

**EVENTS OF 1820**

**General Events of 1821**

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

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



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July							August							September						

**EVENTS OF 1822**

October	November	December																																																																																																																																					
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THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1821. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Brown and Danforth.<sup>1</sup>

THE RHODE-ISLAND REGISTER AND UNITED STATES CALENDAR FOR 1821. [Providence](#): Brown & Danforth.

At the age of 14 [Arnold Henri Guyot](#) matriculated at the College of [Neuchâtel](#), where he would study the classics, Latin, Greek, and philosophy.

Sophia Williams Cunningham, wife of the Reverend [John William Cunningham](#), died at about the age of 45 at Harrow, England after having created a family of children.

By appointing Abijah Bigelow as agent in Montréal, the Aetna Insurance Company became the first US company to write fire [insurance](#) in [Canada](#).

In Nova Scotia, Halifax harbor froze over. There was a destructive fire.

John Birkinshaw developed a mass-production technique for I-section rails of wrought iron in convenient 15-foot lengths.

1. John Carter (1745-1814) had been an apprentice in the print shop of Benjamin Franklin in Philadelphia, and in that of William Goddard in Providence. Along with William Goddard and later William's mother Sarah Goddard he published the [Providence Gazette](#), until in 1768 at the age of 23 he became sole proprietor. In 1772 he had become Providence's 1st postmaster. He was one of the partners of the Carter and Wilkinson publishing firm. His daughter Ann Carter got married with Nicholas Brown, his daughter Rebecca Carter got married with Amos Throop Jenckes, and his daughter Elizabeth Ann Carter got married with Walter Raleigh Danforth. Walter Raleigh Danforth (1787-1861), a son of Job Danforth (1745-1830), graduated from the College of Rhode Island (Brown University) in 1805 and became clerk of the Supreme Judicial Court of Providence in 1807, editor of the [Providence Gazette](#) in 1820. He would in 1825 found a weekly newspaper named [Microcosm](#).

1821

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→ [Grace Kennedy](#)'s initial publication, THE DECISION: OR, RELIGION MUST BE ALL, OR IS NOTHING (everything she would ever publish would be anonymous).

The evangelical Reverend John Bird Sumner, who would in 1848 be made [Archbishop of Canterbury](#), in this year authored THE EVIDENCE OF CHRISTIANITY DERIVED FROM ITS NATURE AND RECEPTION (London).



→ [Walter Savage Landor](#)'s *POCHE OSSERVAZIONI, ETC., DI WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR* ([Naples](#)). He settled his family in apartments in the Medici Palace in [Florence](#).

→ Carlo Felice, King of Sardinia (with him the senior branch of the House of Savoy would become extinct, in 1831).

→ Abel Bowen began to engrave upon copper as well as upon wood.

→ [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) published the first issue of the Idle Man.

→ Disaffected follower David Hudson's tell-all HISTORY OF JEMIMA WILKINSON, A PREACHERESS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY; CONTAINING AN AUTHENTIC NARRATIVE OF HER LIFE AND CHARACTER, AND OF THE RISE, PROGRESS AND CONCLUSION OF HER MINISTRY. (Geneva, [New York](#): printed by S.P. Hull).



JEMIMAH WILKINSON

 A 2d edition of [William Hazlitt](#)'s LECTURES ON THE DRAMATIC LITERATURE OF THE AGE OF ELIZABETH, and TABLE TALK; OR, ORIGINAL ESSAYS.

**DRAMA OF ELIZABETH I**  
**TABLE TALK**

 The Santa Fe Trail was established by William Becknell.

 Beginning in this year and continuing into 1825, a White Stick Creek native American named William MacKintosh, claiming to represent the Seminoles and the Creeks, would be signing papers ceding some 25 million acres to the whites. Of course, a majority of the Creeks would be repudiating such cessions.

1821

1821



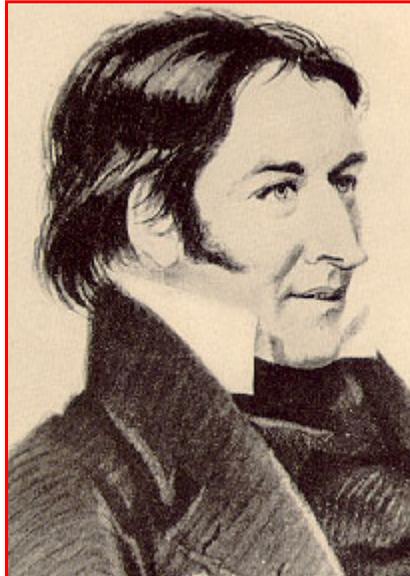
John Wallace Hutchinson was born. (Mary Leavitt Hutchinson and Jesse Hutchinson had 13 children of which Abby was the youngest, but we have concerned ourselves in this Kouroo database only with the four singers of the famous-family quartet: Judson, John, Asa, and Abby.)



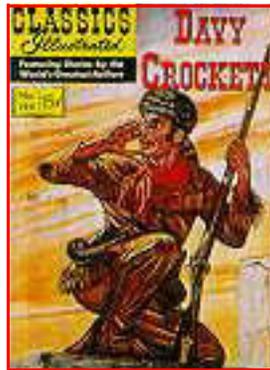
1821

1821

➡ David Crockett was elected to the Tennessee legislature.



(He was on his way to being elected to the national Congress in 1827, on the basis, mostly, of a real gift for publicity.)



➡ The Reverend [Alexander Dyce](#)'s SELECT TRANSLATIONS FROM QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS.

**QUINTUS SMYRNAEUS**

➡ The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#) went back to a place where people still hadn't caught onto his act: St. Charles, Missouri.<sup>2</sup>

➡ [James Rennie](#) relocated from Scotland to London.

➡ The Reverend [Joseph Emerson](#) relocated the Byfield Female Seminary to Saugus, Massachusetts (Mary Mason Lyon, who would found Mount Holyoke College, would be one of his and his assistant Zilpah Polly Grant's students). He would be a pastor in this town.

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

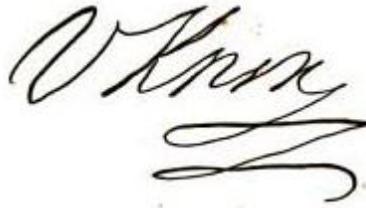
 [Henry Hallam](#)'s HISTORY OF EUROPE DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

**EUROPE'S MIDDLE AGES, I**

**EUROPE'S MIDDLE AGES, II**

**EUROPE'S MIDDLE AGES, III**

 Due to the fact that the Parliament was withdrawing funding from the teaching of the classics toward instruction in mere reading, writing, and arithmetic, the [Reverend Vicesimus Knox II, D.D.](#) published a pamphlet against the DEGRADATION OF GRAMMAR SCHOOLS, in which he argued against Milton, against Locke, and against Bacon, because they had recommended that boys be taught "things" rather than abstractions.



