics would make short work of a chronic infection of the cardiac lining. In the early 19th century, however, it was a death sentence. Perhaps a couple of years would pass, perhaps a few decades, but the sentence was final. Kane set out with a vengeance to live a life that would be remembered. Joining the US Navy, he set out to discover the world. Finding himself in the South Pacific, he descended into the crater of an active volcano to retrieve water samples, much to the dismay of his companions, who fled the scene in mortal fear. Travelling to China, he practiced medicine on a hospital ship for several months before setting off to the west through India and Egypt, Athens and Paris. Two more tours of stultifying naval duty sent him to the White House to beg for a more exciting tour of duty. President Polk assigned him to an extremely dangerous mission: carry a message to the commander of American forces in Mexico during the Mexican-American War. After saving a Mexican general from being murdered by the mercenaries hired to escort him to Mexico City, Kane emerged as an important figure at the international level. Once again bored by navy duty, he wrote the Secretary of War, proposing a mission to the Arctic to rescue a missing British explorer, Sir John Franklin. Two weeks later began the most incredible chapters in this man's life, as he set off to Baffin Bay, between Canada and Greenland. Three out of the next five years were spent locked in pack ice, under unendurable conditions. After the incredible feat of leading eighteen of his twenty men to safety on foot, Kane wrote the largest selling book in American history about his adventures. Although largely forgotten today, Elisha Kent Kane was a hugely popular figure in the latter half of the nineteenth century. It has been said that, if homesteaders heading west across the United States' frontier carried two books, one was certainly by Dr. Kane; the other was probably a Bible. His rescue missions to the Arctic were widely regarded as suicidal. Inasmuch as his missions were validated by the scientific goal of the discovery of the Open Polar Sea (a popular theory among scientists of the era,) his was a scientific as well as a cultural mandate. His published accounts held a nation spellbound. The efforts connected with the writing of the account of his second mission (abetted by the "dragon within" of his chronic endocaditis) eventually killed him. Upon his death in Havana at the age of thirty-seven, the Governor of Cuba personally escorted the



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cortege as far as New Orleans. From New Orleans to Cincinnati, the banks of Mississippi were lined with mourners, and the train trip from Cincinnati to Philadelphia took nearly four days because of the throngs on the tracks. His funeral was the largest in American history, eclipsed only by Lincoln's a decade later. Culturally, Kane was the embodiment of Patricia Limerick's "sustainable American hero," representing the ascent of American Science and Technology to the stature of the European Renaissance and Enlightenment movements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

 February 4, Friday: [Lavinia Fisher](#) of [Charleston, South Carolina](#) was [hanged](#) before a crowd of some 2,000.

 February 5, Saturday: The United States House of Representatives briefly entertained a proposition in regard to the raw evil of human [enslavement](#), and decided it wasn't going to do any good for them to worry about it.

"Mr. Meigs submitted the following preamble and resolution:
"Whereas, slavery in the United States is an evil of great and increasing magnitude; one which merits the greatest efforts of this nation to remedy: Therefore,
"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to enquire into the expediency of devoting the public lands as a fund for the purpose of,
"1st, Employing a naval force competent to the annihilation of the slave trade;
"2dly, The emancipation of slaves in the United States; and,
"3dly, Colonizing them in such way as shall be conducive to their comfort and happiness, in Africa, their mother country."

Read, and, on motion of Walker of North Carolina, ordered to lie on the table. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227.

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)

That evening at the Chestnut Street Theatre in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, for the only time this season, they presented the comedy "Speed the Plough," after which there was another comic piece "The Anatomist, Or, The Sham Doctor."

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 February 6, Sunday: The merchant vessel *Elizabeth*, for the moment redesignated as the *Mayflower of Liberia*, sailed out of New-York harbor under the escort of an American sloop of war, transporting 86 freed black Americans to swampy Sherbro Island in Sierra Leone on their way to becoming African colonists, and Africans. The American Colonization Society had (in effect) founded Liberia — although many details remained to be worked out such as precisely where the hell Liberia was supposed to be (some land, eventually, would be “purchased” for some \$300.⁰⁰ worth of rum, clothing, tobacco, clothing, trinkets, and guns and powder in a transaction we know took place only because a pistol was being aimed). But the idea, the idea was most exceedingly clear: Africa was to be for Africans, black Africans and America was to be for Americans, white Americans.⁸⁸

(Sherbro Island’s unhealthy conditions would produce a high death rate among the settlers as well as the society’s representatives. The British governor would tolerate relocation of the immigrants to a safer area temporarily while the ACS worked to save its colonization project from complete disaster.)

Lord Cochrane occupied Valdivia in the name of the Republic of Chile.

 February 7, Monday: Mr. Meigs of the United States House of Representatives persisted, in his personal struggle with the raw evil of human [enslavement](#), moving that the deliberative body consider the tabled resolution that he had offered a couple of days before, on February 5th. The issue was decided in the negative, no his colleagues were not going to consider such a proposal.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 February 8, Tuesday: [William Tecumseh Sherman](#) was born in Lancaster, Ohio. As an adult he would report that his middle name had come from his father having “caught a fancy for the great chief of the Shawnees, ‘Tecumseh’” (his family would always refer to him as “Cump”).

[Ludwig van Beethoven](#) dated a memorandum as part of his appeal of the ruling of the previous September 17th that his nephew Karl be cared for by his mother under a court-appointed guardian. His memorandum was 48 pages in length.

 February 9, Wednesday: At St. Mary, Whitechapel, William Smith, age 24, stole two cows worth £36 from William Morris. On the testimony of William Morris, his cow boy James Martin, the man to whom William Smith sold the two cows Joseph Martin, and constable Francis Freeman, a Middlesex jury would find him guilty and Judge Baron Graham would sentence him to be [hanged](#).

Moses Gerrish Farmer, who would develop the electric-striking apparatus for a fire alarm service that would be installed in Boston in 1851, and would invent an incandescent electric lamp in 1858/1859, was born in Boxcawen, New Hampshire to Colonel John Farmer and Sally Gerrish Farmer.

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

5th day 10th of 2 M / Meeting small but to me a season of some favor for which I desire to be thankful. – there was much snow on the ground & travelling bad yet about 14 Woman attended Meeting & but few more men –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

88. At this point freed and refugee slaves had been being welcomed on this Sierra Leone coast controlled by Great Britain already for some 30 years. By the time of our civil war there would be some 11,000 American blacks free in this Liberia.

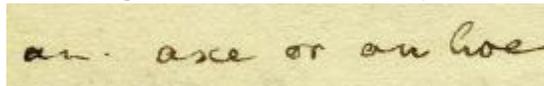
On about this day [John Keats](#) wrote to Fanny Brawne:

I can do nothing say nothing think nothing of you but what has its spring in the Love which has so long been my pleasure and torment. On the night I was taken ill when so violent a rush of blood came to my Lungs that I felt nearly suffocated - I assure you I felt it possible I might not survive and at that moment though[t] of nothing but you...

 February 11, Friday: Captain George Soule of Duxbury, Massachusetts died of the [yellow fever](#) and the body was consigned to the sea off the isle of St. Thomas in the West Indies (this would not be the George Soule who was a servant of Edward Winslow and a signer of the Mayflower Compact, but presumably one of his descendants).

 February 12, Saturday: The weekly liturgy of the Church of England included Anglican prayers for the royal family and Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Queen Consort](#) wanted her name on the list. At her husband [King George IV](#)'s request, the British cabinet acted to remove the name of Queen Caroline. Meanwhile, men were going around in London blowing horns, announcing the imminence of her arrival.

John Tyler wrote from [Washington DC](#), where he was serving in the federal House of Representatives, to William Seldon in regard to the iniquity of the Missouri Compromise: "*Our property in our [slaves](#) is as full and complete as that in our plantation utensils and with equal semblance of propriety might it be contended that we should not carry with us into the western forests an axe or an hoe.*" (The future President of the United States of America, be it noted, a well-educated young white gentleman, was so utterly appreciative of the niceties that since the word "hoe" began with an "h," like the word "historical" and the word "herbal," by the rules of proper grammar it should be awarded the indefinite article "an" rather than the indefinite article "a": "an historical account," "an herbal garden," therefore "*an hoe.*")



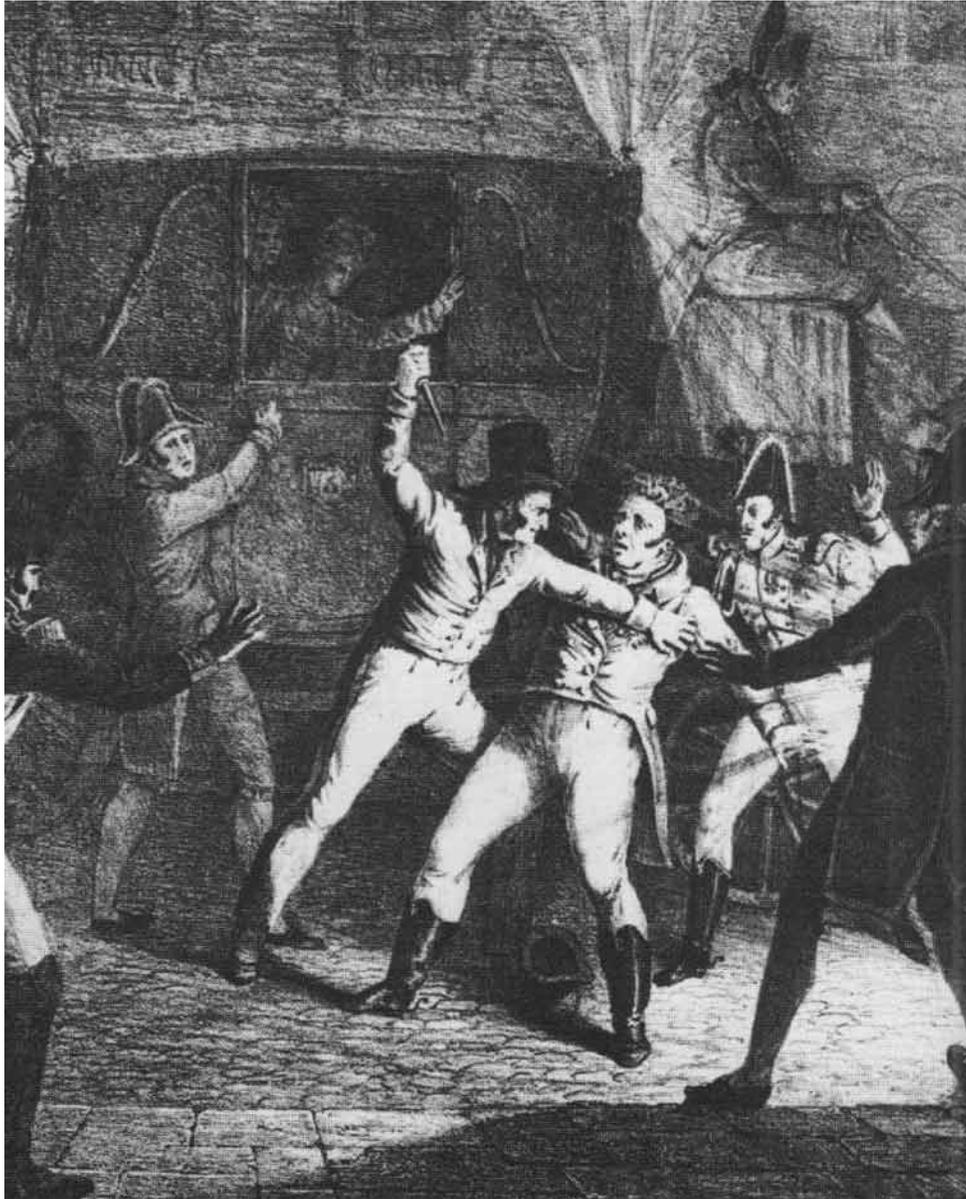
an axe or an hoe.

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February 13, Sunday, night: On the street outside the [Paris Opéra](#), in an attempt to extinguish the Bourbon line, [Louis Pierre Louvel](#), a saddler, an admirer of [Napoléon](#), stabbed [Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry](#), nephew of [King Louis XVIII](#), as he was departing with his wife at about 11PM, leaving his dagger in his right chest. The duc, who anyway had never been in the line of succession, breathed his last the following morning (subsequent to this incident, the Paris Opéra would relocate from the Salle Montansier, its home since 1794, to the Salle Favart).



While the reaction was at its height after this murder and the failure of the government of prime minister Élie, Comte de Decazes, [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) was deprived of his post as general director of communes and departments in the [French](#) ministry of the interior.

The assassin would be sentenced to death on June 6th and beheaded on June 7th, and the dagger has been deposited in the National Archives. [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#) would soon publish [MÉMOIRES, LETTRES ET PIÈCES AUTHENTIQUES TOUCHANT LA VIE ET LA MORT DE S.A.R. MONSEIGNEUR CHARLES-](#)

[FERDINAND D'ARTOIS, FILS DE FRANCE, DUC DE BERRY; PAR M. LE VICOMTE DE CHATEAUBRIAND.](#)

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

1st day 13th of 2 M 1820 / Meetings silent walking very bad & but few women gathered - The Men however attended & I thought some zeal was manifested by some who were not Members - as low as things are, yet there is certainly something among us which attracts Some & induces them to attend our meetings - May Our conduct be such as to evince that we live conformable to our profession -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ February 14, Monday: In [Vietnam](#), from this point until 1841, the emperor Minh Mang would be reversing the policies of Gia-Long, and expelling the Christians.⁸⁹

➡ February 15, Tuesday: In a Federal-style frame farmhouse at the foot of Mount Greylock, on East Road at East Street near Adams, Massachusetts, [Susan Brownell \(Susan Brownell Anthony\)](#) was born. Her father, Friend Daniel Anthony, was a [Quaker](#) abolitionist, and at various times a shopkeeper, the owner and manager of cotton mills, a farmer, and an insurance agent. Her mother, Lucy Read Anthony, was a [Baptist](#) rather than a Quaker, and her mother's father Daniel Read had been a soldier in the American Revolution and had served in the Massachusetts legislature. Susan B. Anthony was the 2nd child and the family would grow to a total of four girls and two boys surviving infancy. If you like, you can visit the Friends Meetinghouse used by her family during these first six years of her life, at the Maple Street Cemetery.



It would appear that somehow her father was not disowned for marrying a Baptist. Instead, according to Ida Harper's LIFE AND WORK OF SUSAN B. ANTHONY, her parents requested of the Easton Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends (Hicksite) that Susan be considered a Quaker — and the meeting honored this request.

FEMINISM

89. This policy was, of course, a mistake, since as we all know, in this world there is nothing quite so nice –or quite so rare– as a Christian.

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➡ February 15, Tuesday: At the age of 92, [William Ellery](#) was found collapsed in his chair in [Newport, Rhode Island](#). He had been perusing Tully's offices in Latin. He was still serving as the Collector for the port. When given a sip of wine and water, he revived, and so he was put to bed, still reading. In the morning they would find him dead. The body would be buried in the Common Burial Ground on Farewell Street.



**IN MEMORY OF WILLIAM ELLERY
BORN DECEMBER 22 1727
GRADUATED HARVARD COLLEGE 1747
EARLY IN THE CONTEST BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND HER AMERICAN
COLONIES, HE LEFT THE PRACTICE OF LAW TO REPRESENT THIS STATE
IN CONGRESS
HE WAS AN ACTIVE AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THAT BODY FOR
MANY YEARS AND ONE OF THE SIGNERS OF THE [DECLARATION OF
INDEPENDENCE](#).
HE DIED AFTER AN ILLNESS OF FOUR DAYS FEBRUARY 15 1820
HE WAS IN FULL POSSESSION OF HIS POWERS TO THE CLOSE OF HIS
LONG LIFE
RARELY UNFITTED BY DISEASE FOR STUDY, SOCIETY OR OFFICIAL
DUTIES
AND WAITING FOR DEATH WITH THE HOPE OF A CHRISTIAN.**



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February 17, Thursday: The US federal senate passed the Missouri Compromise – [Maine](#) was admitted as a separate state while Missouri was simultaneously admitted as a slave state, thus preserving the balance of power between the North and the South, while [slavery](#) was prohibited in the land area of the Louisiana Purchase north of latitude 36° 31'.

At the Old Bailey in London, five of the six trials on this day ended with a death sentence. One of the death sentences was handed down in the case of a 9-year-old, Charles Elliott, who had stolen six handkerchiefs, worth five shillings each, from Martha Blakeman's shop on Oxford Street on February 8th. (Since we have no record of a [hanging](#), we can presume that this sentence would have later been commuted to transportation to Australia — the youngest person we know of who was actually hanged in Britain in the 19th Century was a John Bell in 1831 who at the age of 14 committed murder.)

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

5th day 17th 1820 / The Walking exceedingly bad & our meeting was attended by but few women - R Mitchell came along & kindly took my H in his sleigh & a sufficient number got to the meeting house to Make a Preparative Meeting. - The men turned out with pretty good example. - In the first meeting we had a lively testimony from father Rodman. - & to me it was a season of favor & I believe the solemnity covered most minds present for which I desired to be thankful.

My time of late had been much occupied in buisness for the support of the body & yet I may thankfully add, I have at seasons a comfortable evidence of the continuance of divine regard & the extension of life & love in my heart - may I ever keep this object in view thro' all & over all

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 18, Friday: Following the assassination of February 13th on the street outside the [Paris](#) Opéra, a more hard-line Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, Duc de Richelieu replaced Élie, Comte de Decazes as the [French](#) Prime Minister.

Ezekiel Bradstreet of Gloucester, the husband of Hanna Blatchford Bradstreet, drowned at sea.

On the island of St. Helena, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) had purchased a flock of goats and was for amusement shooting them one after another. His English watchers reported back to London that "To-day it is his favorite sport. For the rest, he is at peace with the English, and his health is excellent."

Mr. Meigs of the United States House of Representatives wasn't about to give up, in his personal struggle with the raw evil of human [enslavement](#), on this day making a motion similar to the motion he had made a couple of weeks before, on February 5th. This time, since he proceeded directly into a discussion of his proposal, he needed to be ruled out of order by the Speaker of the House.

He appealed, but the Speaker was sustained, and the House refused to take up the resolution. No further record appears.
HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



1820

1820

 February 19, Saturday: Mary Ann Capen was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

In [London](#), the “[Cato Street](#)” conspirators learned that there would be a dinner party on the Wednesday following at which all His Majesty’s ministers would be assembled, and proceeded to arm themselves. George Edwards, a government agent provocateur, purporting to be a “Spencean Philanthropist” (these were citizens under the influence of the British radical speaker Thomas Spence) and acting as a key aide to Arthur Thistlewood, was urging them forward with the full knowledge of the Home Office. (Later the conspirators would learn from [The New Times](#) that this cabinet dinner was to take place at the house of Lord Harrowby in Grosvenor Square — but this false information had deliberately been leaked to the newspaper by the Home Office. When Jamaican-born William Davidson, who had worked for Lord Harrowby, went to find more details about the cabinet dinner, a servant told him that his master was not at home, but the conspirators would discount this information.)

 February 20, Sunday: A revolt began at Santa María Chiquimula in Guatemala.

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

*1st day 20 of 2 M / Our Meetings were again Small & silent.
Some life experienced & I trust spread over the gatherings. –
The walking has been a long time quite bad, but it is comfortable
to observe as much care as is manifest amongst us in getting to
meeting. – Some who are not members appear very careful in that
respect. –*

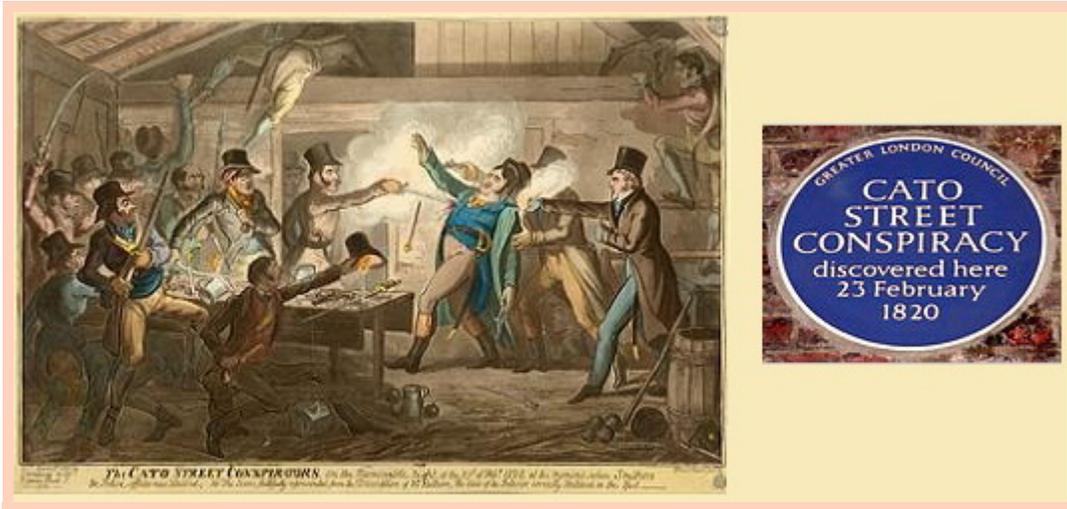
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 22, Tuesday: George Edwards, a government agent provocateur working for the Home Office, purporting to be a “Spencean Philanthropist” (these were citizens under the influence of the British radical speaker Thomas Spence) and acting as a key aide to Arthur Thistlewood, urged the “[Cato Street](#)” conspirators to invade the home of Lord Harrowby, Lord President of the Council, during the dinner of the cabinet, armed with pistols and grenades, and kill all the government ministers. Thistlewood believed that this would precipitate a massive uprising against the government and would spend the following hours persuading 27 more men to join their effort. James Ings, a coffee shop keeper and former butcher, would later reveal that he had been intending to decapitate the ministers and exhibit a couple of the heads on [London](#)’s Westminster Bridge.

1820

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February 23, Wednesday: British authorities broke into a meeting of Arthur Thistlewood and about 25 of his associates in London just before they sprang a plot to kill the entire cabinet at a dinner at the residence of Lord Harrowby in Grosvenor Square. Thistlewood killed a constable and escapes.



This would become known as the “Cato Street” conspiracy.

The legislature of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts considered the issue of human slavery in the new regions opening up to the west.

“Resolve respecting Slavery”: –

“The Committee of both Houses, who were appointed to consider what measures it may be proper for the Legislature of this Commonwealth to adopt, in the expression of their sentiments and views, relative to the interesting subject, now before Congress, of interdicting slavery in the New States, which may be admitted into the Union, beyond the River Mississippi,” respectfully submit the following report: ...

“Nor has this question less importance as to its influence on the slave trade. Should slavery be further permitted, an immense new market for slaves would be opened. It is well known that notwithstanding the strictness of our laws, and the vigilance of the government, thousands are now annually imported from Africa,” etc. MASSACHUSETTS RESOLVES, May 1819 to February 1824, pages 147-51.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

1820

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➡ February 24, Thursday: Arthur Thistlewood was apprehended by [London](#) police on suspicion of treason.



The [New Jersey](#) legislature enacted “An act for the gradual abolition of Slavery, and other purposes respecting Slaves,” repealing earlier [slavery](#) laws but essentially continuing the procedure for [manumission](#) then in effect (P.L. 1820, p. 74).

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

5th day 24th of 2nd M 1820 / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was this Day held at [Portsmouth](#), the travelling & other circumstances prevented my going. – only two went from the compact part of the town, who inform me that there was but little buisness & the Meeting short. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ February 25, Friday: When we explain our term “bunkum,” we make reference (rightly or wrongly) to a speech in the US House of Representatives made on this day by Representative Felix Walker. In his preamble to this speech, the representative from [North Carolina](#) explained that he well understood that it would be considered “long, dull, irrelevant.” Nevertheless he needed to put it on the record in order to generate something for the newspapers in his home district, something that would demonstrate that he was on the job. “I shall not be speaking to the House, but to Buncombe” — the [Buncombe](#) in question being his congressional district.

The church members of Acton unanimously selected the Reverend Marshall Shed as their pastor.

On the 25th of February, 1820, the Rev. Marshall Shed, a native of Newton and graduate of Dartmouth College, 1817, was unanimously elected to be their pastor. The town [of Acton] agreed to give him \$500 as a settlement, to which \$200 were added by subscription, and \$600 and 15 cords of wood, as his annual salary, so long as he shall supply the pulpit. He was ordained on the 10th of the following May. The introductory prayer on the occasion was by the Rev. John Pierce of Brookline; sermon by Rev. William Greenough of Newton; consecrating prayer by Rev. Jonathan Newell of Stow; charge by Rev. Jonathan Homer of Newton; fellowship of the churches by Rev. Rufus Hurlburt of



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Sudbury; address to the church and people by Rev. Thomas Noyes; and concluding prayer by Rev. Ezra Ripley. He was dismissed at his request, May 14, 1831, and has since removed to New-York.⁹⁰



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

*1st day 27 of 2 M / Both meetings were silent & to me seasons of some favor. – the numbers present were as large as usual at this season of the Year
Set the eveing at David Williams –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

At sea, aboard the *Thaddeus*, the Christian missionaries were preparing themselves to confront the heathens:

*Lords Day. – This morning our little church solemnly renewed their covenant with God and with one another.
At 12, Brother Thurston preached, on deck from Ps. At 4 P.M., after a sermon from Br. B. from Matth. 25: 26, 27, 28, on the significancy, the nature, and the tendency of that holy ordinance, the church was allowed to sit down at the Lord's table, and to commemorate his dying love in the communion of his body and blood. It was a favored season. The day was truly interesting and happy. Seldom if ever have we been invited to this supper under circumstances more truly interesting and affecting. We chose the cabin where our little church of 17 members were like the family of Christ at the institution of the supper, furnished with comfortable seats around a large semicircular table, on which the elements and covenant vessels were placed and easily passed round, while the light propitious breeze bearing us gradually onward with the unsearchable riches of Christ, the peaceful sea, and the very gentle motion of the vessel could scarcely be considered as the least inconvenience. We have reason to believe that he who thus kindly ordered every circumstance was graciously present at his table and granting us answers to the prayers of sister churches in America, and also to our unworthy petitions. A lecture on self-examination preparatory to the celebration of the supper had been given Friday evening preceeding from I Cor. 11:28, and it is believed that every member made special efforts to be in readiness and we hope it will promote our growth in piety, cement our union and increase our strength and our preparation for our work which seems now ready to employ our hands. Our next communion may be in the midst of the worshipers of Akooah. May they soon be prepared for a worthy participation.*



February 28, Monday: [John Tenniel](#), who would in 1865 illustrate [Charles Lutwidge Dodgson](#)'s ([Lewis Carroll](#)'s) ALICE'S ADVENTURES IN WONDERLAND, was born in Bayswater, London.

90. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David 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.)

MARCH

➡ March: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) wrote THE PROPHECY OF DANTE.

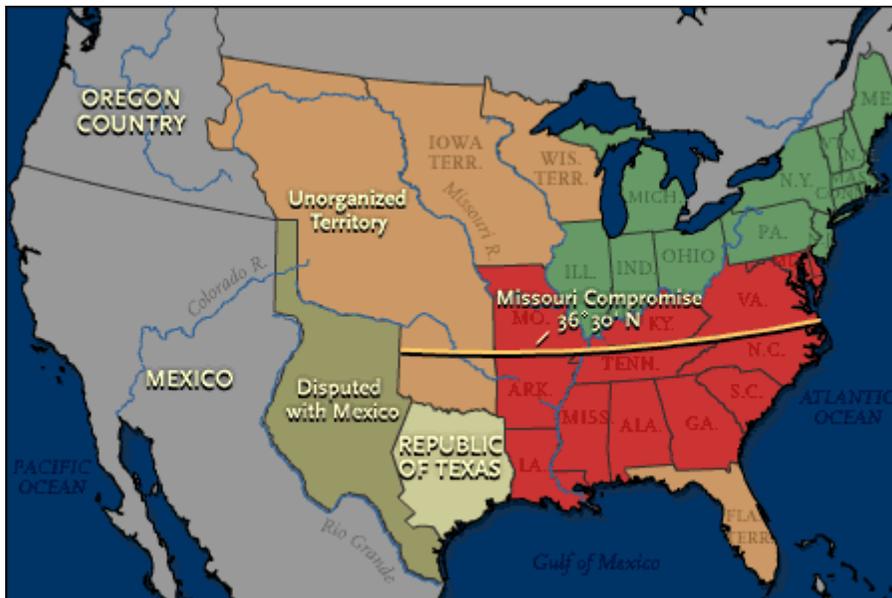
DANTE ALIGHIERI

➡ March: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) wrote “Sensitive Plant,” “Ode to Liberty,” and “Sky-lark.”

➡ March: [Arthur Schopenhauer](#) successfully disputed another lecturer, named [G.W.F. Hegel](#), and won a post at the University of Berlin, but at the same time entered into a long-term and ultimately unsuccessful competition with this academic.

➡ March: A constitutional monarchy was established in Spain.

➡ March 2, Thursday: According to a “Missouri Compromise” arrived at on this day, [Maine](#) was to enter the union as the 23rd state, a non-slave state, and balance the admission of Missouri in the following year as the 24th state, a slave state. The balance would stand at 12 slave and 12 free, providing equal numbers of votes in the US Senate. Supposedly, the deal was that [slavery](#) was to be considered to be outlawed north of latitude 36° 30' although it was left completely unresolved what was to happen when a Southern slavemaster traveled in the North accompanied by his slave retinue.



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

5th day 2nd 3 M / 1820 / A Small but favord meeting – Father Rodman was concerned in a Short but I thought living testimony

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1820

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March 3, Friday: The Missouri Compromise was formally ratified by the United States federal congress. [Slavery](#) would be allowed in this new state, Missouri, but nowhere else west of the Mississippi and north of 36°30' latitude, and as part of the deal, [Maine](#) would be admitted immediately as a free state. This was all about the sectional balance of power in the US Senate: two additional votes for the slavery Southern section of the nation balanced by two additional votes for the non-slavery Northern section of the nation.

In the diary of John Quincy Adams we find the following:

When I came this day to my office, I found there a note requesting me to call at one o'clock at the President's house. It was then one, and I immediately went over. He expected that the two bills – for the admission of Maine, and to enable Missouri to make a constitution – would have been brought to him for his signature, and he had summoned all the members of the administration to ask their opinions, in writing, to be deposited in the Department of State, upon two questions:

(1) whether Congress had a constitutional right to prohibit slavery in a territory; and (2) whether the 8th Section of the Missouri bill (which interdicts slavery forever in the territory north of thirty-six and a half latitude) was applicable only to the territorial state, or could extend to it after it should become a state....

After this meeting, I walked home with Calhoun, who said that ... in the Southern country ... domestic labor was confined to the blacks; and such was the prejudice that if he, who was the most popular man in his district, were to keep a white servant in his house, his character and reputation would be irretrievably ruined.

I said that this confounding of the ideas of servitude and labor was one of the bad effects of slavery; but he thought it attended with many excellent consequences. It did not apply to all kinds of labor – not, for example, to farming. He himself had often held the plough; so had his father. Manufacturing and mechanical labor was not degrading. It was only manual labor – the proper work of slaves. No white person could descend to that. And it was the best guarantee to equality among the whites. It produced an unvarying level among them. It not only did not excite but did not even admit of inequalities, by which one white man could domineer over another.

I told Calhoun I could not see things in the same light. It is, in truth, all perverted sentiment – mistaking labor for slavery, and dominion for freedom. The discussion of this Missouri question has betrayed the secret of their souls. In the abstract they admit that slavery is an evil, they disclaim all participation in the introduction of it, and cast it all upon the shoulders of our old Grandam Britain. But when probed to the quick upon it, they show at the bottom of their souls pride and vainglory in their condition of masterdom. They fancy themselves more generous and noblehearted than the plain freemen who labor for subsistence. They look down upon the simplicity of a Yankee's manners, because he has no habits of overbearing like theirs and cannot treat Negroes like dogs.

It is among the evils of slavery that it taints the very sources of moral principle. It establishes false estimates of virtue and vice; for what can be more false and heartless than this doctrine which makes the first and holiest rights of humanity to depend



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upon the color of the skin? It perverts human reason, and reduces man endowed with logical powers to maintain that slavery is sanctioned by the Christian religion, that slaves are happy and contented in their condition, that between master and slave there are ties of mutual attachment and affection, that the virtues of the master are refined and exalted by the degradation of the slave; while at the same time they vent execrations upon the slave trade, curse Britain for having given them slaves, burn at the stake Negroes convicted of crimes for the terror of the example, and writhe in agonies of fear at the very mention of human rights as applicable to men of color. The impression produced upon my mind by the progress of this discussion is that the bargain between freedom and slavery contained in the Constitution of the United States is morally and politically vicious, inconsistent with the principles upon which alone our Revolution can be justified; cruel and oppressive, by riveting the chains of slavery, by pledging the faith of freedom to maintain and perpetuate the tyranny of the master; and grossly unequal and impolitic, by admitting that slaves are at once enemies to be kept in subjection, property to be secured or restored to their owners, and persons not to be represented themselves, but for whom their masters are privileged with nearly a double share of representation. The consequence has been that this slave representation has governed the Union. Benjamin portioned above his brethren has ravined as a wolf. In the morning he has devoured the prey, and at night he has divided the spoil. It would be no difficult matter to prove, by reviewing the history of the Union under this Constitution, that almost everything which has contributed to the honor and welfare of the nation has been accomplished in spite of them or forced upon them, and that everything unpropitious and dishonorable, including the blunders and follies of their adversaries, may be traced to them.

I have favored this Missouri Compromise, believing it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of the states to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States, unpolluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect; namely, that of rallying to their standard the other states by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break. For the present, however, this contest is laid asleep.



March 4, Saturday: Fanny Mendelssohn began writing down her compositions in her new music album.

During October 1819 the [Maine](#) Constitutional Convention had been held in Portland. On this date the Maine Constitution, which had been signed by all 210 delegates, was approved by the United States Congress.

MAINE CONSTITUTION



1820

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 March 5, Sunday: The Dutch city of [Leeuwarden](#) proscribed that its 600-700 [Jews](#) might not attend at their rebuilt synagogue on the Sacramentsstraat on Sundays.

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

1st day 5 of 3 M / In the forenoon meeting our frd David Buffum was engaged twice in lively testimony & it was a Season of favor. - In the Afternoon our friends Ruth Spencer in company with her Husband, her father David Anthony & her Sister Remember Anthony attended with us & Ruth was lively in testimony. - They went out & lodged at D Buffums. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 6, Monday: Louis Spohr appeared as soloist in a concert with the Philharmonic Society Orchestra that had been delayed due to the death of King George III. He was acclaimed one of the great violinists and composers of the age.

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

2nd day 6th 3rd / This evening we were called on by our friend Royal Southwick from [Smithfield](#) who came to town on buisness. - he Set the evening with & his company was very pleasant & acceptable - he left at 9 OClock & lodged at his friend Thos Bush's -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 7, Tuesday: King Fernando VII of Spain accepted the Constitution of 1812 and abolished the Spanish [Inquisition](#).

Three days after his sister Fanny, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) began writing down his compositions in his new music album.

Even at what was for him a quite early age, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) knew something about writing to please an audience:

Oh how I wish I was again with you, with nothing to do but to go a gunning. O But the happiest days of my life are gone. Why was I not a girl that I might have been pinned all my life to my Mother's apron. After I have got through college I will come down and learn O.K. Latin and Greek, I read from one subject to another at a great rate.

*I remain
your
affectionate
and
dutiful
son,
and
most
obedient
and
most
humble
servant,
and
most
respectful,
and
most
sincerely
well-wisher*

*Nathaniel
Hawthorne*

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

3rd day 7 of 3rd M / This day Ruth Spencer & company went to Connanicut & appointed a Meeting & her father Daniel Anthony remained in town & spent the evening & lodged with us. -
4th day our above said friends returned & took tea with us



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March 8, Wednesday: At a meeting of the Boston Association of Booksellers it was agreed unanimously that they would refrain from the practice of price-competing with one another by offering to letter or mark names on books sold, but would instead all impose the same charge for this service.

Here is a candidate list of the 19th-Century [Boston](#) firms that might have been at this meeting, that might have become party to this unlawful conspiracy in restraint of trade (which is not to imply that all these firms were in existence as of 1820 or were represented at this particular meeting):

- Joseph F. Alsworth; Crosby & Alsworth
- Samuel T. Armstrong, Cornhill
- N.J. Bartlett
- William Blagrove; Boston Book Store
- Boston Chart and Nautical Bookstore, Custom House St.; Charles L. Blake; Robert A. Blake
- Leonard C. Bowles, Cornhill
- Osmyn Brewster; Crocker & Brewster
- George W. Briggs, Washington St.
- Oliver L. Briggs & Co.
- Joseph Bumstead, State St.
- James W. Burditt, Court St.
- Burnham & Brothers, Cornhill
- Thomas Burnham, Cornhill
- James Campbell, Tremont St.
- George Clark, Dock Sq.
- Otis Clapp, School St.; Beacon St.
- Daniel C. Colesworthy
- George W. Cottrell, Cornhill
- Crosby & Nichols, Washington St.
- William Crosby, Washington St.
- Cummings, Hilliard & Co., Cornhill
- Robert S. Davis, Washington St.; R.S. Davis & Co.; P. Stearns Davis.
- William H. Dennet, Washington St.
- Oliver Ditson
- Patrick Donahoe, Franklin St.
- Estes and Lauriat
- Oliver Everett, Cornhill
- Charles Ewer, Cornhill
- Federhen & Co.; Charles Thacher
- William Pembroke Fetridge
- Fields, Osgood & Company
- William B. Fowle, Cornhill
- Patrick Kevin Foley (also known as P.K. Foley), Bromfield St.
- James French, Washington St.
- Richard L. Frye
- Horace B. Fuller
- M.H. Gaughan
- Edwin H. Gill
- Charles Goodspeed, Park St.
- Charles D. Gould; Gould & Lincoln
- Andrew F. Graves, Cornhill
- Benjamin H. Greene
- Oliver C. Greenleaf, Court St.
- William H. Halliday & Co., Cornhill



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- Mrs. Mary Hickey, High St.
- Hickling, Swan & Brewer, Washington St.; Thomas M. Brewer
- Henry Hoyt
- Lemuel N. Ide, Washington St.
- John P. Jewett, Cornhill
- David P. King, Washington St.
- Charles Lauriat
- Joshua Lincoln; Gould & Lincoln
- Little, Brown & Co.; Augustus Flagg
- Littlefield's, Cornhill
- James Loring, Cornhill
- Josiah Loring, South Row
- Bela Marsh
- Hugh McDonnell, Washington St.
- George M. Merriam, Newbury (Washington) St.
- Israel Moody, Washington St.
- Munroe & Francis; Edmund Munroe, David Francis; Court St., Cornhill
- Sam F. Nichols; Nichols & Hall
- Old Corner Bookstore, Washington & School St.
- Osgood & Co., Washington St.; E. Libby.
- James A.G. Otis, Washington St.
- Samuel H. Parker
- Elizabeth Palmer Peabody; West Street Bookstore
- Oliver L. Perkins, Cornhill
- James M. Piper
- Benjamin B. Russell, Washington St.
- Francis S. Saxton, State St.
- Schoenhof & Moeller; Carl Schoenhof, Fanny Moeller
- Nathaniel S. Simpkins, Brattle St.
- George A. Snow; Snow, Boyden & Knight
- William V. Spencer
- Charles Stimpson, Washington St.
- Strong & Brodhead, Cornhill
- Swedenborgian Book Store, Tremont St.
- Joseph Teal, Hanover St.
- William P. Tewksbury, Washington St.
- Ticknor and Fields
- John B. Tileston; Brewer & Tileston
- Abel Tompkins, Cornhill
- John Turner
- William Veazie
- John X. Watson
- Thomas Wells, Hanover St.
- Wells & Lilly; William Wells and Robert Lilly, Court St.
- Henry White
- Rev. Thomas Whittemore, Cornhill
- John K. Wiggin; Wiggin & Lunt



1820

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 March 9, Thursday: One of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#)'s most loyal patrons, Archduke Rudolf, was installed as a cardinal in Olmütz (the composer intended his Missa Solemnis for the occasion, but had not finished it).

The government of the Philippines began a campaign to purge the island chain of foreigners (the death toll would reach about 125 by the 11th of the month).

In the [Executive Mansion](#) in [Washington DC](#), President James Monroe's daughter Maria had her wedding ceremony.

On the island of St. Helena, [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) was observed by the English watchers for the Plantation House to undress at 6AM in his garden and plunge himself into its stone reservoir. Count Montholon was with him, as were two servants who dried the General and assisted him in dressing.

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

5th day 9th of 3 M / Ruth Spencer was at meeting & had much to communicate her father Daniel Anthony also had two short testimonys. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 10, Friday: Some sources indicate that [Araminta Ross](#) was born on this date. She, and we, know only that she was born between 1820 and 1825, probably between 1820 and 1822, most likely 1821, on the plantation of Edward Brodas near Bucktown in Dorchester County, [Maryland](#) (the precise dates of slave births have almost never been recorded, and we have no particular reason to credit the sources that specify this day) to an enslaved father Benjamin Ross and mother Harriet Green Ross. She would be one of 11 children and would eventually assume her mother's given name, becoming [Harriet Ross](#) on her way to becoming [Harriet Tubman](#).

Little Araminta never would have a chance to attend college, or even a chance to learn to read and write, so she never would need to deal with the fact that modern science had proven beyond any reasonable doubt for all honest men that her brain was inferior to the white kind of brain, of the people who were doing all this research and who were going to college to fill their minds with all this self-legitimizing fantasy, and who were being forced to hold her in slavery because they had discovered that the condition of her brain incapacitated her for any more seemly lot in life.

In her youth she would take part in open-air worship services at the site now occupied by the Bazzel Methodist Episcopal Church.

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

6th day 10 of 3 M / Attended the funeral of widow Elizabeth Willcox Anne Davis deliverd these few & savory words "Mourn not for the dead, but mourn for the living - for blessed are the dead that die in the Lord - Jonathon followed in a short testimony & Ruth Spncer in a long one all to pretty good satisfaction. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Letter to Dr. James Carmichael & Son of Fredericksburg, Virginia from Gawin Corbin of Kilmarnock House in Lancaster Ct.:

*Dr Sir
I have been confined for these three months unable to assist myself in any manner what ever, and in want of almost of*



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*everything that might contribute to my relief. I have now to request the favor of you to send me by the post 4 oz [opium](#) for such a thing cannot be procured here. In order that I may be sure of Receiving it you will direct to Mr. John Hull Kilmarnock Lancaster, and on the inside cover to me to the care of as above. I am unable to sit up longer. With the mo Sincere Respect I am
DSir
Yours Mo Sincerely
Gawin Corbin
God grant I was near you*



March 11, Saturday: [Benjamin West](#) died in [London](#).

In [Boston](#), the Mercantile Library Association formalized itself at a large meeting of merchants' clerks, and others, held at the Commercial Coffee House at the corner of Batterymarch and Milk Streets (this is not to suggest that there had not been previous meetings of such a group). Mr. Theodore Lyman, jun., afterwards mayor of Boston, presided. The terms of subscription were two dollars annually, with each subscriber being required to present to the Mercantile Library "one or more volumes, either in biography, history, voyages, travels, or works relative to mercantile subjects" (this condition would afterward be abolished, since the books actually provided in this manner were generally considered of a worthless character; in this library, [Henry David Thoreau's A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) would be book #3374 and [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) would be book #6166).⁹¹

BOSTON MERCANTILE LIBRARY

The *Thaddeus* again crossed the Equator and some of the tightly packed cargo of Christian missionaries swam/bathed in the ocean (it goes without saying that these were the male missionaries, and it goes without saying that none of the female missionaries peeked):

Lat. North 2° Long. West 115°. Again we have entered our own hemisphere. We have this day special occasion to acknowledge the kind providence of God. About one o'clock P.M. there was a calm and several of the brethren, and some others, having been denied the privilege many weeks, allowed themselves to enjoy the pleasant and healthful exercise of bathing in the Ocean. Not long after they were safely out, while one of the sailors was employed in painting the bowsprit, with his feet in the water, a common sized shark was seen to approach him. Had he not been seasonably warned to avoid the monster, he might have lost a limb, if not his life. The shark then played or rather raved around the brig with the boldness and fierceness of a hungry tiger. By the dexterity of George P. Tamoree and one of the mates a snare was fixed upon him. Then flouncing like a bullock unaccustomed to the yoke he seized, with violence the end of a strong pole and tho it broke many of his pointed teeth he held fast until by the pole and ropes he was drawn on board. The mingled emotions of our company, arising from a sense of danger escaped by the gracious interposition of our divine and strong deliverer, evinced by tears and congratulations, cannot easily be described. On opening the shark, there were found a porcupine fish and a large beef bone which had been thrown overboard by the cook at the time the brethren were bathing, so that he could

91. On April 24th the Library would formally open in a room at the Merchants' Hall at the corner of Congress and Water Streets. This would be the initial mercantile library in America, the one in New-York opening soon, on November 2d.

not have been far distant at that time. But while we acknowledge this deliverance from unknown and unexpected danger, we regard it as an admonition to be always watchful and guarded when surrounded with dangers and enemies, and as a kind intimation that the same hand that shut the mouth of this Lion will also shut the mouth of the roaring Lion and so far as his cause requires it will mercifully deliver us from the power of ungodly men and all that rise up against us.

 March 12, Sunday: [Alexander Mackenzie](#) died at the age of 56 of what was then known as Bright's disease, a morbid kidney condition. The body would be placed in the old Avoch parish churchyard, on the Black Isle of the Moray Firth in [Scotland](#).

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

*1st day 12 of 3 M / In our morning Meeting Our frd D Buffum was very lively in a short testimony – In the Afternoon Silent & to me a very poor meeting tho' favord with some ability to wrestle against obtrusions –
This day about One OClock departed this Life Eliphah Jernagan an old friend & acquaintance in my Mothers family – in the early part of her time she was addressed by my Mothers brother Samuel Wanton, who went to Sea & on the passage home was taken sick & died & was brought home a corpse & interd in the Clifton burying ground & near his remians it is concluded to inter Eliphah
About two years ago She had a cancer extracted from her breast & has remained in a very feeble state ever since tho' She got out once & attended Meeting*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 12, Sunday: Caroline Downes Brooks was born, the daughter of [Concord](#) lawyer Nathan Brooks. Shortly after her birth, her mother Caroline Downes Brooks died. She would become the unloved stepdaughter of his second wife, Mary Merrick Brooks, the president of the Concord Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society, would avoid sugar produced by slave labor, and would assist her remote step-mother in the making of the famous "Brooks Cake" that was used to raise funds for antislavery purposes. She would marry Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar and thus become a sister-in-law to [Elizabeth Sherman Hoar](#), fiancée of [Charles Chauncy Emerson](#). A fellow-student with the Thoreau children at the [Concord Academy](#) taught by [Phineas Allen](#), she would be a girlhood companion of [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#). She would function as an officer of the Concord Female Charitable Society.

 March 13, Monday: The missionaries aboard the *Thaddeus*:

*The heat is more oppressive in passing the Equatorial regions than it was in the Atlantic. We have had the sun more nearly vertical for a greater number of days. Yesterday the mercury stood at 84° belowdeck, and at 124° in the sun.
Today another shark has been caught with a hook, and a second this evening seized and held for some time but at length escaped. So the quickened sinner sometimes breakes away at the moment when he seem to be fastened by the truth and almost drawn into the kingdom of Christ.*

1820

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 March 14, Tuesday: Birth of Victor Emmanuel II who would be King of Sardinia and then of [Italy](#).

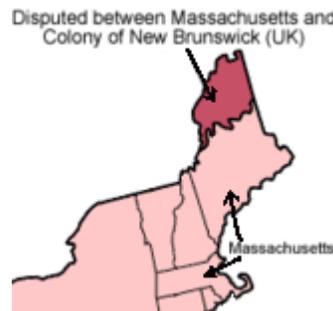
 March 15, Wednesday: [Roualeyn George Gordon-Cumming](#) was born as the 2d son, and therefore not to be entitled, of William Gordon Gordon-Cumming, 2d Baronet.

The citizens of the Maine region had been demanding separation from Massachusetts control ever since the [War of 1812](#), and such separation had been agreed to in principle by Massachusetts in 1816. At this point a deal was struck preserving the balance between free states and slave states in the federal congress, whereby [Maine](#) was able to become the 23d state of the federal union, a free state, while Missouri was also admitted, as a [slave](#) state. (The reason why [Canada](#) is still a separate country –and I bet you don't know this– is that no such deal was ever possible, admitting its provinces as free states of the federal union while simultaneously admitting more slave states in order to preserve the balance between slave and free in our federal congress.) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 15 of 3M / Attended the funeral of Elaphal Jernagan She was buried after the Manner of Friends in the Clifton Burying ground near the Wanton family - Abigail Sherman had a short testimony -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 16, Thursday: The final papers were signed at Jameson Tavern in Freeport, for the [Maine](#) District of Massachusetts to be split off and admitted as the 23rd state, Maine.



The ship *Islington* was lost near Cape Hatteras off the coast of North Carolina.

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

5th day 16th of 3rd M 1829 / Our meeting was silent to me a pretty good time -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 18, Saturday: Evaristo Pérez de Castro Brito replaced Joaquín José Melgarejo y Saurín, duque de San Fernando de Quiroga as First Secretary of State of Spain.

At the Norfolk Assizes, [William Head](#) was sentenced to [hang](#) for highway robbery. He and an accomplice had taken a silver watch, a handkerchief, and a great coat from another visitor to the Wymondham Fair. He would be held at Norwich Castle, his death sentence would be reprieved to transportation, and he would be taken from England aboard the *Hebes* destined for New South Wales.

 March 19, Sunday: Aboard the *Thaddeus*:



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Lord's Day. — Favored with the privilege of public worship on deck. The attentive audience listened to a discourse from Luke 23: 39-43, in which the prominent and distinguishing doctrines of grace were illustrated by Br. B. Our only hope with respect to the seed sown is in God who giveth the increase. Tamoree absented himself from public worship as he often does from our family devotions. He has, to our grief, expressed some skeptical views respecting Christianity. His intercourse with a Deist on board has been no serious advantage to him. We still hope the Lord will save him from the power of the enemy and make a blessing and not a curse to his countrymen.

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

1st day 19th of 3rd M / Our Morning Meeting was large & Silent -in the Afternoon also pretty well attended & N Dennis's testimony was lively "Children have ye any meat" - this inquiry seemed peculiarly necessary for me having suffered great barraness in both metings 'tho I labored for life & did experience a little -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 22, Wednesday In a [duel](#) between [Commodore James Barron](#) and [Commodore Stephen "Our Country Right or Wrong" Decatur](#) on the usual [Washington DC](#) dueling field at Bladensburg, [Maryland](#), Barron took the ball in the muscle of the thigh and would survive this mere flesh wound and be reinstated during the following year to his career trajectory in the US Navy (an organization which, after all, is about killing people), while Decatur took the ball in the gut and within twelve hours was of course dead of peritonitis in the nation's capital city at the age of 41 (stand sideways and suck it in, do your best not to get gut shot — gut shot is bad).

[Perry County](#) was created in Pennsylvania from part of Cumberland County and named in honor of [Oliver Hazard Perry](#), victor in the Battle of Lake Erie.



March 23, Thursday: Congressman Samuel Chandler Crafts, a future governor of Vermont, wrote to Joseph Warren Scott about the outcome of the duel between [Commodore Stephen "Our Country Right or Wrong" Decatur](#) and [Commodore James Barron](#): "A circumstance happened yesterday which has created a very great sensation here — Commodore Decatur & Commodore Barron have fought a duel in which they both fell — Decatur was shot through the body and is since dead — Barron was shot near the top of the hip and the ball is still in him — it is thought however that he will recover — Decatur has been the pride of the navy and has done more to raise it to its present high standing than any other — he was one of the navy commifsioners and his lofs is as much regreted here, as the lofs of any other man could be. Mr Randolph made a motion in congreffs this morning, that Congrefs adjourn until after the funeral, which will take place tomorrow, and wear crape during the remainder of the sefsion out of respect to his memory — but the motion was opposed, on account of the manner of his death — and was afterwards withdrawn — Randolph then motioned to adjourn (leaving out the wearing crape) which was decided against the motion by nearly 2 to 1 — we sit from five to six hours each day but after all do not make much progrefs — I think we will adjourn in about 4 weeks."

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

5th day 23rd of 3rd M / The celebrated LORENZO DOW attended Meeting with us, a very considerable number of people of other societies also came in hopes to hear him preach among us but he kept silence, & David Buffum was engaged in a short lively

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testimony on the subject of true faith & Ann Dennis spoke a few words & with that exception & a short disturbance from a crazy man we had a solid meeting. The circumstance of Lorenzo's being present drove[?] some of us to the center - I have no doubt he is a religious man & this Sentiment is confirmed, by a Short interview I have had with him since dinner to request him to appoint a time when he will See our friend David Buffum who has a mind to have an opportunity with him tomorrow morning about 9 OClock is agreed upon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 24, Friday Gioachino Rossini's *Messa di gloria* was performed for the initial time, in San Ferdinando, Naples.

Marche funebre et De profundis for chorus and orchestra by Fromental Halévy was performed for the initial time, in the rue Sainte-Avoye synagogue, [Paris](#). The work was part of nationwide mourning over the murder of the Duc de Berry.

Nearly 80% of the entire population of Washington DC was in attendance at the funeral of [Commodore Stephen Decatur](#), some 10,000 persons including such personages as President James Monroe, cabinet members, Senators, Congressmen, justices of the Supreme court and just about everyone of influence in Washington (perhaps with the exception of [Commodore James Barron](#)). The pall bearers were five commodores (Rodgers, Chauncey, Tingey, Porter and Macdonough) plus two naval captains (Ballard and Cassin) supplemented by a naval lieutenant (Macpherson).



Our hero dies, and yet his name emblazoned
 on the naval role of fame
 Shall live till yonder bright star to seamen dear
 Shall cease to brighten the northern sphere
 Till winds no more shall rage nor fires roar
 And freedom's sun shall rise to set no more.

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

6th day 24th of 3rd M / This morning according to appointment called with D Buffum to see Lorenzo Dow - The opportunity (tho' not[?] much was said) was attended with a considerable feeling on my part. I have no doubt he has known much of religion, but it is attended with a mixture with which Friends cannot fully unite. There Yet remains in him the whirlwind & the fire, & withall the Small still voice is heard in a degree. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 26, Sunday: On or about this [date](#), on a morning of beautiful clear weather during maple-sugaring, [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) probably had his initial vision experience of the Father and the Son, or at least, he would later say he had:

I retired to a secret place in a grove and began to call upon the Lord. While fervently engaged in supplication my mind was taken away from the objects with which I was surrounded, and I was enwrapped in a heavenly vision and saw two glorious personages who exactly resembled each other in features, and likeness, surrounded with a brilliant light which eclipsed the sun at noonday. They told me that all religious denominations were believing in incorrect doctrines, and that none of them was acknowledged of God as his church and kingdom. And I was expressly commanded to "go not after them," at the same time receiving a promise that the fulness of the gospel should at some future time be made known unto me.

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

*1st day 26th of 3rd M 1820 / Our Morning Meeting was very full & nearly silent. towards the close father Rodman expressed a few words very pertinent & truly on the subject of silence & true worship. -
In the Afternoon we were Silent & both to me were pretty good meetings. - Attended the funeral for Richard Barker, he was once a member of our Society.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 27, Monday: [Mary Cogswell Daveis](#), who would eventually marry [David Greene Haskins](#), was born in Portland, [Maine](#).

The Pennsylvania legislature passed an act to "prevent kidnapping" under the federal fugitive slave law. In the future any judge or recorder who granted to an alleged [slavemaster](#) or [slave catcher](#) a warrant for removal of a negro or mulatto alleged to be an escaped slave, would be obligated to record the full particulars of that action and promptly notify the local Court of Quarter Sessions of the Peace.



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 March 28, Tuesday: Six Antiphons for the consecration of Palms on Palm Sunday D.696 for mixed choir by Franz Schubert were performed for the initial time, in the Alt-Lerchenfelder Kirche, Vienna. These had all been composed two days earlier over a period of 30 minutes.

[Mrs. Annie Mae Paterson Palmer](#) arrived at the Rose Hall Great House, a Georgian mansion near Montego Bay in Jamaica. Allegedly, she would poison her husband John Rose Palmer after he beat her with a riding whip after she had had an affair with a young slave. Allegedly, all her life, until she would be found strangled in her bed in 1831, she would be taking lovers from among the slaves there, then murdering them when they were no longer of interest to her. Allegedly, her ghost still haunts the Rose Hall Great House, which has been renovated.⁹²

 March 29, Wednesday: A hearing was held in the appellate court in Vienna in the case of the guardianship of [Karl van Beethoven](#).

 March 30, Thursday: The hard-line [French](#) government of Armand du Plessis, duc de Richelieu reinstated press censorship.

That night, the Congregationalist missionaries aboard the *Thaddeus* a third of the way across the wide Pacific Ocean sighted something toward the western horizon — a shadow. It was the Mauna Kea volcano of the Big Island of Hawaii, which they knew to possess “a height of nearly three miles,” looming above them in the darkness because coated in snow.

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

5th day 30th of 3rd M / Our Monthly Meeting held this day in Town was large & very solid. Our friend D Buffum was engaged in a short but very lively testimony "Come brother come Sister let us go up to the mountain of the Lords house &c." In the last we had but little business, & the meeting broke by two OClock - A committee was appointed to open a Meeting at Jamestown when way might open & to close when they think proper. This seems very desirable for tho' the members are few in Number, & mostly old & inferm yet there are some tender minds who attend & it seems hard to relinquish a meeting at a place where one has been so long established. - Uncle & Aunt Thurston only dined with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 31, Friday: In the dawn the full display of “verdant hills, and deep ravines, the habitations of the islanders, the rising columns of smoke, the streams, cascades, trees, and vestiges of volcanic activity,” to wit Hawaii, the Big Island, lay before the missionaries of the *Thaddeus*, and around and about on the shorelines of these Hawaiian Islands, discernible with the spyglass, were “the objects of our solicitude, moving along the shore,” real live “almost naked savages,” unknowingly reaching the completion of their long wait to be alerted to “the great salvation by Jesus Christ.” These righteous few landed at Kohala and began their lives’ long struggle against Satan’s dark hand.

The interesting intelligence of yesterday is confirmed today by a visit of Mr. Ruggles, Tho. H. and Tamoree to the residence of Krimokoo where they were kindly received and entertained. The

92. All these alleged factoids apparently derive not from anything actually known about this woman’s life but instead from the prolific author Herbert George de Lisser’s 1928 *THE WHITE WITCH OF ROSE HALL*, which, to be frank about the matter, had been offered as a work of fiction.



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widow of Tamh. sent us a present of fresh fish, cocoanuts, sweet potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, breadfruit, &c., expressing much satisfaction that we had come to teach them good things. Several natives came off to the Brig in the canoes, with some little articles of provisions, of their own manufacture, shells, &c. for the purpose of traffic. of them we inquired whether they had learned anything about Jehovah who had made Owhyhee and all things. They replied, that Reehoreeho the King had heard of the great God of the white people, and had spoken of him, that all the chiefs but one had agreed to destroy their Idols, because they were convinced that they could do no good since they could not even save their King. idol worship is therefore prohibited and the priesthood entirely abolished. – Sing, O Heavens for the Lord hath done it.

SPRING 1820

→ Early in the year: Convinced by a study of THE BIBLE in Greek and Hebrew that the Golden Rule, although an ingredient in every system of religion,⁹³ was best to be “inculcated” through the system known as Christianity, and yet aware that the two translations of the Gospels into Bengali, those of the Reverend [William Carey](#) and Mr. Ellerton, abounded in “the most flagrant violations of native idiom,” Rajah Rammohan Roy published at his own expense THE PRECEPTS OF JESUS A SUFFICIENT GUIDE TO PEACE AND HAPPINESS, a selection from the Gospels — and was promptly and vehemently attacked by the Trinitarian missionary Dr. Joshua Marshman in Serampore, [India](#).

93. In attributing the Golden Rule to Hinduism, the Rajah relied upon the *DHAMMAPADA*, which contains



All fear punishment, all love life.
Therefore, do not kill, or cause to kill.
Do as you would want done.

upon the *MAHABHARATA*, which contains not only



Good people do not injure living beings; in joy and sorrow, pleasure and pain, one should act toward others as one would have them act toward oneself.

but also



Whatever one would wish for oneself, that let one plan for another.

and upon the *BHAGAVAD-GITA*, which contains



This highest Godhead hath his seat in every being, and liveth though they die; who seeth him, is seeing, and he who everywhere this highest God hath found, will not wound Self with self.

In actuality, we may note, the rule as enunciated in Hinduism is broader than the rule as it is found in Christianity, for it contains no implicit speciesist presumption, as it most emphatically does within Christendom, that the scope of its application must be limited to the realm of human creatures alone. It is, instead, as broad as when enunciated by Friend John Woolman:

“I rejoice, that I feel love unfeigned towards my fellow creatures.”

— Friend [John Woolman](#),
to his wife, 24th of 4th Month, 1760

Rajah Rammohan Roy responded with AN APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC, IN DEFENSE OF “THE PRECEPTS OF CHRIST,” a 20-page pamphlet which, again, he published at his own expense.



APRIL

➡ April: [Andrew Stuart](#) was elected to represent the Upper Town of Quebec (he would continue to represent that riding until an electoral defeat in 1834, after he had become a supporter of the government party and had voted against the Ninety-Two Resolutions).

➡ April: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) took part in the insurgent movement against Papal and Austrian domination.

➡ April 1, Saturday: Day One of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): In the evening, the placards of “A Committee of Organisation for Forming a Provisional Government,” calling for an immediate national strike, were posted in Glasgow. The document made reference to the Magna Carta and to the English Bill of Rights. It seems this was in large part a “Let a thousand flowers bloom” provocation by the authorities, an attempt to identify and eliminate the ringleaders of discontent. Government troops standing by in Glasgow to ensure that things did not get out of hand included the Rifle Brigade, the 83rd Regiment of Foot, the 7th and 10th Hussars, and Samuel Hunter’s Glasgow Sharpshooters.

➡ April 2, Sunday: [Professor Thomas Brown](#) died while on a trip to London taken at the advice of his physician (since Professor Brown by agreement had been performing most of [Professor Dugald Stewart](#)’s active duties, Professor Stewart, recognizing himself no longer able, would resign his post).

Day Two of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): In Glasgow on this Easter Sunday, people were reading the placards and reacting to them.

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

1st day 4 M 2nd 1820 / Rode with John this morning to [Portsmouth](#), attended meeting - a very considerable number of serious & well disposed people attend that meeting & some of them of the younger

class - it was solid & silent & the secret language of my mind was "Gather Home". The witness for God placed in every heart. - After meeting we dined at Uncle Thurstons, & then rode to Abner Cundels & looked round the farm & house a little, & attended to a little other buisness, then to Ruth Mitchells, took tea & came home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 3, Monday: Day Three of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): In a wide area of central Scotland, work at the looms stopped. There was a march on the Carron Company ironworks, by a small group, to seize weapons, but this was prevented by Hussars. Prisoners being taken to the Greenock jail by the militia were freed by local people. There was never any doubt of the outcome, and the identified leaders of these actions would be [hanged](#) and then [beheaded](#), while others would be sentenced to transportation.

 April 4, Tuesday: Day Four of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): small skirmishes.

 April 5, Wednesday: A setting of the Agnus Dei by Carl Maria von Weber was performed for the initial time, as part of Carlo, a play by von Blankensee, in Berlin.

Day Five of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): some gunfire, some arrests.

The British officer assigned to watch [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) on St. Helena reported to London that "General Bonaparte remained out until two o'clock yesterday and finished the sod wall. The four [Chinese](#), who have been constantly employed in the garden, got angry at the General having given a bottle of wine to each of the Chinese that are employed in the house and did not give them the same indulgence. They therefore refused doing what the General wanted them to do, which put him in a great rage, and he ordered them off instantly. General Bonaparte is hard at work this morning in the same garden. He has cut a large hole like an embrasure in the sod wall facing my side window, in which they are now fixing a large tub, half up the wall, to form a sort of cascade into the long tank in the garden."

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

4 day 5 of 4 M / Rode with my H to [Portsmouth](#) on buisness went to A Cundels & showed her the Farm Uncle Stanton has Bought & dined & spent the Afternoon at Anne Anthony's -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 6, Thursday: Day Six of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): random disturbances.

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

5th day 6th of 4th M 1820 / Our Meeting was small & a season of Labor to me & for my labor I had some reward, in that I experienced some good to arise. - but in the committee which met at the close to consider of Jamestown Meeting I was very destitute of that quallification to act & judge which I really craved to feel & which I believe I have felt at seasons on the very subject in question. - In the meeting father Rodman was engaged in a short testimony.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 7, Friday: King George IV was proclaimed.

Day Seven of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): some arrests were made, and people carted off to jail.

An overture by Franz Schubert was performed in Graz. This was the 1st time a composition by Schubert had been heard outside Vienna.

 April 8, Saturday: Day Eight of [Scotland's "Radical War"](#): while some arrests were made and some people being carted off to jail. The Port Glasgow Militia, escorting prisoners from Paisley to Greenock jail, were attacked by local people and fighting in the streets was augmented by stones from windows and doorways. After the prisoners were confined in their new lodgings at 5PM, the militiamen found they needed to fight their way out again. Opening fire, they killed eight (including an 8-year-old child) and wounding ten. After they were gone the local people stormed the jail, freeing their prisoners.

Death of Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk.

The Imperial Royal Court of Appeal of Lower Austria overturned the lower court's decision and ruled that Karl van Beethoven be taken from the care of his mother and placed under the joint guardianship of his uncle [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) and Karl Peters.

A statue of Aphrodite (now known as Venus de Milo) was discovered on the Aegean island of Milos.

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

1st day 9th of 4th M / Our Morning Meeting was large solid & quiet Our friend D Buffum was engaged in a very lively & pertinent testimony. Jonathon & Hannah Dennis a few words acceptably. – In the Afternoon we were Silent – After meeting attended the funeral of the Widow Phebe Stanton Aged about 89 Years. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 10, Monday: The Symphony no.2 by Louis Spohr was performed for the initial time, in [London](#) under the direction of the composer (Spohr "conducted" the Philharmonic Society by waving his bow at them).

 April 12, Wednesday: Alexander Ypsilantis was declared leader of Filiki Eteria, a secret organization to ethnically cleanse Greece of Ottoman rule.

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

4th day 12th of 4th M / In sympathy with a neighbour who has suddenly become nearly blind, a young woman in the prime of life, a husband, one child & in good outward circumstances, to be thus deprived of all visual enjoyment is awful & Afflicting, in a visit to her last evening I suggested to her consideration & reflection The Scripture "In all things give thanks" that tho' her sight might finally, totally leave her yet she had many blessings left & her situation would not be as deplorable, as some that might be both blind & very poor. – It has also on some

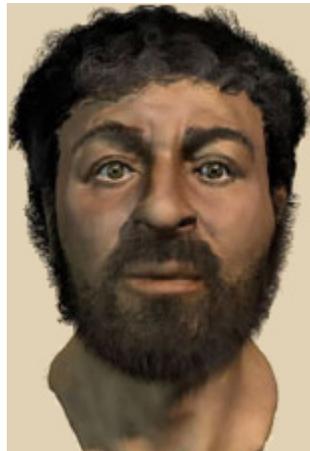
other subjects been a day of some feeling. Oh that I may be renewed unto watchfulness & prayer, for if there has ever been a day when there was a necessity for Ministers & Elders to Watch Long & fast often, this is the time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 13, Thursday: Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) was hard at work revising the Gospels. He wrote to William Short –his secretary and protégé– about [Jesus](#) Christ, that:

Among the sayings and discourses imputed to him by his biographers, I find many passages of fine imagination, correct morality, and of the most lovely benevolence; and others, again, of so much ignorance, so much absurdity, so much untruth, charlatanism and imposture, as to pronounce it impossible that such contradictions should have proceeded from the same being.



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

5th day 13th of 4th M 1820 / Our first meeting was silent & to me a pretty good season. - At the close of it was held our Select Meeting for Ministers & Elders, which was to me a Solemn time, especially towards the close, when some feeling & pertinent remarks were made on the State of Society by our friends D Buffum & Hannanh Dennis - Our friend Abigail Robinson attended the first meeting but was unable from her delicate state of health to sit in the last & this is the first time she has been out to meeting since last summer. - Susannah Hathaway dined with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

7th day 15th of 4th M / Went After dinner with the committee to Connannicut to visit the few friends there to consult with them on the Subject of having a Meeting opened there this Summer, found them all willing to do what they can, but being only six



1820

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in Number, & three of them from Age & other circumstances seldom able to attend, make the prospect a little trying —we spent about an hour & an half with them collected a ? Joseph Greens - & returned to tea. —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 16, Sunday: According to the British officer assigned to guard [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) on St. Helena, Captain E. Lutyens of the 20th Regiment, “About seven o’clock last night General Bonaparte was walking in the gardens with Count Montholon, when he discovered some cattle belonging to the farm in the outer garden. He immediately ordered his two fowling-pieces to be brought, loaded with ball, both of which he fired, and killed one of the oxen. I believe there is another slightly wounded in the leg. Count Montholon mentioned to me that he saw the cattle come in at the outer garden gate. The gates are the only way the cattle could enter, the fence being perfectly secure; and the gate must have been left open by some of the establishment, for they never think of closing them when they pass in or out. Count Montholon said the General was determined to adopt the same plan if he again saw the cattle in the garden. I told him that it was very dangerous firing ball in the garden, and that General Bonaparte might have killed one of the sentries; upon which he said the General took the precaution of going round, and firing toward the house. Which must have been the case, from the way the animal was wounded and fell. It lays upon its right side, at the foot of the little mound that is surrounded with a myrtle hedge.”⁹⁴

In [Concord](#), Zilpah White died. A former [slave](#), a regular church lady, she had been considered by white Concordians a loony. During the [War of 1812](#) while some captured English soldiers were residing in Concord “on parole,” they had for a prank torched her home in Walden Woods.

WALDEN: Here, by the very corner of my field, still nearer to town, Zilpha, a colored woman, held her little house, where she spun linen for townfolk, making the Walden Woods ring with her shrill singing, for she had a loud and notable voice. At length, in the war of 1812, her dwelling was set on fire by English soldiers, prisoners on parole, when she was away, and her cat and dog and hens were all burned up together. She led a hard life, and somewhat inhumane. One old frequenter of these woods remembers, that as he passed her house one noon he heard her muttering to herself over her gurgling pot, —“Ye are all bones, bones!” I have seen bricks amid the oak copse there.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

ZILPAH WHITE

The Concord Female Charitable Society had been providing “tobacco for Zilpah.”⁹⁵

94. The officer added, in a footnote, that killing such an animal in such a manner was a very serious offense on this island, and that anyone other than the general would have been prosecuted. He instanced, as an example of this, that he personally had had a Newfoundland dog that killed a sheep — and that for this the Magistrate at St. James had condemned his dog to death and had it executed.

95. To what extent would such a reputation have been carefully cultivated in such an environment, as needed cover?



"In those parts of the Union in which the negroes are no longer slaves, they have in no wise drawn nearer to the whites. On the contrary, the prejudice of the race appears to be stronger in the States which have abolished slavery ... and nowhere is it so intolerant as in those States where servitude has never been known."



– Alexis de Tocqueville

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

1st day 16th of 4th M / This morning being under the necessity of attending [Portsmouth](#) Meeting took my H in a Chaise & went thither.

The Meeting was silent but a remarkably Solid, quiet season & I have no doubt divine favor was extended to many minds present. – After meeting with the others of the committee had an opportunity with Sarah Brownell on the subject of her request to be admitted a member of Society – it was a season of much feeling, but way did not open either to go forward or to dismiss the subject, & we concluded to ask to have it continued for three months longer --

We dined & spent the remainder of the Afternoon with Uncle Peter Lawton & family, where we had an opportunity of being in company with several [Portsmouth](#) folks but little known to us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 18, Tuesday: The British officer assigned to watch [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) on St. Helena reported to London that "All is perfectly tranquil and in good order at St. Helena. Bonaparte takes considerable exercise in his garden. His complexion is fresh and healthy, his air pleasant; in other words, quite another man. Count Montholon and Mme. Bertrand assure me that he is still having some trouble with his chronic disease, hepatitis, and often takes mercury, but that, thanks to the assiduous care of M. Antommarchi, it is no longer dangerous. Your Excellency will find inclosed three reports of the orderly officer." (This report is of particular interest in that there have arisen allegations that the general was being poisoned by the British, with mercury.)



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

5th day 20th of 4th M 1820 / Our Meeting was Silent but to me a solid time in the last (Preparative) being before the Quarter previous to the Yearly meeting, all the Queries were answered & a considerable scrutiny took place, I hope in the minds of individuals, as well as by those who were engaged in making the remarks. – After both meetings the committee on Jamestown Meeting met, & conversed on the subject, but came to no conclusion, but agreed to meet again at the close of the next first day Meeting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 21, Friday: During a lecture at the University of Copenhagen, Danish physicist Hans Christian Ørsted noticed that a compass needle jumped when held near a wire through which electricity was passing. It pointed perpendicular to the current! When he reversed the current, the compass needle reversed likewise! This began the study of electromagnetism that would open a floodgate of rapid discovery.



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 April 22, Saturday: The obituary of former [Concord slave](#) Zilpah White appeared in the Middlesex Gazette.

[WALDEN](#): Here, by the very corner of my field, still nearer to town, Zilpha, a colored woman, held her little house, where she spun linen for townsfolk, making the Walden Woods ring with her shrill singing, for she had a loud and notable voice. At length, in the war of 1812, her dwelling was set on fire by English soldiers, prisoners on parole, when she was away, and her cat and dog and hens were all burned up together. She led a hard life, and somewhat inhumane. One old frequenter of these woods remembers, that as he passed her house one noon he heard her muttering to herself over her gurgling pot, -"Ye are all bones, bones!" I have seen bricks amid the oak copse there.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

ZILPAH WHITE

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

7th day 22 of 4th M / Favor'd this morning with precious sensations for which I desire to be Thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Former President [Thomas Jefferson](#) wrote about the Missouri Compromise, without calling it that, and the Negro Problem, without calling it that:

I thank you, dear Sir, for the copy you have been so kind as to send me of the letter to your constituents on the Missouri question. It is a perfect justification to them. I had for a long time ceased to read newspapers, or pay any attention to public affairs, confident they were in good hands, and content to be a passenger in our bark to the shore from which I am not distant. But this momentous question, like a fire bell in the night, awakened and filled me with terror. I considered it at once as the knell of the Union. It is hushed, indeed, for the moment. But this is a reprieve only, not a final sentence. A geographical line, coinciding with a marked principle, moral and political, once conceived and held up to the angry passions of men, will never be obliterated; and every new irritation will mark it deeper and deeper. I can say, with conscious truth, that there is not a man on earth who would sacrifice more than I would to relieve us from this heavy reproach, in any practicable way. The cession of that kind of property, for so it is misnamed, is a bagatelle which would not cost me a second thought, if, in that way, a general emancipation and expatriation could be effected; and gradually, and with due sacrifices, I think it might be. But as it is, we have the wolf by the ears, and we can neither hold him, nor safely let him go. Justice is in one scale, and self-preservation in the other. Of one thing I am certain, that as the passage of slaves from one State to another, would not make a slave of a single human being who would not be so without it, so their diffusion over a greater surface would make them individually happier, and proportionally facilitate the accomplishment of their emancipation, by dividing the burthen

on a greater number of coadjutors. An abstinence too, from this act of power, would remove the jealousy excited by the undertaking of Congress to regulate the condition of the different descriptions of men composing a State. This certainly is the exclusive right of every State, which nothing in the constitution has taken from them and given to the General Government. Could Congress, for example, say, that the non-freemen of Connecticut shall be freemen, or that they shall not emigrate into any other State?