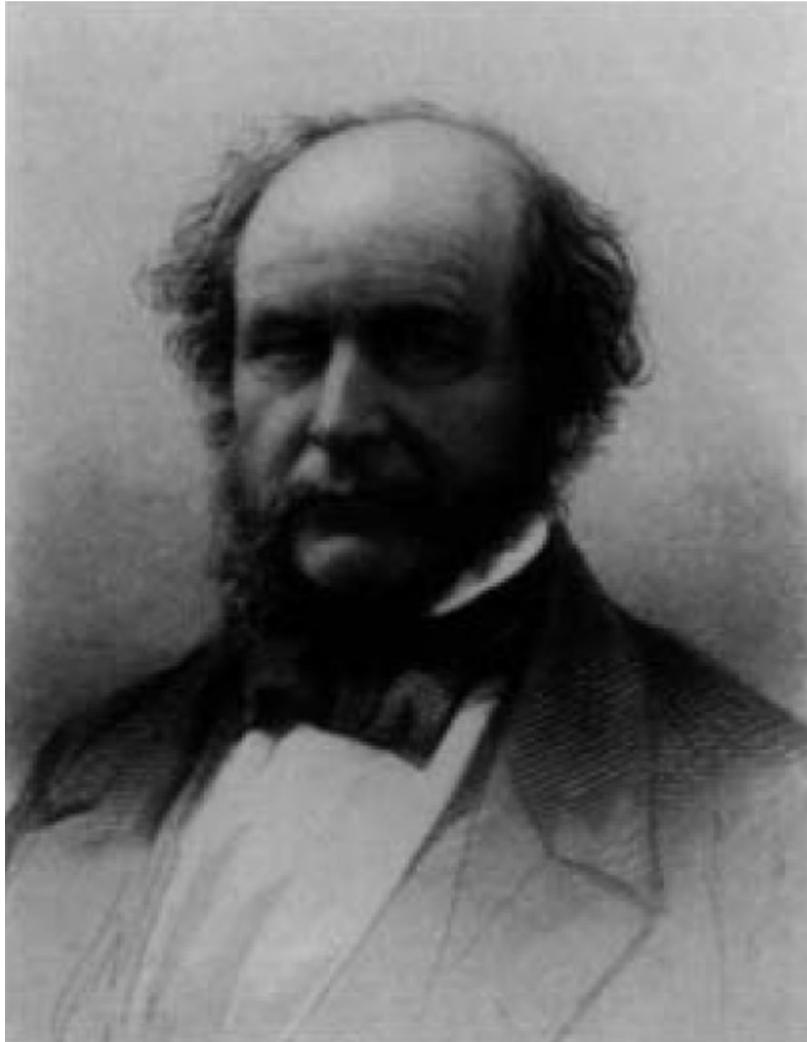
 [Dixon Denham](#) volunteered to accompany Dr. [Walter Oudney](#) and Lieutenant [Hugh Clapperton](#) on a government expedition via Tripoli to the central Sudan, joining the group while it was at Murzuk in Fezzan. When an escort force promised by the pasha of Tripoli did not appear, Denham headed back toward England to make a report of this. He was intercepted at Marseilles by messengers from the pasha, who pledged that the promises would be kept and persuaded him to return.

1821

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The English Classical School (which would become the English High School, as opposed to the Boston Latin School for well-to-do boys destined for the ministry and other such exalted professions) was founded on Derne Street at the rear of the Massachusetts Statehouse. For the first century of its existence it would prepare white boys in working class families for gainful lives by the teaching of English, logic, civics, surveying, navigation, and geography with a strong emphasis on the development of mathematical prowess. Renouncing an opportunity to become a professor of mathematics at [Harvard College](#), the first headmaster would be [George Barrell Emerson](#).



[Alexander Young, Jr.](#) was an assistant teacher in the Boston Latin School.



The initial volume of [Stephen Elliott](#)'s A SKETCH OF THE BOTANY OF SOUTH-CAROLINA AND GEORGIA (Charleston SC: J.R. Schenck).

ELLIOTT'S BOTANY, I

➡ The initial volume of [Prideaux John Selby's ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ORNITHOLOGY](#) (its 19 parts would not be completed until 1834), amounted to the 1st set of life-sized illustrations of British birds (many of the illustrations were drawn from specimens in the author's own collection).

BRITISH ORNITHOLOGY



➡ [Joseph-Héliodore-Sagesse-Vertu Garcin de Tassy](#) translated into French an Arabic 13th-Century work by 'Azz al-Din al-Muqaddasi in which the birds and flowers communicate their secrets, as *LES OISEAUX ET LES FLEURS, ALLÉGORIES MORALES D'AZZ-EDDIN ELMOCADDESSI, PUBLIÉES EN ARABE AVEC UNE TRADUCTION ET DES NOTES.*

SUFISM

➡ [Charles Lamb's WITCHES AND OTHER NIGHT FEARS.](#)

➡ Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay's](#) initial scientific paper, "Observations on the *Pennatula fleche (P. sagitta* of Lamarck) in the cabinet of Dr. Mitchill" (*American Journal of Science* Volume 4, Number 1:87-89).

THE SCIENCE OF 1821

➡ [James Cooper](#) attempted a 2d novel, THE SPY: A TALE OF THE NEUTRAL GROUND, more or less in the style of [Sir Walter Scott.](#)

THE SPY: A TALE ...

➡ The Reverend [David Collie](#) finished his preparatory work for missionary activity at the town of Gosport, in Hampshire on the south coast of England, and was ordained. The London Missionary Society would be packing him and his wife off toward Malacca in [India](#). Although his wife would die at Madras during the journey out, he would become Professor of Chinese at an [Anglo-Chinese College](#) that was just in the process of establishing itself in Malacca. His name in Chinese would be 高大衛牧師.

On [St. Helena](#), Parson Boys offered some sort of remark in the course of a sermon that, unfortunately, failed to meet with the approval of the East India Company's governor of the island (presumably, the parson had been somehow misled, and had supposed that there was such a thing as freedom of religion, or freedom of worship, or freedom of speech, or something on that order, that would allow him to disagree with those in power without facing retribution). What part of "tight little island" was it that the parson hadn't understood?



1821

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➡ [John Farmer](#) (1789-1838)'s 36-page AN ECCLESIASTICAL REGISTER OF NEW-HAMPSHIRE: CONTAINING A SUCCINCT ACCOUNT OF THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS, THEIR ORIGIN AND PROGRESS AND PRESENT NUMBERS, WITH A CATALOGUE OF THE MINISTERS OF THE SEVERAL CHURCHES, FROM 1638 TO 1822, THE DATE OF THEIR SETTLEMENT, REMOVAL OR DEATH, AND THE NUMBER OF COMMUNICANTS IN 1821. Concord, New Hampshire: Hill and Moore, 1821. [Note that this John Farmer (1789-1838) is a different person from the mapmaking John Farmer (1798-1859).]



➡ [Warren Colburn](#)'s FIRST LESSONS IN INTELLECTUAL ARITHMETIC, for which he had been planning even during his undergraduate years at [Harvard College](#), was printed in Boston.

1821

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➡ [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#) served as ambassador to Prussia.