I regret that I am now to die in the belief, that the useless sacrifice of themselves by the generation of 1776, to acquire self-government and happiness to their country, is to be thrown away by the unwise and unworthy passions of their sons, and that my only consolation is to be, that I live not to weep over it. If they would but dispassionately weigh the blessings they will throw away, against an abstract principle more likely to be effected by union than by scission, they would pause before they would perpetrate this act of suicide on themselves, and of treason against the hopes of the world. To yourself, as the faithful advocate of the Union, I tender the offering of my high esteem and respect.

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

1st day 23rd of 4th M / Our meetings were pretty well attended, silent & to me seasons of but little life -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 24, Monday: Four pieces for harp by Carl Maria von Weber were performed for the initial time, as part of Der Leuchthurm, a play by von Houwald, in the Dresden Hoftheater.

The minimum price per acre for lands from the US public domain was reduced from \$2.⁰⁰ to \$1.²⁵, but it was also established that such lands had to be paid for by cash upon the barrelhead rather than by the assumption of government loans. The minimum purchase was reduced from 160 to 80 acres per person. The bill, ostensibly intended to help settlers purchase land during a difficult economic period, actually would be turned to the benefit of land speculators during this difficult period.

 April 25, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 25 of 4 M / Aunt Patty Gould spent this Afternoon with us, Aged almost 84 years. She is quite current in her understanding pleasant & agreeable in her manners This evening had the information of the decease of my Cousin THOMAS GOULD of Albany aged 50 years, he has been some months declining in a consumption, was a man very useful in the City in which he lived & had acquired considerable wealth. It is said the Aged must & the young may die & here is an instance Aunt Patty still living at a very advanced age, while her nephew Thomas in the prime of age is taken away. The lesson is affecting to my mind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ April 27, Thursday: [Herbert Spencer](#) was born in Derby, Derbyshire, England. In the beginning he didn't have one idea in his head. (Later on in life, more's the pity, he would get one idea into his head — and not be able to get it out.)

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

5th day 27 of 4 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting is held at [Portsmouth](#) & looking towards [Greenwich](#) quarter next week, thought it most proper to be at home today to prepare for a longer absence - Find a hevvy cold on me this evening.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ April 28, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 28 of 4 M 1820 / Find my cold attended with some fever & oppression at the chest - the prospect of [Greenwich](#) looks dull
-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ April 30, Sunday: [King George IV](#), noting that the national mourning that had gone on during part of 1818 and all of 1819 after the deaths of the Duke of Kent and [King George III](#) had been having an adverse effect on the clothing trade, had decreed that it would conclude with this day. Party hardy!

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

1st day 30th of 4 M / In our forenoon meeting Jonathon Dennis & Hannah Dennis & Daniel Buffum were engaged in public testimony & it was a season of favor for which I desire to be thankful. - In the Afternoon we were silent.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

MAY

→ May: Three deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah.

→ May: The section of the [Erie Canal](#) between Utica and the Seneca River was opened for public use.

→ May: [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) sent her finished novelette MATHILDA to her father [William Godwin](#), asking him to see to its publication (which it seems he never would accomplish — the material would not be put through the presses until 1957).

→ May: [Thomas Carlyle](#), staying alone in an inn at Muirkirk, by getting up at four in the morning and walking all day, managed to cover a distance of 54 miles, arriving at eight in the evening at Dumfries. But it was a “mournful” exercise; our hiker was so desperate he was even contemplating getting back into the profession of teaching.

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May: The [Trinitarian](#) missionary Dr. Joshua Marshman responded to Rajah Rammohan Roy's AN APPEAL TO THE [CHRISTIAN](#) PUBLIC, IN DEFENSE OF "THE PRECEPTS OF CHRIST" with "Remarks" in the [Friend of India](#). To an unsympathetic reader it might appear that the burden of Dr. Marshman's remarks was that as Jesus stood between man and God, so also the English missionary stood between the Indian man and Jesus — and that the price to be paid in order for the Indian man to be acceptable to the English missionary included that he must come most sincerely to believe that Jesus Christ actually did perform all those miracles in ancient Galilee and Judea. Hey presto, no acceptance of the actuality of miracles meant no acceptance into the body of Christ!



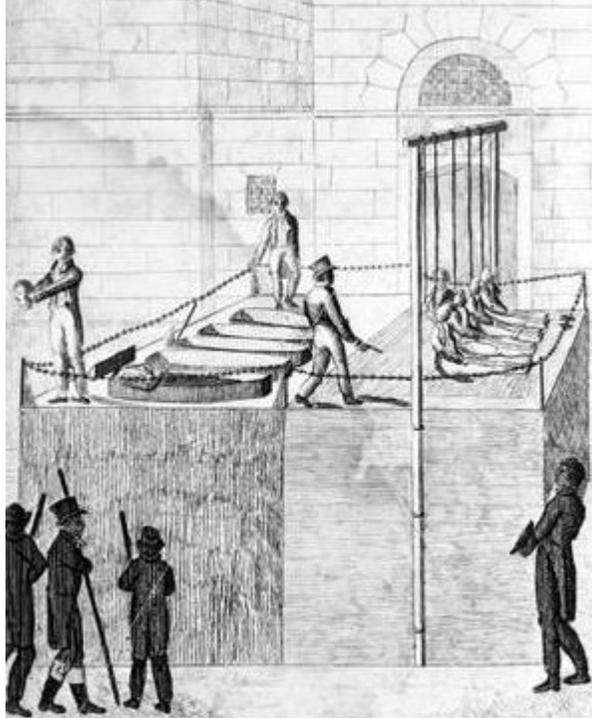
Believe, damn you!

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May 1, Monday, “May Day”: Arthur Thistlewood and four other of the “[Cato Street](#)” conspirators who had intended to assassinate the entire English cabinet were [hanged](#) low and allowed to choke to death—and allowed to hang for half an hour to ensure death—and placed in their coffins and [beheaded](#) by an anonymous man (some say a surgeon) with a knife. The audience for this had begun to gather at 4AM, to position themselves for optimal viewing. Favored viewpoints on rooftops and balconies had changed hands for from 2s. 6d. to 3 guineas. Théodore Géricault would immortalize the occasion in his drawing “Public Hanging in [London](#).”



According to the account published in [The Times](#) on May 2d, when Thistlewood was brought to the scaffold, he announced to the assembly that he hoped the world would consider him a man sincere in his endeavors. When Tidd was brought forward he ran up the ladder, and as the crowd cheered him he cheered back at the crowd, and bowed to the far corners of the square. When James Ing was brought forward, it appeared that he had donned an old butcher’s coat so that his executioner would not have the benefit of his good clothes. The crowd gave him huzzas and he responded by bowing and singing “Give me Liberty or Give me Death.” Brunt preached that a military government was trying to run the country. Each head in turn was held up before the crowd with the recitation “Here is the head of a traitor.” (As the severed heads were held up, there was a great deal of booing and hissing. The assembly was shouting “God Bless” at the prisoners, and “murder” at the executioner. The authorities were prepared for anything, with banners at the ready bearing the warning inscription THE RIOT ACT HAS BEEN READ. The treason executions of this May Day would be the final such public performances to be enacted in England.)

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THE 1ST TUESDAY IN MAY WAS THE ANNUAL "MUSTER DAY," ON WHICH ALL THE ABLEBODIED WHITE MEN OF A TOWN WERE SUPPOSEDLY REQUIRED TO FALL INTO FORMATION, WITH THEIR PERSONAL FIREARMS, TO UNDERGO THEIR ANNUAL DAY OF MILITARY TRAINING AND MILITIA INDOCTRINATION.



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

3rd day 2nd of 5th M 1820 / This morning tho' quite unwell with a cold I went on board the Packet with Friends & took John along with me to [Greenwich](#) we had a pleasant passage up & went to cousin Wanton Caseys & found them at dinner & very glad to see us - After sitting with them awhile left John & Sister Ruth & walked out to David Howlands where [Moses Brown](#) & several other friends came we passed the evening in interesting conversation

& lodged - After breakfast the next morning I walked to town & went to the Select Meeting which was a Solid & solemn season not soon to be forgotten. - Dined at John Caseys & here for reasons which I shudder to name, my heart was Awfully appalled & the meal here taken was a repast indeed of bitter herbs. - Lodged at W Caseys. - 5th day went to Meeting - the part of it for worship was a season wherein truth was triumphant a blessed meeting. - a few words were first spoken by a young woman - then Thos Anthony, then Royal Southwick in a most remarkable & long to be remembered testimony Attended with life & power - Then John Bailey in a testimony explanitory of our principles & The Meeting concluded -The buisness was conducted in a weighty manner & two female Elders were appointed Took tea cousin Abby Greens & lodged at W Caseys - on 6 day [Friday] Morning came home, a passage of 5 hours.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 3, Wednesday: Mozart's "The Marriage of Figaro" played for the initial time in New-York, in English.

 May 4, Thursday: The Dawning of Music in Kentucky, or The Pleasures of Harmony in the Solitudes of Nature, Opera Prima, was copyrighted by its author Anton Philipp Heinrich.

Birth, in England, of Joseph Whitaker, who would found WHITAKER'S ALMANACK.

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

7th day 6th of 5th M 1820 / This has been a most Awfully melancholly Afternoon as perhaps [Newport](#) has known in years if ever - Lewis Rousmaniere, a man of my acquaintance from early youth & a little younger than myself, about One Oclock ended his existence, by his own hand, which with other circumstances attending, fills every heart with dismay. - Oh that mankind may learn to be content with Small things, not make haste to be rich, & place confidence in God.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 7, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 7th of 5 M / At Meeting this forenoon our friend D. Buffum was engaged in a most lively & pertinent testimony "How shall a young man cleanse his ways? by taking heed thereto according to my Word" - This was the Scripture with which he opened & from it he pointed out the way in a very striking manner & recommended SILENCE in preference to the whirlwind, the earthquake & the fire, all of which must pass by before the Small still voice can be distinctly heard. - Meeting was well attended in the Afternoon & but for the disturbance of a man in a deranged State of mind who Several times spoke, was a very solid comfortable season. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 May 8, Monday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Committee to whom was referred ... so much of the President’s Message as relates to the Slave Trade, etc.” – HOUSE REPORTS, 16 Cong. 1 sess. No. 97.

 May 10, Wednesday: The Reverend Marshall Shed was ordained at the meetinghouse in Acton.

On the 25th of February, 1820, the Rev. Marshall Shed, a native of Newton and graduate of Dartmouth College, 1817, was unanimously elected to be their pastor. The town [of Acton] agreed to give him \$500 as a settlement, to which \$200 were added by subscription, and \$600 and 15 cords of wood, as his annual salary, so long as he shall supply the pulpit. He was ordained on the 10th of the following May. The introductory prayer on the occasion was by the Rev. John Pierce of Brookline; sermon by Rev. William Greenough of Newton; consecrating prayer by Rev. Jonathan Newell of Stow; charge by Rev. Jonathan Homer of Newton; fellowship of the churches by Rev. Rufus Hurlburt of Sudbury; address to the church and people by Rev. Thomas Noyes; and concluding prayer by Rev. Ezra Ripley. He was dismissed at his request, May 14, 1831, and has since removed to New-York.⁹⁶

 May 11, Thursday: The launching of *HMS Beagle*.

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

5th day 11th of 5 M / A season of exercise was experienced at Meeting, & am tnakful to say that it was also a season of favor having experienced to my renewed confirmations that they who wait on the Lord Shall renew their Strngth, tho’ the contest may be strong, by patience we shall know from [?] the overcoming of the enemy both within & without - I was tried with drowsiness.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 12, Friday Florence Nightingale was born the daughter of a wealthy [Unitarian](#) Whig landowning family, William and Fanny Nightingale of Embly Park in Hampshire. The family was not in England at the point of her birth, however, which explains her given name. She was born in the Villa Colombaia near the Porta Romana at Bellosguardo near Florence, Italy. Her older sister Frances Parthenope Nightingale had been born near [Naples](#), and was named after Parthenopolis, the Greek settlement that predated that Italian city. Their father was active in the anti-slavery movement. As a child, Florence would be very close to her father who, lacking a son, would react to her as friend and companion. At 17 she would sense that she was being called by God to some unnamed great cause.

The United States House of Representatives approved a resolution to urge the President to negotiate [*sic*] an immediate abolition of the [international slave trade](#).

“Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to negotiate with

96. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)’s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David 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.)



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all the governments where ministers of the United States are or shall be accredited, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade." HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 497, 518, 520-21, 526.



May 14, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 14th of 5t M 1820 / My Wife & I being under the appointment in care of Jamestown Meeting it became our turn to attend today we accordingly yesterday afternoon went over & took tea at cousin Daniel Howlands & Lodged at cousin Joseph Greens -At meeting about 28 Met together & was pretty comfortable meeting. tho' some Left was experienced - After dinner at J Greenes we came over the ferry in season to attend our Afternoon meeting at home. -5th day 18 of 5th M / In our first meeting Jonathon & Hannah Dennis were both engaged in public testimony & to me it was a season of some favor. - In the last Preparative no buisness1st day [Sunday] 21 of 5 M Our meeting this morning rather thin, the weather was rainy which in part occasions it - it was a season of some favor tho' I failed of that lively sensible frame which I sometimes enjoy - Simeon Brewer a young man & member of [Providence](#) was present & appeard in a few words of public testimony. -

The times in which we have fallen, are singular times, both in the Political, Mercantile and Religious State of things, all which, conspire to render it necessary for us to dwell deep & near the principle of truth - out of it, the mind is indeed as a Ship in a storm, having lost the rudder, subject to be driven too and fro in the mighty waves, uncontrollable by the mariner, but what a comfortable & heart consoling reflection, that God remains to be a strong God, & by his holy spirit [~~crossed out?~~], thro' Jesus Christ, will Sustain all who flee unto him & Sincerely ask help of him, he has in no age of the world deserted these, & I believe never will - May I be renewdly engaged to put my trust in Him, Oh that the light of his countenance may be daily sought after by all, whose lot it is, to Stand in the fore ranks of our Society, & if this is the case, I have no doubt but the cloud will be removed & Israel will journey safely on. At Meeting in the Afternoon father Rodman was concerned in a short testimony - Capt Starbuck & Simeon Brewer took tea & set the eveng with us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 15, Monday: In the final act of the Congress of Vienna, the *Bundestag* passed the [German](#) Constitution of 65 articles, under the direction of Metternich. This was a very hidebound repressive document and authorized the more powerful of the [German](#) states to interfere in the affairs of the less powerful ones.

Enactment of a United States statute equating the [international slave trade](#) with [piracy](#), a capital crime.

"An act to continue in force 'An act to protect the commerce of the United States, and punish the crime of piracy,' and also to make further provisions for punishing the crime of piracy." Continued by several statutes until passage of the Act of 1823, q.v. STATUTES AT LARGE, III. 600. For proceedings in Congress, see



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SENATE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 238, 241, 268, 286-7, 314, 331, 346, 350, 409, 412, 417, 422, 424, 425; HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 453, 454, 494, 518, 520, 522, 537, 539, 540, 542. There was also a House bill, which was dropped: cf. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 21, 113, 280, 453, 494.

Although in this act the United States Congress established the penalty of death for the importation of slaves, this would be imposed exactly only one time four decades later, at the beginning of the Civil War.

The United States Senate rejected the resolution the House of Representatives had just approved, to urge the President to negotiate [*sic*] with other nations an immediate abolition of the [international slave trade](#).

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the President of the United States be requested to negotiate with all the governments where ministers of the United States are or shall be accredited, on the means of effecting an entire and immediate abolition of the slave trade." ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress, 1st session, pages 697-700.



May 20, Monday: Karl Ludwig Sand was [beheaded](#) in Mannheim for the murder of August von Kotzebue.



May 23, Thursday: Publication of Muzio Clementi's Piano Sonata op.46 was entered at Stationer's Hall, [London](#).

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

*5th day 25th of 5 M 1820 / Lorenzo Dow & his new wife came to our first Meeting - Father Rodman David Buffum & Hannah Dennis were both engaged in public testimony & TRUTH was advanced. to me it was a good meeting
In the last (Moy [Monthly]) buisness was conducted pretty well tho' there was but little to do - The Clerk being absent it fell to my lot to do the Writing. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ May 25, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 17th birthday.



→ May 25, Thursday: Michael Powers, who had murdered Timothy Kennedy, was [hanged](#) on [Boston](#) Neck.

On some other day during this year, another prisoner was hanged at [Boston](#) — but this one would have been hanged not at the gallows on the Neck but out on the Admiralty mudflats because the offence had been both murder and [piracy](#).

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1820

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
12/04	Ann Heytrey	22	Warwick	Petty treason
12/08	Sarah Polgreen	37	Bodmin	Petty treason
16/08	Rebecca Warlock	36	Gloucester	Murder
05/12	Sarah Price	43	Newgate	Uttering

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

*1st day 28th of 5 M / A great many folks came to Meeting & some that I never observed there before, but it was silent & on the whole to me a hard time
Afternoon silent & tho' I labored was unable to get as much victory & [as] I desired & on the whole a rather hard day -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

JUNE

→ June-August: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) spent time in England and then went to live in the house of the Gisbornes at Livorno.

→ June: Fourteen additional deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah, Georgia.

→ June: [Marie Anne Elisa Bonaparte](#), a sister of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), visited an archaeological dig near Cervignano and contracted what would turn out to be a fatal illness.

→ June 1, Thursday: [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), son of Dr. Josiah Bartlett of Charlestown, came to [Concord](#) to begin the practice of medicine. He had been born November 20, 1796, and graduated from [Harvard College](#) in 1816, and at the [Harvard Medical School](#) in 1819.

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

5th day 1st of 6 M 1820 / Our meeting was silent, & a season of dearth to me. - This is the state I have been in a long time & Oh that I may be delivered from it - Poverty & weakness is mine Yet I have a little faith left. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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June 4, Sunday: [Queen Caroline](#) of Great Britain met with Henry Brougham and Lord Hutchinson at St. Omer, France. They implored her not to return to any domain of the British Empire and offered her £50,000 per year if she would agree to stay away permanently. She had been accused of carrying on an affair with her Italian chamberlain, Bartolommeo Pergami. The Queen refused the offer and proceeded to Calais.



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

1st day 4th of 6th M 1820 / Our meeting this morning was an uncommonly favored one. Solemnity & Life was remarkably prevalent before a word was spoken, about the middle of meeting Jona Dennis delivered a short testimony & soon Hannah Dennis follow'd him at two different standings & to close the whole Abigail Robinson was engaged in a short but very lively & Sweet testimony, & the Meeting closed under a precious covering. - Jonathon & Hannah came home with us & dined. In the afternoon the meeting gathered under a good degree of the same Solemnity as in the morning, but in my own mind did not rise so high, - but Hannah Dennis was twice engaged in lively testimonys.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 June 5, Monday: When Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#) landed in Dover from Calais on a public ship, she was greeted by leading men of the city and a large, cheering crowd. The press of the crowd was so great that the Queen needed to find a temporary refuge within the York Hotel. The horses of her coach were unharnessed so that the people could themselves draw her triumphantly through the city. At Canterbury she was greeted with 100 men carrying flambeaux. Again her horses were unharnessed and the populace drew her coach through the city!

 June 6, Tuesday: [Queen Caroline](#) traveled from Dover to [London](#) with ever increasing crowds along the way cheering her on. In London while she stayed at the house of Alderman Matthew Wood, supporting crowds would for two days surround the house.

The saddler [Louis Pierre Louvel](#) was sentenced to the [guillotine](#) for the assassination of [Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry](#).

HEADCHOPPING

 June 7, Wednesday: [Louis Pierre Louvel](#) was [guillotined](#) for the assassination of [Charles Ferdinand d'Artois, Duc de Berry](#).

HEADCHOPPING

[Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich Follen](#) had come under suspicion as an accomplice, and would flee to [Switzerland](#) (he would teach for awhile at the cantonal school at Coire and at the University of [Basel](#) while Prussian authorities continued to solicit Swiss authorities to deliver him unto their tender mercies, until both he and Charles Comte would be forced again to flee, in Follen's case to the United States of America).

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

8th of 6 M / I am going to meeting & may it prove the precursor of a good time thro' the Yearly Meeting. Friends in this town are buisily engaged in preparing for the next Week a work which had been done ever since Friends were established, & many very many of the gooly [godly - goodly?] men and women whose hearts have annually leap'd for joy at the prospect of meeting their friends whom they have loved in the Lord, are doubtless in Heaven, & may we who are now on the stage of Action when we leave this world join them in The endless ages of eternity. Our meeting was small, but a good gegree [degree] of precious life was witnessed. - This Afternoon rec'd a sweet letter from our aged Fr Wm Rickman in N York expecting to embark for England next first day -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

6th M 9 1820 6th day / Our Friends from [Greenwich](#) & S Kingston have begun to come, to attend the Yearly Meeting which commences for Ministers & Elders at [Portsmouth](#) tomorrow My dear friends Daniel Howland & Thomas Anthony took tea with us, & went on their way towards meeting tomorrow. - My hearts desire & prayer to God, has been, and still is, that Truth may stand in dominion & reign over all and in all our movements, & redound to the honor



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of his Great Name.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

7th Day Rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Select Meeting, which was a Solemn time, Jerusalem being searched as with lighted candles.

A prayer by Daniel Haviland & testimony from Caleb Macomber Nicholas Brown, Charles Osborn - dined at Uncle B Freeborn then Carried father Rodman to the Meeting for Sufferings & went down to Uncle Stantons place from thence to Saml Thurstons, took tea & then to Rich Mitchells where I found father & brought him Home. - found my H had taken in some agreeable Guests Vizt Hannah Johnson, Hannah Holder Anne Greene of [Greenwich](#), Lydia Brown

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 11, Sunday: Sarah Allen was born to Mary Morrill Allen and the [Reverend Wilkes Allen](#) in Chelmsford, Massachusetts. Sarah would die in infancy.

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

1st day Our Morning Meeting was not quite so large as I have sometimes observed but proved a season of blessed triumph to the Truth, it was remarkably quiet the first testimony was short from Geo Dean & of the merits I must suspend judgement Then followed Caleb Macomber in a long testimony which began on a low key but he rose in the life & held the attention of the people in a remarkable manner - he was favord to close with it, when a few words was spoken by a young man in my judgement out of the life of Authority, but Solemnity was soon restored & the Meeting broke. -

In the Afternoon the Meeting was very large Daniel Haviland — Haverland & Mary Allen were the public laborers & tho Truth did not rise into dominion as it did in the Morning yet I believe no loss was Sustained. -

In the eveng the company at our House fell into silence & Thos Anthony was engaged in testimony very pertinently to some states present.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

2nd The Meeting this morning opened under a solemn covering. Daniel Haviland, Nicholas Brown, & Daniel Haviland in testimony & Nicholas Brown in a most approach to the throne of Grace, [was Nicolas still in the slave trade at this time?] after which the buisness of the meeting progressed for sometime when it was observed that a person was present who was not a member an old applicant (J Austin) [was this the J Austin he had known when he was a young man with whom he had talked at length in his shop, and was deeply distressed about him?] who was invited to retire, but declined & made considerable difficulty, after a while our Aged fr. [Moses Brown](#)



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went to him with our another Fr & invited him to retire with them which he did, & tho' there was another circumstance or two which caused some pain. yet it was evident the Everlasting Truth did prevail & it is the prayer of my heart that it may prevail & stand over the heads of all gainsayers to the honor of the great CAUSE

In the Afternoon the Meeting opened again under a most solemn covering of life, lively testimony from Charles Osborn & Caleb Macomber, after which the State of Society was entered into as represented by the answers to the Queries Jerusalem was again searched closely in living & powerful testimonys from Caleb Macomber, Charles Osborn, Rowland Greene & several others, which took up so much time that the Meeting adjourned before the Queries were gone thro with – After the Meeting had proceeded in the buisness sometime, the individual who disturbed us in the Morning, again came in which occasions some jostling for a few minutes, but he yealded to the solicitations of Moses Brown & went out.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 14, Wednesday: Franz Schubert's singspiel [Die Zwillingbrüder D.647](#) to words of Hofmann was performed for the initial time, in the Kärntnertortheater, Vienna.

Birth of John Bartlett, who would compile BARTLETT'S FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS.



June 16, Friday: Another treaty with native Americans:

7 Stat., 206.

Proclamation, Mar. 2, 1821.

Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties. Vol. II (Treaties). Compiled and edited by Charles J. Kappler. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1904.

Margin Notes: Cession by the Chippewas. Receipt of goods acknowledged. Perpetual right of fishing at the falls of St. Mary's secured to Indians. Treaty binding when ratified. Articles of a treaty, made and concluded at the Saült de St. Marie, in the Territory of Michigan, between the United States, by their Commissioner [Lewis Cass](#), and the Chippeway tribe of Indians.

ART. 1. The Chippeway tribe of Indians cede to the United States the following tract of land: Beginning at the Big Rock, in the river St. Mary's, on the boundary line between the United States and the British Province of Upper Canada; and, running thence, down the said river, with the middle thereof, to the Little Rapid; and, from those [*188] points, running back from the said river, so as to include sixteen square miles of land.

ART. 2. The Chippeway tribe of Indians acknowledge to have received a quantity of goods in full satisfaction of the preceding cession.

ART. 3. The United States will secure to the Indians a perpetual



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right of fishing at the falls of St. Mary's, and also a place of encampment upon the tract hereby ceded, convenient to the fishing ground, which place shall not interfere with the defences of any military work which may be erected, nor with any private rights.

ART. 4. This treaty, after the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof, shall be obligatory on the contracting parties. In witness whereof, the said Lewis Cass, commissioner as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Chippeway tribe of Indians, have hereunto set their hands, at the place aforesaid, this sixteenth day of June, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

Lewis Cass, Shingaubaywassin, his x mark, Kegeash, his x mark, Sagishewayoson, his x mark, Wayishkey, his x mark, Nenowaiskam, his x mark, Wasawaton, his x mark, Wemiguenacwanay, his x mark, Nabinois, his x mark, Macadaywacwet, his x mark, Shaiwabekaton, his x mark, Netaway, his x mark, Kaibayway, his x mark, Nawoquesequum, his x mark, Tawabit, his x mark, Augustin Bart, his x mark. Witnesses present: R. A. Forsyth, secretary, Alex. Wolcott, jr., Indian agent, Chicago, D. B. Douglass, captain U. S. Engineers, Aeneas Mackay, Lieutenant corps artillery, John J. Pearce, lieutenant artillery, Henry R. Schoolcraft, mineralogist to the expedition, James Duane Doty, Charles C. Trowbridge, Alex. R. Chase, James Ryley, sworn interpreter.



After June 16, Friday: Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote "Letter to Maria Gisborne."



June 17, Saturday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

7th With our frds above mentioned attended an Appointed meeting on Connanicut. The Meeting house was full or nearly so & a blessed season it was many hearts were deeply affected by the living power of Truth thro' the preaching of Charles. The meeting concluded in Solemn supplication - We dined at Caleb Weavers & returned home in the evening Charles & James took tea with Father Rodman & returned to lodge with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

M. Benjamin Constant orated in the French Chamber of Deputies:

The French ship *Le Rodeur*, with a crew of twenty-two men, and with one hundred and sixty negro slaves, sailed from Bonny, in Africa, April, 1819. On approaching the line, a terrible malady broke out, - an obstinate disease of the eyes, - contagious, and altogether beyond the resources of medicine. It was aggravated by the scarcity of water among the slaves (only half a wineglass per day being allowed to an individual), and by the extreme impurity of the air in which they breathed. By the advice of the physician, they were brought upon deck occasionally; but some of the poor wretches, locking themselves in each other's arms, leaped overboard, in the hope, which so universally prevails among them, of being swiftly transported to their own homes in

Africa. To check this, the captain ordered several who were stopped in the attempt to be shot, or hanged, before their companions. The disease extended to the crew; and one after another were smitten with it, until only one remained unaffected. Yet even this dreadful condition did not preclude calculation: to save the expense of supporting slaves rendered unsalable, and to obtain grounds for a claim against the underwriters, thirty-six of the negroes, having become blind, were thrown into the sea and drowned!

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

1st day 18th of 6 M 1820 / Our Morning meeting was large but did not prove so open a time as could be wished tho our frd Charles Osborn labord faithfully in the ability afforded - In the Afternoon as the other Meeting broke, many people flocked in, which happened just as Charles rose & it proved a season of good openness wherein he discharged himself to the comfort of friends & the satisfaction of others. - They took tea with us & after tea we took leave at which time Charles was concerned to impart a few words of Sweet encouragement very precious & consoling to our feelings - They rode to Rich Mitchells to lodge, intending from thence to [Tiverton](#) Little Compton, Westport & on to [New Bedford](#) wishing to be at [Nantucket](#) on first Day next. I have to Acknowledge (I trust) under an humble sense of the Lords goodness that this Yearly Meeting has been to me a season of favor, tenderness & love, for which I desire to offer thanksgiving & praise where it is alone due. - before the meeting commenced it was a season of much fear & dread among us, least [lest] from some existing causes, the Truth would suffer, but the Lord made bare his holy Arm for the help of his people, & the good cause gained ground, to the consolation of the honest sincere hearted traveller, who travel for the prosperity of Zion & the right enlargement of her Borders.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 19, Monday: [Joseph Banks](#) died in Spring Grove House. The body would be placed at St Leonard's Church in Heston.

 June 20, Tuesday: A Brighton brewer, John Vallance, took out two English patents for an apparatus which improved to some degree upon the invention of Sir John Leslie of 1804 for absorbent cooling, that is, for the production of artificial ice in all climates.

John Vallance, of Brighton, Brewer, for a method and apparatus for freeing rooms and buildings from the distressing heat sometimes experienced in them, and of keeping them constantly cool, or of a pleasant temperature, whether they are crowded to excess or empty, and also whether the weather be hot or cold. June 20th.
John Vallance, of Brighton, Brewer, for a method and apparatus for packing and preserving hops. June 20th.

COOLNESS

 June 21, Wednesday: John Brown married the widowed Dianthe Lusk. In 1826 they would leave for the wilderness in Pennsylvania, where Brown would build a tannery. Dianthe Lusk Brown would bear five surviving children and then die in 1832 shortly after the death of a newborn. Shortly after his first wife died, John Brown would marry again, with teenage Mary Anne Day, with whom he would create another thirteen children. (Among the twenty children of John Brown's two marriages, eight would die in early childhood.)

 June 22, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 22nd of 6 M 1820 / Our Meeting was about of its usual size, Silent, but favor'd with a degree of life. - Our friends having all gone, we feel a little lonesome, after so much stir, we however enjoy the quiet, our one frined seems to us doubly near. - Thos Anthony came down this forenoon on buisness but not in season to get to meeting which was his desire to Do - he called & set with us a little while this Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 23, Friday: THE WESTERN MINSTREL was copyrighted by its author, Anton Philipp Heinrich.

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

6th day 23 of 6 M / This Afternoon REFINE WEEKS a friend of Ferrisburg Moy [Monthly] Meeting in Vermont called to see me, he is travelling to get subscribers for a book of Poems which he has been writing, in a plain simple Stile - He appears to be an honest Sincere man & has a certificate from the meeting he belongs too & letters of recommendation to several friends whom we know. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 24, Saturday: [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#)'s 1st birthday.

 June 25, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 25th of 6 M / In the forenoon Meeting, D Buffum & Hannah Dennis were engaged in lively & pertinent testimonys. I believe a number of minds were affected.-
In the Afternoon Our fr Caleb Mai Comber attended The meeting was defer'd to 4 OClock on his account & people of Colour invited, he was engaged in a lively testimony & pertinent to the State of things among [? begins with w, but is cut off in the fold] but so lean & destitute were my feelings that I was not capable of feeling but very little it seemed to me my sight was left but my feelings taken away, for I thought I could plainly see that he was right & in the life by feeling was incapable of participating in it*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 28, Wednesday: The fruit of the [tomato](#) plant was demonstrated to be nonpoisonous.



 June 29, Thursday: The [negrero Antelope](#) was captured by the US Revenue-Marine cutter *Dallas*. The first mate of the *Dallas* took inventory of the vessel's cargo: 283 Africans a couple of whom had deceased.

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

*5th day 29 of 6th M 1820 / With my H rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting, before meeting stoped at Uncle Peter Lawtons & refreshed a little - At the first Meeting D Buffum was engaged in a lively testimony on the subject of "Love as the foundation of Religion" - J Dennis was also engaged in a few words. - In the last we had but little buisness & the meeting soon ended, but I thought the little that was done was conducted with weight & to me it was a good meeting for which I may ascribe thanksgiving where it is alone Due- We dined at Uncle Peters & staid there the remainder of the Afternoon - Rode Home.
I may acknowdlege this evening that it has been a good day, a day of some encouragement, to press forward in the discharge of duty. Oh may the Ancient spirit of Power, which was with out dear worthy predecessors, be more conspicuous among us in this day, may the Lord arise for the help of Zion & the enlargement of her borders -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Late June or early July: Richard Wylly Habersham, US District Attorney for Georgia, instructed the captain of the revenue cutter *USS Dallas* to bring his prisoners and the [negrero Antelope](#) with its black cargo to the port of Savannah.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

SUMMER 1820

➡ Summer: The fashion became trousers for men, similar to French pantaloons, rather than knee breeches, which only old men were wearing.⁹⁷

JULY

➡ July: Thirty-nine additional deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah.

➡ July: As Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#), estranged wife of [King George III of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover](#), arrived in London from Italy to claim her rights as queen, she found her husband petulantly denying her the use of her plate. She was provided with a new set by popular subscription, donations not to exceed 1s. Anyone who managed to address the Queen was given a commemorative medallion manufactured by William Parr of London and valued at 1s.

➡ July: [Sarah Margaret Fuller](#), age 10 and very much her own woman, began the study of Greek. As her friend Henry Hedge would later comment, in the social stratum of the Fullers and Hedges such a curriculum of home education was “only unusual because she was a girl.”



97. I was interested to note that this book of clothing fashions from which I have derived so much historical information as to attire in various years (discarding in the process much material about fashions in France, fashions in Britain, fashions in ball gowns and court dresses, etc.), includes an unsourced snippet from your friend and mine:



Every generation laughs at the old fashion
But follows religiously the new.

—Thoreau



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July: [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#)'s verses in honor of [Friend Luke Howard](#) appeared in Gold's and Northhouse's [London Magazine and Theatrical Inquisitor](#).

Atmosphäre/Howards Ehrengedächtnis⁹⁸

Wenn Gottheit Camarupa, hoch und hehr,
Durch Lüfte schwankend wandelt leicht und schwer,
Des Schleiers Falten sammelt, sie zerstreut,
Am Wechsel der Gestalten sich erfreut,
Jetzt starr sich hält, dann schwindet wie ein Traum,
Da staunen wir und traun dem Auge kaum;

Nun regt sich kühn des eignen Bildens Kraft,
Die Unbestimmtes zu Bestimmtem schafft;
Da droht ein Leu, dort wogt ein Elefant,
Kameles Hals, zum Drachen umgewandt,
Ein Heer zieht an, doch triumphiert es nicht,
Da es die Macht am steilen Felsen bricht;
Der treuste Wolkenbote selbst zerstiebt,
Eh er die Fern erreicht, wohin man liebt.

Er aber, Howard, gibt mit reinem Sinn
Uns neuer Lehre herrlichsten Gewinn.
Was sich nicht halten, nicht erreichen läßt,
Er faßt es an, er hält zuerst es fest;
Bestimmt das Unbestimmte, schränkt es ein,
Benennt es treffend! — Sei die Ehre dein! —
Wie Streife steigt, sich ballt, zerflattert, fällt,
Erinnre dankbar deiner sich die Welt.

In honour of Mr. Howard

When Camarupa, wavering on high,
Lightly and slowly travels o'er the sky,
Now closely draws her veil, now spreads it wide,
And joys to see the changing figures glide,
Now firmly stands, now like a vision flies,
We pause in wonder, and mistrust our eyes.

Then boldly stirs imagination's power,
And shapes there formless masses of the hour;
Here lions threat, there elephants will range,
And camel-necks to vapoury dragons change;
An army moves, but not in victory proud,
Its might is broken on a rock of cloud;
E'en the cloud messenger in air expires,
Ere reach'd the distance fancy yet desires.

But Howard gives us with his clearer mind
The gain of lessons new to all mankind;
That which no hand can reach, no hand can clasp,
He first has gain'd, first held with mental grasp.
Defin'd the doubtful, fix'd its limit-line,
And named it fitly. —Be the honour thine!
As clouds ascend, are folded, scatter, fall,
Let the world think of thee who taught it all.

Stratus

When o'er the silent bosom of the sea
The cold mist hangs like a stretch'd canopy;
And the moon, mingling there her shadowy beams,
A spirit, fashioning other spirits seems;
We feel, in moments pure and bright as this,
The joy of innocence, the thrill of bliss.
Then towering up in the darkening mountain's side,

98. Goethe: Gedichte (Ausgabe letzter Hand. 1827), S. 746.

And spreading as it rolls its curtains wide,
It mantles round the mid-way height, and there
It sinks in water-drops, or soars in air.

Cumulus

Still soaring, as if some celestial call
Impell'd it to yon heaven's sublimest hall;
High as the clouds, in pomp and power arrayed,
Enshrined in strength, in majesty displayed;
All the soul's secret thoughts it seems to move,
Beneath it trembles, while it frowns above.

Cirrus

And higher, higher yet the vapors roll:
Triumph is the noblest impulse of the soul!
Then like a lamb whose silvery robes are shed,
The fleecy piles dissolved in dew drops spread;
Or gently waft to the realms of rest,
Find a sweet welcome in the Father's breast.

Nimbus

Now downwards by the world's attraction driven,
That tends to earth, which has upris'n to heaven:
Threatening in the mad thunder-cloud, as when
Fierce legions clash, and vanish from the plain;
Sad destiny of the troubled world! but see,
The mist is now dispersing gloriously:
And language fails us in its vain endeavour—
The spirit mounts above, and lives forever.



July: A report appeared in the Asiatic Journal of the spread of a Quaker practice to India. A native called as a witness in a court of law had refused to swear by the waters of the sacred Gangā, and had explained that as a follower of Rammohan Roy he could not regard any river as sacred.

He would be allowed to affirm as the Quakers were doing in England and the USA.





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 July 1, Saturday: The 1st toll was collected on the [Erie Canal](#).

The 1st publication of the newspaper [Courier de la Meuse](#).

This day marked the final appearance of Muzio Clementi at a meeting of the [London](#) Philharmonic Society.

Publication of LAMIA, ISABELLA, THE EVE OF ST AGNES, AND OTHER POEMS by [John Keats](#).

President of Haiti Jean-Pierre Boyer was advertising in American gazettes for free black immigrants with tools and skills. On this day he wrote accurately of the astonishing fertility of its soil that made this blest island the garden of the western archipelago (something of which we need to remind ourselves from time to time in the midst of the present's eroded barrenness and general filthiness) and of a structure of law ensuring a free country to Africans and their descendants (that's before US Marines, Tonton Macoute, and locals such as Papa Doc and Baby Doc). There yet remain on the Peninsula of Samaná, enduring present conditions, some impoverished descendants of those 19th-Century immigrants who elected to linger.

[Niles Weekly Register](#), Volume 18, page 326: President Boyer is inviting the free blacks of the United States to emigrate to Hayti, in preference to Africa, promising them protection and assistance. An address to the Haytians on this subject says – "Our past sufferings – our unexampled efforts to regain our primitive rights – our solemn oath to live free and independent – the happy situation on our island, which may be justly called the queen of the Antilles – the astonishing fertility of its soil, which makes it the garden of the western archipelago – the progress of its inhabitants in civilization, and in some of the fine arts; our wise constitution which insures a free country to Africans and their descendants; all lead us to believe that the hand of Providence has destined Hayti for a land of promise, a sacred asylum, where our unfortunate brethren will, in the end, see their wounds healed by the balm of equality, and their tears wiped away by the protecting hand of liberty."

NILES WEEKLY REGISTER

 July 2, Sunday: John Brown of [Concord](#) got married with Clarissa Harmon.

Two junior officers, members of the Order of the Carbonari, led their troops on [Naples](#) in an attempt to force King Ferdinando to grant a constitution (other army units would soon join them).

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

1st day 2nd of 7th M 1820 / Our morning meeting was not a very lively time but better than some others. J Dennis bore a short testimony - In the Afternoon Father Rodman & D Buffum were lively in testimony - Went in the evening down to Wm Lees & set with them very pleasantly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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Our national birthday, Tuesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s, or [Hathorne](#)'s, 16th birthday. [Nathaniel](#) was living with Manning relatives in Salem, Massachusetts, apart from his mother who was still in Raymond, Maine, while preparing for college under the tutelage of Benjamin Lynde Oliver, a Salem lawyer.

Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins attended ceremonies in New-York harbor at which the USS *Constellation* was decorated with numerous national and foreign flags.

Charles Carroll attended a celebration at Howard's Park in Baltimore, [Maryland](#), very impressively showing around his personal copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#). He da Freedom guy!!

An editorial in the Georgetown [Metropolitan](#) was critical of President Monroe for having closed the Executive Mansion on Independence Day.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



July 5, Wednesday: [John Thoreau, Jr.](#)'s 6th birthday.

Leaders of disaffected [Neapolitans](#) demanded of the king that he grant a constitution.

A bill was introduced in the British House of Lords, accusing Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) of adultery, to strip her of the title of Queen and possibly to end the marriage between her and [King George IV of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, King of Hanover](#).

4th day 5th of 7 M / Uncle & Aunt Stanton Spent the Day with us, also my Mother, Sally & Isaac took tea - This evening called to see my old friend Mary Tillinghast found her very weak & low, apparently drawing to a conclusion. She was glad to see me, tho' partially deranged It also affected my mind to find she was a little unsettled with respect to her wellfare hereafter, observing that she had been loong seeking & not finding what her soul desired, - after conversing some time & finding that the fever lay much in her head, we droped into Silence, in which I felt the necessity of having Salt[?] in myself a solemnity covered my mind & I believe spread over us, after thus sitting a few moments I observed to her that I had no doubt that her innocent life & sincerity of motive would be acceptable & that in true Stillness was to be found, that which Surpassed words, recommended to her to labor after it & not distrust the kind hand which had from season to season been with her thro' life, & if she labord in this way I had no doubt She would find that consolation which the World can neither give nor take away - after this the she said she would labor not to distrust but be quiet & I left her more to Satisfaction than I found her



July 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 6th of 7 M 1820 / Our Meeting was silent & a season of



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but little life. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 7, Friday: King Ferdinando of [Naples](#) promised a liberal constitution.

 July 9, Sunday: General Guglielmo Pepe, leader of the [Neapolitan](#) revolt, enters the city at the head of his rebel troops.

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

1st day 9th of 7 M 1820 / In the forenoon meeting Jonathon & Hannah both preached a little, in the Afternoon father Rodman said a little & I think both the preaching & the life & all, was by the little I desire however to be thankful for an evidence in my own mind of being favord to partake of a degree of the little life among us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 10, Monday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka played a piano concerto at the graduation ceremonies of the Boarding School of the Nobility, St. Petersburg.

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

2nd day 10th of 7 M / Favor'd with the precious arisings of the sap of life. Oh that my heart & soul may bow in humble gratitude for every favor & my [may] I labor daily for the renewal of life

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s 4th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Wednesday, 1820.

- Waldo Emerson was bewildered by a period of intense infatuation with another Harvard lad, named Martin Gay.
- Henry visited Walden Pond: "One of the most ancient scenes stamped on the tablets of my memory, the oriental Asiatic valley of my world...."
- An unmarried couple living at the Thoreau boardinghouse experienced an unexpected pregnancy, which was papered over in the usual manner by prompt marriage plus a falsified official record (the infant would be baptized as Ellen Devereux Sewall).
- Uncle Charles Dunbar discovered a lode of superior graphite ore in New Hampshire.
- Father John abandoned the grocery in Chelmsford as marginal and the Thoreaus moved briefly into Concord, and then to the South End of Boston to reside in "a ten-footer," and then to Whitwell's House on Pinckney Street.

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1820

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1821



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 July 12, Wednesday: [Pope Pius VII](#) pronounced the separation of the Count and Countess Guiccioli. The wife Teresa would go to live with her father Count Gamba while the husband [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) would continue for 15 months to reside at the Palazzo Guiccioli.

Mass had been first performed in the port city of [Charleston](#) on the eastern coast of the American colonies in 1786 by an [Italian](#) priest on his way to South America, for a congregation of merely a dozen persons. By a year or two later the local congregation had risen to several hundred and was being tended to by an Irish priest in an abandoned Methodist meetinghouse (in 1789 this property was purchased by the Reverend Thomas Keating and the building repurposed as “St. Mary’s”). In 1791 the [Roman Catholic Church](#) of Charleston had been incorporated by Act of the Legislature. The Diocese of Charleston was established on this day to include both what is now Georgia and what is now [North Carolina](#). The first Bishop of Charleston, the Right Reverend John England, would be consecrated in Cork, [Ireland](#) on September 21, 1820 and would arrive on this coast during December (Georgia would in 1850 be separated off as the territory of the new Diocese of Savannah, and [North Carolina](#) would in 1868 become a vicariate Apostolic).

 July 13, Thursday: A committee in [Concord](#), Massachusetts resolved to create for the town a Social Library absorbing the membership and the collection of an earlier Charitable Library Society.

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

5th day 13th of 7th M 1820 / Our Meeting was a season of some favor to my mind – Anne Greene & Hannah Dennis both bore encouraging testimonys. – After which was our Select Meeting held, which to me was a season of quickening & favor for which I desire to be thankful –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 14-15: Some mountains at the fringe of the Rockies which had first been observed by an officious white man, Lieutenant Zebulon Montgomery Pike, in 1806, were scaled by Edwin James and two other members of the Stephen Long expedition. Eventually the name of this land formation would be settled as “Pike’s Peak.”

 July 16, Sunday: In Cambridge, Oliver Merriam, a farmer of [Concord](#), got married with Mehitable Preble Cook.

In [Paris](#), Abraham Mendelssohn wrote to his daughter Fanny, “Music will perhaps become his ([Felix Mendelssohn](#)’s) profession, while for you it can and must be only an ornament, never the root of your being and doing.”

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

*1st day 16th of 7 M / In the morning Meeting We had a short testimony from D Buffum – In the Afternoon a short one from J Dennis & to me both were Dull seasons but I was glad to find by comparing notes with a Friend After meeting that all had not fared as I had. – My Mother Aunt Stanton & Sister Ruth took tea with us. 5th day 10th of 7 M / Our meetings was silent & to me a season of Some life tho’ tried with some rovings – No buisness in the Preparative but to Answer the Queries & appoint Representatives
Aunt Stanton saild this mornig for NYork & has had to all*

appearance a fine Wind. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 18, Tuesday: Elizabeth G. Taber was born to [William Congdon Taber](#) and Hannah Tucker Shearman or Sherman Taber (1801-1858).

→ July 19, Wednesday: The constitutional convention for the new state of Missouri was in session in St. Louis. A proviso was introduced, that all free blacks and mulattos were to be excluded from this new state. (Eventually this would be accepted, but only with a strangely worded proviso suggested by Henry Clay, to the effect that in this excluding free blacks and mulattos, the state would never act in such as manner as to “impair the rights of the citizens of any other state.” As the logic of racism sometimes escapes me, would somebody please explain this?)



Heinrich IV und d'Aubigné, a grosse Oper by Heinrich August Marschner to words of Hornbostel, was performed for the initial time, in the Hoftheater of Dresden.

Richard Wylly Habersham, US District Attorney for Georgia, wrote Secretary of State John Quincy Adams, seeking instructions for how to dispose of the case of the Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



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July 20, Thursday: In Glasgow, [Scotland](#), James Wilson and six of his colleagues in the “[Radical War](#)” went on trial for treason. Five of the colleagues were found Not Guilty and the 6th was discharged. The jury found Wilson Not Guilty on three counts of treason but Guilty on the fourth, “compassing to levy war against the King in order to compel him to change his measures,” recommending mercy. The judge sentenced Wilson to execution.

There was an insurrection in Palermo, [Sicily](#) that would be reported in the USA on October 3rd in the Philadelphia newspaper [The Union — United States Gazette and True American For the Country](#). The insurrection was said to have begun because a general named Church caused a “yellow cockade” to be removed from the hat of a Sicilian:

INSURRECTION IN SICILY.

(From the *Gironale Constitutionale del Regno deile due Sicilie.*)

NAPLES, July 20.

On the 16th a tumult took place in the city of Palermo; the troops hastened to re-establish order, but unfortunately the blood of those who ought to love each other as children of the same family was shed. Amidst this melancholy tragedy, the Neapolitan citizens were respected, and the officers did not trample under foot the sacred laws of hospitality. Even those who had plundered houses restored the articles when informed that they belonged to our citizens. The Sicilians who live at Naples, indignant at the disturbers of the public peace, who

We wish we could draw a veil over the remainder of that unhappy day. Seven hundred prisoners were released from the prisons at ten o'clock in the morning: then the villains began their work. The troops were attacked, and many brave fellows, worthy of a better fate, fell victims to an unjust fury, directed against them in revenge for the insult received from a rash foreigner.

In the midst of this tumult, a detachment of the regiment Regina, and some cavalry posted at the arsenal, displayed the most noble firmness, and did not permit any of the prisoners to escape. Two Lancers, posted by General Statie opposite the arsenal, co-operated with great activity in preventing their escape.



July 21, Friday: Hans Christian Ørsted published his findings of April 21st in the [Annales de Chimie et de Physique](#), [Paris](#).

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

6th day 21st of 7th M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) this mornng on buisness of society. took Uncle Stantons horse & Waggon & carried with me Elizabeth & Mary - Dined & took tea At Uncle Peter Lawtons, & went to several other places - the Chief buisness that I went on was to see Susanna Brownell who was absent at [Bristol](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

1st day 23 of 7 M / Last evening went to Connanicut to attend Meeting there today which to me was a good season for which I desire to be thankful lodged & ate at Jos Greenes - The little

meeting there is near to my best feelings. – May they increase in right things. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 24, Monday: After 4½ years of litigation, the case of [Karl van Beethoven](#) was declared closed by the court.

→ July 26, Wednesday: Complete freedom of the press was proclaimed in [Naples](#). At the same time, Prince Metternich announced that the [Neapolitan](#) revolt would not be allowed to persist.

→ July 27, Thursday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was elected a member of the Accademia Filarmonica in Bologna.

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

5th day 27th of 7th M 1820 / In our first meeting a few words was spoken by a friend while sitting, not to satisfaction & J Dennis was engaged in a short testimony to pretty good satisfaction & the meeting ended pretty well. – In the last the buisness was conducted in a brotherly manner & harmony prevailed with the exception of the friend alluded to in the first meeting, who made some personal reflections & offered some abuse to an aged friend which I hope the Overseers will attend too & the poor deluded man brought to a right sense of his State & condition. – Joseph Greene, Geo Dennis & Asa Sherman Dined with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 29, Saturday: In [Carlisle](#), Deacon Ephraim Robbins died at the age of 63.

→ Late July/early August: US Marshal John H. Morel of Savannah reported that the [negrero Antelope](#)'s 258 Africans were under his care and responsibility.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

→ July 31, Monday: The overture to Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischütz* was performed for the initial time, in Halle. The opera was completely composed, but the premiere had been postponed due to construction delays at the new Schauspielhaus in Berlin. Also heard for the 1st time was the overture to Weber's incidental music to *Preciosa*.

AUGUST

→ August-October: At Bagni di San Giuliano (Bagni di [Pisa](#)), [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) wrote "Witch of Atlas," "Ode to [Naples](#)," and "Swellfoot the Tyrant" (the last published and suppressed in November or December).

→ August: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#)'s PROMETHEUS UNBOUND was published.



➡ August: Martin Van Buren became a major investor in the Albany, [New York Argus](#).

➡ August: One hundred and eleven additional deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah.

➡ August: [Charles Dexter Cleveland](#) commencing studies preparatory for admission to college, with Mr. Pemberton in Boston, and then in North Andover, Massachusetts with Simeon Putnam, Esquire, after which he would enter the Phillips Exeter Academy.

➡ August: [John James Audubon](#) had moved his family to Cincinnati and taken a job as a taxidermist. In this month he sketched Captain John Cleves Symmes:



He decided he would actively pursue his dream of painting all the American birds. Taking along a student, Joseph Mason, during this period he was traveling the Ohio River, the Arkansas River, and the Mississippi in search of new specimens. The hunting pair shot any number of **Ivory-billed Woodpeckers**, [Campephilus principalis](#). It was sometimes difficult to retrieve the carcasses: “They sometimes cling to the bark with their claws so firmly, as to remain cramped to the spot for several hours after death.”



➡ August: Joseph Herrick, Jr. of Gloucester drowned at sea.

➡ August 1, Tuesday: In [London](#), the [Regent's Canal](#) to Limehouse opened.

➡ August 2, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 2nd of 8th M / This Morning rode to [Portsmouth](#) to Attend The Select Quarterly Meeting with Father Rodman. – it was a season of favor, tho' much deep waiding was exsperiened on account of the State of things among us, but unity & love prevailed to the consolation of some who are at times ready to faint. – Dined at Uncle Peter Lawtons & came home. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 3, Thursday: Simon Mayr read his study of Franchinus Gaffurius to the Ateneo, Bergamo. This was the initial portion of a projected book on various people. He would be prevented from completing the work by illness and death.

President James Monroe instructed that the Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#) were to be held in Savannah by US Marshal John H. Morel until the white people could come to agreement on their destiny.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

5th day Again went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting at Large, the first appearance was from a young Woman from Lynn in supplication much to dissatisfaction - Then a short lively testimony from Thos Anthony, the rest of the service fell chiefly to our dear friend & Brother Charles Osborn. he had much also to communicate in the last meeting & visited the womens meeting - We dined at Uncle Peters after which Sister Ruth & Eleanor Lawton & myself went on towards [Providence](#) in the Waggon & reached James maxwells in [Warren](#) before night. Sister Ruth & I with the view of attending the School committee & Eleanor to enter as Nurse in the Yearly Meeting school

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 4, Friday: At Stirling in [Scotland](#) a judge of the "[Radical War](#)" treason delivered himself of the remark "To you Andrew Hardie and John Baird I can hold out little or no hope of mercy" because "as you were the leaders, I am afraid that example must be given by you."

HANGING

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

6th day proceeded to [Providence](#) & reached the School House about 10 OClock, after landing the Young Women, I rode into town on a little buisness with Natl. Watson of Salem & returned to [Moses Browns](#) & dined where I found G Osborn & several other friends whom I loved, their company was very pleasant. – After dinner we went up to the School House & attended to the concerns that came before us in the capacity of School Committee, much weight was manifest among us & right concern for the wellfare of the



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institution. – Ruth & I returned to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged. –next morning being 7th day we returned to the school House to attend to some unfinished buisness of yesterday, staid to dinner & dined with the Schollars after which we left them & rode home & got to [Newport](#) before 9 O'clock in the evening. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 6, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 6th of 8 M / Our morning Meeting was pretty well attended Father Rodman was concerned in Testimony – Jeremiah Austin as is now not a member of Society was present & undertook to preach to us – We heard The Bell, but alas where is the pomgranate, which tastes & smells pleasantly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 7, Monday: [Potatoes](#) were 1st planted in the Hawaiian Islands.

[Marie Anne Elisa Bonaparte](#), a sister of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), died at the age of 43.

[Ellen Kilshaw Fuller](#) was born to Margaret Crane Fuller and Timothy Fuller.

In the United States of America, this was the 4th national Census Day. Exceedingly few were living alone. In Shrewsbury, Massachusetts, for instance, the census turned up only two such individuals: a solitary Mary Garfield, a spinster who spun for her neighbors but did not get along well with her kin and who was being referred to as “old Moll Garfield the [witch](#),” and a solitary Jonas Stone, an “insane person” who rejected all attempts at help and was in the process of being coerced by town authorities.

HERMITS

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 August 8, Tuesday: It was probably on this day that [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote in his journal:

There is a strange face in the Freshman class whom I should like to know very much. He has a great deal of character in his features & should be a fast friend or a bitter enemy. His name is Gay. I shall endeavour to become acquainted with him & wish if possible that I might be able to recall at a future period the singular sensations which his presence produced at this.

(This was Martin Gay, but the last name only is used and it is crossed out in the journal.)

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Perhaps thy lot in life is higher
 Than the fates assign to me
 While they fulfil thy large desire
 And bid my hopes as visions flee
 But grant me stee in joy or sorrow
 In grief or hope to claim thy heart
 And I will then defy the morrow
 Whilst I fulfil a loyal part.

MEMORY SKETCH OF MARTIN GAY, BY EMERSON

In his Journal for 1821



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

5th day 10th of 8th M 1820 / Our Meeting was silent & to me a season of leanness, arising perhaps chiefly from a want of timely



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care on my part, tho' I labor'd to get my mind settled. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 11, Friday: On Brister's Hill in [Concord](#), Massachusetts, [Love Oliver Freeman](#) died at the age of 49.

 August 13, Sunday: Field Marshall William Carr Beresford, Duke of Elvas, administrator of Portugal, sailed for Brazil to visit Dom João, the absent king.

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

1st day 13 of 8 M / This morning as I went into the meeting House Yard I found a number of Men & boys standing round our frd David Buffum in a manner which induced me to believe that something had happened to him on going up I found his horse as he was taking him out of the carriage in Kicking off the flies had hit his leg & it was bleeding most profusely. They had put a handkerchief round it & soon his son David came up & carried him home. The heat of the Weather & his time of life excites no Small concern for his wellfare – Our Meeting was Silent & a season of thoughtfulness to me tho' not so much of the Life as I desired Afternoon meeting rather small people seem to dislike very warm as well as very cold weather to turn out to meeting in –father Rodman & Aunt A Carpenter out to see D Buffum, found his leg severely hurt but it appears to be a flesh wound & with proper care may do well, tho' so severe a hurt is always dangerous at the age of 76. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 14, Monday: 1st US eye hospital, the New York Eye Infirmary, opened in New-York City.

In Lawrenceburg, Indiana, the jilted suitor Amasa Fuller was [hanged](#) for the murder on January 10th of bridegroom-to-be Palmer Warren and the result would be a ballad, "Fuller and Warren," a variant of which has been recorded as follows:

Ye sons of Columbia, attention all I'll pray,
And listen to a story I'm going to tell:
It happened here of late in an Indiana State,
Of a hero who but a few could excel.

He was handsome, independent, he was comely and fair,
But a sweeter hero never yet was known;
But sorry for to say, instead of a wedding day,
Young Fuller he lies silent in his home.

Like Samson he courted the fairest of the fair,
He thought she would be his wedded wife;
But like Ella the fair, she did his heart unswear,
And robbed him of his honour and his life.

He gave to her a gold ring as a token of true love,
He thought her the image of a dove;
To get married then with speed they mutually agreed,
And he swore by all powers above.

When Fuller came to hear he was deprived of his dear,



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He swore in his heart he would wed;
With his heart full of woe to young Warren he did go,
And smiling to young Warren he said:

“Young man, you know you’ve wronged me,
You gratify your cause by reporting that I’ve left a prudent wife;
Now acknowledge that you’ve wronged me or I will break the law,
For, Warren, I’ll deprive you of your life.”

Warren made reply, “Your request I do deny,
For my heart unto your darling is bound;
But furthermore I’ll say, this is our wedding day,
In spite of all the heroes in the town.”

Young Fuller in a passion of love and anger flew,
And this fair one began for to cry;
And with one fatal shot, he shot Warren on the spot,
And smiling said, “I’m ready for to die.”

Young Fuller was condemned by the honour of jury bold,
In the land of lorn alone for to die;
To die an inhuman death to hang upon the yard,
Like a highwayman upon the gallis high.

The time was drawing nigh when young Fuller he must die,
And smiling said, “I’ll bid you all adieu.”
Like an angel he did stand, for he was a handsome man,
And upon his coat he wore a rose of blue.

Ten thousand spectators they were all standing by,
And the guards dropping tears from their eyes,
Saying, “Cursed was she who caused this misery,
She ought in his place now to die.”

The smiling God of Love, looking down from above,
And the rope broke asunder where they stand;
Two doctors there to pay, commit murder on that day,

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And hung him by the main string of the hand.



August 15, Tuesday: In order to oppose the ownership claims being asserted by Savannah attorneys acting as consuls for Spain and Portugal, the US District Attorney for Georgia, Richard Wylly Habersham, began to argue that the Africans brought to Savannah aboard the *negrero Antelope* should be given their freedom.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



At about the middle of the month, arriving in Alexandria, *Egypt*, the Reverend *Barnard Hanbury* and *George Waddington* learned that the Turkish army of Mahommed Ali Pasha was presently involved in the “reduction” of the district beyond the Second Cataract of the Nile River. They resolved to follow along after this fortuitous army, and sought appropriate letters of introduction (*Henry Thoreau* would read about this).

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT

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August 17, Thursday: The trial to prove the infidelities of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#), so that [King George IV](#) might divorce her, began with her riding in triumph to the House of Lords in a state carriage through cheering throngs, graciously waving to all and sundry. Among the 258 peers assembled there were two (at least) with whom she had had intimate relations. The issue of her name being in the weekly liturgy of the Anglican Church was a major complication. The husband could not bring proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Court because he did not have the required “clean hands.” He attempted to secure a Bill of Pains and Penalties but the queen was virtually acquitted by the House of Lords because the bill passed only by a slender majority. As far as many of the peers were concerned, the issue was not who was dirty but who was dirtiest:



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

*5th day 17 of 8 M / At Meeting J Dennis was concerned in a short testimony –
Our fr D Buffum remains confined with a sore leg which does not get much better, tho' it is supposed it is doing as well as can be expected*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 19, Saturday: Evidence began to be heard in the House of Lords in the matter of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#)'s alleged infidelities, so that [King George IV](#) might divorce her. It would continue for several months.

Die Zauberharfe D.644, a melodrama by Franz Schubert to words of von Hofmann, was performed for the initial time, in the Theater-an-der-Wien, Vienna. The overture was from the composer's music for Rosamunde.

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➡ August 20, Sunday: A meeting was held at Canandaigua's Mill's Hotel to discuss the building of a canal linking Canandaigua Lake with the Erie Canal. John C. Spencer, James D. Bemis, Asa Stanley, Dudley Marvin, and William H. Adams were appointed to study a route.

A setting of Spiritus meus by Antonio Salieri was performed for the initial time, in Vienna.

Gentleman's Magazine was able to applaud a lady, when it came across one:

The numerous family and large domestic establishment of Mrs Fry are properly conducted with the utmost propriety. Nor does her zeal in the holy cause of humanity ever lead her to infringe on those domestic duties which every female is called upon conscientiously to fulfil.

ELIZABETH FRY
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ August 20, Sunday: Charles DeWolf (3) died.



(What a pleasant smile he had on his face when he sat for this painting. He was perhaps whiling away the time by making a mental calculation of how much he might be able to get for your great-great-great-great-grandmother on the open market.)

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 20th of 8th M 1820 / In the Mornng Meeting J Dennis was concerned in testimony - In the Afternoon silent. -

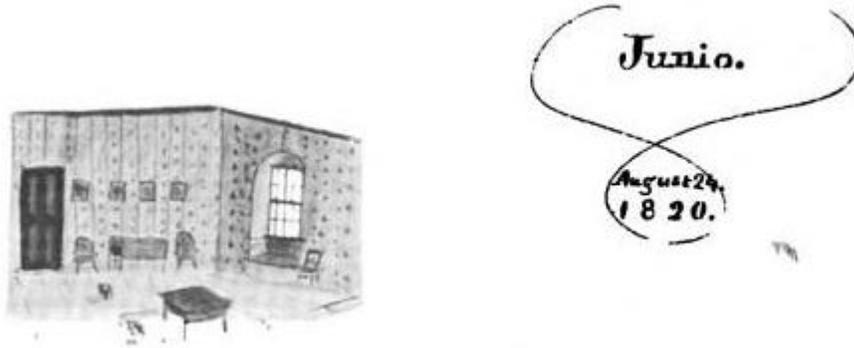
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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➔ August 23, Wednesday: In Boston, Edmund Quincy Sewall, a divinity student studying with the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#) at the Old Manse in [Concord](#), and Caroline Ward, daughter of Colonel Joseph Ward (deceased) and Prudence Bird Ward, did the right thing, the bride being already two or three months pregnant. The illicit pregnancy would not impact the father's career as a minister (the wedding document would be made to bear the date July 19, 1820). The couple would produce first Ellen Devereux Sewall and then Edmund Quincy Sewall, Jr.

Here is a sketch [Waldo Emerson](#) drew in his journal, of his dorm room at [Harvard College](#), which was Hollis 15:



➔ August 24, Thursday: A Constitutionalist insurrection against the Bragança dynasty began among liberal army officers in Oporto, Portugal. A rebel junta was set up in the city led by Brigadier António da Silveira Pinto da Fonseca.

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

*5th day 24 of 8 M / Silent Meeting, the forepart of it was a season of solid quiet to my mind, but got disturbed with some rovings & towards the close was favord to feel a solemn covering restored. - No buisness in the preparative meeting but to approve Representatives
Aunt Stanton arrived from NYork this Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➔ August 25, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 25th of 8 M 1820 / This Afternoon With J L Taylor rode over the Beeches to the late residence of Benjamin Gardiner after his Clock to repair, on our way thither we Stoped at the Marked Rocks about which Storys (& storys they are) is told of the Devil beheading a Squaw &c here many people have cut their names with the Date of the Year. I remarked some as far Back as the Year 1740 & many of a later date, among them is the Name of Thos Rotch as far back as 1785 when he was probably on a visit to this Island, he is yet living but many are gone hence to be seen of men no more. -These Rocks & the names cut on them gave rise to many reflections. They have been visited by many for pleasure who have since seen great trouble & paid the debt of Nature & now only their names remain, perchance to revive them in the recollection of some of their friends who may hapen to visit them & remember that they once knew them. I once when a



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boy, was at these rocks before, & cut my name, but it is not now to be found, it was cut shallow & time has effaced it – After the buisness was done we went upon - we took a Walk on the east ridge of the hanging rocks, they are a great curiosity, & my mind in the course of my walk exclaimed "GREAT & MARVELOUS ARE THY WORKS", & on observing some of the clefts that were once probably attatched to the Mass, but fallen off by some great convulsion of nature, well may we ADD "Thy ways are past finding out – On the farm of the late Benj Gardiner is an old family burying Ground, in which are laid the family of Smiths to whom the land once belonged. I noticed a very large & thick Tomb Stone which covers Phillip Smith & his Wife Mary - he Died in 1700 aged 67 Years & she 1709 aged 57 Years We then rode home by the way of Green End & had a pleasant Afternoon. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day 27th of 8th M 1820 / In the Mornng Meeting, father Rodman had a few words by way of testimony & it was a pretty solid time – In the Afternoon we were silent

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

3rd day 29 of 8 M / This Afternoon carried Aunt Stanton & Nancy Warren in the Waggon to [Portsmouth](#). went to Clarke Chases & walked round to view the Farm Some Apples & Pears rearly ripe & the appearance of a considerable quantity. The went to Uncle Thurstons & took tea. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30, Wednesday: A petition entitled “The Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland” had been in circulation since April 1st and a cavalry officer, Sir Richard Hussey Vivian, had been sent up from London to [Scotland](#) to take care of the situation. He assembled 2,000 soldiers and rounded up a number of persons suspected by others of possessing radical sympathies. One of those who had fallen into the trap of the provocateur-incited “[Radical War](#)” treason had been one James Wilson, who had been taken near his home in Strathaven 14 miles from Glasgow. Having been duly found guilty of “compassing to levy war against the king,” and having been duly sentenced to being [hanged](#), drawn, and quartered for said treason, on this day Wilson was placed head down on a hurdle and drawn to Glasgow Green, where he faced a crowd of some 20,000 people. He remarked to his executioner “Did you ever see such a crowd, Thomas?” After the hanging and beheading the executioner left off and the corpse was neither drawn nor quartered.

 August 31, Thursday: Radical leader Major Rafael de Riego made a triumphal entry into Madrid in support of the 1812 constitution.

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

5th day 31 of 8 M / This mornng took the Waggon & carried father Rodman & Sister Eliza & John to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting. In the first meeting J Dennis said a few words but with me life was low. The buisness of the last, was pretty



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well conducted & in my feelings life rose in a very pleasant & comfortable degree for which continued evidence of Divine favor I desire to be thankful - We dined at Rich Mitchells

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

SEPTEMBER



September: New iron railings were erected “at considerable expense” at Government Garden on [St. Helena](#) (no mention is made of the presence of [giant tortoises](#) on this greensward at this time). It was forbidden to leave carts, or set up stalls to sell goods, at this fence.

The Middlesex Cattle Show, which [Henry Thoreau](#) usually would visit (and in 1860 he would be its principal speaker, with his “SUCCESSION OF FOREST TREES”).

WALDEN: Bankruptcy and repudiation are the spring-boards from which much of our civilization vaults and turns its somersets, but the savage stands on the unelastic plank of famine. Yet the Middlesex Cattle Show goes off here with *éclat* annually, as if all the joints of the agricultural machine were suent.

The farmer is endeavoring to solve the problem of a livelihood by a formula more complicated than the problem itself. To get his shoestrings he speculates in herds of cattle. With consummate skill he has set his trap with a hair spring to catch comfort and independence, and then, as he turned away, got his own leg into it. This is the reason he is poor; and for a similar reason we are all poor in respect to a thousand savage comforts, though surrounded by luxuries.

WALDEN: Ancient poetry and mythology suggest, at least, that husbandry was once a sacred art; but it is pursued with irreverent haste and heedlessness by us, our object being to have large farms and large crops merely. We have no festival, nor procession, nor ceremony, not excepting our Cattle-shows and so called Thanksgivings, by which the farmer expresses a sense of the sacredness of his calling, or is reminded of its sacred origin. It is the premium and the feast which tempt him. He sacrifices not to Ceres and the Terrestrial Jove, but to the infernal Plutus rather. By avarice and selfishness, and a grovelling habit, from which none of us is free, of regarding the soil as property, or the means of acquiring property chiefly, the landscape is deformed, husbandry is degraded with us, and the farmer leads the meanest of lives.



A WEEK: As I pass along the streets of our village of Concord on the day of our annual Cattle-Show, when it usually happens that the leaves of the elms and buttonwoods begin first to strew the ground under the breath of the October wind, the lively spirits in their sap seem to mount as high as any plough-boy's let loose that day; and they lead my thoughts away to the rustling woods, where the trees are preparing for their winter campaign. This autumnal festival, when men are gathered in crowds in the streets as regularly and by as natural a law as the leaves cluster and rustle by the wayside, is naturally associated in my mind with the fall of the year. The low of cattle in the streets sounds like a hoarse symphony or running bass to the rustling of the leaves. The wind goes hurrying down the country, gleaning every loose straw that is left in the fields, while every farmer lad too appears to scud before it, - having donned his best pea-jacket and pepper-and-salt waistcoat, his unbent trousers, outstanding rigging of duck or kerseymere or corduroy, and his furry hat withal, - to country fairs and cattle-shows, to that Rome among the villages where the treasures of the year are gathered. All the land over they go leaping the fences with their tough, idle palms, which have never learned to hang by their sides, amid the low of calves and the bleating of sheep, - Amos, Abner, Elnathan, Elbridge, -

“From steep pine-bearing mountains to the plain.”

I love these sons of earth every mother's son of them, with their great hearty hearts rushing tumultuously in herds from spectacle to spectacle, as if fearful lest there should not be time between sun and sun to see them all, and the sun does not wait more than in haying-time.

“Wise Nature's darlings, they live in the world
Perplexing not themselves how it is hurled.”

Running hither and thither with appetite for the coarse pastimes of the day, now with boisterous speed at the heels of the inspired negro from whose larynx the melodies of all Congo and Guinea Coast have broke loose into our streets; now to see the procession of a hundred yoke of oxen, all as august and grave as Osiris, or the droves of neat cattle and milch cows as unspotted as Isis or Io. Such as had no love for Nature

“at all,
Came lovers home from this great festival.”

They may bring their fattest cattle and richest fruits to the fair, but they are all eclipsed by the show of men. These are stirring autumn days, when men sweep by in crowds, amid the rustle of leaves, like migrating finches; this is the true harvest of the year, when the air is but the breath of men, and the rustling of leaves is as the trampling of the crowd. We read now-a-days of the ancient festivals, games, and processions of the Greeks and Etruscans, with a little incredulity, or at least with little sympathy; but how natural and irrepressible in every people is some hearty and palpable greeting of Nature. The Corybantes, the Bacchantes, the rude primitive tragedians with their procession and goat-song, and the whole paraphernalia of the Panathenaea, which appear so antiquated and peculiar, have their parallel now. The husbandman is always a better

Greek than the scholar is prepared to appreciate, and the old custom still survives, while antiquarians and scholars grow gray in commemorating it. The farmers crowd to the fair to-day in obedience to the same ancient law, which Solon or Lycurgus did not enact, as naturally as bees swarm and follow their queen.

It is worth the while to see the country's people, how they pour into the town, the sober farmer folk, now all agog, their very shirt and coat-collars pointing forward, – collars so broad as if they had put their shirts on wrong end upward, for the fashions always tend to superfluity, – and with an unusual springiness in their gait, jabbering earnestly to one another. The more supple vagabond, too, is sure to appear on the least rumor of such a gathering, and the next day to disappear, and go into his hole like the seventeen-year locust, in an ever-shabby coat, though finer than the farmer's best, yet never dressed; come to see the sport, and have a hand in what is going, – to know "what's the row," if there is any; to be where some men are drunk, some horses race, some cockerels fight; anxious to be shaking props under a table, and above all to see the "striped pig." He especially is the creature of the occasion. He empties both his pockets and his character into the stream, and swims in such a day. He dearly loves the social slush. There is no reserve of soberness in him.

I love to see the herd of men feeding heartily on coarse and succulent pleasures, as cattle on the husks and stalks of vegetables. Though there are many crooked and crabbed specimens of humanity among them, run all to thorn and rind, and crowded out of shape by adverse circumstances, like the third chestnut in the burr, so that you wonder to see some heads wear a whole hat, yet fear not that the race will fail or waver in them; like the crabs which grow in hedges, they furnish the stocks of sweet and thrifty fruits still. Thus is nature recruited from age to age, while the fair and palatable varieties die out, and have their period. This is that mankind. How cheap must be the material of which so many men are made.

 September 2, Saturday: Death of Jiaqing, Emperor of [China](#).

 September 3, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 3rd of 9th M 1820 / Our Morning Meeting was well Attended & a favor'd season Hannah Dennis was very lively & sweet in testimony & father Rodman appeared in a few words. –In the Afternoon Silent, & pretty Solid. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

7th day 9th of 9 M / This Afternoon took the Waggon & with My H, John & Aunt Stanton rode to [Portsmouth](#) & took tea with our Aged Cousin Elizabeth Chase. The Afternoon was pleasant & the time was spent pleasantly, but my mind was occupied much in retrospection, on my past visits at the House when the family were all alive & together, but now how changed? Soon we shall

*all be changed, soon all consigned to the Silent grave & may we
so live while here, as to be received into happiness in the World
to come. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: François Arago presented the findings of the Danish physicist Hans Christian Ørsted to the [French](#) Academy in [Paris](#).