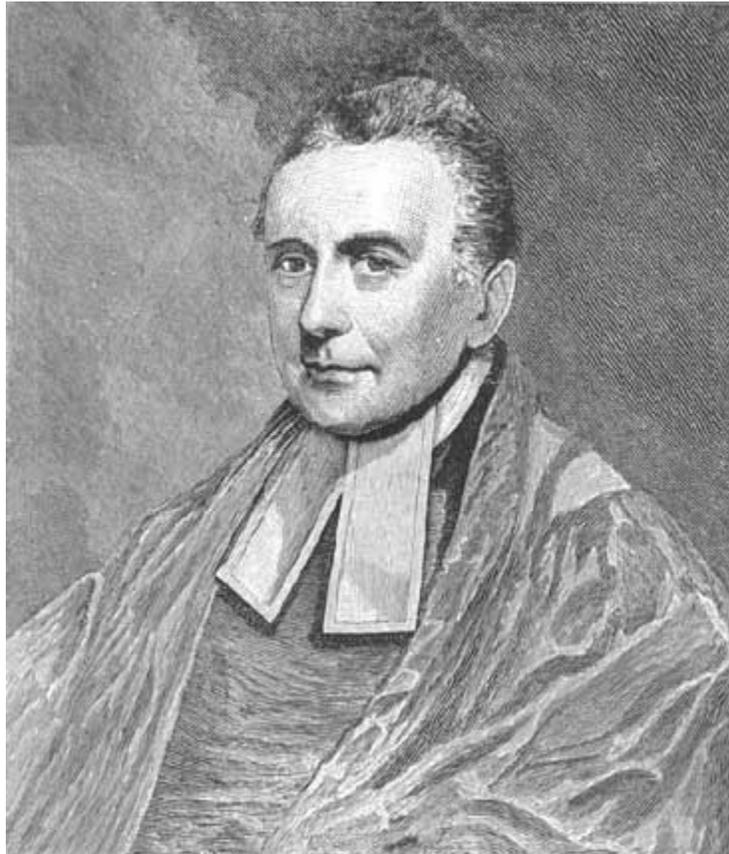
➡ William A. Brown opened an African Theatre, in lower Manhattan, and began to produce plays by [William Shakespeare](#), in addition to musicals and pantomimes — this was probably New-York's first black theater.

➡ [Doctor Walter Channing](#) became an Assistant Physician at Massachusetts General Hospital.

➡ [Doctor John White Webster](#) put out A DESCRIPTION OF THE ISLAND OF ST. MICHAEL, a definitive mineralogical and geological survey of this island in the Azores. Upon the recommendation of Doctor [George Parkman](#) among others, he was chosen as a [Harvard Medical School](#) lecturer at a salary of \$800 per year.<sup>3</sup>

➡ [Edward Hitchcock](#), ordained as a pastor, was called by the Congregationalist Church of Conway, Massachusetts.

HYMNS FOR THE LORD'S SUPPER, ORIGINAL AND SELECTED, BY [THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D.D.](#) (2d ed. Boston: Printed by S. Phelps). Also, his A DICTIONARY OF 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.



3. After the murder of [Doctor Parkman](#), Doctor Oliver Wendell Holmes would visit [Professor Webster](#)'s prison cell as he awaited execution. The fact that [Harvard](#) was a bastion of white righteousness has it goes without saying nothing whatever to do with these sad events.

➡ Professor William Jackson Hooker brought out *FLORA SCOTICA*, in which the natural method of arrangement of British plants was given with the artificial. He worked in Scotland with the Glasgow botanist and lithographer Thomas Hopkirk to establish the Royal Botanic Institution of Glasgow and to lay out and develop the Glasgow Botanic Gardens.

Mary Macpherson [Mairi “Mairi Mhor nan Oran” nic-a-Phearsain] was born in Skye.

George John Whyte-Melville was born in Strathkinness.

The Annals of the Parish, Galt.

The Ayrshire Legatees, Galt.

➡ Professor Augustin Pyramus de Candolle’s and Kurt Polycarp Joachim Sprengel’s ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF PLANTS.... TR. FROM THE GERMAN (Edinburgh: W. Blackwood).

**CONSULT THIS RESOURCE**

➡ In Georgia, Elijah Hinsdale Burritt published a 28-page pamphlet *ASTRONOMICA*, OR DIRECTIONS FOR THE READY FINDING OF ALL THE PRINCIPAL STARS IN THE HEAVENS WHICH ARE NAMED ON CAREY’S CELESTIAL GLOBE. DESIGNED FOR THE AMUSEMENT AND INSTRUCTION OF YOUNG LADIES AND GENTLEMEN WHO ARE WITHOUT THE USUAL MEANS OF GLOBES, CHARTS, ETC. (Printed at the Georgia Advertiser office in Augusta, Georgia).

During this year and the following one Georg Karl Friedrich Kunowsky would be observing the planet Mars at its opposition, and would be able to come to the conclusion (for the 1st time) that the darker blotches that one can see from time to time on its surface actually were fixed geographic features — rather than, as had been supposed up to that point, transient phenomena of a Martian atmosphere.





1821

1821

→ William Bullock's Piccadilly Egyptian Hall in London was the venue for an exhibit by Giovanni Battista Belzoni of his recent discovery, the inscriptions in the tomb of Seti I.



(Before)

(After)



Presumably, this was the exhibit that Edward William Lane visited that gave him the idea of Egypt and caused him, on his own, to begin to study Arabic. When he would set sail for Egypt, this would be for the hot climate as a corrective for fragile health, as well as in the hope of a career.

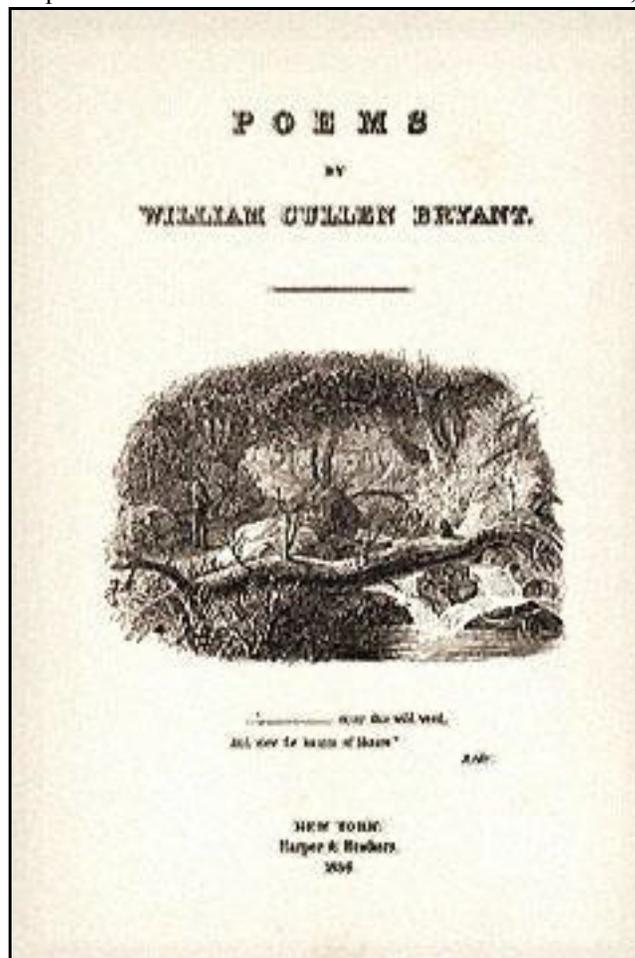
1821

1821

[Joseph Wolff](#) toured Egypt, the Sinai Peninsula, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Mesopotamia, Persia, Georgia, and the Crimea.

From this year into 1829, with significant outside assistance –literary philhellenes included Lord Byron and Victor Hugo, and foreign militaries involved included the British and French navies and the Russian army– the Greeks would be freeing themselves from Ottoman Turkish rule. A heroine of the war would be Lascarina Bouboulina, a Spetsiot woman who commanded ships in battle against the Turks and Egyptians, and took pride in being able to take and discard lovers like a man.