"If you wish to make an apple pie from scratch,
you must first invent the universe."

– [Carl Sagan](#)



September 7, Thursday: During a Lake Erie storm two lake vessels were forced to tie up at the new pier being built by Samuel Wilkeson at Buffalo Creek, [New York](#) (later the Buffalo River). The pier would hold.

The Attorney-General of England rested His Majesty's case against Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) in the House of Lords. She responded by sailing down the Thames in her state barge. An estimated 200,000 people viewed the procession.

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

*5th day 7th of 9th M / Father Rodman delivered a short testimony
at Meeting. – To me it was a season of great poverty. I know not
when I have passed a meeting so destitute of good
Joseph Sansom of Philadelphia was at Meeting he is a great
traveller & published several works. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

When the wooden [Concord Town School](#) had burned down the previous December 31st,  the Corinthian Lodge of local Freemasons had volunteered to pay \$400 toward the cost of replacing it, on condition that a private staircase would be provided to an upper floor that would be reserved for their activities. The new building, of brick, dedicated on this day by the Reverend [Ezra Ripley](#), sported a bell cupola (two other, outlying, new schoolhouses were also being dedicated on this day).

I wish you to realize that it is your indispensable duty to govern your children.... I do not say you must be severe. There will be no need of severity, if you begin discipline seasonably and pursue it with wisdom and prudence. But they must be made to obey you. If you do not know how to govern your children, and to command their fear and love, it is high time you should learn. And I would there were schools for this purpose. I believe they would be highly beneficial.



Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons

The ground floor of this building would house the town school preparing local students for college until,

in 1851,  it would be moved across the square into the new Town Hall.



The classroom was constructed like an amphitheater. The ceiling was ten feet high and, in the center, running from the door to the master's desk at the opposite end, was an aisle. On either side the floor rose toward the wall on an inclined plane, on which were four rows of benches, ten seats to a row, so that the master was surrounded by students on three sides. The northwest half was the girls' side and the boys sat on the southeast, forty students on each side. The scholars used wooden desks of the classic schoolroom type – lidded, bolted to the floor, and attached to the seat in front. The master's desk stood on a platform sixteen inches high, facing the students. Near this, on the floor, was an old heating stove. The room was lit with oil lamps.



September 8, Friday: There having been a protest march in [Scotland](#) involving a march from Glasgow toward the Carron Ironworks for the purpose of the securing of weapons, and two of the leaders of said march, weavers, having been taken into custody, on this day in Stirling the march leaders Andrew Hardie and John Baird were [hanged](#) then [beheaded](#) for their "[Radical War](#)" treason before a crowd of some 2,000. Sheriff of Stirling Ranald MacDonald had stipulated that they would not be allowed to make political speeches from the platform, but had consented that they might speak upon the Holy Scripture. Baird made a brief speech ending in "Although this day we die an ignominious death by unjust laws our blood, which in a very few minutes shall flow on this scaffold, will cry to heaven for vengeance, and may it be the means of our afflicted Countrymen's speedy redemption." Hardie then commented that "our blood [being] shed on this scaffold ... for no other sin but seeking the legitimate rights of our ill used and down trodden beloved Countrymen," and the Sheriff interrupted his speech. He quickly concluded by asking those present to "go quietly home and read your Bibles, and remember the fate of Hardie and Baird." (This punishment for treason would be removed from the statute books in 1947.)



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

1st day 10th of 9 M / In the morning Meeting Father Rodman was concerned in a short well connected & pretty lively testimony In the Afternoon Hannah Dennis was twice on her feet engaged in a lively pertinent testimony in which Gospel Authority was demonstrated & both to me were good Meetings. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

4th day 13th of 9 M / This Afternoon took John & with Mother & Aunt Stanton went to Connanicut & took tea with Cousin Mary Howland, Cousin Abigail Casey was there & a pleasant Afternoon it was - After tea John & I came home & left Mother & Aunt Stanton to stay a few Days –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 14th of 9th M 1820 / Silent Meeting. our frd D Buffum attended, the first time since his leg was hurt. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 15, Friday: Liberal riots occurred in Lisbon in sympathy with those in Porto during the previous month. A rebel junta took over in the capital deposing the Regency Council and Field Marshall William Carr Beresford, Duke of Elvas.

 September 16, Saturday: Carl Loewe visited [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) in Jena.

A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: German physicist Johann Salomo Christoph Schweigger presented a paper at the University of Halle describing his electromagnetic experiments. He had found that the strength of a current running through a wire can be measured based on the amount of deflection of a compass needle, in effect creating a galvanometer.

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

1st day 17 of 9th M / In the Morning Meeting Hannah Dennis was large in testimony, Jonathon was also engaged in testimony & D Buffum closed the Service with his usual lively manner, it seemed as if there was much concern manifested, for the Churches Welfare & Oh that it may increase among us. -- In the Afternoon Silent but the Meeting closed under a good degree of life to my feelings. -

1820

1820



September 20, Wednesday: Red-haired but nearly bald Colonel Josiah “The Prairie Chicken” Snelling laid the cornerstone of a massive new fort, to be called “Fort St. Anthony,” at the confluence of the Mississippi River and the St. Peter’s River overlooking Pike Island in what eventually would become [Minnesota](#). Construction would require six years.



Rochesterville, [New York](#)’s Methodist Episcopal Church opened and Abelard Reynolds was named 1st trustee.

Two hundred and forty-one additional deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah.

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

*5th day 21 of 9 M / Our meeting today was small & silent to me a season of some oppression. –
John remains very poorly. I hardly know what to think of his case. –*



1820

1820

 September 18, Monday: A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology: André-Marie Ampère presented a paper to the [French](#) Academy outlining his findings based on those of the Danish physicist Hans Christian Ørsted. Wires carrying electric current showed magnetic properties. Over the next few months Ampère would lay the foundation for the science of electrodynamics.

THE SCIENCE OF 1820

 September 19, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 19th of 9th M / On first day night John seemed quite unwell, Yesterday had quite a fever & today seems to be no better, we are administering medicine under the Doctors direction & must wait the results

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 22, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 22 of 9 M / John Still remains very poorly, but in The aggregate I dont know but he had had a better day than yesterday

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 23, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 23 of 9 M / John seems Better today, his case has excited much anxiety in our minds

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 24, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 9 M / John Seeming yet better. Went this morning to Connanicut to attend that Meeting as a committee Member It was an hard season but after All my struggle was favord at last with the precious incomes of life. Dined with Jos Greenes, then went up & set a little while with cousin's Howland & Casey - & came across the ferry home

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 26, Tuesday: Daniel Boone, relentless self-promoter, gave up the ghost on about this date at the age of 85 in St. Charles County, Missouri. He would be buried near his Rebecca in a cemetery close to Jemima's farm.⁹⁹

 September 27, Wednesday: The two rebel juntas in Portugal met in Alcobaça and created one provisional government led by Bishop Gomes Freire de Andrade.

99. At a later date some remains presumed to be those of Daniel and Rebecca Boone would be exhumed for relocation to Frankfort, Kentucky.



1820

1820

 September 28, Thursday: Birth of Friedrich Engels.

Thomas Whiting died at the age of 72.

Thomas Whiting [of [Concord](#)], grandson of the Rev. John Whiting by his son Thomas Whiting, Esq., was born October 3, 1748, and graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1775. He taught the grammar-school in [Concord](#) several years, and was afterwards a merchant here [in Concord]. He died September 28, 1820, aged 72.¹⁰⁰

Widerschein D.639, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schlechta, was published in the Taschenbuch zum geselligen Vergnügen, Leipzig.

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

9 M 28 1820 5th day / Our Monthly Meeting this Day held in town was a season of favor. – In this first meeting father Rodman & J Dennis were concerned in short testimonials & in the last the business was conducted in love & condescension – We had a number of our [Portsmouth](#) friends to dine with us. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FALL 1820

 Fall: [Frederic Tudor](#), with the help of his two brothers, prepared to ship the [ice](#) of Massachusetts to New Orleans.

 Fall: In spiritual travail, the grieving [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) was sent by her family to [North Carolina](#) for a breather:



I cannot without shuddering look back to that period. How dreadful did the state of my mind become! Nothing interested me; I fulfilled my duties without any feeling of satisfaction, in gloomy silence. My lips moved in prayer, my feet carried me to the holy sanctuary, but my heart was estranged from piety. I felt as if my doom was irrevocably fixed, and I was destined to that fire which is never quenched. I have never experienced any feeling so terrific as the despair of salvation. My soul still remembers the wormwood and the gall, still remembers how awful the conviction that every door of hope was closed, and that I was given over unto death.

100. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#), 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David 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.)

During her stay at the [slave](#) plantations of her relatives along the Cape Fear River, she would worship with the Methodists who mostly occupied that place, and would not be more impressed with this style of worship than she had previously been with her family's Episcopalianism, or her subsequent Presbyterianism. On her return from this trip to her home in [Charleston, South Carolina](#), she would reassure her mother that she was not at all tempted by [Quakerism](#) or [Catholicism](#):



"Anything but a Quaker or a Catholic!"

Then, however, her brother Thomas picked up, at some sale, a volume of Quaker writings:



"Thee had better turn Quaker, Sally; thy long face would suit well their sober dress."

Reading in this volume, whatever it was, raised some questions in her mind, and she began a correspondence with the Quakers whom she had met in her travels, the ones who had presented her with the Woolman volume. In particular her correspondence would be with Friend Israel Morris. Eventually she would begin to attend the silent worships at the Friends meetinghouse in Charleston.

OCTOBER



October: Franklin Cowdery began publishing the Angelica, [New York Republican](#).



October: Winthrop Praed's [Etonian](#), until the following July.



October: Two hundred and sixty-three additional deaths from [yellow fever](#) were recorded in Savannah. In all, a 10th of the city's population, 666 citizens died from yellow fever — a decimation. An estimated 70% of those who survived had done so by fleeing the city. Except for clergy and physicians, the streets were often deserted. Barrels of tar burned daily throughout the city in the typical useless but pungent attempt to purify the air. Dr. William R. Waring wrote that "The scene of sickness, misery and ruin was awful, shocking and well-fitted to inspire a melancholy sentiment of the shortness, uncertainty and insignificance of life."



October 1, Sunday: A member of the Harris family drowned at Pigeon Cove, Rockport, Gloucester.

The 1st constitutional parliament for [Naples](#) met.

Fanny and [Felix Mendelssohn](#) entered the Berlin Singakademie as altos.

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

1st day 1st of 10th M 1820 / In our Mornng Meeting D Buffum & father Rodman were both engaged in testimony – In the Afternoon father was twice engaged. – both to me were seasons of favor for which I desire to be thankful. – With Lewis L C Clarke went out to David Buffums, took tea & spent the evening with him-



1820

1820

 October 2, Monday: Nathan Reed was the 1st child born in the town of Allegany, [New York](#).

 October 3, Tuesday: Min Ning succeeded Jiaqing as Emperor of [China](#).

The defense of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) opened before the House of Lords.

 October 4, Wednesday: Carl Maria von Weber performed before the King and Queen of Denmark at Fredriksborg.

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

4th day 4th of 10 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Sister Mary to attend meeting - Wm T Potter & Mary Anthony were married it was a Silent Solemn Meeting & the Marriage was as orderly Solemnized as any I ever attended. - it is now over 32 years since I have seen a marriage in [Portsmouth](#) Meeting House when Isaac Chase was married to his first wife I was about 7 years old & well remember going to meeting with Aunt Patty Gould & Sitting with her, recollect of seeing them Stand up & when the certificate was signing She went up, signed it herself & asked cousin John to write my name on it. I also recollect that Elizabeth Mott preached, & of going home with them & being at the Wedding. -- Ah! many changes since that day, many have since sunk to the Silent grave & gone hence to be seen & scarcely to be remembered by men any more & many also, have since been married myself among the number & been called into the field of action to fill up my allotment in civil & religious activity & soon also shall I be among those numbered with the Dead. May the change be happy

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 5th of 10th M 1820 / Our Meeting was silent & a pretty good one to me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 6, Friday: [Johanna Maria "Jenny" Lind](#) was born in Stockholm.

A visiting dignitary, Jack Snake, one of nine Cherokees visiting Philadelphia for purposes of a negotiation, died. Since his body could not be buried in any consecrated cemetery, he being a heathen and all, it would be interred somewhere in [William Bartram](#)'s garden. (We do not know precisely where. Be on the lookout for especially fertile spots.)

Two British frigates entered the bay of [Naples](#) in support of the status quo.

Charles Valentin Alkan was admitted to the [Paris](#) Conservatoire.

 October 7, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 7th of 10th M / "In the midst of life we are in Death" those words involuntarily & spontaneously rushed on my mind this evening as I heard of the decease of Ann McCoy at Savannah Georgia at the age of 17 Years. She spent a few weeks at board with Aunt Nancy Carpenter in the summer of 1819. we became acquainted with her & from the apparant Amiableness of her disposition & engaging deportment with the honesty of her heart really endeard her to our feelings we parted with regret & feelings of brotherly & sisterly affection. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 8, Sunday: General Jean-Pierre Boyer, who in 1818 had taken control over the southern part of Haiti, was able to take over the whole of that black and creole nation when Henri Christophe, King Henry I, semi-paralyzed and losing control over the Creole forces, shot himself with a silver bullet in order to avoid an approaching army of Congos.

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

1st day 8th of 10th M / Our meetings were both Silent & to me seasons of Some life. - with my H & John spent the evening at Wm Lee's. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 9, Monday: The British government reattached Cape Breton to Nova Scotia.

Guayaquil, Ecuador declared its freedom from Ecuador.

 October 10, Tuesday: Field Marshall William Carr Beresford, Duke of Elvas returned from Brazil but was not allowed to disembark by the revolutionary government.

 October 11, Wednesday: The 1st annual agricultural exhibition at [Concord](#), under President Cyrus Baldwin. Exhibitors received prizes totaling \$244.

Agricultural Society. - This, though properly a county society, is so connected with Concord, as to deserve to be noticed in its history. The members of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society, living in the western parts of the county, met at Chelmsford, January 6, 1794, and formed a society for the "promotion of useful improvements in agriculture," and were incorporated, February 28, 1803, as "The Western Society of Middlesex Husbandmen." It did not include Concord, nor other towns in the easterly part of the county. Meetings were held semi-annually, alternately at Westford and Littleton, but no public exhibitions took place. The following gentlemen were successively elected Presidents; the Rev. Jonathan Newell of Stow, the Rev. Phineas Whitney of Shirley, the Rev. Edmund Foster of Littleton, Ebenezer Bridge of Chelmsford, Dr. Oliver Prescott of Groton, Colonel Benjamin Osgood of Westford, Wallis Tuttle, Esq., of Littleton, and the Hon. Samuel Dana of Groton. An act was passed, February 20, 1819, authorizing any agricultural society, possessing \$1,000 in funds, to draw \$200 from the state treasury, and in the same proportion for a larger

sum. This society accordingly voted, in the following September, to extend its operation throughout the county, and to raise funds that it might avail itself of the grant of the state. An act passed, January 24, 1824, incorporating it as "The Society of Middlesex Husbandmen and Manufacturers"; and it was agreed to have annual shows at Concord. The first was held here October 11, 1820; and they have since been annually repeated. The subjoined table exhibits the names of the presidents, orators, and amounts of premiums awarded. The names of those orators, whose addresses have been published, are printed in *italics*.¹⁰¹

➡ October 12, Thursday: [Theodora Goujand DeWolf](#) was born in Bristol, Rhode Island to General [George DeWolf](#) and [Charlotte Patten DeWolf](#) (a volume of her poems, STRAY FANCIES, would privately circulate).



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

5th day 12 of 10th M / Our meeting was Silent but a season of favor – The Select Meeting held at the close of the first was small, several of the members are sick & the family of several others. - in Addition to which the Wind was high which prevented the two who live on Connanicut from coming over. it however was a time in which the cementing love of Christ was renewedly extended in the hearts of the brethren The Queries answers with their usual clearness

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1820

1820

→ October 13, Friday: The playwright [Silvio Pellico](#) was arrested on charges of “carbonarism,” which is to say (carbon paper not yet having begun to be used for purposes of subversion of the established order), political conspiracy against the Austrian authorities.



→ October 14, Saturday: [Joanna Southcott](#) follower John Turner had claimed that the world was going to come to an end on this day. When this prophecy failed, John Wroe took over leadership of the cult (Randi, James. THE MASK OF NOSTRADAMUS. Amherst NY: Prometheus Books, 1993, page 241-242).

MILLENNIALISM

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

1st day 15 of 10 M / Our forenoon was a quiet sweet & very solid one too towards the close D Buffum & H Dennis were engaged in very lively & precious testimonys, & I have no doubt had a solemnizing affect on many minds -- In the Afternoon it was very rainy meeting was very small but to me a season of some favor

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ October 18, Wednesday: Midshipman [George Back](#) returned south from Fort Enterprise to secure essential supplies expected from Cumberland House.

→ October 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 19th of 10th M / Our Meeting was small but a sweet refreshing time to some, for which we ought to be duly thankful -Hannah Dennis was engaged in prescious testimony -

No buisness in the last (Preparative) but the Answers to the Queries

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 20, Friday: Claire Clairmont moved to [Firenze](#).

Spain sold its interest in the east coast of the Florida peninsula to the United States of America for \$5,000,000.

Representatives of the major powers met at Troppau (Ostava, Czech Republic) to discuss what to do about liberal revolutions, especially [Naples](#). Attending were Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia, Emperor Franz I of Austria, and Crown Prince Friedrich Wilhelm of Prussia (lower level officials represented Great Britain and France).

 October 22, Sunday: [Helen Louisa Thoreau](#)'s 8th birthday.

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

1st day 22nd of 10 M / Our Mornng Meeting was well attended & a solemn covering was witnessed soon after it was settled. Hannah Dennis was largely & solemnly engaged in testimony. Father Rodman & Jonathon were also concerned in short communications & it proved a season of uncommon favor. - In the Afternoon we were silent but a season of solemnity & favor for which I desire to be thankful - Oh that Zions banks may be enlarged & her Stakes Strengthened.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 24, Tuesday: John Milton Cheney submitted his response to a problem in Analytic Geometry, on a sheet of paper 21 x 29 ¼ inches, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for a [Harvard College](#) A.B. degree to be issued in 1821.

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

3rd day 24th of 10 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) this morning to Carry the Masons to work on Uncle Stantons farm-house. The ride was very pleasant, but gave me a hard head Ach thro' the remainder of the Day. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 25, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 25 of 10 M / This Morning Aunt Anna Carpenter was taken in Ague fits which were succeeded by a heavy fever & she remains very poorly this evening. I fear every Attack will be her last -& should she be removed her loss will be great to many & very particularly to the poor to whom she is a Kind benefactor

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 26th 10th M 1820 / This morning with my H & Sister Mary



1820

1820

Rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting, in the first Hannah Dennis was concerned in a lively sweet testimony – In the last the buisness was conducted in a good degree of brotherly love & harmony – We Dine at Uncle Thurstons. – At this meeting a legacy of One Hundred Dollars left by Mary Tillinghast was accepted & the appointment of her Trustees confirmed, the interest of which is to be applyed to the keeping up the graves in becoming decent order &c in the Upper burying ground in friends medow field where her remains are laid. David Buffum Jr David Rodman & myself were appointed to the trust & I am in hopes to be able to see that ground in more reputable order that it has ever been

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

1st day 29th of 10th M / How uncertain are all things here, & how necessary for us to be prepared for disappointments, a fresh & striking instance of this occured last evening – In the Afternoon Br Isaac took the Horse & rode to [Portsmouth](#) to give some directions to the masons that were at Work on Uncle Stantons farm & [word in fold] returned about dark. The Horse having performed [?with] his usual alacrity & in apprant good health, but as soon as he was released from the Waggon he manifested signs of distress, laid down & rolled [?] continued in increasing agony for about two hours & an half when he Died. – This occurence to me is afflicting having been in the habit of feeding & taking care of him since Uncle Stanton bought him, that I became much attached to him & he [next two pages repeat on microfilm] to me, the exercise of waiting on him & riding him in the Waggon was very useful & I believe has contributed to my health this summer & to have the poor dumb Animal snatched so suddenly away feels distressing, the poor children both Isaacs & mine all seem afflicted, but so it is, he is gone & we have the loss, & may it teach us Wisdom, may it teach me not to place my dependance on terestrial thing, & learn me to bear Greater disappointments. – Our meetings to me were seasons of mixture, tho some favor was witnessed, both were silent.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



End of October: A flood forced [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) (with Medwin) to return from Livorno to [Pisa](#).



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

3rd day 31 of 10th M 1820 / I expect to set out this Afternoon for Somersett with my H & Sister Elizabeth to Attend the Quarterly Meeting which commences there tomorrow. I go under depression, I wish not to dwell on outward circumstances, but

leave the past & press forward to do the best I can. The prayer of my spirit is Oh Lord help us. go with them that go; & stay with them that stay. -We lodged at Uncle Peter Lawtons in [Portsmouth](#) & in the evening was favord with a comfortable degree of resignation & the prospect a head quite Brightened. - rose early on the 4th day morning & set out about day light our horse being rather weak did not reach Somersett till about 10 OClock stoped at Wm Reads & procured quarters for Hannah & Elizabeth & went to the meeting house unharnessed the horse & went into a neighboring house & rested a few minutes, then to meeting which was a favor'd season & very comforting to my drooping mind. it was a time of remarkable solemnity & the love of the brotherhood was very conspicuous --
I returned & dined at Wm Reads who are very kind & hospitable to friends thho' not members, & offered to Keep us thro' the Meeting. This was a comfort as were were much of Strangers in Somersett, after dinner walked with L Clarke up to Daniel Braytons where I had a little of the company of [Moses Brown](#) & several of our dear Brothers & sisters, among whom was Anne Almy & Sarah Greene. - returned to Wm Reads took tea & lodged. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NOVEMBER

➡ November: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) finished Canto V of DON JUAN.

➡ November: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) met Teresa ("Emilia") Viviani.

➡ November: [Thomas Carlyle](#) traveled from his family's home to Edinburgh, on this return journey not hiking it but taking the public stagecoach. To cut the expense of this he arranged to be one of the coach's roof-sitters.



 November 1, Wednesday: On November 1st, while in Massachusetts little [David Henry Thoreau](#) was just three years old and in [Maryland](#) little Frederick Douglass was just two or so, [Sippio Brister](#), also known as “Sippeo,” died, presumably in Lincoln, at the age of 61.

RACE SLAVERY



May 31, 1850: Close by stood a stone with this inscription

In memory of
Sippio Brister
a man of Colour
who died
Nov 1. 1820
AEt. 64.

Thoreau’s comment: “But that is not telling us that he lived.”

 November 2, Thursday: The final phase of the “trial” of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) began in the House of Lords.

Founding of a Mercantile-Library at 49 Fulton Street in New-York.¹⁰²

NOTICE,
To Merchants Clerks and Apprentices.

Those young Gentlemen who are disposed to form a Mercantile Library and Evening Reading Room, are desired to attend a meeting for that purpose, at the Tontine Coffee House, on Thursday Evening next, 9th inst. at 7 o'clock, when a plan of a similar institution, in Boston, will be presented for their consideration.

The young men of South, Front, Water, Pearl-streets, Maider-lane and Bsoadway, are invited to attend.

nov 2-7t

102. The Mercantile Library in Boston had at this point been open for some months, and this one would not actually open its doors until February 12th of the following year.

 November 2, Thursday: Succession of the deacons of Lincoln:¹⁰³

Names.	Chosen.	Died.	Age.
Benjamin Brown	Aug. 20, 1747.	April —, 1753.	—.
Joshua Brooks	April 18, 1749.	June 26, 1768.	80.
John Gove	April 18, 1749; was in office about 40 years.		
Samuel Farrar	Dec. 28, 1763.	April 18, 1783.	75.
Joshua Brooks, Jr.	Dec. 28, 1763.	March 8, 1790.	70.
Edmund Wheeler	May 6, 1784.	June 1, 1805.	74.
Samuel Farrar	May 6, 1784.	Sept. 19, 1829.	93.
Eleazer Brooks	Nov. 6, 1794.	Nov. 9, 1806.	80.
John Hartwell	April 9, 1804.	Nov. 2, 1820.	73.
Thomas Wheeler	Sept. 2, 1805.		
James Farrar	April 27, 1812.		
Eleazer Brooks	April 27, 1812.		

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

5th day Went to meeting, the first was a season of remarkable favor Thos Anthony Obadiah Davis, Anne Almy & Hannah Dennis were concerned in testimony in which Divine Authority was evidently manifest & if there were any opposers TRUTH went over their heads to the rejoicing the heart of many present - Ruth Davis concluded in supplications. -- The Authority & dignity of the first was remarkably preserved in the last meeting & the buisness was transacted in much harmony tho' in one instance there was a Small appearance of that which was not quite right. - Othniel Foster from S Kingstown Moy [Monthly] Meeting was appointed to the Station of an Elder & an excellent general Epistle from London Yearly Meeting for the present Year was read to the satisfaction & comfort of Friends - Dined & Wm Reads, much exercised about going to [Providence](#) to attend the School committee to be held there on Sixth day but after a while the prospect of home rather brightened & we set out for the ferry intending to cross over, but the boat having gone & our turn not likely to be the next, several being in waiting we concluded to unharness & stay with Wm Slaid & his wife who kindly invited us so to do, we were soon joined by Jonathon & Hannah Dennis & spent the evening very

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



1820

1820

pleasantly, my mind now & then adverting to Providence. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 3, Friday: Cuenca, Ecuador declared its independence.

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

6th day Morning after breakfast was again much exercised about [Providence](#) & I was almost ready to turn about & set my face thitherward, but after again weighing the subject, the prospect a little went off, but Jonathon & Hannah Dennis having a mind to go back about a quarter of a mile to pay a religious visit to Nathan Slaid, a young man lately disowned My H & I concluded to go with them after which I still felt more easy to come home - we accordingly crossed the ferry, stoped at Fall River & oated our horse, view'd the Fall of Water & went into one of the Factorys & afterward set a clock a going for a man who was desirous of it, we proceeded on our journey & got to Uncle Saml Thurstons by 2 OClock, - refreshed ourselves & horse & got home before sunset, & found all things as well as we left them. My Mother& friends well & above all the testimony, that John & had been a good & obedient boy to his Aunt Ruth in whose care he was left.

This visit has been a Season of much instruction to my feelings, & I trust of some religious improvement & enlargement, for which I desire to be thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ November 4, Saturday: Daniel Boone's death was being reported:

Savannah. The fever continues to rage in this city with unabated fury. It is conjectured that only 2000 or 2500 persons remain in it. The amount of those who have left it on account of the sickness, is estimated at 6000.

Col. Daniel Boone. The decease of this celebrated man was erroneously announced some years ago—but the latest St. Louis papers state that he died at Charette village, on the Missouri, on the 26th of Sept. in the ninetieth year of his age.— When his death was made known to the general assembly of the new state, it was resolved that the members should wear crape on the left arm for the space of 20 days, and to adjourn for that day, in respect to his memory.

We have already, in the 4th vol. of the WEEKLY REGISTER, page 33, given a long account of col. Boone, and shall no doubt be furnished with some additional particulars to complete his biography.— He was the first settler of Kentucky, a great state now containing from 6 to 700,000 inhabitants—he penetrated its wildernesses in 1775; and in 1799 removed to and settled upon the Missouri. He soon after discovered the country now known by the name of "Boon's Lick," which is perhaps the most prosperous part of the new state. Until the last two years of his life he enjoyed much health; when more than eighty years old, he was a keen huntsman, and made many extensive excursions in pursuit of game, in places far distant from the usual tread of white men.

Carl Maria von Weber and his wife Caroline Brandt returned to Dresden after a successful concert tour of Germany.

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

1st day 5 of 10 M [date error] 1820 Our meetings both forenoon & Afternoon were pretty well attended & in the mornng Father Rodman was engaged in a short testimony - seasons of some favor to me -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ November 7, Tuesday: President James Monroe was re-elected. The "era of good feeling" would continue.

1820

1820



November 10, Friday: After a “trial” requiring more than two months, a vote was taken upon the 3d reading of the bill against Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) in the House of Lords. The bill was approved 108-99, a margin so small that the government would not dare to introduce it in the House of Commons. The court lawyers needed to abandon the petition of [King George IV](#) to prevent his wife from becoming queen consort of England by divorcing her — against her fitness her husband the monarch-designate had sought to submit mere court gossip, chatter that under the law amounted only to the flimsiest of hearsay evidences and turned out to be in its entirety inadmissible. British street crowds greeted the news with cheers and there would follow three days of nationwide spontaneous celebration.¹⁰⁴



The Reverend [Barnard Hanbury](#) and [George Waddington](#) arrived at Wady Halfa, above the 2d cataract of the Nile River, and were provided by the Turkish army with five dromedary camels, one too few for their party of six. They were advised, however, that it would be an easy and pleasant 8-day hike to Dóngola.

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT



November 11, Saturday: The Reverend [Barnard Hanbury](#) and [George Waddington](#) set off from Wady Halfa in the direction of Dóngola, in search for the ruins of Meroe. In their party were a young Irishman named James Curtin, a man from Malta named Giovanni Fiamingo, his teenage cousin Giuseppe Fiamingo, and a black slave.

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT

[Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) was acquitted. The Manchester Observer would comment that “The Queen owes her deliverance ... solely to the INTERPOSITION OF THE PEOPLE. She remains Queen of England by the choice of the people ... the people have overawed the parliament, and have preserved the rights of the Queen inviolate by the menace of their vengeance.” The people celebrated that night, smashing windows and firing pistols into the air, and Cobbett estimated that across the nation some 50,000 guns must have been discharged in celebration. Churches were invaded and clergy insulted. The police and military found it necessary to read the Riot act in more than a dozen towns.

104. She would fall ill after being barred from her husband’s coronation at [Westminster Abbey](#) and would die on August 7, 1821, so, you might say, the royal’s little problem eventually solved itself.



1820

1820

 November 12, Sunday: [William Hayley](#) died at Felpham. He left no children.

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

1st day 12th of 11th M 1820 / Our Meeting was very small being a severe Storm of Snow & Rain & the walking nearly over shoes in snow & water A few words were spoken by J Dennis - Three Women were all that gathered & one of them not a Member. -- In the Afternoon eight men were all that met & two of them not members, we were silent but I trust the promise was in degree fulfilled, "Where two or three are met in my name there am I" -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 13, Monday: The Hudson River froze over at Albany, [New York](#).

 November 14, Tuesday: Margherita d'Anjou, a melodramma semiserio by [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) to words of Romani after Pixérécourt, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro alla Scala, Milan.

President James Monroe again reported to the federal Congress.

"In execution of the law of the last session, for the suppression of the slave trade, some of our public ships have also been employed on the coast of Africa, where several captures have already been made of vessels engaged in that disgraceful traffic." SENATE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 2d session, pages 16-7.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: Whatever England's motives were, it is certain that only a limited international Right of Visit on the high seas could suppress or greatly limit the slave-trade. Her diplomacy was therefore henceforth directed to this end. On the other hand, the maritime supremacy of England, so successfully asserted during the Napoleonic wars, would, in case a Right of Search were granted, virtually make England the policeman of the seas; and if nations like the United States had already, under present conditions, had just cause to complain of violations by England of their rights on the seas, might not any extension of rights by international agreement be dangerous? It was such considerations that for many years brought the powers to a deadlock in their efforts to suppress the slave-trade.

At first it looked as if England might attempt, by judicial decisions in her own courts, to seize even foreign slavers.¹⁰⁵ After the war, however, her courts disavowed such action,¹⁰⁶ and the right was sought for by treaty stipulation. Castlereagh took early opportunity to approach the United States on the matter, suggesting to Minister Rush, June 20, 1818, a mutual but strictly limited Right of Search.¹⁰⁷ Rush was ordered to give him assurances of the solicitude of the United States to suppress the traffic, but to state that the concessions asked for appeared of a character not adaptable to our institutions.

105. For cases, see *I Acton*, 240, the "Amedie," and *I Dodson*, 81, the "Fortuna;" quoted in U.S. Reports, *10 Wheaton*, 66.

106. Cf. the case of the French ship "Le Louis": *2 Dodson*, 238; and also the case of the "San Juan Nepomuceno": *I Haggard*, 267.

107. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1819-20, pages 375-9; also pages 220-2.



Negotiations were then transferred to Washington; and the new British minister, Mr. Stratford Canning, approached Adams with full instructions in December 1820.¹⁰⁸

Meantime, it had become clear to many in the United States that the individual efforts of States could never suppress or even limit the trade without systematic co-operation. In 1817 a committee of the House had urged the opening of negotiations looking toward such international co-operation,¹⁰⁹ and a Senate motion to the same effect had caused long debate.¹¹⁰ In 1820 and 1821 two House committee reports, one of which recommended the granting of a Right of Search, were adopted by the House, but failed in the Senate.¹¹¹ Adams, notwithstanding this, saw constitutional objections to the plan proposed by Canning, and wrote to him, December 30: "A Compact, giving the power to the Naval Officers of one Nation to search the Merchant Vessels of another for Offenders and offences against the Laws of the latter, backed by a further power to seize and carry into a Foreign Port, and there subject to the decision of a Tribunal composed of at least one half Foreigners, irresponsible to the Supreme Corrective tribunal of this Union, and not amendable to the controul of impeachment for official misdemeanors, was an investment of power, over the persons, property and reputation of the Citizens of this Country, not only unwarranted by any delegation of Sovereign Power to the National Government, but so adverse to the elementary principles and indispensable securities of individual rights, ... that not even the most unqualified approbation of the ends ... could justify the transgression." He then suggested co-operation of the fleets on the coast of Africa, a proposal which was promptly accepted.¹¹² The slave-trade was again a subject of international consideration at the Congress of Verona in 1822. Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Prussia were represented. The English delegates declared that, although only Portugal and Brazil allowed the trade, yet the traffic was at that moment carried on to a greater extent than ever before. They said that in seven months of the year 1821 no less than 21,000 slaves were abducted, and three hundred and fifty-two vessels entered African ports north of the equator. "It is obvious," said they, "that this crime is committed in contravention of the Laws of every Country of Europe, and of America, excepting only of one, and that it requires something more than the ordinary operation of Law to prevent it." England therefore recommended: -

1. That each country denounce the trade as piracy, with a view of founding upon the aggregate of such separate declarations a general law to be incorporated in the Law of Nations.

108. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1820-21, pages 395-6.

109. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 14th Congress 2d session, II. No. 77.

110. , 15th Congress 1st session, pages 71, 73-78, 94-109. The motion was opposed largely by Southern members, and passed by a vote of 17 to 16.

111. One was reported, May 9, 1820, by Mercer's committee, and passed May 12: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 497, 518, 520, 526; , 16th Congress 1st session, pages 697-9. A similar resolution passed the House next session, and a committee reported in favor of the Right of Search: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 2d session, pages 1064-71. Cf. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 2d session, pages 476, 743, 865, 1469.

112. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1820-21, pages 397-400.

2. A withdrawing of the flags of the Powers from persons not natives of these States, who engage in the traffic under the flags of these States.

3. A refusal to admit to their domains the produce of the colonies of States allowing the trade, a measure which would apply to Portugal and Brazil alone.

These proposals were not accepted. Austria would agree to the first two only; France refused to denounce the trade as piracy; and Prussia was non-committal. The utmost that could be gained was another denunciation of the trade couched in general terms.¹¹³

 November 15, Wednesday: Pursuant to an act of the General Court, passed on June 16th in the previous year, a convention of the delegates of the people assembled in Boston for the purpose of revising and amending the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts (this body would deliver the results of its deliberations on January 9th of the following year).

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

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

5th day 16th of 11th M / Our Meeting was silent some life was experienced in my mind, & it was comfortable, have also been favord thro' the day, for which I desire to be thankful. – Rec'd this Afternoon an interesting letter from my fr John Heald of Ohio –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

113. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1822-23, pages 94-110.

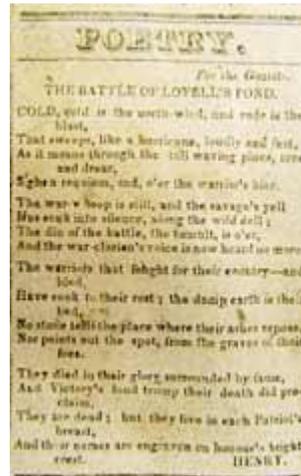


November 17, Friday: A first poem by a new poet, “The Battle of Lovell’s Pond” by [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) (age 13), appeared in the Portland, Maine [Gazette](#).

This is what the poet had looked like at age 8, in 1815:



And now, this is what the clipping would look like (after it had a chance to get nice and yellowish):



Cold, cold is the north wind and rude is the blast
That sweeps like a hurricane loudly and fast,
As it moans through the tall waving pines lone and drear,
Sighs a requiem sad o'er the warrior's bier.

The war-whoop is still, and the savage's yell
Has sunk into silence along the wild dell;
The din of the battle, the tumult, is o'er,
And the war-clarion's voice is now heard no more.

The warriors that fought for their country, and bled,
Have sunk to their rest; the damp earth is their bed;
No stone tells the place where their ashes repose,
Nor points out the spot from the graves of their foes.

They died in their glory, surrounded by fame,
And Victory's loud trump their death did proclaim;



They are dead; but they live in each Patriot's breast,
And their names are engraven on honor's bright crest.

The topic was a dustup during [King Phillip's War](#) and you may well note that the “warriors that fought for their country, and bled” were not those pesky redskins. I'll leave it up to you to decide whether this 13-year-old's initial published poem was any improvement over the traditional one that had been recounting the event:

Of worthy Captain LOVEWELL, I purpose now to sing,
How valiantly he served his country and his King;
He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian's pride.