 [William Cullen Bryant](#) read “The Ages” as the Phi Beta Kappa poem at [Harvard College](#). In this year there was the publication of his POEMS, which would establish him as America’s most distinguished poet for the decade. The poet revised again the poem “To a Waterfowl” which he had written in 1815 and revised in 1818, and the poem “Thanatopsis” which he had written in 1811 and revised in 1818, and these were published.



1821

1821

➡ The Reverend [Richard Whately](#) got married and the newlyweds settled in [Oxford](#). During his residence there he would author HISTORIC DOUBTS RELATIVE TO [NAPOLÉON BONAPARTE](#), a *jeu d'esprit* mocking those who doubt the historical validity of the Christian gospel narratives.



➡ [Jean-Baptiste Say](#)'s "Letters to Thomas Robert Malthus on Political Economy and Stagnation of Commerce," The Pamphleteer.

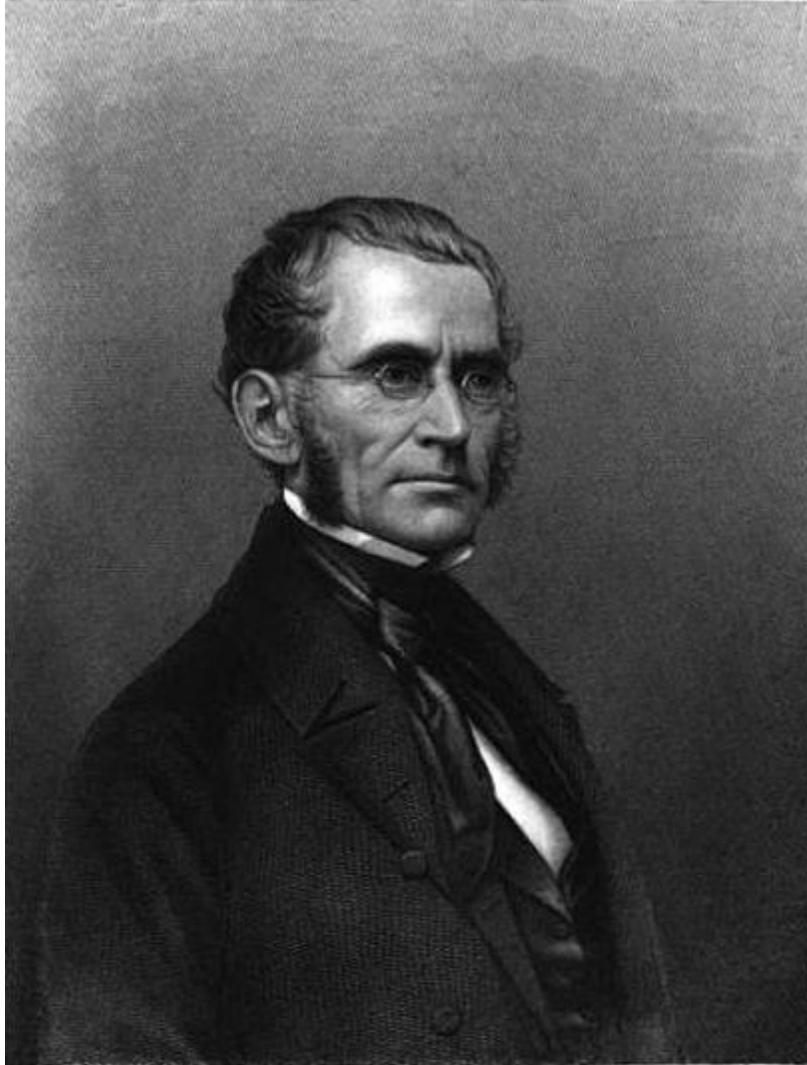
➡ [Henry Marie Brackenridge](#) entered the diplomatic service of General Andrew Jackson, the new commissioner of Florida. He would serve as US judge for the western district of Florida until 1832.

➡ The beginning of publication of [John Bowring](#)'s SPECIMENS OF THE RUSSIAN POETS.

1821

1821

 [Charles Brooks](#) was ordained as pastor of the Third Congregational Society in Hingham, Massachusetts. In his early ministry he would publish a prayer-book, which would have a very extensive circulation.



*Chas. Brooks*

1821

1821

→ Henry De la Beche and the [Reverend William Daniel Conybeare](#) described, from fragmentary remains (the discovery by Mary Anning of a more complete skeleton in 1820 as yet being unreported), the saurian Plesiosaurus. Their analysis would be shown to have been accurate in 1823 by the skeleton that was being recovered by Anning.



PALEONTOLOGY

## THE SCIENCE OF 1821

At a Swiss natural history meeting, [Ignaz Venetz](#) expounded on the idea that many features of the Swiss landscape could be explained by glaciers. He would present this again in his (posthumously published) *MEMOIRE SUR L'EXTENSION DES ANCIENS GLACIERS RENFERMANT QUELQUES EXPLICATIONS SUR LEURS EFFETS REMARQUABLES*.

OUR MOST RECENT GLACIATION

→ The Reverend [Henry Hart Milman](#) was elected professor of poetry at the University of Oxford.

→ [Thomas Bewick](#)'s A SUPPLEMENT TO THE HISTORY OF BRITISH BIRDS (Newcastle).



(It is not clear that Thoreau saw this 2-volume supplement.)

➡ The Reverend [Beriah Green](#) moved from Kennebunk, Maine to Ohio to become Professor of Sacred Literature at Western Reserve College. His persistence in opposition to [slavery](#) would bring him into disfavor there.

➡ [John Brown, Jr.](#) was born in Hudson, Ohio, the 1st child of John Brown and Diantha Lusk Brown.

➡ [George Bancroft](#) returned to America after his higher education in Europe. Abandoning the idea of preparing himself for the ministry after preaching in his father's Unitarian pulpit in Worcester, and elsewhere, he would be a tutor of Greek for a year at his *alma mater*, [Harvard College](#), before going off to help start a school in Northampton.

➡ [Samuel Bailey](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION AND PUBLICATION OF OPINIONS was published anonymously and was well received.

➡ [Dr. John Abercrombie](#) became a member of the Royal College of Physicians/Surgeons.

➡ The James Monroe who would be associated with Oberlin College (not the president named James Monroe) was born in Plainfield, Connecticut.

➡ [Uriah Phillips Levy](#), who at his 3d court-martial in 1819 had been cashiered from the US Navy, was during this "Era of Good Feelings" reinstated by direct order of the President and Commander in Chief, James Monroe. (This Jewish officer would be court-martialed twice more.)

➡ According to page 31 of Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, there was a first notable incident of female [skating](#) during this winter or the next on the icy meadows of [Concord](#):

The brook running through the village and under the mill dam was constant-flowed, and the pond [was] full especially during winter. This afforded excellent skating, which was earnestly improved especially by the boys. The river was full and flowed over the meadows, which also presented wide and extensive opportunities for skating. Females were not known to use skates until 1821 or '22, when Miss Bradford (sister to Mrs. [Dr. Josiah] Bartlett) came to town and could skate. This was a wonder to the people and even admiration. But none followed her example for nearly thirty years, when it became a fashion in Concord and elsewhere for girls to skate.