'Twas nigh unto Pigwacket, on the eighth day of May,
They spied a rebel Indian soon after break of day;
He on a bank was walking, upon a neck of land,
Which leads into a pond as we're made to understand.

Our men resolved to have him, and travelled two miles round,
Until they met the Indian, who boldly stood his ground;
Then up speaks Captain LOVEWELL, “Take you good heed,” says he,
“This rogue is to decoy us, I very plainly see.

“The Indians lie in ambush, in some place nigh at hand,
In order to surround us upon this neck of land;
Therefore we'll march in order, and each man leave his pack;
That we may briskly fight them when they make their attack.”

They came unto this Indian, who did them thus defy,
As soon as they came nigh him, two guns he did let fly,
Which wounded Captain LOVEWELL, and likewise one man more,
But when this rogue was running, they laid him in his gore.

Then having scalped the Indian, they went back to the spot,
Where they had laid their packs down, but there they found them not,
For the Indians having spied them, when they them down did lay,
Did seize them for their plunder, and carry them away.

These rebels lay in ambush, this very place hard by,
So that an English soldier did one of them espy,
And cried out, “Here's an Indian”; with that they started out,
As fiercely as old lions, and hideously did shout.

With that our valiant English all gave a loud huzza,
To show the rebel Indians they feared them not a straw:
So now the fight began, and as fiercely as could be,
The Indians ran up to them, but soon were forced to flee.

Then spake up Captain LOVEWELL, when first the fight began,
“Fight on my valiant heroes! you see they fall like rain.”
For as we are informed, the Indians were so thick,
A man could scarcely fire a gun and not some of them hit.

Then did the rebels try their best our soldiers to surround,
But they could not accomplish it, because there was a pond,
To which our men retreated and covered all the rear,
The rogues were forced to flee them, although they skulked for fear.

Two logs there were behind them that close together lay,
Without being discovered, they could not get away;
Therefore our valiant English they travelled in a row,
And at a handsome distance as they were wont to go.

'Twas ten o'clock in the morning when first the fight begun,
And fiercely did continue until the setting sun;



Excepting that the Indians some hours before 'twas night,
Drew off into the bushes and ceased a while to fight.

But soon again returned, in fierce and furious mood,
Shouting as in the morning, but yet not half so loud;
For as we are informed, so thick and fast they fell,
Scarce twenty of their number at night did get home well.

And that our valiant English till midnight there did stay,
To see whether the rebels would have another fray;
But they no more returning, they made off towards their home,
And brought away their wounded as far as they could come.

Of all our valiant English there were but thirty-four,
And of the rebel Indians there were about fourscore.
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

Our worthy Captain LOVEWELL among them there did die,
They killed Lieut. ROBBINS, and wounded good young FRYE,
Who was our English Chaplain; he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalped when bullets round him flew.

Young FULLAM too I'll mention, because he fought so well,
Endeavoring to save a man, a sacrifice he fell:
But yet our valiant Englishmen in fight were ne'er dismayed,
But still they kept their motion, and WYMAN'S Captain made,

Who shot the old chief PAUGUS, which did the foe defeat,
Then set his men in order, and brought off the retreat;
And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,
They safe arrived at Dunstable, the thirteenth day of May.

A WEEK: In the words of the old nursery tale, sung about a hundred years ago, –

“He and his valiant soldiers did range the woods full wide,
And hardships they endured to quell the Indian’s pride.”

In the shaggy pine forest of Pequawket they met the “rebel Indians,” and prevailed, after a bloody fight, and a remnant returned home to enjoy the fame of their victory. A township called Lovewell’s Town, but now, for some reason, or perhaps without reason, Pembroke, was granted them by the State.

“Of all our valiant English, there were but thirty-four,
And of the rebel Indians, there were about four-score;
And sixteen of our English did safely home return,
The rest were killed and wounded, for which we all must mourn.

“Our worthy Capt. Lovewell among them there did die,
They killed Lieut. Robbins, and wounded good young Frye,
Who was our English Chaplin; he many Indians slew,
And some of them he scalped while bullets round him flew.”

Our brave forefathers have exterminated all the Indians, and their degenerate children no longer dwell in garrisoned houses nor hear any war-whoop in their path. It would be well, perchance, if many an “English Chaplin” in these days could exhibit as unquestionable trophies of his valor as did “good young Frye.” We have need to be as sturdy pioneers still as Miles Standish, or Church, or Lovewell. We are to follow on another trail, it is true, but one as convenient for ambushes. What if the Indians are exterminated, are not savages as grim prowling about the clearings to-day? –

“And braving many dangers and hardships in the way,
They safe arrived at Dunstable the thirteenth (?) day of May.”

But they did not all “safe arrive in Dunstable the thirteenth,” or the fifteenth, or the thirtieth “day of May.”

PEOPLE OF
A WEEK

METACOM
MYLES STANDISH
BENJAMIN CHURCH
CAPTAIN JOHN LOVEWELL

 November 18, Saturday: Land was sighted south of the South Shetlands, by the sailors of the sloop *Hero* under 21-year-old Captain Nathaniel B. Palmer of Stonington, Connecticut. (This sloop was part of a sealing expedition organized by Captain Benjamin Pendleton. After a period this land would be recognized as the Antarctic Peninsula.)

THE FROZEN SOUTH

Liverpool was unable to send the bill against [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele, Princess of Wales](#) on to the Commons because “it would have been perilous to persevere in passing it in the present state of public feelings.”

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

7th day 18th of 11th M / Our venerable friends David Buffum & Wife spent the Afternoon & took tea with us with Aunt A Carpenter & Mary Chase. – I intended to have gone to Connanicut this Afternoon So as to have been at meeting there tomorrow, but as our above said frds DB & wife never made us but one Afternoon visit before & considering it may be that they will never together make us another I felt most easy to omit crossing the ferrys this Afternoon & run the risk of a Passage tomorrow morning

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 19, Sunday: Austria, Prussia, and Russia issued the Protocol of Troppau. They bound themselves together against liberal revolutions, peaceful or otherwise.

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

1st day 19th of 11th M / Rose in season this morning & after breakfast went to the ferry to try to get a Passage to Connanicut but the wind was small & a head & no other passenger there, concluded to give up the prospect – Both our Meetings were Silent, & Seasons of some favor to me tho' of not much abounding - on the whole was satisfied with being at home as D Buffum & J Dennis were Absent, which left our Seats more vacant than was desirable.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 20, Monday: King Ferdinando of [Naples](#) was summoned to Laibach (Ljubljana) to confer with Emperor Franz I of Austria, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia and Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia.

Elections were held by the revolutionary government of Portugal to a new Cortes.

 November 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 11th M 1820 / Our Meeting was a season of some favor to my mind. Father Rodman & Jonathon Dennis delivered short testimonys. – In the last Preparative Overseers were agreed in & three names forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting —

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 25, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 25th of 11th M / This Afternoon went to Connanicut with Jonathon Dennis & lodged at Jos Greenes -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 26, Sunday: After a successful initial performance in October in Oedenburg (Sopron), Franz Liszt appeared in a noon concert in Pressburg (Bratislava). Both concerts were arranged by Liszt's father, Adam, who timed this performance to coincide with a meeting of the Hungarian Diet, when many important notables were in the city. The mostly upper-class audience was delighted and impressed.

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

1st day attended Meeting there which was about as large as usual - - a Season of some favor Jonathon had a few words, comfortable to those who were low in their minds, & of encouragement in general & I thought appropriate to the State of the meeting, at the close it was mentioned that would be the last meeting held there by the committee this season & I believe we parted in love. After dinner we crossed the ferry in season to attend our Afternoon Meeting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Late in November: [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) made a triumphal Thanksgiving progression to St. Paul's Cathedral.

 November 30, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 30th of 11th M / Our first meeting was silent with me the Life was low.- In the last we had considerable buisness & in my low estate it fell to my lot to do the writing for the day & got along tollrably to my own satisfaction - We had Uncle & Aunt Thurston & Uncle P Lawton to dine with us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

WINTER 1820/1821

 Winter: Sarah Emery would record that this winter was remarkably cold. "China cups cracked on the tea table from the frost, before a rousing fire, the instant the hot tea touched them; and the plates set to drain in the process of dishwashing froze together in front of huge logs ablaze in the kitchen fireplace."



DECEMBER

➡ Late in the year: Fanny Wright and her sister Camilla filed for US citizenship.



➡ December: Fifteen men, mostly Quakers, knowing the [Erie Canal](#) would come through the area, had bought up the site of the future Lockport.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ December 1, Friday: Franz Schubert's song [Erkönig](#) to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) was performed for the initial time outside the Schubert circle, in the home of Ignaz Sonnleithner at Vienna.

➡ December 2, Saturday: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) met Mavrocordato.

➡ December 3, Sunday: [Maometto II](#), a dramma by Gioachino Rossini to words of della Valle, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro San Carlo, [Naples](#), but was not well received.

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

1st day 3rd of 12 M 1820 / Several of our friends went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the funeral of our fr Susannah Freeborn, which made the rising seats thin - The London Epistle was read in the Morning & in the Afternoon father Rodman bore a short testimony. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 6, Wednesday: Upon receiving the letter of November 20th inviting him to confer with Emperor Franz I of Austria, King Friedrich Wilhelm III of Prussia and Tsar Alyeksandr I of Russia, King Ferdinando of the Two Sicilies immediately consulted his Parliament in [Naples](#) and was granted leave to travel to Laibach (Ljubljana).

It was a landslide victory for the re-election of President James Monroe for a 2d 4-year term of office — only one estranged electoral vote out of a total of 232 had declared for John Quincy Adams for President.

Our Fearless Leaders

NAME	BORN	INAUGURATED	EX OFFICIO	DIED
GEORGE WASHINGTON		1789		
		1792		
JOHN ADAMS		1796		JULY 4, 1826
THOMAS JEFFERSON	APRIL 13, 1743	1800		DITTO
		1804		
JAMES MADISON		1808		
		1812		
JAMES MONROE		1816		
		1820		
JOHN QUINCY ADAMS		1824		
ANDREW JACKSON		1828		
		1832		
MARTIN VAN BUREN		1836		
WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON		1840		
JAMES K. POLK		1844		
ZACHARY TAYLOR		1848		
FRANKLIN PEIRCE		1852		
JAMES BUCHANAN		1856		
ABRAHAM LINCOLN		1860		
		1864		

 December 7, Thursday: Louis Spohr and his wife arrived in [Paris](#) for the 1st time. There he would meet Cherubini and produce a new violin concerto.

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

5th day 7th of 12 M / Our Meeting was pretty well attended by its numbers Tho' some were absent who I should rather have been present. It was silent, to me a season of feelings. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 9, Saturday: Die Forelle D.550, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schubart, was published in Zeitschrift für Kunst, Vienna.

 December 10, Sunday: [Adelaide Amelia Louisa Theresa Caroline of Saxe-Coburg Meiningen](#) gave birth to Elizabeth Georgiana Adelaide Hanover in London (the infant would die on March 4th).

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

1st day 10th of 11 M [date error] / In the forenoon Meeting Jonathon & Hannah delivered short testimonys – Afternoon silent both seasons of some favor to me but experienced barraness also, so the exsp was mingled. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 11, Monday: Die Soldatenliebschaft, a singspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Casper, was performed for the initial time, with piano accompaniment, at the Mendelssohn home in Berlin for the 50th birthday of the composer's father.

 December 13, Wednesday: King Ferdinando left [Naples](#) for his big conference with the biggies at Laibach (Ljubljana).

 December 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 14th of 12 M 1820 / I have rarely ever been Sicker in my life than from last first day night till this Afternoon when I think I am better - Was taken with cold shivers, fever & sore throat which Ulcerated on both Sides, distress in my head & all my system, but thro' favor am now better, & perhaps tomorrow may be out & about. –
Of course did not attend meeting today*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 15, Friday: 1st General pharmacopoeia in US published, at Boston.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) signed a contract with Giovanni Paterni of the Teatro Argentina, Rome, to compose an opera entitled Almazore to be performed during the following February (this wouldn't happen).

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

1st day 17th of 12th M / I have been so little out of the house in the course of the last week, that in the present Air it looked improper for me to go to meeting today - This Afternoon I was on the point of going but at last gave it up. - I desire to be thankful for my many favors. Oh! Lord quicken me heart, renewedly quicken my heart towards Thee.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 18, Monday: L'auteur mort et vivant, an opéra comique by Louis Joseph Ferdinand Hérold to words of Planard, was performed for the initial time, at the Théâtre Feydeau, [Paris](#).

 December 21, Thursday: The Canandigua Lake [canal](#) committee recommended a 19 1/2-mile route that would require 23 locks and cost \$68,000. The Ontario Canal Company was formed. Virginia took control of the James River and Kanawha Canal.

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

5th day 21 of 12 M / Silent meeting & to me a season of some favor. - I feel renewedly concerned to labor in my mind, for a renewal of life & strength. How does the times call for deep indwelling of spirit that we may be ready at all times to give an Answer of Hope that is within us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 22, Friday: Celebration of December 22d as Forefathers' Day, which had begun in the year 1797 in Boston, really came into its own at this point at the [Plymouth](#) Bicentennial. In anticipation of this approaching bicentennial of the Plymouth landing, The Pilgrim Society had been incorporated and had procured "a suitable lot or piece of ground for the erection of a monument to perpetuate the memory of the virtues, the enterprise and unparalleled sufferings of their ancestors who first settled in that ancient town, and for the erection of a suitable building for the accommodation of the meetings of said association." Construction of said monument would soon begin, and "Pilgrim Hall" would be ready for meetings in 1824. The structure would become a repository for Pilgrim relics. On this day, despite the fact that none of this infrastructure had as yet been actualized, don't you know that [Daniel Webster](#) would spin words to full effect?



1820

1820

CAPE COD: It is remarkable that there is not in English any adequate or correct account of the French exploration of what is now the coast of New England, between 1604 and 1608, though it is conceded that they then made the first permanent European settlement on the continent of North America north of St. Augustine. If the lions had been the painters it would have been otherwise. This omission is probably to be accounted for partly by the fact that the early edition of Champlain's "Voyages" had not been consulted for this purpose. This contains by far the most particular, and, I think, the most interesting chapter of what we may call the Ante-Pilgrim history of New England, extending to one hundred and sixty pages quarto; but appears to be unknown equally to the historian and the orator on Plymouth Rock. Bancroft does not mention Champlain at all among the authorities for De Monts' expedition, nor does he say that he ever visited the coast of New England. Though he bore the title of pilot to De Monts, he was, in another sense, the leading spirit, as well as the historian of the expedition. Holmes, Hildreth, and Barry, and apparently all our historians who mention Champlain, refer to the edition of 1632, in which all the separate charts of our harbors, &c., and about one half the narrative, are omitted; for the author explored so many lands afterward that he could afford to forget a part of what he had done. Hildreth, speaking of De Monts's expedition, says that "he looked into the Penobscot [in 1605], which Pring had discovered two years before," saying nothing about Champlain's extensive exploration of it for De Monts in 1604 (Holmes says 1608, and refers to Purchas); also that he followed in the track of Pring along the coast "to Cape Cod, which he called Malabarre." (Haliburton had made the same statement before him in 1829. He called it Cap Blanc, and Malle Barre (the Bad Bar) was the name given to a harbor on the east side of the Cape.) Pring says nothing about a river there. Belknap says that Weymouth discovered it in 1605. Sir F. Gorges says, in his narration (Maine Hist. Coll., Vol. II. p. 19), 1658, that Pring in 1606 "made a perfect discovery of all the rivers and harbors." This is the most I can find. Bancroft makes Champlain to have discovered more western rivers in Maine, not naming the Penobscot; he, however, must have been the discoverer of distances on this river (see Belknap, p. 147). Pring was absent from England only about six months, and sailed by this part of Cape Cod (Malebarre) because it yielded no sassafras, while the French, who probably had not heard of Pring, were patiently for years exploring the coast in search of a place of settlement, sounding and surveying its harbors.

PEOPLE OF
CAPE COD

ÆSOP
XENOPHANES

CHAMPLAIN

WEBSTER
BANCROFT

BARRY

HILDRETH

PRING

HOLMES
PURCHAS
HALIBURTON

BELKNAP
WEYMOUTH
GORGES

First Settlement Of New England.¹¹⁴

Let us rejoice that we behold this day. Let us be thankful that we have lived to see the bright and happy breaking of the



auspicious morn, which commences the third century of the history of New England. Auspicious, indeed,—bringing a happiness beyond the common allotment of Providence to men,—full of present joy, and gilding with bright beams the prospect of futurity, is the dawn that awakens us to the commemoration of the landing of the Pilgrims.

Living at an epoch which naturally marks the progress of the history of our native land, we have come hither to celebrate the great event with which that history commenced. For ever honored be this, the place of our fathers' refuge! For ever remembered the day which saw them, weary and distressed, broken in every thing but spirit, poor in all but faith and courage, at last secure from the dangers of wintry seas, and impressing this shore with the first footsteps of civilized man!

It is a noble faculty of our nature which enables us to connect our thoughts, our sympathies, and our happiness with what is distant in place or time; and, looking before and after, to hold communion at once with our ancestors and our posterity. Human and mortal although we are, we are nevertheless not mere insulated beings, without relation to the past or the future. Neither the point of time, nor the spot of earth, in which we physically live, bounds our rational and intellectual enjoyments. We live in the past by a knowledge of its history; and in the future, by hope and anticipation. By ascending to an

114. Edwin P. Whipple's *THE GREAT SPEECHES AND ORATIONS OF DANIEL WEBSTER WITH AN ESSAY ON DANIEL WEBSTER AS A MASTER OF ENGLISH STYLE* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1879): "The first public anniversary celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth took place under the auspices of the "Old Colony Club," of whose formation an account may be found in the interesting little work of William S. Russell, Esq., entitled "Guide to Plymouth and Recollections of the Pilgrims."

This club was formed for general purposes of social intercourse, in 1769; but its members determined, by a vote passed on Monday, the 18th of December, of that year, "to keep" Friday, the 22d, in commemoration of the landing of the fathers. A particular account of the simple festivities of this first public celebration of the landing of the Pilgrims will be found at page 220 of Mr. Russell's work. The following year, the anniversary was celebrated much in the same manner as in 1769, with the addition of a short address, pronounced "with modest and decent firmness, by a member of the club, Edward Winslow, Jr., Esq.," being the first address ever delivered on this occasion.

In 1771, it was suggested by Rev. Chandler Robbins, pastor of the First Church at Plymouth, in a letter addressed to the club, "whether it would not be agreeable, for the entertainment and instruction of the rising generation on these anniversaries, to have a sermon in public, some part of the day, peculiarly adapted to the occasion." This recommendation prevailed, and an appropriate discourse was delivered the following year by the Rev. Dr. Robbins.

In 1773 the Old Colony Club was dissolved, in consequence of the conflicting opinions of its members on the great political questions then agitated. Notwithstanding this event, the anniversary celebrations of the 22d of December continued without interruption till 1780, when they were suspended. After an interval of fourteen years, a public discourse was again delivered by the Rev. Dr. Robbins. Private celebrations took place the four following years, and from that time till the year 1819, with one or two exceptions, the day was annually commemorated, and public addresses were delivered by distinguished clergymen and laymen of Massachusetts.

In 1820 the "Pilgrim Society" was formed by the citizens of Plymouth and the descendants of the Pilgrims in other places, desirous of uniting "to commemorate the landing, and to honor the memory of the intrepid men who first set foot on Plymouth rock." The foundation of this society gave a new impulse to the anniversary celebrations of this great event. The Hon. Daniel Webster was requested to deliver the public address on the 22d of December of that year, and the following discourse was pronounced by him on the ever-memorable occasion. Great public expectation was awakened by the fame of the orator; an immense concourse assembled at Plymouth to unite in the celebration; and it may be safely anticipated, that some portion of the powerful effect of the following address on the minds of those who were so fortunate as to hear it, will be perpetuated by the press to the latest posterity. From 1820 to the present day, with occasional interruptions, the 22d of December has been celebrated by the Pilgrim Society. A list of all those by whom anniversary discourses have been delivered since the first organization of the Old Colony Club, in 1769, may be found in Mr. Russell's work.

Nor has the notice of the day been confined to New England. Public celebrations of the landing of the Pilgrims have been frequent in other parts of the country, particularly in New York. The New England Society of that city has rarely permitted the day to pass without appropriate honors. Similar societies have been formed at Philadelphia, Charleston, South Carolina, and Cincinnati, and the day has been publicly commemorated in several other parts of the country."



association with our ancestors; by contemplating their example and studying their character; by partaking their sentiments, and imbibing their spirit; by accompanying them in their toils, by sympathizing in their sufferings, and rejoicing in their successes and their triumphs; we seem to belong to their age, and to mingle our own existence with theirs. We become their contemporaries, live the lives which they lived, endure what they endured, and partake in the rewards which they enjoyed. And in like manner, by running along the line of future time, by contemplating the probable fortunes of those who are coming after us, by attempting something which may promote their happiness, and leave some not dishonorable memorial of ourselves for their regard, when we shall sleep with the fathers, we protract our own earthly being, and seem to crowd whatever is future, as well as all that is past, into the narrow compass of our earthly existence. As it is not a vain and false, but an exalted and religious imagination, which leads us to raise our thoughts from the orb, which, amidst this universe of worlds, the Creator has given us to inhabit, and to send them with something of the feeling which nature prompts, and teaches to be proper among children of the same Eternal Parent, to the contemplation of the myriads of fellow-beings with which his goodness has peopled the infinite of space; so neither is it false or vain to consider ourselves as interested and connected with our whole race, through all time; allied to our ancestors; allied to our posterity; closely compacted on all sides with others; ourselves being but links in the great chain of being, which begins with the origin of our race, runs onward through its successive generations, binding together the past, the present, and the future, and terminating at last, with the consummation of all things earthly, at the throne of God. There may be, and there often is, indeed, a regard for ancestry, which nourishes only a weak pride; as there is also a care for posterity, which only disguises an habitual avarice, or hides the workings of a low and grovelling vanity. But there is also a moral and philosophical respect for our ancestors, which elevates the character and improves the heart. Next to the sense of religious duty and moral feeling, I hardly know what should bear with stronger obligation on a liberal and enlightened mind, than a consciousness of alliance with excellence which is departed; and a consciousness, too, that in its acts and conduct, and even in its sentiments and thoughts, it may be actively operating on the happiness of those who come after it. Poetry is found to have few stronger conceptions, by which it would affect or overwhelm the mind, than those in which it presents the moving and speaking image of the departed dead to the senses of the living. This belongs to poetry, only because it is congenial to our nature. Poetry is, in this respect, but the handmaid of true philosophy and morality; it deals with us as human beings, naturally reverencing those whose visible connection with this state of existence is severed, and who may yet exercise we know not what sympathy with ourselves; and when it carries us forward, also, and shows us the long continued



result of all the good we do, in the prosperity of those who follow us, till it bears us from ourselves, and absorbs us in an intense interest for what shall happen to the generations after us, it speaks only in the language of our nature, and affects us with sentiments which belong to us as human beings. Standing in this relation to our ancestors and our posterity, we are assembled on this memorable spot, to perform the duties which that relation and the present occasion impose upon us. We have come to this Rock, to record here our homage for our Pilgrim Fathers; our sympathy in their sufferings; our gratitude for their labors; our admiration of their virtues; our veneration for their piety; and our attachment to those principles of civil and religious liberty, which they encountered the dangers of the ocean, the storms of heaven, the violence of savages, disease, exile, and famine, to enjoy and to establish. And we would leave here, also, for the generations which are rising up rapidly to fill our places, some proof that we have endeavored to transmit the great inheritance unimpaired; that in our estimate of public principles and private virtue, in our veneration of religion and piety, in our devotion to civil and religious liberty, in our regard for whatever advances human knowledge or improves human happiness, we are not altogether unworthy of our origin. There is a local feeling connected with this occasion, too strong to be resisted; a sort of *genius of the place*, which inspires and awes us. We feel that we are on the spot where the first scene of our history was laid; where the hearths and altars of New England were first placed; where Christianity, and civilization, and letters made their first lodgement, in a vast extent of country, covered with a wilderness, and peopled by roving barbarians. We are here, at the season of the year at which the event took place. The imagination irresistibly and rapidly draws around us the principal features and the leading characters in the original scene. We cast our eyes abroad on the ocean, and we see where the little bark, with the interesting group upon its deck, made its slow progress to the shore. We look around us, and behold the hills and promontories where the anxious eyes of our fathers first saw the places of habitation and of rest. We feel the cold which benumbed, and listen to the winds which pierced them. Beneath us is the Rock,¹¹⁵ on which New England received the feet of the Pilgrims. We seem even to behold them, as they struggle with the elements, and, with toilsome efforts, gain the shore. We listen to the chiefs in council; we see the unexampled exhibition of female fortitude and resignation; we hear the whisperings of youthful impatience, and we see, what a painter of our own has also represented by his pencil,¹¹⁶ chilled and shivering childhood, houseless, but for a mother's arms, couchless, but for a mother's breast, till our own blood almost freezes. The mild dignity of Carver and of Bradford; the decisive and soldier-like air and manner of STANDISH; the devout BREWSTER; the enterprising ALLERTON;¹¹⁷ the general firmness and thoughtfulness of the whole band; their conscious joy for dangers escaped; their deep solicitude about

115. An interesting account of the Rock may be found in Dr. Thacher's HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF PLYMOUTH, pp. 29, 198, 199.



dangers to come; their trust in Heaven; their high religious faith, full of confidence and anticipation; all of these seem to belong to this place, and to be present upon this occasion, to fill us with reverence and admiration.

The settlement of New England by the colony which landed here¹¹⁸ on the twenty-second¹¹⁹ of December, sixteen hundred and twenty, although not the first European establishment in what now constitutes the United States, was yet so peculiar in its causes and character, and has been followed and must still be followed by such consequences, as to give it a high claim to lasting commemoration. On these causes and consequences, more than on its immediately attendant circumstances, its importance, as an historical event, depends. Great actions and striking occurrences, having excited a temporary admiration, often pass away and are forgotten, because they leave no lasting results, affecting the prosperity and happiness of communities. Such is frequently the fortune of the most brilliant military achievements. Of the ten thousand battles which have been fought, of all the fields fertilized with carnage, of the banners which have been bathed in blood, of the warriors who have hoped that they had risen from the field of conquest to a glory as bright and as durable as the stars, how few that continue long to interest mankind! The victory of yesterday is reversed by the defeat of to-day; the star of military glory, rising like a meteor, like a meteor has fallen; disgrace and disaster hang on the heels of conquest and renown; victor and vanquished presently pass away to oblivion, and the world goes on in its course, with the loss only of so many lives and so much treasure.

But if this be frequently, or generally, the fortune of military achievements, it is not always so. There are enterprises, military as well as civil, which sometimes check the current of events, give a new turn to human affairs, and transmit their consequences through ages. We see their importance in their

116. The allusion in the Discourse is to the large historical painting of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth, executed by Henry Sargent, Esq., of Boston, and, with great liberality, presented by him to the Pilgrim Society. It appeared in their hall (of which it forms the chief ornament) for the first time at the celebration of 1824. It represents the principal personages of the company at the moment of landing, with the Indian Samoset, who approaches them with a friendly welcome. A very competent judge, himself a distinguished artist, the late venerable Colonel Trumbull, has pronounced that this painting has great merit. An interesting account of it will be found in Dr. Thacher's History of Plymouth, pp. 249 and 257.

An historical painting, by Robert N. Weir, Esq., of the largest size, representing the embarkation of the Pilgrims from Delft-Haven, in Holland, and executed by order of Congress, fills one of the panels of the Rotunda of the Capitol at Washington. The moment chosen by the artist for the action of the picture is that in which the venerable pastor Robinson, with tears, and benedictions, and prayers to Heaven, dismisses the beloved members of his little flock to the perils and the hopes of their great enterprise. The characters of the personages introduced are indicated with discrimination and power, and the accessories of the work marked with much taste and skill. It is a painting of distinguished historical interest and of great artistic merit.

The "Landing of the Pilgrims" has also been made the subject of a very interesting painting by Mr. Flagg, intended to represent the deep religious feeling which so strikingly characterized the first settlers of New England. With this object in view, the central figure is that of Elder Brewster. It is a picture of cabinet size, and is in possession of a gentleman of New Haven, descended from Elder Brewster, and of that name.

117. For notices of Carver, Bradford, Standish, Brewster, and Allerton, see Young's CHRONICLES OF PLYMOUTH AND MASSACHUSETTS; Morton's MEMORIAL, p. 126; Belknap's AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY, Vol. II.; Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. II., App., pp. 456 *et seq.*; COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY; Winthrop's JOURNAL; and Thacher's HISTORY.

118. For the original name of what is now Plymouth, see LIVES OF AMERICAN GOVERNORS, p. 38, note, a work prepared with great care by J.B. Moore, Esq.

119. The twenty-first is now acknowledged to be the true anniversary. See the REPORT OF THE PILGRIM SOCIETY on the subject.



results, and call them great, because great things follow. There have been battles which have fixed the fate of nations. These come down to us in history with a solid and permanent interest, not created by a display of glittering armor, the rush of adverse battalions, the sinking and rising of pennons, the flight, the pursuit, and the victory; but by their effect in advancing or retarding human knowledge, in overthrowing or establishing despotism, in extending or destroying human happiness. When the traveller pauses on the plain of Marathon, what are the emotions which most strongly agitate his breast? What is that glorious recollection, which thrills through his frame, and suffuses his eyes? Not, I imagine, that Grecian skill and Grecian valor were here most signally displayed; but that Greece herself was saved. It is because to this spot, and to the event which has rendered it immortal, he refers all the succeeding glories of the republic. It is because, if that day had gone otherwise, Greece had perished. It is because he perceives that her philosophers and orators, her poets and painters, her sculptors and architects, her governments and free institutions, point backward to Marathon, and that their future existence seems to have been suspended on the contingency, whether the Persian or the Grecian banner should wave victorious in the beams of that day's setting sun. And, as his imagination kindles at the retrospect, he is transported back to the interesting moment; he counts the fearful odds of the contending hosts; his interest for the result overwhelms him; he trembles, as if it were still uncertain, and seems to doubt whether he may consider Socrates and Plato, Demosthenes, Sophocles, and Phidias, as secure, yet, to himself and to the world.

"If we conquer," said the Athenian commander on the approach of that decisive day, "if we conquer, we shall make Athens the greatest city of Greece."¹²⁰ A prophecy how well fulfilled! "If God prosper us," might have been the more appropriate language of our fathers, when they landed upon this Rock, "if God prosper us, we shall here begin a work which shall last for ages; we shall plant here a new society, in the principles of the fullest liberty and the purest religion; we shall subdue this wilderness which is before us; we shall fill this region of the great continent, which stretches almost from pole to pole, with civilization and Christianity; the temples of the true God shall rise, where now ascends the smoke of idolatrous sacrifice; fields and gardens, the flowers of summer, and the waving and golden harvest of autumn, shall spread over a thousand hills, and stretch along a thousand valleys, never yet, since the creation, reclaimed to the use of civilized man. We shall whiten this coast with the canvas of a prosperous commerce; we shall stud the long and winding shore with a hundred cities. That which we sow in weakness shall be raised in strength. From our sincere, but houseless worship, there shall spring splendid temples to record God's goodness; from the simplicity of our social union, there shall arise wise and politic constitutions of government, full of the liberty which we ourselves bring and breathe; from

120. Herodot. VI. § 109.



our zeal for learning, institutions shall spring which shall scatter the light of knowledge throughout the land, and, in time, paying back where they have borrowed, shall contribute their part to the great aggregate of human knowledge; and our descendants, through all generations, shall look back to this spot, and to this hour, with unabated affection and regard."

A brief remembrance of the causes which led to the settlement of this place; some account of the peculiarities and characteristic qualities of that settlement, as distinguished from other instances of colonization; a short notice of the progress of New England in the great interests of society, during the century which is now elapsed; with a few observations on the principles upon which society and government are established in this country; comprise all that can be attempted, and much more than can be satisfactorily performed, on the present occasion.

Of the motives which influenced the first settlers to a voluntary exile, induced them to relinquish their native country, and to seek an asylum in this then unexplored wilderness, the first and principal, no doubt, were connected with religion. They sought to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom, and what they esteemed a purer form of religious worship, than was allowed to their choice, or presented to their imitation, in the Old World. The love of religious liberty is a stronger sentiment, when fully excited, than an attachment to civil or political freedom. That freedom which the conscience demands, and which men feel bound by their hope of salvation to contend for, can hardly fail to be attained. Conscience, in the cause of religion and the worship of the Deity, prepares the mind to act and to suffer beyond almost all other causes. It sometimes gives an impulse so irresistible, that no fetters of power or of opinion can withstand it. History instructs us that this love of religious liberty, a compound sentiment in the breast of man, made up of the clearest sense of right and the highest conviction of duty, is able to look the sternest despotism in the face, and, with means apparently most inadequate, to shake principalities and powers. There is a boldness, a spirit of daring, in religious reformers, not to be measured by the general rules which control men's purposes and actions. If the hand of power be laid upon it, this only seems to augment its force and its elasticity, and to cause its action to be more formidable and violent. Human invention has devised nothing, human power has compassed nothing, that can forcibly restrain it, when it breaks forth. Nothing can stop it, but to give way to it; nothing can check it, but indulgence. It loses its power only when it has gained its object. The principle of toleration, to which the world has come so slowly, is at once the most just and the most wise of all principles. Even when religious feeling takes a character of extravagance and enthusiasm, and seems to threaten the order of society and shake the columns of the social edifice, its principal danger is in its restraint. If it be allowed indulgence and expansion, like the elemental fires, it only agitates, and perhaps purifies, the



atmosphere; while its efforts to throw off restraint would burst the world asunder.

It is certain, that, although many of them were republicans in principle, we have no evidence that our New England ancestors would have emigrated, as they did, from their own native country, would have become wanderers in Europe, and finally would have undertaken the establishment of a colony here, merely from their dislike of the political systems of Europe. They fled not so much from the civil government, as from the hierarchy, and the laws which enforced conformity to the church establishment. Mr. Robinson had left England as early as 1608, on account of the persecutions for non-conformity, and had retired to Holland. He left England from no disappointed ambition in affairs of state, from no regrets at the want of preferment in the church, nor from any motive of distinction or of gain. Uniformity in matters of religion was pressed with such extreme rigor, that a voluntary exile seemed the most eligible mode of escaping from the penalties of non-compliance. The accession of Elizabeth had, it is true, quenched the fires of Smithfield, and put an end to the easy acquisition of the crown of martyrdom. Her long reign had established the Reformation, but toleration was a virtue beyond her conception, and beyond the age. She left no example of it to her successor; and he was not of a character which rendered a sentiment either so wise or so liberal would originate with him. At the present period it seems incredible that the learned, accomplished, unassuming, and inoffensive Robinson should neither be tolerated in his peaceable mode of worship in his own country, nor suffered quietly to depart from it. Yet such was the fact. He left his country by stealth, that he might elsewhere enjoy those rights which ought to belong to men in all countries. The departure of the Pilgrims for Holland is deeply interesting, from its circumstances, and also as it marks the character of the times, independently of its connection with names now incorporated with the history of empire. The embarkation was intended to be made in such a manner that it might escape the notice of the officers of government. Great pains had been taken to secure boats, which should come undiscovered to the shore, and receive the fugitives; and frequent disappointments had been experienced in this respect.

At length the appointed time came, bringing with it unusual severity of cold and rain. An unfrequented and barren heath, on the shores of Lincolnshire, was the selected spot, where the feet of the Pilgrims were to tread, for the last time, the land of their fathers. The vessel which was to receive them did not come until the next day, and in the mean time the little band was collected, and men and women and children and baggage were crowded together, in melancholy and distressed confusion. The sea was rough, and the women and children were already sick, from their passage down the river to the place of embarkation on the sea. At length the wished-for boat silently and fearfully approaches the shore, and men and women and children, shaking with fear and with cold, as many as the small vessel could bear, venture off on a dangerous sea. Immediately the advance of



horses is heard from behind, armed men appear, and those not yet embarked are seized and taken into custody. In the hurry of the moment, the first parties had been sent on board without any attempt to keep members of the same family together, and on account of the appearance of the horsemen, the boat never returned for the residue. Those who had got away, and those who had not, were in equal distress. A storm, of great violence and long duration, arose at sea, which not only protracted the voyage, rendered distressing by the want of all those accommodations which the interruption of the embarkation had occasioned, but also forced the vessel out of her course, and menaced immediate shipwreck; while those on shore, when they were dismissed from the custody of the officers of justice, having no longer homes or houses to retire to, and their friends and protectors being already gone, became objects of necessary charity, as well as of deep commiseration.

As this scene passes before us, we can hardly forbear asking whether this be a band of malefactors and felons flying from justice. What are their crimes, that they hide themselves in darkness? To what punishment are they exposed, that, to avoid it, men, and women, and children, thus encounter the surf of the North Sea and the terrors of a night storm? What induces this armed pursuit, and this arrest of fugitives, of all ages and both sexes? Truth does not allow us to answer these inquiries in a manner that does credit to the wisdom or the justice of the times. This was not the flight of guilt, but of virtue. It was an humble and peaceable religion, flying from causeless oppression. It was conscience, attempting to escape from the arbitrary rule of the Stuarts. It was Robinson and Brewster, leading off their little band from their native soil, at first to find shelter on the shore of the neighboring continent, but ultimately to come hither; and having surmounted all difficulties and braved a thousand dangers, to find here a place of refuge and of rest. Thanks be to God, that this spot was honored as the asylum of religious liberty! May its standard, reared here, remain for ever! May it rise up as high as heaven, till its banner shall fan the air of both continents, and wave as a glorious ensign of peace and security to the nations!