DR. JOSIAH BARTLETT

➡ [Canvass White](#) recommended running the Erie Canal on the northern side of the Mohawk River, in the Schenectady-to-Albany portion. The stretch between Utica and High Falls was complete. The canal reached Rochesterville, where construction had already been completed. The canal reached Albany.

1821

1821

➡ Publication of the first two volumes of the [Reverend Timothy Dwight's](#) TRAVELS IN NEW ENGLAND AND [NEW YORK](#):

DWIGHT'S TRAVELS, I  
DWIGHT'S TRAVELS, II



April 10, Friday, 1857: D.R.'s Shanty ... The more characteristic books were Bradley's Husbandry, Drake's Indians, Barber's Hist. Coll., Zimmermann on Solitude, Bigelow's Plants of Boston, &c., Farmer's Register of the first Settlers of New England, Marshall's Gardening, Vick's Gardener, John Woolman, The Modern Horse Doctor, Downing's Fruits, &c., The Farmer's Library, Walden, Dymond's Essays, Jobb Scott's Journal, Morton's Memorial, Bailey's Dictionary, Downing's Landscape Gardening, etc., The Task, Nuttall's Ornithology, Morse's Gazetteer, The Domestic Practice of Hydropathy, John Bunclie, Dwight's Travels, Virgil, Young's Night Thoughts, History of Plymouth, and other Shanty books. ...

FRIEND DANIEL RICKETSON

The final two volumes would appear in following years. According to Walter Harding,<sup>4</sup> Thoreau was very familiar with this series TRAVELS IN NEW ENGLAND AND NEW YORK, written before the Reverend Wright's death in 1817 in description of various trips he had taken between 1795 and 1815.

DWIGHT'S TRAVELS, III  
DWIGHT'S TRAVELS, IV

The Reverend Dwight visited [Rhode Island](#).



REV. TIMOTHY DWIGHT

4. Per an April 1958 article by Walter Harding in the [Boston Public Library Quarterly](#).



1821

1821

**CAPE COD:** The Harbor of Provincetown—which, as well as the greater part of the Bay, and a wide expanse of ocean, we overlooked from our perch—is deservedly famous. It opens to the south, is free from rocks, and is never frozen over. It is said that the only ice seen in it drifts in sometimes from Barnstable or Plymouth. Dwight remarks that "The storms which prevail on the American coast generally come from the east; and there is no other harbor on a windward shore within two hundred miles." J.D. Graham, who has made a very minute and thorough survey of this harbor and the adjacent waters, states that "its capacity, depth of water, excellent anchorage, and the complete shelter it affords from all winds, combine to render it one of the most valuable ship harbors on our coast." It is the harbor of the Cape and of the fishermen of Massachusetts generally. It was known to navigators several years at least before the settlement of Plymouth. In Captain John Smith's map of New England, dated 1614, it bears the name of Milford Haven, and Massachusetts Bay that of Stuard's Bay. His Highness, Prince Charles, changed the name of Cape Cod to Cape James; but even princes have not always power to change a name for the worse, and as Cotton Mather said, Cape Cod is "a name which I suppose it will never lose till shoals of codfish be seen swimming on its highest hills."

PEOPLE OF  
CAPE COD

DWIGHT

GRAHAM

JOHN SMITH

REVEREND COTTON MATHER

CHARLES I

**CAPE COD:** Early the next morning I walked into a fish-house near our hotel, where three or four men were engaged in trundling out the pickled fish on barrows, and spreading them to dry. They told me that a vessel had lately come in from the Banks with forty-four thousand codfish. Timothy Dwight says that, just before he arrived at Provincetown, "a schooner came in from the Great Bank with fifty-six thousand fish, about one thousand five hundred quintals, taken in a single voyage; the main deck being, on her return, eight inches under water in calm weather." The cod in this fish-house, just out of the pickle, lay packed several feet deep, and three or four men stood on them in cowhide boots, pitching them on to the barrows with an instrument which had a single iron point. One young man, who chewed tobacco, spat on the fish repeatedly. Well, sir, thought I, when that older man sees you he will speak to you. But presently I saw the older man do the same thing. It reminded me of the figs of Smyrna.

PEOPLE OF  
CAPE COD

"How long does it take to cure these fish?" I asked.

"Two good drying days, sir," was the answer.

REVEREND TIMOTHY DWIGHT



1821

1821

**CAPE COD:** In Dwight's Travels in New England it is stated that the inhabitants of Truro were formerly regularly warned under the authority of law in the month of April yearly, to plant beach-grass, as elsewhere they are warned to repair the highways. They dug up the grass in bunches, which were afterward divided into several smaller ones, and set about three feet apart, in rows, so arranged as to break joints and obstruct the passage of the wind. It spread itself rapidly, the weight of the seeds when ripe bending the heads of the grass, and so dropping directly by its side and vegetating there. In this way, for instance, they built up again that part of the Cape between Truro and Provincetown where the sea broke over in the last century. They have now a public road near there, made by laying sods, which were full of roots, bottom upward and close together on the sand, double in the middle of the track, then spreading brush evenly over the sand on each side for half a dozen feet, planting beach-grass on the banks in regular rows, as above described, and sticking a fence of brush against the hollows.

PEOPLE OF  
CAPE COD

REVEREND TIMOTHY DWIGHT



The Seneca [Canal](#) was completed.

The Champlain [Canal](#) excavation out of Schuylerville, [New York](#) came within ten miles of Waterford.

Auburn's Theological Seminary opened.

Cooperstown's Otsego Herald and Western Advertiser, founded in 1795, ceased publication.

A new [New York State](#) constitution banned lotteries.

[New York](#) contracted with Melancthon Wheeler to build a 900-foot long dam, 27 feet high, at Fort Edward, creating a feeder to the Champlain [Canal](#).

DeWitt Clinton was re-elected governor of [New York State](#).

Construction began on Pennsylvania's Union [Canal](#).

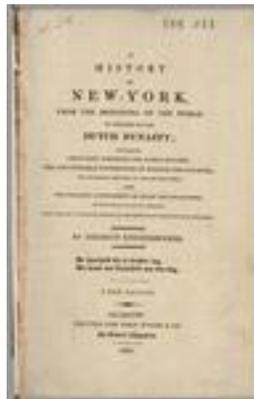
The Maine legislature granted a charter to the Cumberland-Oxford [Canal](#) Company.

Construction began on Canada's Lachine [Canal](#), to connect Montréal and Ottawa, bypassing rapids on the St. Lawrence.

Industrialist William Hamilton Merritt formed Canada's Welland [Canal](#) Company.

A lighthouse was built on Lake Ontario at Oswego.

 A new edition of [Washington Irving](#)'s A HISTORY OF [NEW YORK](#), by "Diedrich Knickerbocker."

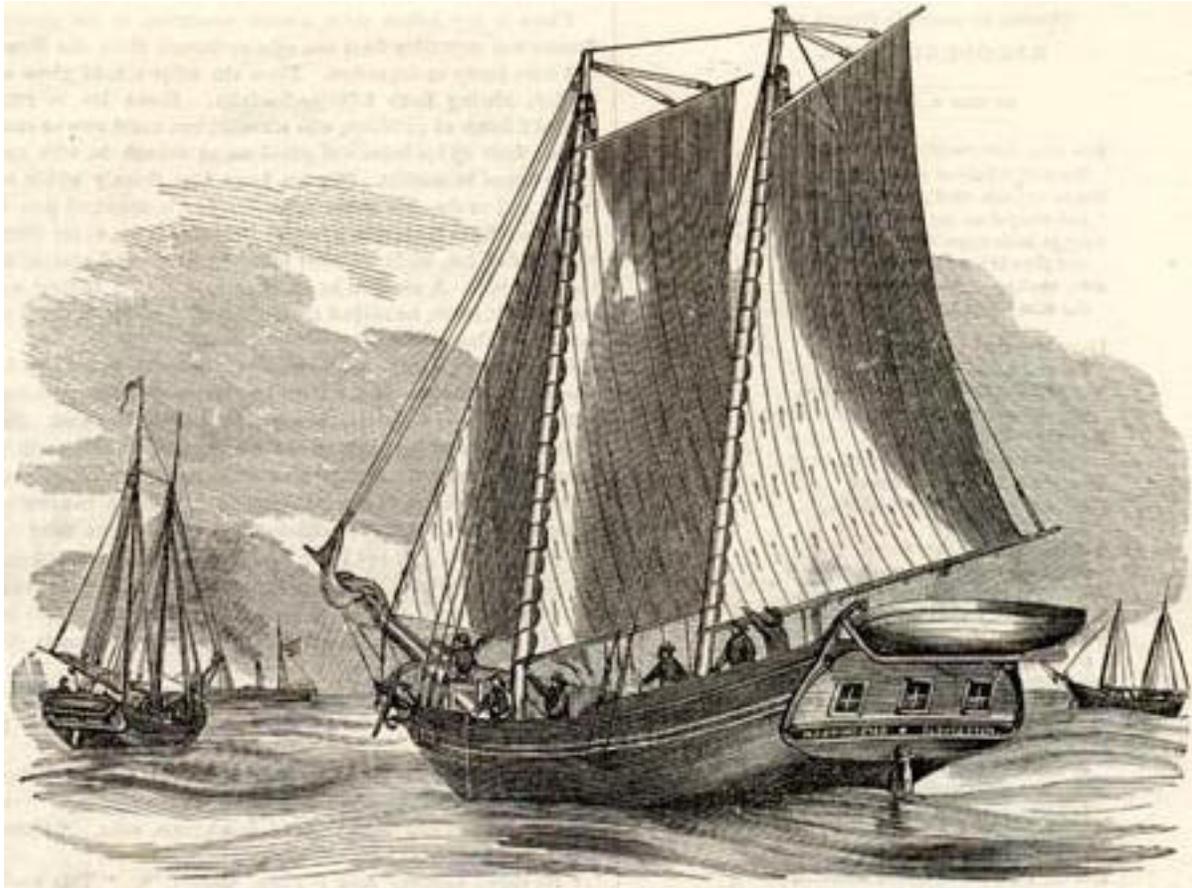


 From this year until 1828, Professor [Carl Adolph Agardh](#) would be issuing his *SPECIES ALGARUM RITE COGNITAE: CUM SYNONYMIS, DIFFERENTIIS SPECIFICIS ET DESCRIPTIONIBUS SUCCINCTIS* (THE WELL-KNOWN SPECIES OF ALGAE: WITH SYNONYMS, DIAGNOSES AND SUCCINCT DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SPECIES).

1821

1821

 During this year Henry Blatchford, Samuel L. Clark, and Allen Goss of Gloucester were lost while fishing on Cashes Ledge.



1821

1821



On August 10, 1792, [Swiss](#) mercenaries had attempted to defend the Tuileries Palace. They had been unaware that they were defending merely an ugly piece of architecture, King Louis XVI, [Marie Antoinette](#), and their children having already vacated the premises. After resistance ceased approximately 500-700 (accounts vary) had been chopped down by the [Paris](#) mob. Putting a nice face on the incident, their empty sacrifice was in this year commemorated in a sculpture of a wounded stone lion after a model by Bertel Thorvaldsen, outside one of the gates of Lucerne:



One might have thought it to have been more appropriate, to depict this mercenary lion as moribund atop a pile of coins he had earned while loyally defending his French employer.



Express riding service began between New-York and [Boston](#).



In and around the experimental colony of Harmonie, Indiana, conflicts, based apparently on the distrust by the Harmonists of “worldly” people, came to a head in a brawl between local farmers and members of the Harmony Society. The Harmonists began looking for a buyer for their property.

**COMMUNITARIANISM**

1821

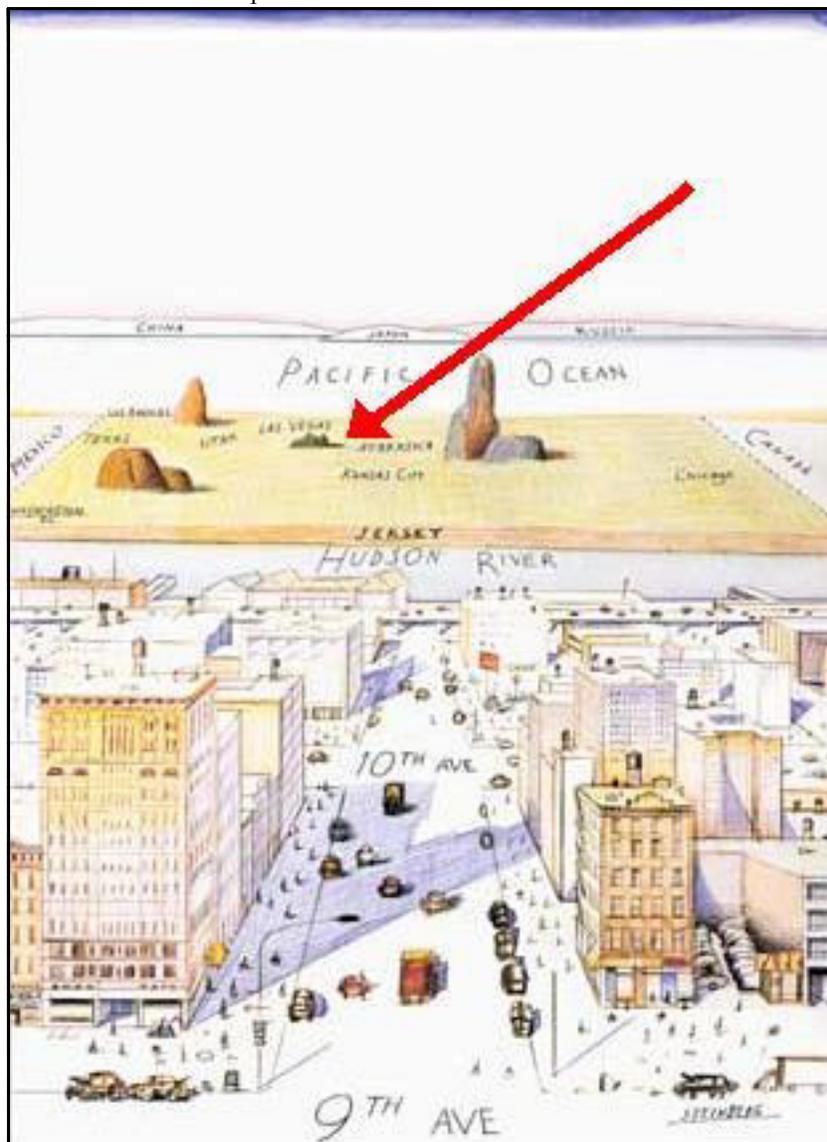
1821

➡ In Salem, Massachusetts, the Social and the Philosophical Libraries joined as the Essex Historical Society.