The peculiar character, condition, and circumstances of the colonies which introduced civilization and an English race into New England, afford a most interesting and extensive topic of discussion. On these, much of our subsequent character and fortune has depended. Their influence has essentially affected our whole history, through the two centuries which have elapsed; and as they have become intimately connected with government, laws, and property, as well as with our opinions on the subjects of religion and civil liberty, that influence is likely to continue to be felt through the centuries which shall succeed. Emigration from one region to another, and the emission of colonies to people countries more or less distant from the residence of the parent stock, are common incidents in the history of mankind; but it has not often, perhaps never, happened, that the establishment of colonies should be attempted under circumstances, however beset with present difficulties and



dangers, yet so favorable to ultimate success, and so conducive to magnificent results, as those which attended the first settlements on this part of the American continent. In other instances, emigration has proceeded from a less exalted purpose, in periods of less general intelligence, or more without plan and by accident; or under circumstances, physical and moral, less favorable to the expectation of laying a foundation for great public prosperity and future empire.

A great resemblance exists, obviously, between all the English colonies established within the present limits of the United States; but the occasion attracts our attention more immediately to those which took possession of New England, and the peculiarities of these furnish a strong contrast with most other instances of colonization.

Among the ancient nations, the Greeks, no doubt, sent forth from their territories the greatest number of colonies. So numerous, indeed, were they, and so great the extent of space over which they were spread, that the parent country fondly and naturally persuaded herself, that by means of them she had laid a sure foundation for the universal civilization of the world. These establishments, from obvious causes, were most numerous in places most contiguous; yet they were found on the coasts of France, on the shores of the Euxine Sea, in Africa, and even, as is alleged, on the borders of India. These emigrations appear to have been sometimes voluntary and sometimes compulsory; arising from the spontaneous enterprise of individuals, or the order and regulation of government. It was a common opinion with ancient writers, that they were undertaken in religious obedience to the commands of oracles, and it is probable that impressions of this sort might have had more or less influence; but it is probable, also, that on these occasions the oracles did not speak a language dissonant from the views and purposes of the state.

Political science among the Greeks seems never to have extended to the comprehension of a system, which should be adequate to the government of a great nation upon principles of liberty. They were accustomed only to the contemplation of small republics, and were led to consider an augmented population as incompatible with free institutions. The desire of a remedy for this supposed evil, and the wish to establish marts for trade, led the governments often to undertake the establishment of colonies as an affair of state expediency. Colonization and commerce, indeed, would naturally become objects of interest to an ingenious and enterprising people, inhabiting a territory closely circumscribed in its limits, and in no small part mountainous and sterile; while the islands of the adjacent seas, and the promontories and coasts of the neighboring continents, by their mere proximity, strongly solicited the excited spirit of emigration. Such was this proximity, in many instances, that the new settlements appeared rather to be the mere extension of population over contiguous territory, than the establishment of distant colonies. In proportion as they were near to the parent state, they would be under its authority, and partake of its



fortunes. The colony at Marseilles might perceive lightly, or not at all, the sway of Phocis; while the islands in the Aegean Sea could hardly attain to independence of their Athenian origin. Many of these establishments took place at an early age; and if there were defects in the governments of the parent states, the colonists did not possess philosophy or experience sufficient to correct such evils in their own institutions, even if they had not been, by other causes, deprived of the power. An immediate necessity, connected with the support of life, was the main and direct inducement to these undertakings, and there could hardly exist more than the hope of a successful imitation of institutions with which they were already acquainted, and of holding an equality with their neighbors in the course of improvement. The laws and customs, both political and municipal, as well as the religious worship of the parent city, were transferred to the colony; and the parent city herself, with all such of her colonies as were not too far remote for frequent intercourse and common sentiments, would appear like a family of cities, more or less dependent, and more or less connected. We know how imperfect this system was, as a system of general politics, and what scope it gave to those mutual dissensions and conflicts which proved so fatal to Greece.

But it is more pertinent to our present purpose to observe, that nothing existed in the character of Grecian emigrations, or in the spirit and intelligence of the emigrants, likely to give a new and important direction to human affairs, or a new impulse to the human mind. Their motives were not high enough, their views were not sufficiently large and prospective. They went not forth, like our ancestors, to erect systems of more perfect civil liberty, or to enjoy a higher degree of religious freedom. Above all, there was nothing in the religion and learning of the age, that could either inspire high purposes, or give the ability to execute them. Whatever restraints on civil liberty, or whatever abuses in religious worship, existed at the time of our fathers' emigration, yet even then all was light in the moral and mental world, in comparison with its condition in most periods of the ancient states. The settlement of a new continent, in an age of progressive knowledge and improvement, could not but do more than merely enlarge the natural boundaries of the habitable world. It could not but do much more even than extend commerce and increase wealth among the human race. We see how this event has acted, how it must have acted, and wonder only why it did not act sooner, in the production of moral effects, on the state of human knowledge, the general tone of human sentiments, and the prospects of human happiness. It gave to civilized man not only a new continent to be inhabited and cultivated, and new seas to be explored; but it gave him also a new range for his thoughts, new objects for curiosity, and new excitements to knowledge and improvement.

Roman colonization resembled, far less than that of the Greeks, the original settlements of this country. Power and dominion were the objects of Rome, even in her colonial establishments. Her whole exterior aspect was for centuries hostile and terrific. She grasped at dominion, from India to Britain, and her measures of colonization partook of the character of her general system. Her policy was military, because her objects



were power, ascendancy, and subjugation. Detachments of emigrants from Rome incorporated themselves with, and governed, the original inhabitants of conquered countries. She sent citizens where she had first sent soldiers; her law followed her sword. Her colonies were a sort of military establishment; so many advanced posts in the career of her dominion. A governor from Rome ruled the new colony with absolute sway, and often with unbounded rapacity. In Sicily, in Gaul, in Spain, and in Asia, the power of Rome prevailed, not nominally only, but really and effectually. Those who immediately exercised it were Roman; the tone and tendency of its administration, Roman. Rome herself continued to be the heart and centre of the great system which she had established. Extortion and rapacity, finding a wide and often rich field of action in the provinces, looked nevertheless to the banks of the Tiber, as the scene in which their ill-gotten treasures should be displayed; or, if a spirit of more honest acquisition prevailed, the object, nevertheless, was ultimate enjoyment in Rome itself. If our own history and our own times did not sufficiently expose the inherent and incurable evils of provincial government, we might see them portrayed, to our amazement, in the desolated and ruined provinces of the Roman empire. We might hear them, in a voice that terrifies us, in those strains of complaint and accusation, which the advocates of the provinces poured forth in the Roman Forum:— "Quas res luxuries in flagitiis, crudelitas in suppliciis, avaritia in rapinis, superbia in contumeliis, efficere potuisset, eas omnes sese pertulisse."

As was to be expected, the Roman Provinces partook of the fortunes, as well as of the sentiments and general character, of the seat of empire. They lived together with her, they flourished with her, and fell with her. The branches were lopped away even before the vast and venerable trunk itself fell prostrate to the earth. Nothing had proceeded from her which could support itself, and bear up the name of its origin, when her own sustaining arm should be enfeebled or withdrawn. It was not given to Rome to see, either at her zenith or in her decline, a child of her own, distant, indeed, and independent of her control, yet speaking her language and inheriting her blood, springing forward to a competition with her own power, and a comparison with her own great renown. She saw not a vast region of the earth peopled from her stock, full of states and political communities, improving upon the models of her institutions, and breathing in fuller measure the spirit which she had breathed in the best periods of her existence; enjoying and extending her arts and her literature; rising rapidly from political childhood to manly strength and independence; her offspring, yet now her equal; unconnected with the causes which might affect the duration of her own power and greatness; of common origin, but not linked to a common fate; giving ample pledge, that her name should not be forgotten, that her language should not cease to be used among men; that whatsoever she had done for human knowledge and human happiness should be treasured up and preserved; that the record of her existence and her achievements should not be obscured, although, in the inscrutable purposes of Providence, it might be her destiny to fall from opulence and splendor; although the time might come, when darkness should



settle on all her hills; when foreign or domestic violence should overturn her altars and her temples; when ignorance and despotism should fill the places where Laws, and Arts, and Liberty had flourished; when the feet of barbarism should trample on the tombs of her consuls, and the walls of her senate-house and forum echo only to the voice of savage triumph. She saw not this glorious vision, to inspire and fortify her against the possible decay or downfall of her power. Happy are they who in our day may behold it, if they shall contemplate it with the sentiments which it ought to inspire!

The New England Colonies differ quite as widely from the Asiatic establishments of the modern European nations, as from the models of the ancient states. The sole object of those establishments was originally trade; although we have seen, in one of them, the anomaly of a mere trading company attaining a political character, disbursing revenues, and maintaining armies and fortresses, until it has extended its control over seventy millions of people. Differing from these, and still more from the New England and North American Colonies, are the European settlements in the West India Islands. It is not strange, that, when men's minds were turned to the settlement of America, different objects should be proposed by those who emigrated to the different regions of so vast a country. Climate, soil, and condition were not all equally favorable to all pursuits. In the West Indies, the purpose of those who went thither was to engage in that species of agriculture, suited to the soil and climate, which seems to bear more resemblance to commerce than to the hard and plain tillage of New England. The great staples of these countries, being partly an agricultural and partly a manufactured product, and not being of the necessaries of life, become the object of calculation, with respect to a profitable investment of capital, like any other enterprise of trade or manufacture. The more especially, as, requiring, by necessity or habit, slave labor for their production, the capital necessary to carry on the work of this production is very considerable. The West Indies are resorted to, therefore, rather for the investment of capital than for the purpose of sustaining life by personal labor. Such as possess a considerable amount of capital, or such as choose to adventure in commercial speculations without capital, can alone be fitted to be emigrants to the islands. The agriculture of these regions, as before observed, is a sort of commerce; and it is a species of employment in which labor seems to form an inconsiderable ingredient in the productive causes, since the portion of white labor is exceedingly small, and slave labor is rather more like profit on stock or capital than **labor** properly so called. The individual who undertakes an establishment of this kind takes into the account the cost of the necessary number of slaves, in the same manner as he calculates the cost of the land. The uncertainty, too, of this species of employment, affords another ground of resemblance to commerce. Although gainful on the whole, and in a series of years, it is often very disastrous for a single year, and, as the capital is not readily invested in other pursuits, bad crops or bad markets not only affect the profits, but the capital itself. Hence the sudden depressions which take place in the value of such estates.



But the great and leading observation, relative to these establishments, remains to be made. It is, that the owners of the soil and of the capital seldom consider themselves **at home** in the colony. A very great portion of the soil itself is usually owned in the mother country; a still greater is mortgaged for capital obtained there; and, in general, those who are to derive an interest from the products look to the parent country as the place for enjoyment of their wealth. The population is therefore constantly fluctuating. Nobody comes but to return. A constant succession of owners, agents, and factors takes place. Whatsoever the soil, forced by the unmitigated toil of slavery, can yield, is sent home to defray rents, and interest, and agencies, or to give the means of living in a better society. In such a state, it is evident that no spirit of permanent improvement is likely to spring up. Profits will not be invested with a distant view of benefiting posterity. Roads and canals will hardly be built; schools will not be founded; colleges will not be endowed. There will be few fixtures in society; no principles of utility or of elegance, planted now, with the hope of being developed and expanded hereafter. Profit, immediate profit, must be the principal active spring in the social system. There may be many particular exceptions to these general remarks, but the outline of the whole is such as is here drawn. Another most important consequence of such a state of things is, that no idea of independence of the parent country is likely to arise; unless, indeed, it should spring up in a form that would threaten universal desolation. The inhabitants have no strong attachment to the place which they inhabit. The hope of a great portion of them is to leave it; and their great desire, to leave it soon. However useful they may be to the parent state, how much soever they may add to the conveniences and luxuries of life, these colonies are not favored spots for the expansion of the human mind, for the progress of permanent improvement, or for sowing the seeds of future independent empire.

Different, indeed, most widely different, from all these instances of emigration and plantation, were the condition, the purposes, and the prospects of our fathers, when they established their infant colony upon this spot. They came hither to a land from which they were never to return. Hither they had brought, and here they were to fix, their hopes, their attachments, and their objects in life. Some natural tears they shed, as they left the pleasant abodes of their fathers, and some emotions they suppressed, when the white cliffs of their native country, now seen for the last time, grew dim to their sight. They were acting, however, upon a resolution not to be daunted. With whatever stifled regrets, with whatever occasional hesitation, with whatever appalling apprehensions, which might sometimes arise with force to shake the firmest purpose, they had yet committed themselves to Heaven and the elements; and a thousand leagues of water soon interposed to separate them for ever from the region which gave them birth. A new existence awaited them here; and when they saw these shores, rough, cold, barbarous, and barren, as then they were, they beheld their country. That mixed and strong feeling, which we call love of country, and which is, in general, never extinguished in the heart of man, grasped and embraced its proper object here.



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Whatever constitutes **country**, except the earth and the sun, all the moral causes of affection and attachment which operate upon the heart, they had brought with them to their new abode. Here were now their families and friends, their homes, and their property. Before they reached the shore, they had established the elements of a social system,¹²¹ and at a much earlier period had settled their forms of religious worship. At the moment of their landing, therefore, they possessed institutions of government, and institutions of religion: and friends and families, and social and religious institutions, framed by consent, founded on choice and preference, how nearly do these fill up our whole idea of country! The morning that beamed on the first night of their repose saw the Pilgrims already **at home** in their country. There were political institutions, and civil liberty, and religious worship. Poetry has fancied nothing, in the wanderings of heroes, so distinct and characteristic. Here was man, indeed, unprotected, and unprovided for, on the shore of a rude and fearful wilderness; but it was politic, intelligent, and educated man. Every thing was civilized but the physical world. Institutions, containing in substance all that ages had done for human government, were organized in a forest. Cultivated mind was to act on uncultivated nature; and, more than all, a government and a country were to commence, with the very first foundations laid under the divine light of the Christian religion. Happy auspices of a happy futurity! Who would wish that his country's existence had otherwise begun? Who would desire the power of going back to the ages of fable? Who would wish for an origin obscured in the darkness of antiquity? Who would wish for other emblazoning of his country's heraldry, or other ornaments of her genealogy, than to be able to say, that her first existence was with intelligence, her first breath the inspiration of liberty, her first principle the truth of divine religion?

Local attachments and sympathies would ere long spring up in the breasts of our ancestors, endearing to them the place of their refuge. Whatever natural objects are associated with interesting scenes and high efforts obtain a hold on human feeling, and demand from the heart a sort of recognition and regard. This Rock soon became hallowed in the esteem of the Pilgrims,¹²² and these hills grateful to their sight. Neither they nor their children were again to till the soil of England, nor again to traverse the seas which surround her.¹²³ But here was a new sea, now open to their enterprise, and a new soil, which had not failed to respond gratefully to their laborious industry, and which was already assuming a robe of verdure. Hardly had they provided shelter for the living, ere they were summoned to erect sepulchres for the dead. The ground had become sacred, by enclosing the remains of some of their companions and

121. For the compact to which reference is made in the text, signed on board the *Mayflower*, see Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. II., Appendix, No. I. For an eloquent description of the manner in which the first Christian Sabbath was passed on board the *Mayflower*, at Plymouth, see Barne's DISCOURSE AT WORCESTER.

122. The names of the passengers in the *Mayflower*, with some account of them, may be found in the NEW ENGLAND GENEALOGICAL REGISTER, Vol. I. p. 47, and a narration of some of the incidents of the voyage, Vol. II. p. 186. For an account of Mrs. White, the mother of the first child born in New England, see Baylies's HISTORY OF PLYMOUTH, Vol. II. p. 18, and for a notice of her son Peregrine, see Moore's LIVES OF AMERICAN GOVERNORS, Vol. I. p. 31, note.

123. See the admirable letter written on board the *Arbella*, in Hutchinson's HISTORY, Vol. I. Appendix, No. I.



connections. A parent, a child, a husband, or a wife, had gone the way of all flesh, and mingled with the dust of New England. We naturally look with strong emotions to the spot, though it be a wilderness, where the ashes of those we have loved repose. Where the heart has laid down what it loved most, there it is desirous of laying itself down. No sculptured marble, no enduring monument, no honorable inscription, no ever-burning taper that would drive away the darkness of the tomb, can soften our sense of the reality of death, and hallow to our feelings the ground which is to cover us, like the consciousness that we shall sleep, dust to dust, with the objects of our affections. In a short time other causes sprung up to bind the Pilgrims with new cords to their chosen land. Children were born, and the hopes of future generations arose, in the spot of their new habitation. The second generation found this the land of their nativity, and saw that they were bound to its fortunes. They beheld their fathers' graves around them, and while they read the memorials of their toils and labors, they rejoiced in the inheritance which they found bequeathed to them.

Under the influence of these causes, it was to be expected that an interest and a feeling should arise here, entirely different from the interest and feeling of mere Englishmen; and all the subsequent history of the Colonies proves this to have actually and gradually taken place. With a general acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British crown, there was, from the first, a repugnance to an entire submission to the control of British legislation. The Colonies stood upon their charters, which, as they contended, exempted them from the ordinary power of the British Parliament, and authorized them to conduct their own concerns by their own counsels. They utterly resisted the notion that they were to be ruled by the mere authority of the government at home, and would not endure even that their own charter governments should be established on the other side of the Atlantic. It was not a controlling or protecting board in England, but a government of their own, and existing immediately within their limits, which could satisfy their wishes. It was easy to foresee, what we know also to have happened, that the first great cause of collision and jealousy would be, under the notion of political economy then and still prevalent in Europe, an attempt on the part of the mother country to monopolize the trade of the Colonies. Whoever has looked deeply into the causes which produced our Revolution has found, if I mistake not, the original principle far back in this claim, on the part of England, to monopolize our trade, and a continued effort on the part of the Colonies to resist or evade that monopoly; if, indeed, it be not still more just and philosophical to go farther back, and to consider it decided, that an independent government must arise here, the moment it was ascertained that an English colony, such as landed in this place, could sustain itself against the dangers which surrounded it, and, with other similar establishments, overspread the land with an English population. Accidental causes retarded at times, and at times accelerated, the progress of the controversy. The Colonies wanted strength, and time gave it to them. They required measures of strong and palpable injustice, on the part of the mother country, to justify resistance; the early part of the late king's reign



furnished them. They needed spirits of high order, of great daring, of long foresight, and of commanding power, to seize the favoring occasion to strike a blow, which should sever, for all time, the tie of colonial dependence; and these spirits were found, in all the extent which that or any crisis could demand, in Otis, Adams, Hancock, and the other immediate authors of our independence.

Still, it is true that, for a century, causes had been in operation tending to prepare things for this great result. In the year 1660 the English Act of Navigation was passed; the first and grand object of which seems to have been, to secure to England the whole trade with her plantations.¹²⁴ It was provided by that act, that none but English ships should transport American produce over the ocean, and that the principal articles of that produce should be allowed to be sold only in the markets of the mother country. Three years afterwards another law was passed, which enacted, that such commodities as the Colonies might wish to purchase should be bought only in the markets of the mother country. Severe rules were prescribed to enforce the provisions of these laws, and heavy penalties imposed on all who should violate them. In the subsequent years of the same reign, other statutes were enacted to re-enforce these statutes, and other rules prescribed to secure a compliance with these rules. In this manner was the trade to and from the Colonies restricted, almost to the exclusive advantage of the parent country. But laws, which rendered the interest of a whole people subordinate to that of another people, were not likely to execute themselves, nor was it easy to find many on the spot, who could be depended upon for carrying them into execution. In fact, these laws were more or less evaded or resisted, in all the Colonies. To enforce them was the constant endeavor of the government at home; to prevent or elude their operation, the perpetual object here. "The laws of navigation," says a living British writer, "were nowhere so openly disobeyed and contemned as in New England." "The people of Massachusetts Bay," he adds, "were from the first disposed to act as if independent of the mother country, and having a governor and magistrates of their own choice, it was difficult to enforce any regulation which came from the English Parliament, adverse to their interests." To provide more effectually for the execution of these laws, we know that courts of admiralty were afterwards established by the crown, with power to try revenue causes, as questions of admiralty, upon the construction given by the crown lawyers to an act of Parliament; a great departure from the ordinary principles of English jurisprudence, but which has been maintained, nevertheless, by the force of habit and precedent, and is adopted in our own existing systems of government.

"There lie," says another English writer, whose connection with the Board of Trade has enabled him to ascertain many facts connected with Colonial history, "There lie among the documents in the board of trade and state-paper office, the most satisfactory proofs, from the epoch of the English Revolution in 1688, throughout every reign, and during every

124. In reference to the British policy respecting Colonial manufactures, see Representations of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords, 23d Jan., 1734; also, 8th June, 1749. For an able vindication of the British Colonial policy, see "Political Essays concerning the Present State of the British Empire." London, 1772.



administration, of the settled purpose of the Colonies to acquire direct independence and positive sovereignty." Perhaps this may be stated somewhat too strongly; but it cannot be denied, that, from the very nature of the establishments here, and from the general character of the measures respecting their concerns early adopted and steadily pursued by the English government, a division of the empire was the natural and necessary result to which every thing tended.¹²⁵

I have dwelt on this topic, because it seems to me, that the peculiar original character of the New England Colonies, and certain causes coeval with their existence, have had a strong and decided influence on all their subsequent history, and especially on the great event of the Revolution. Whoever would write our history, and would understand and explain early transactions, should comprehend the nature and force of the feeling which I have endeavored to describe. As a son, leaving the house of his father for his own, finds, by the order of nature, and the very law of his being, nearer and dearer objects around which his affections circle, while his attachment to the parental roof becomes moderated, by degrees, to a composed regard and an affectionate remembrance; so our ancestors, leaving their native land, not without some violence to the feelings of nature and affection, yet, in time, found here a new circle of engagements, interests, and affections; a feeling, which more and more encroached upon the old, till an undivided sentiment, **that this was their country**, occupied the heart; and patriotism, shutting out from its embraces the parent realm, became **local** to America.

Some retrospect of the century which has now elapsed is among the duties of the occasion. It must, however, necessarily be imperfect, to be compressed within the limits of a single discourse. I shall content myself, therefore, with taking notice of a few of the leading and most important occurrences which have distinguished the period.

When the first century closed, the progress of the country appeared to have been considerable; notwithstanding that, in comparison with its subsequent advancement, it now seems otherwise. A broad and lasting foundation had been laid; excellent institutions had been established; many of the prejudices of former times had been removed; a more liberal and catholic spirit on subjects of religious concern had begun to extend itself, and many things conspired to give promise of increasing future prosperity. Great men had arisen in public life, and the liberal professions. The Mathers, father and son, were then sinking low in the western horizon; Leverett, the learned, the accomplished, the excellent Leverett, was about to withdraw his brilliant and useful light. In Pemberton great hopes had been suddenly extinguished, but Prince and Colman were in our sky; and along the east had begun to flash the crepuscular light of a great luminary which was about to appear, and which was to stamp the age with his own name, as the age of Franklin. The bloody Indian wars, which harassed the people for a part of the first century; the restrictions on the trade of the Colonies, added to the discouragements inherently belonging to

125. Many interesting papers, illustrating the early history of the Colony, may be found in Hutchinson's "Collection of Original Papers relating to the History of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay."



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all forms of colonial government; the distance from Europe, and the small hope of immediate profit to adventurers, are among the causes which had contributed to retard the progress of population. Perhaps it may be added, also, that during the period of the civil wars in England, and the reign of Cromwell, many persons, whose religious opinions and religious temper might, under other circumstances, have induced them to join the New England colonists, found reasons to remain in England; either on account of active occupation in the scenes which were passing, or of an anticipation of the enjoyment, in their own country, of a form of government, civil and religious, accommodated to their views and principles. The violent measures, too, pursued against the Colonies in the reign of Charles the Second, the mockery of a trial, and the forfeiture of the charters, were serious evils. And during the open violences of the short reign of James the Second, and the tyranny of Andros, as the venerable historian of Connecticut observes, "All the motives to great actions, to industry, economy, enterprise, wealth, and population, were in a manner annihilated. A general inactivity and languishment pervaded the public body. Liberty, property, and every thing which ought to be dear to men, every day grew more and more insecure."

With the Revolution in England, a better prospect had opened on this country, as well as on that. The joy had been as great at that event, and far more universal, in New than in Old England. A new charter had been granted to Massachusetts, which, although it did not confirm to her inhabitants all their former privileges, yet relieved them from great evils and embarrassments, and promised future security. More than all, perhaps, the Revolution in England had done good to the general cause of liberty and justice. A blow had been struck in favor of the rights and liberties, not of England alone, but of descendants and kinsmen of England all over the world. Great political truths had been established. The champions of liberty had been successful in a fearful and perilous conflict. Somers, and Cavendish, and Jekyl, and Howard, had triumphed in one of the most noble causes ever undertaken by men. A revolution had been made upon principle. A monarch had been dethroned for violating the original compact between king and people. The rights of the people to partake in the government, and to limit the monarch by fundamental rules of government, had been maintained; and however unjust the government of England might afterwards be towards other governments or towards her colonies, she had ceased to be governed herself by the arbitrary maxims of the Stuarts.

New England had submitted to the violence of James the Second not longer than Old England. Not only was it reserved to Massachusetts, that on her soil should be acted the first scene of that great revolutionary drama, which was to take place near a century afterwards, but the English Revolution itself, as far as the Colonies were concerned, commenced in Boston. The seizure and imprisonment of Andros, in April, 1689, were acts of direct and forcible resistance to the authority of James the Second. The pulse of liberty beat as high in the extremities as at the heart. The vigorous feeling of the Colony burst out before it was known how the parent country would finally conduct herself.



The king's representative, Sir Edmund Andros, was a prisoner in the castle at Boston, before it was or could be known that the king himself had ceased to exercise his full dominion on the English throne.

Before it was known here whether the invasion of the Prince of Orange would or could prove successful, as soon as it was known that it had been undertaken, the people of Massachusetts, at the imminent hazard of their lives and fortunes, had accomplished the Revolution as far as respected themselves. It is probable that, reasoning on general principles and the known attachment of the English people to their constitution and liberties, and their deep and fixed dislike of the king's religion and politics, the people of New England expected a catastrophe fatal to the power of the reigning prince. Yet it was neither certain enough, nor near enough, to come to their aid against the authority of the crown, in that crisis which had arrived, and in which they trusted to put themselves, relying on God and their own courage. There were spirits in Massachusetts congenial with the spirits of the distinguished friends of the Revolution in England. There were those who were fit to associate with the boldest asserters of civil liberty; and Mather himself, then in England, was not unworthy to be ranked with those sons of the Church, whose firmness and spirit in resisting kingly encroachments in matters of religion, entitled them to the gratitude of their own and succeeding ages.

The second century opened upon New England under circumstances which evinced that much had already been accomplished, and that still better prospects and brighter hopes were before her. She had laid, deep and strong, the foundations of her society. Her religious principles were firm, and her moral habits exemplary. Her public schools had begun to diffuse widely the elements of knowledge; and the College, under the excellent and acceptable administration of Leverett, had been raised to a high degree of credit and usefulness.

The commercial character of the country, notwithstanding all discouragements, had begun to display itself, and **five hundred vessels**, then belonging to Massachusetts, placed her, in relation to commerce, thus early at the head of the Colonies. An author who wrote very near the close of the first century says:— "New England is almost deserving that **noble name**, so mightily hath it increased; and from a small settlement at first, is now become a **very populous** and **flourishing** government. The **capital city**, Boston, is a place of **great wealth and trade**; and by much the largest of any in the English empire of America; and not exceeded but by few cities, perhaps two or three, in all the American world."

But if our ancestors at the close of the first century could look back with joy and even admiration, at the progress of the country, what emotions must we not feel, when, from the point on which we stand, we also look back and run along the events of the century which has now closed! The country which then, as we have seen, was thought deserving of a "noble name,"—which then had "mightily increased," and become "very populous,"—what was it, in comparison with what our eyes behold it? At that period, a very great proportion of its inhabitants lived in the eastern section of Massachusetts proper, and in Plymouth Colony.



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In Connecticut, there were towns along the coast, some of them respectable, but in the interior all was a wilderness beyond Hartford. On Connecticut River, settlements had proceeded as far up as Deerfield, and Fort Dummer had been built near where is now the south line of New Hampshire. In New Hampshire no settlement was then begun thirty miles from the mouth of Piscataqua River, and in what is now Maine the inhabitants were confined to the coast. The aggregate of the whole population of New England did not exceed one hundred and sixty thousand. Its present amount (1820) is probably one million seven hundred thousand. Instead of being confined to its former limits, her population has rolled backward, and filled up the spaces included within her actual local boundaries. Not this only, but it has overflowed those boundaries, and the waves of emigration have pressed farther and farther toward the West. The Alleghany has not checked it; the banks of the Ohio have been covered with it. New England farms, houses, villages, and churches spread over and adorn the immense extent from the Ohio to Lake Erie, and stretch along from the Alleghany onwards, beyond the Miamis, and toward the Falls of St. Anthony. Two thousand miles westward from the rock where their fathers landed, may now be found the sons of the Pilgrims, cultivating smiling fields, rearing towns and villages, and cherishing, we trust, the patrimonial blessings of wise institutions, of liberty, and religion. The world has seen nothing like this. Regions large enough to be empires, and which, half a century ago, were known only as remote and unexplored wildernesses, are now teeming with population, and prosperous in all the great concerns of life; in good governments, the means of subsistence, and social happiness. It may be safely asserted, that there are now more than a million of people, descendants of New England ancestry, living, free and happy, in regions which scarce sixty years ago were tracts of unpenetrated forest. Nor do rivers, or mountains, or seas resist the progress of industry and enterprise. Ere long, the sons of the Pilgrims will be on the shores of the Pacific.¹²⁶ The imagination hardly keeps pace with the progress of population, improvement, and civilization.

It is now five-and-forty years since the growth and rising glory of America were portrayed in the English Parliament, with inimitable beauty, by the most consummate orator of modern times. Going back somewhat more than half a century, and describing our progress as foreseen from that point by his amiable friend Lord Bathurst, then living, he spoke of the wonderful progress which America had made during the period of a single human life. There is no American heart, I imagine, that does not glow, both with conscious, patriotic pride, and admiration for one of the happiest efforts of eloquence, so often as the vision of "that little speck, scarce visible in the mass of national interest, a small seminal principle, rather than a formed body," and the progress of its astonishing development and growth, are recalled to the recollection. But a stronger feeling might be produced, if we were able to take up this prophetic description where he left it, and, placing ourselves at the point of time in which he was speaking, to set

126. In reference to the fulfilment of this prediction, see Mr. Webster's ADDRESS AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE NEW ENGLAND SOCIETY OF NEW YORK, ON THE 23D OF DECEMBER, 1850.



forth with equal felicity the subsequent progress of the country. There is yet among the living a most distinguished and venerable name, a descendant of the Pilgrims; one who has been attended through life by a great and fortunate genius; a man illustrious by his own great merits, and favored of Heaven in the long continuation of his years.¹²⁷ The time when the English orator was thus speaking of America preceded but by a few days the actual opening of the revolutionary drama at Lexington. He to whom I have alluded, then at the age of forty, was among the most zealous and able defenders of the violated rights of his country. He seemed already to have filled a full measure of public service, and attained an honorable fame. The moment was full of difficulty and danger, and big with events of immeasurable importance. The country was on the very brink of a civil war, of which no man could foretell the duration or the result. Something more than a courageous hope, or characteristic ardor, would have been necessary to impress the glorious prospect on his belief, if, at that moment, before the sound of the first shock of actual war had reached his ears, some attendant spirit had opened to him the vision of the future;—if it had said to him, "The blow is struck, and America is severed from England for ever!"—if it had informed him, that he himself, during the next annual revolution of the sun, should put his own hand to the great instrument of independence, and write his name where all nations should behold it and all time should not efface it; that ere long he himself should maintain the interests and represent the sovereignty of his newborn country in the proudest courts of Europe; that he should one day exercise her supreme magistracy; that he should yet live to behold ten millions of fellow-citizens paying him the homage of their deepest gratitude and kindest affections; that he should see distinguished talent and high public trust resting where his name rested; that he should even see with his own unclouded eyes the close of the second century of New England, who had begun life almost with its commencement, and lived through nearly half the whole history of his country; and that on the morning of this auspicious day he should be found in the political councils of his native State, revising, by the light of experience, that system of government which forty years before he had assisted to frame and establish; and, great and happy as he should then behold his country, there should be nothing in prospect to cloud the scene, nothing to check the ardor of that confident and patriotic hope which should glow in his bosom to the end of his long protracted and happy life.

It would far exceed the limits of this discourse even to mention the principal events in the civil and political history of New England during the century; the more so, as for the last half of the period that history has, most happily, been closely interwoven with the general history of the United States. New England bore an honorable part in the wars which took place between England and France. The capture of Louisburg gave her a character for military achievement; and in the war which terminated with the peace of 1763, her exertions on the frontiers wore of most essential service, as well to the mother country as to all the Colonies.

127. John Adams, second President of the United States.



In New England the war of the Revolution commenced. I address those who remember the memorable 19th of April, 1775; who shortly after saw the burning spires of Charlestown; who beheld the deeds of Prescott, and heard the voice of Putnam amidst the storm of war, and saw the generous Warren fall, the first distinguished victim in the cause of liberty. It would be superfluous to say, that no portion of the country did more than the States of New England to bring the Revolutionary struggle to a successful issue. It is scarcely less to her credit, that she saw early the necessity of a closer union of the States, and gave an efficient and indispensable aid to the establishment and organization of the Federal government.

Perhaps we might safely say, that a new spirit and a new excitement began to exist here about the middle of the last century. To whatever causes it may be imputed, there seems then to have commenced a more rapid improvement. The Colonies had attracted more of the attention of the mother country, and some renown in arms had been acquired. Lord Chatham was the first English minister who attached high importance to these possessions of the crown, and who foresaw any thing of their future growth and extension. His opinion was, that the great rival of England was chiefly to be feared as a maritime and commercial power, and to drive her out of North America and deprive her of her West Indian possessions was a leading object in his policy. He dwelt often on the fisheries, as nurseries for British seamen, and the colonial trade, as furnishing them employment. The war, conducted by him with so much vigor, terminated in a peace, by which Canada was ceded to England. The effect of this was immediately visible in the New England Colonies; for, the fear of Indian hostilities on the frontiers being now happily removed, settlements went on with an activity before that time altogether unprecedented, and public affairs wore a new and encouraging aspect. Shortly after this fortunate termination of the French war, the interesting topics connected with the taxation of America by the British Parliament began to be discussed, and the attention and all the faculties of the people drawn towards them. There is perhaps no portion of our history more full of interest than the period from 1760 to the actual commencement of the war. The progress of opinion in this period, though less known, is not less important than the progress of arms afterwards. Nothing deserves more consideration than those events and discussions which affected the public sentiment and settled the Revolution in men's minds, before hostilities openly broke out.

Internal improvement followed the establishment and prosperous commencement of the present government. More has been done for roads, canals, and other public works, within the last thirty years, than in all our former history. In the first of these particulars, few countries excel the New England States. The astonishing increase of their navigation and trade is known to every one, and now belongs to the history of our national wealth. We may flatter ourselves, too, that literature and taste have not been stationary, and that some advancement has been made in the elegant, as well as in the useful arts.

The nature and constitution of society and government in this country are interesting topics, to which I would devote what



remains of the time allowed to this occasion. Of our system of government the first thing to be said is, that it is really and practically a free system. It originates entirely with the people, and rests on no other foundation than their assent. To judge of its actual operation, it is not enough to look merely at the form of its construction. The practical character of government depends often on a variety of considerations, besides the abstract frame of its constitutional organization. Among these are the condition and tenure of property; the laws regulating its alienation and descent; the presence or absence of a military power; an armed or unarmed yeomanry; the spirit of the age, and the degree of general intelligence. In these respects it cannot be denied that the circumstances of this country are most favorable to the hope of maintaining the government of a great nation on principles entirely popular. In the absence of military power, the nature of government must essentially depend on the manner in which property is holden and distributed. There is a natural influence belonging to property, whether it exists in many hands or few; and it is on the rights of property that both despotism and unrestrained popular violence ordinarily commence their attacks. Our ancestors began their system of government here under a condition of comparative equality in regard to wealth, and their early laws were of a nature to favor and continue this equality.

A republican form of government rests not more on political constitutions, than on those laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. Governments like ours could not have been maintained, where property was holden according to the principles of the feudal system; nor, on the other hand, could the feudal constitution possibly exist with us. Our New England ancestors brought hither no great capitals from Europe; and if they had, there was nothing productive in which they could have been invested. They left behind them the whole feudal policy of the other continent. They broke away at once from the system of military service established in the Dark Ages, and which continues, down even to the present time, more or less to affect the condition of property all over Europe. They came to a new country. There were, as yet, no lands yielding rent, and no tenants rendering service. The whole soil was unreclaimed from barbarism. They were themselves, either from their original condition, or from the necessity of their common interest, nearly on a general level in respect to property. Their situation demanded a parcelling out and division of the lands, and it may be fairly said, that this necessary act **fixed the future frame and form of their government**. The character of their political institutions was determined by the fundamental laws respecting property. The laws rendered estates divisible among sons and daughters. The right of primogeniture, at first limited and curtailed, was afterwards abolished. The property was all freehold. The entailment of estates, long trusts, and the other processes for fettering and tying up inheritances, were not applicable to the condition of society, and seldom made use of. On the contrary, alienation of the land was every way facilitated, even to the subjecting of it to every species of debt. The establishment of public registries, and the simplicity of our forms of conveyance, have greatly facilitated the change



of real estate from one proprietor to another. The consequence of all these causes has been a great subdivision of the soil, and a great equality of condition; the true basis, most certainly, of a popular government. "If the people," says Harrington, "hold three parts in four of the territory, it is plain there can neither be any single person nor nobility able to dispute the government with them; in this case, therefore, **except force be interposed**, they govern themselves."