➡ At the toe of Manhattan Island, the 3d Military District headquarters was relocated to Castle William on Governors Island and [Castle Clinton](#) was closed.

➡ Three people moving some furniture in a boat went over the [Niagara Falls](#).  
A couple of weeks later, two boats carrying four men went over.

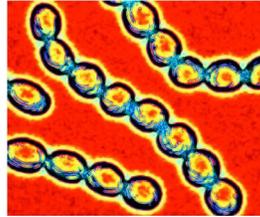
➡ Russia had been collecting furs along the coast of [California](#) since 1803 by leasing ships out of [Boston](#) and manning these ships with Aleut islanders. At this point the Russians were able to discontinue their involvement with such Boston shipowners.



1821

1821

 [Lydia Jackson](#), just at the point at which she had become the very most eligible marriage material, during this year or early in the following year, had a severe attack of the [scarlet fever](#) with lasting consequences either for her health or for her hypochondria.



1821

1821



In the Hartford area of Connecticut, Sophia Woodhouse (1799-1883) developed a variant of a process for weaving bonnets, which had been available since it had been pioneered by [Betsey Metcalf](#) on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#) in the 1790s, but using native American grasses rather than cultivated straw. She managed to get a patent on this process, and the bonnet she produced would soon become known as the “Wethersfield” after her town. Various New England towns would become known as [straw towns](#) because of their heavy involvement in the weaving of hats and bonnets.

Here is a lady’s straw bonnet on a wire frame, dating to approximately 1830 and rather the worse for wear:



Here is a bonnet woven of straw and horsehair, dating to about 1840-1845:



In the Constitutional Convention of this year, an amendment to the effect that the judiciary should not declare any particular religion to be the law of the land was rejected because “the Christian religion was engrafted upon the law and entitled to protection as the basis of morals and the strength of Government.” (In 1811 the Supremes had recognized, in the case of the People vs. Ruggles (8 Johnson 294), that for Americans, Christianity was the predominating religious context: “Whatever strikes at the root of Christianity tends manifestly to the dissolution of civil government.” Ruggles, a resident of New York who had created and distributed a document defaming our Lord Jesus Christ, served 3 months in prison and paid a fine of \$500. In 1861 in *Lindenmuller vs. People*, 33 Barbour Reports 548, an injunction was sought to restrain the police of New York City from interfering with theatrical performances on Sunday. Lindenmuller’s argument was that the Bible, and religion with all its ordinances, including the Sabbath, had been as effectually abolished by the US Constitution as they had been in France during the French Revolution, but instead the court considered the establishment and regulation of a Sabbath to be within the authority of civil government. In 1892 the Supremes would rule in the case of the *Church of The Holy Trinity vs. The United States* that “No purpose of action against religion can be imputed to any legislation, state or national, because this is a religious people. This is a Christian nation.”)

1821

1821

➡ Returning to Massachusetts from Maine, Lydia Maria Francis ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) was baptized at First Parish in Medford. Thereafter she always preferred her chosen baptismal name, Maria, pronounced Mar-EYE-ah.



➡ After many years of lobbying by the Philadelphia Society for Alleviating the Miseries of Public Prisons, the Pennsylvania Legislature approved funding to build [Eastern State Penitentiary](#) to house 250 inmates. Four architects submitted designs for this massive new structure. The design of John Haviland, a British architect who had settled in Philadelphia, was selected, and he was awarded \$100. William Strickland, whose design had been rejected, was hired to oversee the construction.

The citizens of Philadelphia sent a petition in regard to bankruptcy to the federal Congress:

The poor African, ...devoid of the intellectual torments which are produced by dependence and subjection, to a mind nurtured in the habits of liberty and intelligence, stands on ground far more enviable than that maintained by the insolvent debtor.

(It is clear from the text of this 1821 petition that said “insolvent debtors” who were sending this missile off in the direction of the federal Congress, who although “nurtured in the habits of liberty and intelligence” were presently reduced to “dependence and subjection,” were all and only white people completely lacking in any recognition of or sympathy for the intellectual torments that come with being nonwhite in a racist culture.)

Dr. Thomas Low Nichols, in FORTY YEARS OF AMERICAN LIFE, 1821-1861 (NY: Stackpole Sons, originally issued in 1864, reissued in 1937), would characterize the following four decades of his experience as a period of constant unsettled scratching and scraping to keep ahead of the Joneses. It is clear that, where he is speaking of “everyone” and of “all,” actually he is confining his attention to the American white people:



1821

1821

Every one is tugging, trying, scheming to advance – to get ahead. It is a great scramble, in which all are troubled and none are satisfied.

[Friend Luke Howard](#) was on the governing committee of the Lancasterian School in Borough Road.

[Friend Luke Howard](#) helped the Greeks in their struggle for independence (1821-1832).

1821

1821

➡ Friend Luke Howard prepared a temperance tract, THE CONFESSIONS OF A DRUNKARD; A NARRATIVE FOUNDED ON FACT (London, printed for Harvey and Darton).

HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

A member of the Society Against Cruelty to Animals, he prepared a tract on the proper treatment of animals.

The Royal Society elected Luke Howard, amateur meteorologist, as a Fellow.



His classification scheme for clouds was again reprinted, in the 2d edition of Dr. Thomas Ignatius Maria Forster's RESEARCHES ABOUT ATMOSPHERIC PHAENOMENAE.



Joseph M.W. Turner, John Constable, and Caspar David Friedrich would rely on Friend Luke's classification scheme, and on his watercolors of typical clouds, in their own oil paintings depicting clouds. These depictions

are by Friend Luke rather than by Turner, Constable, or Friedrich:





(In a later timeframe, meteorologists would be adding an “alto” or “middle” category typical of everyday cloud cover. The names of the cloud forms would come more closely to resemble the naming scheme used for plants and animals: Cumulus congestus, Cirrus uncinus, Stratus nebulosus.)

**Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations around 1821**

	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

1821

1821

 [Charles Jones Dunbar](#) discovered a superior source of [graphite](#) near Bristol in New Hampshire and filed a mineral claim.



However, some legal details would limit the mineral lease to seven years, and they would need to move all the ore they could as quickly as they could. Deciding to send this stuff to market as [pencils](#),<sup>5</sup> he and Cyrus Stow of Concord would team up as Dunbar & Stow and would invite John Thoreau, Sr. to join them in 1823. Stow, and shortly afterward Dunbar, would for unknown reasons drop out of this manufacturing effort, and their firm would be reborn as the famous John Thoreau & Company. Either the Dunbar supply was more suitable than the supply available to the Salem pencilmakers, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Dixon, or the Thoreaus would be better at improving the process, for these high-quality Thoreau pencils, unlike the Dixon ones, would be saleable without bogus foreign labels. By 1824 the Thoreau pencils would be even of sufficient quality to achieve special notice at an exhibition of the Massachusetts Agricultural Society. Per the [New England Farmer](#), “the Lead Pencils exhibited by J. Thorough [sic] & Co, were superiour [sic] to any specimens exhibited in past years.”