The history of other nations may teach us how favorable to public liberty are the division of the soil into small freeholds, and a system of laws, of which the tendency is, without violence or injustice, to produce and to preserve a degree of equality of property. It has been estimated, if I mistake not, that about the time of Henry the Seventh four fifths of the land in England was holden by the great barons and ecclesiastics. The effects of a growing commerce soon afterwards began to break in on this state of things, and before the Revolution, in 1688, a vast change had been wrought. It may be thought probable, that, for the last half-century, the process of subdivision in England has been retarded, if not reversed; that the great weight of taxation has compelled many of the lesser freeholders to dispose of their estates, and to seek employment in the army and navy, in the professions of civil life, in commerce, or in the colonies. The effect of this on the British constitution cannot but be most unfavorable. A few large estates grow larger; but the number of those who have no estates also increases; and there may be danger, lest the inequality of property become so great, that those who possess it may be dispossessed by force; in other words, that the government may be overturned.

A most interesting experiment of the effect of a subdivision of property on government is now making in France. It is understood, that the law regulating the transmission of property in that country, now divides it, real and personal, among all the children equally, both sons and daughters; and that there is, also, a very great restraint on the power of making dispositions of property by will. It has been supposed, that the effects of this might probably be, in time, to break up the soil into such small subdivisions, that the proprietors would be too poor to resist the encroachments of executive power. I think far otherwise. What is lost in individual wealth will be more than gained in numbers, in intelligence, and in a sympathy of sentiment. If, indeed, only one or a few landholders were to resist the crown, like the barons of England, they must, of course, be great and powerful landholders, with multitudes of retainers, to promise success. But if the proprietors of a given extent of territory are summoned to resistance, there is no reason to believe that such resistance would be less forcible, or less successful, because the number of such proprietors happened to be great. Each would perceive his own importance, and his own interest, and would feel that natural elevation of character which the consciousness of property inspires. A common sentiment would unite all, and numbers would not only add strength, but excite enthusiasm. It is true, that France possesses a vast military force, under the direction of an hereditary executive government; and military power, it is possible, may overthrow any government. It is in vain, however,



in this period of the world, to look for security against military power to the arm of the great landholders. That notion is derived from a state of things long since past; a state in which a feudal baron, with his retainers, might stand against the sovereign and his retainers, himself but the greatest baron. But at present, what could the richest landholder do, against one regiment of disciplined troops? Other securities, therefore, against the prevalence of military power must be provided. Happily for us, we are not so situated as that any purpose of national defence requires, ordinarily and constantly, such a military force as might seriously endanger our liberties.

In respect, however, to the recent law of succession in France, to which I have alluded, I would, presumptuously perhaps, hazard a conjecture, that, if the government do not change the law, the law in half a century will change the government; and that this change will be, not in favor of the power of the crown, as some European writers have supposed, but against it. Those writers only reason upon what they think correct general principles, in relation to this subject. They acknowledge a want of experience. Here we have had that experience; and we know that a multitude of small proprietors, acting with intelligence, and that enthusiasm which a common cause inspires, constitute not only a formidable, but an invincible power.¹²⁸

The true principle of a free and popular government would seem to be, so to construct it as to give to all, or at least to a very great majority, an interest in its preservation; to found it, as other things are founded, on men's interest. The stability of government demands that those who desire its continuance should be more powerful than those who desire its dissolution. This power, of course, is not always to be measured by mere numbers. Education, wealth, talents, are all parts and elements of the general aggregate of power; but numbers, nevertheless, constitute ordinarily the most important consideration, unless, indeed, there be **a military force** in the hands of the few, by which they can control the many. In this country we have actually existing systems of government, in the maintenance of which, it should seem, a great majority, both in numbers and in other means of power and influence, must see their interest. But this state of things is not brought about solely by written political constitutions, or the mere manner of organizing the government; but also by the laws which regulate the descent and transmission of property. The freest government, if it could exist, would not be long acceptable, if the tendency of the laws were to create a rapid accumulation of property in few hands, and to render the great mass of the population dependent and penniless. In such a case, the popular power would be likely to break in upon the rights of property, or else the influence of property to limit and control the exercise of popular power. Universal suffrage, for example, could not long exist in a community where there was great inequality of

128. As the opinion of contemporaneous thinkers on this important subject cannot fail to interest the general reader, it is deemed proper to insert here the following extract from a letter, written in 1849, to show how powerfully the truths uttered in 1820, in the spirit of prophecy, as it were, impressed themselves upon certain minds, and how closely the verification of the prediction has been watched.

OK, HERE IT IS ...



property. The holders of estates would be obliged, in such case, in some way to restrain the right of suffrage, or else such right of suffrage would, before long, divide the property. In the nature of things, those who have not property, and see their neighbors possess much more than they think them to need, cannot be favorable to laws made for the protection of property. When this class becomes numerous, it grows clamorous. It looks on property as its prey and plunder, and is naturally ready, at all times, for violence and revolution.

It would seem, then, to be the part of political wisdom to found government on property; and to establish such distribution of property, by the laws which regulate its transmission and alienation, as to interest the great majority of society in the support of the government. This is, I imagine, the true theory and the actual practice of our republican institutions. With property divided as we have it, no other government than that of a republic could be maintained, even were we foolish enough to desire it. There is reason, therefore, to expect a long continuance of our system. Party and passion, doubtless, may prevail at times, and much temporary mischief be done. Even modes and forms may be changed, and perhaps for the worse. But a great revolution in regard to property must take place, before our governments can be moved from their republican basis, unless they be violently struck off by military power. The people possess the property, more emphatically than it could ever be said of the people of any other country, and they can have no interest to overturn a government which protects that property by equal laws.

Let it not be supposed, that this state of things possesses too strong tendencies towards the production of a dead and uninteresting level in society. Such tendencies are sufficiently counteracted by the infinite diversities in the characters and fortunes of individuals. Talent, activity, industry, and enterprise tend at all times to produce inequality and distinction; and there is room still for the accumulation of wealth, with its great advantages, to all reasonable and useful extent. It has been often urged against the state of society in America, that it furnishes no class of men of fortune and leisure. This may be partly true, but it is not entirely so, and the evil, if it be one, would affect rather the progress of taste and literature, than the general prosperity of the people. But the promotion of taste and literature cannot be primary objects of political institutions; and if they could, it might be doubted whether, in the long course of things, as much is not gained by a wide diffusion of general knowledge, as is lost by diminishing the number of those who are enabled by fortune and leisure to devote themselves exclusively to scientific and literary pursuits. However this may be, it is to be considered that it is the spirit of our system to be equal and general, and if there be particular disadvantages incident to this, they are far more than counterbalanced by the benefits which weigh against them. The important concerns of society are generally conducted, in all countries, by the men of business and practical ability; and even in matters of taste and literature, the advantages of mere leisure are liable to be overrated. If there exist adequate means of education and a love of letters



be excited, that love will find its way to the object of its desire, through the crowd and pressure of the most busy society. Connected with this division of property, and the consequent participation of the great mass of people in its possession and enjoyments, is the system of representation, which is admirably accommodated to our condition, better understood among us, and more familiarly and extensively practised, in the higher and in the lower departments of government, than it has been by any other people. Great facility has been given to this in New England by the early division of the country into townships or small districts, in which all concerns of local police are regulated, and in which representatives to the legislature are elected. Nothing can exceed the utility of these little bodies. They are so many councils or parliaments, in which common interests are discussed, and useful knowledge acquired and communicated.

The division of governments into departments, and the division, again, of the legislative department into two chambers, are essential provisions in our system. This last, although not new in itself, yet seems to be new in its application to governments wholly popular. The Grecian republics, it is plain, knew nothing of it; and in Rome, the check and balance of legislative power, such as it was, lay between the people and the senate. Indeed, few things are more difficult than to ascertain accurately the true nature and construction of the Roman commonwealth. The relative power of the senate and the people, of the consuls and the tribunes, appears not to have been at all times the same, nor at any time accurately defined or strictly observed. Cicero, indeed, describes to us an admirable arrangement of political power, and a balance of the constitution, in that beautiful passage, in which he compares the democracies of Greece with the Roman commonwealth. "O morem preclarum, disciplinamque, quam a majoribus accepimus, si quidem teneremus! sed nescio quo pacto jam de manibus elabatur. Nullam enim illi nostri sapientissimi et sanctissimi viri vim concionis esse voluerunt, quae scisseret plebs, aut quae populus juberet; summota concione, distributis partibus, tributim et centuriatim descriptis ordinibus, classibus, aetatibus, auditis auctoribus, re multos dies promulgata et cognita, juberi vetarique voluerunt. Graecorum autem totae respublicae sedentis concionis temeritate administrantur."¹²⁹

But at what time this wise system existed in this perfection at Rome, no proofs remain to show. Her constitution, originally framed for a monarchy, never seemed to be adjusted in its several parts after the expulsion of the kings. Liberty there was, but it was a disputatious, an uncertain, an ill-secured liberty. The patrician and plebeian orders, instead of being matched and joined, each in its just place and proportion, to sustain the fabric of the state, were rather like hostile powers, in perpetual conflict. With us, an attempt has been made, and so far not without success, to divide representation into chambers, and, by difference of age, character, qualification, or mode of election, to establish salutary checks, in governments altogether elective.

Having detained you so long with these observations, I must yet

129. Oratio pro Flacco, § 7.



advert to another most interesting topic,—the Free Schools. In this particular, New England may be allowed to claim, I think, a merit of a peculiar character. She early adopted, and has constantly maintained the principle, that it is the undoubted right and the bounden duty of government to provide for the instruction of all youth. That which is elsewhere left to chance or to charity, we secure by law.¹³⁰ For the purpose of public instruction, we hold every man subject to taxation in proportion to his property, and we look not to the question, whether he himself have, or have not, children to be benefited by the education for which he pays. We regard it as a wise and liberal system of police, by which property, and life, and the peace of society are secured. We seek to prevent in some measure the extension of the penal code, by inspiring a salutary and conservative principle of virtue and of knowledge in an early age. We strive to excite a feeling of respectability, and a sense of character, by enlarging the capacity and increasing the sphere of intellectual enjoyment. By general instruction, we seek, as far as possible, to purify the whole moral atmosphere; to keep good sentiments uppermost, and to turn the strong current of feeling and opinion, as well as the censures of the law and the denunciations of religion, against immorality and crime. We hope for a security beyond the law, and above the law, in the prevalence of an enlightened and well-principled moral sentiment. We hope to continue and prolong the time, when, in the villages and farm-houses of New England, there may be undisturbed sleep within unbarred doors. And knowing that our government rests directly on the public will, in order that we may preserve it we endeavor to give a safe and proper direction to that public will. We do not, indeed, expect all men to be philosophers or statesmen; but we confidently trust, and our expectation of the duration of our system of government rests on that trust, that, by the diffusion of general knowledge and good and virtuous sentiments, the political fabric may be secure, as well against open violence and overthrow, as against the slow, but sure, undermining of licentiousness.

We know that, at the present time, an attempt is making in the English Parliament to provide by law for the education of the poor, and that a gentleman of distinguished character (Mr. Brougham) has taken the lead in presenting a plan to government for carrying that purpose into effect. And yet, although the representatives of the three kingdoms listened to him with astonishment as well as delight, we hear no principles with which we ourselves have not been familiar from youth; we see nothing in the plan but an approach towards that system which has been established in New England for more than a century and a half. It is said that in England not more than **one child in fifteen** possesses the means of being taught to read and write; in Wales, **one in twenty**; in France, until lately, when some improvement was made, not more than **one in thirty-five**. Now, it is hardly too strong to say, that in New England **every child possesses** such means. It would be difficult to find an instance

130. The first free school established by law in the Plymouth Colony was in 1670-72. One of the early teachers in Boston taught school more than **seventy** years. See the Reverend [Cotton Mather](#)'s "Funeral Sermon upon Mr. Ezekiel Cheever, the ancient and honorable Master of the Free School in Boston."

For the impression made upon the mind of an intelligent foreigner by the general attention to popular education, as characteristic of the American polity, see Mackay's *WESTERN WORLD*, Vol. III. p. 225 *et seq.* Also, *EDINBURGH REVIEW*, No. 186.



to the contrary, unless where it should be owing to the negligence of the parent; and, in truth, the means are actually used and enjoyed by nearly every one. A youth of fifteen, of either sex, who cannot both read and write, is very seldom to be found. Who can make this comparison, or contemplate this spectacle, without delight and a feeling of just pride? Does any history show property more beneficently applied? Did any government ever subject the property of those who have estates to a burden, for a purpose more favorable to the poor, or more useful to the whole community?

A conviction of the importance of public instruction was one of the earliest sentiments of our ancestors. No lawgiver of ancient or modern times has expressed more just opinions, or adopted wiser measures, than the early records of the Colony of Plymouth show to have prevailed here. Assembled on this very spot, a hundred and fifty-three years ago, the legislature of this Colony declared, "Forasmuch as the maintenance of good literature doth much tend to the advancement of the weal and flourishing state of societies and republics, this Court doth therefore order, that in whatever township in this government, consisting of fifty families or upwards, any meet man shall be obtained to teach a grammar school, such township shall allow at least twelve pounds, to be raised by rate on all the inhabitants."

Having provided that all youth should be instructed in the elements of learning by the institution of free schools, our ancestors had yet another duty to perform. Men were to be educated for the professions and the public. For this purpose they founded the University, and with incredible zeal and perseverance they cherished and supported it, through all trials and discouragements.¹³¹ On the subject of the University, it is not possible for a son of New England to think without pleasure, or to speak without emotion. Nothing confers more honor on the State where it is established, or more utility on the country at large. A respectable university is an establishment which must be the work of time. If pecuniary means were not wanting, no new institution could possess character and respectability at once. We owe deep obligation to our ancestors, who began, almost on the moment of their arrival, the work of building up this institution.

Although established in a different government, the Colony of Plymouth manifested warm friendship for Harvard College. At an early period, its government took measures to promote a general subscription throughout all the towns in this Colony, in aid of its small funds. Other colleges were subsequently founded and endowed, in other places, as the ability of the people allowed; and we may flatter ourselves, that the means of education at present enjoyed in New England are not only adequate to the diffusion of the elements of knowledge among all classes, but sufficient also for respectable attainments in literature and the sciences.

Lastly, our ancestors established their system of government on morality and religious sentiment. Moral habits, they believed,

131. By a law of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay, passed as early as 1647, it was ordered, that, "when any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders, they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the University."



cannot safely be trusted on any other foundation than religious principle, nor any government be secure which is not supported by moral habits. Living under the heavenly light of revelation, they hoped to find all the social dispositions, all the duties which men owe to each other and to society, enforced and performed. Whatever makes men good Christians, makes them good citizens. Our fathers came here to enjoy their religion free and unmolested; and, at the end of two centuries, there is nothing upon which we can pronounce more confidently, nothing of which we can express a more deep and earnest conviction, than of the inestimable importance of that religion to man, both in regard to this life and that which is to come.

If the blessings of our political and social condition have not been too highly estimated, we cannot well overrate the responsibility and duty which they impose upon us. We hold these institutions of government, religion, and learning, to be transmitted, as well as enjoyed. We are in the line of conveyance, through which whatever has been obtained by the spirit and efforts of our ancestors is to be communicated to our children.

We are bound to maintain public liberty, and, by the example of our own systems, to convince the world that order and law, religion and morality, the rights of conscience, the rights of persons, and the rights of property, may all be preserved and secured, in the most perfect manner, by a government entirely and purely elective. If we fail in this, our disaster will be signal, and will furnish an argument, stronger than has yet been found, in support of those opinions which maintain that government can rest safely on nothing but power and coercion. As far as experience may show errors in our establishments, we are bound to correct them; and if any practices exist contrary to the principles of justice and humanity within the reach of our laws or our influence, we are inexcusable if we do not exert ourselves to restrain and abolish them.

I deem it my duty on this occasion to suggest, that the land is not yet wholly free from the contamination of a traffic, at which every feeling of humanity must for ever revolt,—I mean the African slave-trade.¹³² Neither public sentiment, nor the law, has hitherto been able entirely to put an end to this odious and abominable trade. At the moment when God in his mercy has blessed the Christian world with a universal peace, there is reason to fear, that, to the disgrace of the Christian name and character, new efforts are making for the extension of this trade by subjects and citizens of Christian states, in whose hearts there dwell no sentiments of humanity or of justice, and over whom neither the fear of God nor the fear of man exercises a control. In the sight of our law, the African slave-trader is a pirate and a felon; and in the sight of Heaven, an offender far beyond the ordinary depth of human guilt. There is no brighter page of our history, than that which records the measures which have been adopted by the government at an early day, and at different times since, for the suppression of this traffic; and I would call on all the true sons of New England to co-operate with the laws of man, and the justice of Heaven. If there be, within the

132. In reference to the opposition of the Colonies to the slave-trade, see a representation of the Board of Trade to the House of Lords, 23d January, 1733-4.



extent of our knowledge or influence, any participation in this traffic, let us pledge ourselves here, upon the rock of Plymouth, to extirpate and destroy it. It is not fit that the land of the Pilgrims should bear the shame longer. I hear the sound of the hammer, I see the smoke of the furnaces where manacles and fetters are still forged for human limbs. I see the visages of those who by stealth and at midnight labor in this work of hell, foul and dark, as may become the artificers of such instruments of misery and torture. Let that spot be purified, or let it cease to be of New England. Let it be purified, or let it be set aside from the Christian world; let it be put out of the circle of human sympathies and human regards, and let civilized man henceforth have no communion with it.

I would invoke those who fill the seats of justice, and all who minister at her altar, that they execute the wholesome and necessary severity of the law. I invoke the ministers of our religion, that they proclaim its denunciation of these crimes, and add its solemn sanctions to the authority of human laws. If the pulpit be silent whenever or wherever there may be a sinner bloody with this guilt within the hearing of its voice, the pulpit is false to its trust. I call on the fair merchant, who has reaped his harvest upon the seas, that he assist in scourging from those seas the worst pirates that ever infested them. That ocean, which seems to wave with a gentle magnificence to waft the burden of an honest commerce, and to roll along its treasures with a conscious pride,—that ocean, which hardy industry regards, even when the winds have ruffled its surface, as a field of grateful toil,—what is it to the victim of this oppression, when he is brought to its shores, and looks forth upon it, for the first time, loaded with chains, and bleeding with stripes? What is it to him but a wide-spread prospect of suffering, anguish, and death? Nor do the skies smile longer, nor is the air longer fragrant to him. The sun is cast down from heaven. An inhuman and accursed traffic has cut him off in his manhood, or in his youth, from every enjoyment belonging to his being, and every blessing which his Creator intended for him.

The Christian communities send forth their emissaries of religion and letters, who stop, here and there, along the coast of the vast continent of Africa, and with painful and tedious efforts make some almost imperceptible progress in the communication of knowledge, and in the general improvement of the natives who are immediately about them. Not thus slow and imperceptible is the transmission of the vices and bad passions which the subjects of Christian states carry to the land. The slave-trade having touched the coast, its influence and its evils spread, like a pestilence, over the whole continent, making savage wars more savage and more frequent, and adding new and fierce passions to the contests of barbarians.

I pursue this topic no further, except again to say, that all Christendom, being now blessed with peace, is bound by every thing which belongs to its character, and to the character of the present age, to put a stop to this inhuman and disgraceful traffic.

We are bound, not only to maintain the general principles of public liberty, but to support also those existing forms of



government which have so well secured its enjoyment, and so highly promoted the public prosperity. It is now more than thirty years that these States have been united under the Federal Constitution, and whatever fortune may await them hereafter, it is impossible that this period of their history should not be regarded as distinguished by signal prosperity and success. They must be sanguine indeed, who can hope for benefit from change. Whatever division of the public judgment may have existed in relation to particular measures of the government, all must agree, one should think, in the opinion, that in its general course it has been eminently productive of public happiness. Its most ardent friends could not well have hoped from it more than it has accomplished; and those who disbelieved or doubted ought to feel less concern about predictions which the event has not verified, than pleasure in the good which has been obtained. Whoever shall hereafter write this part of our history, although he may see occasional errors or defects, will be able to record no great failure in the ends and objects of government. Still less will he be able to record any series of lawless and despotic acts, or any successful usurpation. His page will contain no exhibition of provinces depopulated, of civil authority habitually trampled down by military power, or of a community crushed by the burden of taxation. He will speak, rather, of public liberty protected, and public happiness advanced; of increased revenue, and population augmented beyond all example; of the growth of commerce, manufactures, and the arts; and of that happy condition, in which the restraint and coercion of government are almost invisible and imperceptible, and its influence felt only in the benefits which it confers. We can entertain no better wish for our country, than that this government may be preserved; nor have a clearer duty than to maintain and support it in the full exercise of all its just constitutional powers.

The cause of science and literature also imposes upon us an important and delicate trust. The wealth and population of the country are now so far advanced, as to authorize the expectation of a correct literature and a well formed taste, as well as respectable progress in the abstruse sciences. The country has risen from a state of colonial subjection; it has established an independent government, and is now in the undisturbed enjoyment of peace and political security. The elements of knowledge are universally diffused, and the reading portion of the community is large. Let us hope that the present may be an auspicious era of literature. If, almost on the day of their landing, our ancestors founded schools and endowed colleges, what obligations do not rest upon us, living under circumstances so much more favorable both for providing and for using the means of education? Literature becomes free institutions. It is the graceful ornament of civil liberty, and a happy restraint on the asperities which political controversies sometimes occasion. Just taste is not only an embellishment of society, but it rises almost to the rank of the virtues, and diffuses positive good throughout the whole extent of its influence. There is a connection between right feeling and right principles, and truth in taste is allied with truth in morality. With nothing in our past history to discourage us, and with something in our present



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condition and prospects to animate us, let us hope, that, as it is our fortune to live in an age when we may behold a wonderful advancement of the country in all its other great interests, we may see also equal progress and success attend the cause of letters.

Finally, let us not forget the religious character of our origin. Our fathers were brought hither by their high veneration for the Christian religion. They journeyed by its light, and labored in its hope. They sought to incorporate its principles with the elements of their society, and to diffuse its influence through all their institutions, civil, political, or literary. Let us cherish these sentiments, and extend this influence still more widely; in the full conviction, that that is the happiest society which partakes in the highest degree of the mild and peaceful spirit of Christianity.

The hours of this day are rapidly flying, and this occasion will soon be passed. Neither we nor our children can expect to behold its return. They are in the distant regions of futurity, they exist only in the all-creating power of God, who shall stand here a hundred years hence, to trace, through us, their descent from the Pilgrims, and to survey, as we have now surveyed, the progress of their country, during the lapse of a century. We would anticipate their concurrence with us in our sentiments of deep regard for our common ancestors. We would anticipate and partake the pleasure with which they will then recount the steps of New England's advancement. On the morning of that day, although it will not disturb us in our repose, the voice of acclamation and gratitude, commencing on the Rock of Plymouth, shall be transmitted through millions of the sons of the Pilgrims, till it lose itself in the murmurs of the Pacific seas. We would leave for the consideration of those who shall then occupy our places, some proof that we hold the blessings transmitted from our fathers in just estimation; some proof of our attachment to the cause of good government, and of civil and religious liberty; some proof of a sincere and ardent desire to promote every thing which may enlarge the understandings and improve the hearts of men. And when, from the long distance of a hundred years, they shall look back upon us, they shall know, at least, that we possessed affections, which, running backward and warming with gratitude for what our ancestors have done for our happiness, run forward also to our posterity, and meet them with cordial salutation, ere yet they have arrived on the shore of being.

Advance, then, ye future generations! We would hail you, as you rise in your long succession, to fill the places which we now fill, and to taste the blessings of existence where we are passing, and soon shall have passed, our own human duration. We bid you welcome to this pleasant land of the fathers. We bid you welcome to the healthful skies and the verdant fields of New England. We greet your accession to the great inheritance which we have enjoyed. We welcome you to the blessings of good government and religious liberty. We welcome you to the treasures of science and the delights of learning. We welcome you to the transcendent sweets of domestic life, to the happiness of kindred, and parents, and children. We welcome you to the immeasurable blessings of rational existence, the



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immortal hope of Christianity, and the light of everlasting truth!!



December 24, Sunday: Having inspected the peculiar Ethiopian antiquities which they had come to inspect, the Reverend [Barnard Hanbury](#) and [George Waddington](#) began to retrace their steps.

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT

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

1st day 24th of 12 M / Our meetings both Small & Silent, some favor experienced, but on the whole the Spring of life was low. Oh the need for those whose lot it is to go in & out before The People, to have their minds covered with a covering of the Lords Spirit I often feel the need of This. my heart is affected with a sense of my short comings. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 25, Monday: For the 1st time the Episcopalians of [Concord](#), Massachusetts were able to stage a public [Christmas](#) celebration (celebrations of this festival had been banned during the Puritan era).

During this season, Americans could be reading Washington Irving's "Old [Christmas](#)":

There is nothing in England that exercises a more delightful spell over my imagination than the lingerings of the holiday customs and rural games of former times. They recall the pictures my fancy used to draw in the May morning of life, when as yet I only knew the world through books, and believed it to be all that poets had painted it; and they bring with them the flavour of those honest days of yore, in which, perhaps with equal fallacy, I am apt to think the world was more home-bred, social, and joyous than at present. I regret to say that they are daily growing more and more faint, being gradually worn away by time, but still more obliterated by modern fashion. They resemble those picturesque morsels of Gothic architecture which we see crumbling in various parts of the country, partly dilapidated by the waste of ages, and partly lost in the additions and alterations of latter days. Poetry, however, clings with cherishing fondness about the rural game and holiday revel, from which it has derived so many of its themes, - as the ivy winds its rich foliage about the Gothic arch and mouldering tower, gratefully repaying their support by clasping together their tottering remains, and, as it were, embalming them in verdure.

Of all the old festivals, however, that of Christmas awakens the strongest and most heartfelt associations. There is a tone of solemn and sacred feeling that blends with our conviviality, and lifts the spirit to a state of hallowed and elevated enjoyment. The services of the church about this season are extremely tender and inspiring. They dwell on the beautiful story of the origin of our faith, and the pastoral scenes that accompanied its announcement. They gradually increase in fervour and pathos during the season of Advent, until they break forth in full



jubilee on the morning that brought peace and good-will to men. I do not know a grander effect of music on the moral feelings than to hear the full choir and the pealing organ performing a Christmas anthem in a cathedral, and filling every part of the vast pile with triumphant harmony.

It is a beautiful arrangement, also derived from days of yore, that this festival, which commemorates the announcement of the religion of peace and love, has been made the season for gathering together of family connections, and drawing closer again those bands of kindred hearts which the cares and pleasures and sorrows of the world are continually operating to cast loose; of calling back the children of a family who have launched forth in life, and wandered widely asunder, once more to assemble about the paternal hearth, that rallying-place of the affections, there to grow young and loving again among the endearing mementoes of childhood.

There is something in the very season of the year that gives a charm to the festivity of Christmas. At other times we derive a great portion of our pleasures from the mere beauties of nature. Our feelings sally forth and dissipate themselves over the sunny landscape, and we "live abroad and everywhere." The song of the bird, the murmur of the stream, the breathing fragrance of spring, the soft voluptuousness of summer, the golden pomp of autumn; earth with its mantle of refreshing green, and heaven with its deep delicious blue and its cloudy magnificence, all fill us with mute but exquisite delight, and we revel in the luxury of mere sensation. But in the depth of winter, when nature lies despoiled of every charm, and wrapped in her shroud of sheeted snow, we turn for our gratifications to moral sources. The dreariness and desolation of the landscape, the short gloomy days and darksome nights, while they circumscribe our wanderings, shut in our feelings also from rambling abroad, and make us more keenly disposed for the pleasures of the social circle. Our thoughts are more concentrated; our friendly sympathies more aroused. we feel more sensibly the charm of each other's society, and are brought more closely together by dependence on each other for enjoyment. Heart calleth unto heart; and we draw our pleasures from the deep wells of living kindness, which lie in the quiet recesses of our bosoms: and which when resorted to, furnish forth the pure element of domestic felicity.

The pitchy gloom without makes the heart dilate on entering the room filled with the glow and warmth of the evening fire. The ruddy blaze diffuses an artificial summer and sunshine through the room, and lights up each countenance into a kindlier welcome. Where does the honest face of hospitality expand into a broader and more cordial smile -where is the shy glance of love more sweetly eloquent -than by the winter fireside? and as the hollow blast of wintry wind rushes through the hall, claps the distant door, whistles about the casement, and rumbles down the chimney, what can be more grateful than that feeling of sober and sheltered security with which we look around upon the comfortable chamber and the scene of domestic hilarity?

The English, from the great prevalence of rural habits throughout every class of society, have always been fond of those festivals and holidays which agreeably interrupt the



stillness of country life; and they were, in former days, particularly observant of the religious and social rites of Christmas. It is inspiring to read even the dry details which some antiquarians have given of the quaint humours, the burlesque pageants, the complete abandonment to mirth and good-fellowship with which this festival was celebrated. It seemed to throw open every door, and unlock every heart. It brought the peasant and the peer together, and blended all ranks in one warm generous flow of joy and kindness. The old halls of castles and manor-houses resounded with the harp and the Christmas carol, and their ample boards groaned under the weight of hospitality. Even the poorest cottage welcomed the festive season with green decorations of bay and holly – the cheerful fire glanced its rays through the lattice, inviting the passenger to raise the latch, and join the gossip knot huddled around the hearth, beguiling the long evening with legendary jokes and oft-told Christmas tales.

One of the least pleasing effects of modern refinement is the havoc it has made among the hearty old holiday customs. It has completely taken off the sharp touchings and spirited reliefs of these embellishments of life, and has worn down society into a more smooth and polished, but certainly a less characteristic surface. Many of the games and ceremonials of Christmas have entirely disappeared, and like the sherris sack of old Falstaff, are become matters of speculation and dispute among commentators. They flourished in times full of spirit and lustihood, when men enjoyed life roughly, but heartily and vigorously; times wild and picturesque, which have furnished poetry with its richest materials, and the drama with its most attractive variety of characters and manners. The world has become more worldly. There is more of dissipation, and less of enjoyment. Pleasure has expanded into a broader, but a shallower stream, and has forsaken many of those deep and quiet channels where it flowed sweetly through the calm bosom of domestic life. Society has acquired a more enlightened and elegant tone; but it has lost many of its strong local peculiarities, its homebred feelings, its honest fireside delights. The traditionary customs of golden-hearted antiquity, its feudal hospitalities, and lordly wassailings, have passed away with the baronial castles and stately manor-houses in which they were celebrated. They comported with the shadowy hall, the great oaken gallery, and the tapestried parlour, but are unfitted to the light showy saloons and gay drawing-rooms of the modern villa.

Shorn, however, as it is, of its ancient and festive honours, Christmas is still a period of delightful excitement in England. It is gratifying to see that home feeling completely aroused which seems to hold so powerful a place in every English bosom. The preparations making on every side for the social board that is again to unite friends and kindred; the presents of good cheer passing and repassing, those tokens of regard, and quickeners of kind feelings; the evergreens distributed about houses and churches, emblems of peace and gladness; all these have the most pleasing effect in producing fond associations, and kindling benevolent sympathies. Even the sound of the waits, rude as may be their minstrelsy, breaks upon the mid-watches of a winter night with the effect of perfect harmony. As I have been awakened



by them in that still and solemn hour, "when deep sleep falleth upon man," I have listened with a hushed delight, and, connecting them with the sacred and joyous occasion, have almost fancied them into another celestial choir, announcing peace and good-will to mankind.

How delightfully the imagination, when wrought upon by these moral influences, turns everything to melody and beauty: The very crowing of the cock, who is sometimes heard in the profound repose of the country, "telling the night-watches to his feathery dames," was thought by the common people to announce the approach of this sacred festival:

"Some say that ever 'gainst that season comes
Wherein our Saviour's birth is celebrated,
This bird of dawning singeth all night long:
And then, they say, no spirit dares stir abroad;
The nights are wholesome – then no planets strike,
No fairy takes, no witch hath power to charm,
So hallow'd and so gracious is the time."

Amidst the general call to happiness, the bustle of the spirits, and stir of the affections, which prevail at this period, what bosom can remain insensible? It is, indeed, the season of regenerated feeling – the season for kindling, not merely the fire of hospitality in the hall, but the genial flame of charity in the heart.

The scene of early love again rises green to memory beyond the sterile waste of years; and the idea of home, fraught with the fragrance of home-dwelling joys, reanimates the drooping spirit, – as the Arabian breeze will sometimes waft the freshness of the distant fields to the weary pilgrim of the desert.

Stranger and sojourner as I am in the land, – though for me no social hearth may blaze, no hospitable roof throw open its doors, nor the warm grasp of friendship welcome me at the threshold, – yet I feel the influence of the season beaming into my soul from the happy looks of those around me. Surely happiness is reflective, like the light of heaven; and every countenance, bright with smiles, and glowing with innocent enjoyment, is a mirror transmitting to others the rays of a supreme and ever shining benevolence. He who can turn churlishly away from contemplating the felicity of his fellow beings, and sit down darkling and repining in his loneliness when all around is joyful, may have his moments of strong excitement and selfish gratification, but he wants the genial and social sympathies which constitute the charm of a merry Christmas.

...And on in this vein:

<http://www.classicreader.com/booktoc.php/sid.1/bookid.1061/>

The other influential publication was by well-known author Washington Irving. He chose this time (1820) to write a group of short stories set at Christmas, depicting the happy and peaceful feast celebration of the holiday by the main character, the Squire, and the local poor together in 'Bracebridge Hall' (Nissenbaum 1997). The grateful peasants warmed the heart of



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their wealthy benefactor, who relished their thanks while treating them to a good meal. This Christmas dinner was touted as a return to 'traditional ways' and is seen as old-fashioned by its characters and its readers. Irving "had never actually seen the kind of Christmas he described" (Nissenbaum 1997:58). He seems to be purposefully offering a new way to celebrate an increasingly rowdy holiday, and legitimating it as 'old-fashioned.' Historian Penne L. Restad tells us why American society was so receptive to a new holiday with 'tradition' backing it up:

By mid-century ... new conditions had begun to undercut local customs and create needs for common and visible celebrations. Communication and transportation revolutions made once isolated parts of the country acutely aware of each other. Immigration vastly widened the ethnic and religious pluralism that had been a part of American settlement from its beginning. Moral, political and economic tensions mounted among east, west and south, raising new questions about the nature of the Union itself. Science challenged religion. New wealth and larger markets superseded old. Population swelled. The pace of life accelerated. The swirl of change caused many to long for an earlier time, one in which they imagined that old and good values held sway in cohesive and peaceful communities. It also made them reconsider the notion of 'community' in larger terms, on a national scale, but modelled on the ideal of a family gathered at the hearth. At this crossroads of progress and nostalgia, Americans found in Christmas a holiday that ministered to their needs (1995b: 14).

Thus 'respectable' people began to celebrate Christmas as a family gathering, introducing the possibility of the classes getting along (actually, the lower class behaving 'properly.')

Vast social changes created the need for common identity and 'old' traditions so strangers could feel more comfortable around one another. These two literary works added a sense of returning to the good old days and allowed the focus of the Christmas holiday to be on the family. The biblical figure of Jesus had an impact on this new way of celebrating Christmas. As the treatment of children as miniature adults gave way to a warmer, more supportive upbringing, mothers and fathers concentrated on treating their children the way Jesus did with the peasant children in the New Testament (Mark 10:13-16). This religious connection allowed even the more strict Puritans to spoil their children this one day each year (Restad 1995a). The new holiday, leaving drunkenness and street revelry to New Year's Eve (Davis 1982), entailed the purchase of gifts for loved ones and the gathering of extended families for exchanging them. Children were most central to this process, but adults would exchange gifts with one another as well. The old exchange of food and drink for goodwill had been replaced with one of store-bought gifts for gratitude. Instead of the poor, the children of the rich received the benefit (Nissenbaum 1997). Charity toward the lower class was preserved as well, but it became less central to celebrations of Christmas.¹³³



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 December 28, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28th of 12th M 1820 / I calculated to go this morning to Portsmouth attend our Monthly Meeting & got in readiness, but when the Stage Coach came along it was so late I concluded we could not get there till about half an hour past the time of Meeting & so gave out with regret, not only on account of the Duty I feel of being with The brethren, but particularly so at this time as there was some buisness to come before The Meeting in which I felt concerned. – Br David Rodman was appointed Clerk & for this peice of devotion in him, to the concerns of Society I feel thankful on his behalf & desirous that it may prove a means of his still further enlargement in usefulness to Society

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 30, Saturday: Bishop John England arrived in [Charleston](#) from [Ireland](#). His diocese would consist of small groups of [Catholics](#) scattered across North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and a portion of Florida. In the South he would, of course, offer separate Mass and Vesper services for persons of color.

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

*7th day 30th of 12th M / I am this day 39 Years of Age, & am sensible of it, & feel the necessity of greater dedication of heart, yet am in hopes my Spiritual account is no worse than last Year
This Afternoon recd a pleasant letter from Uncle Stanton. –
Took tea with my H & John at Br John Rodmans. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day 31st of 12 M 1820 / Here endeth the last day of the Year. – At Meeting this forenoon our aged friend D Buffum delivered a testimony in Gospel Authority & shone bright on the last day of the Year. The Meeting was large. – Left Meeting in the Afternoon to attend the funeral of Thos E Hazard an old acquaintance.¹³⁴ he died at his House at [South Kingstown](#) & was brought to [Newport](#) & buried in the Easton burying ground near the beach. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

133. Baker, Lisa B. CHRISTIANITY, SECULARIZATION, AND [CHRISTMAS](#) IN THE UNITED STATES 1850 AND TODAY. Religious Studies/Sociology Senior Thesis for Professors Gary Herion and Ed Ambrose, May 1999

134. This was not the “Nailer Tom” Hazard who wrote the famous journal, but one of the other Thomas Hazards of South Kingstown.



1820

1820



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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 29, 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.



1820

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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in 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 1820

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 1821