Brad Dean has located the following passage pertaining to this discovery, in *COLLECTIONS, HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS: AND MONTHLY LITERARY JOURNAL...* edited by John Farmer (!) and Jacob P. Moore (Concord NH: Jacob B. Moore, 1823), Volume II, pages 30-31:

Plumbago, or Graphite.-This article has lately been discovered in the towns of Bristol and Francestown in this state. In Bristol, it has

5. The mineral “graphite” is formed by the metamorphosis of carbonaceous sediments, and by the reaction of carbon compounds with hydrothermal solutions or magmatic fluids, or possibly by the crystallization of magmatic carbon. It consists of layered sheets of carbon-ring molecules, one atom thick. It is named in allusion to its use in writing: because these sheets are disconnected from each other, they shear readily when rubbed onto a rough surface, and, because carbon is black and insoluble, they leave a dark smear on paper. Graphite came to be used as a marker in 1564, when the purest deposit ever found was discovered in Cumberland, England. At first it was used in chunks, then the chunks were cut into small square-cornered sticks, then the sticks were wrapped in string to make it easier to hold them, then people began to glue the graphite sticks into grooves cut in small wands of wood. In 1795 a French chemist developed a way to economize the use of [graphite](#) by grinding it, mixing it with clay, and firing it in a kiln. It was mined in, among other places, New England and Ontario, until about 1918, when, since it was crushed to a powder anyway, the block mineral form was replaced by a cheaper powder produced from petroleum coke. The first American [pencils](#) were made in 1812. The wood used at the time was Eastern red cedar, although other species had to be found as that tree became over-exploited.



1821

1821

been found of superior excellence, and is said to be very abundant. By the politeness of Mr. Charles S. Dunbar, the proprietor of the land which contains it, the editors have been furnished with several specimens, one of which, they sent to Dr. Mitchell of New-York, who, in a communication on the subject, speaks as follows:

Your specimen of Plumbago was cordially received. I set a value upon it, by reason of the native and Fredonian in source whence it came, and on account of its own apparent worth and excellence.

It is pleasing to find our landed proprietors inquiring somewhat below the surface, for the good things contained in the grants they received by superficial measurement. When they shall go deep into the matter, they will learn the importance of the French maxim, *approfondessez*, which, you know, means, go to the bottom of the subject. I trust the time is approaching when the purchaser of lands will require not merely a geometrical description, but a geological one; whereby the purchaser shall know that he gets so many acres free and clear; and moreover, such and so many strata nice and proper.

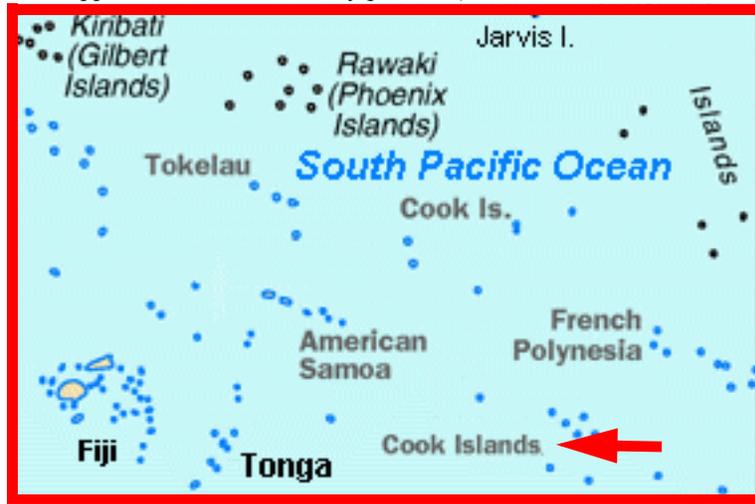
I congratulate you on the discovery of such a treasure in our country. Much is due to the Mines that supply us with pencils and crucibles.

Specimens have been furnished Professor Dana, of Dartmouth College, things equal to the celebrated Borrowdale ore. That which has been discovered in Francestown is said to be of good quality. We are not informed whether it exists in large or small quantities. There has always been found in the south part of Francestown, near Lewis's mills, some beautiful specimens of Rock Crystal.

1821

1821

 The Reverend John Williams of the London Missionary Society landed on Aitutaki in the [Cook Islands](#). (Let's have a big round of applause for the missionary position.)



Publication by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown in London of [THE THREE VOYAGES OF CAPT. JAMES COOK](#) ROUND THE WORLD, the 7 volumes that Thoreau would consult at the Concord Town Library.

- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. I](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. II](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. III](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. IV](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. V](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. VI](#)
- [HIS 3 VOYAGES, VOL. VII](#)

[Henry Thoreau](#) would consult the Concord Social Library's copy of this, and insert material into his Factbook and into his Indian Notebook #12.<sup>6</sup> He would acquire for instance a piece of information that shows up in his journal for the fall and winter of 1845/1846 as "Clothing — shelter — & fuel warm us outwardly— I have read that the New Hollander goes naked in a pretty cold winter — and warms his body by putting his feet close to a hot fire — though the rest of his body may be in frost—" (page 214 of Volume II, observation of August 1770 on the eastern coast of Australia), that he would find of use for his [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) manuscript, in the following truncated form:

"the New Hollander goes naked with impunity,  
while the European shivers in his clothes."<sup>7</sup>

6. The original notebooks are held by the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York, as manuscripts #596 through #606. There are photocopies, made by Robert F. Sayre in the 1930s, in four boxes at the University of Iowa Libraries, accession number MsC 795. More recently, Bradley P. Dean, PhD and Paul Maher, Jr. have attempted to work over these materials.

7. By "New Hollander" here is intended of course "Australian aborigine," Australia having been known in Captain Cook's era as New Holland just as the landmass to the east of it was known, and still is known, as New Zealand.

**WALDEN:** Man has invented, not only houses, but clothes and cooked food; and possibly from the accidental discovery of the warmth of fire, and the consequent use of it, at first a luxury, arose the present necessity to sit by it. We observe cats and dogs acquiring the same second nature. By proper Shelter and Clothing we legitimately retain our own internal heat; but with an excess of these, or of Fuel, that is, with an external heat greater than our own internal, may not cookery properly be said to begin? Darwin, the naturalist, says of the inhabitants of Tierra del Fuego, that while his own party, who were well clothed and sitting close to a fire, were far from too warm, these naked savages, who were farther off, were observed, to his great surprise, "to be streaming with perspiration at undergoing such a roasting." So, we are told, the New Hollander goes naked with impunity, while the European shivers in his clothes. Is it impossible to combine the hardiness of these savages with the intellectualness of the civilized man? According to Liebig, man's body is a stove, and food the fuel which keeps up the internal combustion the lungs. In cold weather we eat more, in warm less. The animal heat is the result of a slow combustion, and disease and death take place when this is too rapid; or for want of fuel, or from some defect in the draught, the fire goes out. Of course the vital heat is not to be confounded with fire; but so much for analogy. It appears, therefore, from the above list, that the expression, **animal life**, is nearly synonymous with the expression, **animal heat**; for while Food may be regarded as the Fuel which keeps up the fire within us, -and Fuel serves only to prepare that Food or to increase the warmth of our bodies by addition from without, -Shelter and Clothing also serve only to retain the **heat** thus generated and absorbed.

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

CAPTAIN COOK



The Nantucket Inquirer encouraged consumptives to inhale the smoke from burning rosin or the steam of boiling tar to strengthen their lungs. Some physicians were advising their patients to consume "only animal foods."

Tuberculosis was playing a major role in Lemuel Shattuck's family life. While he was four, his mother had died of consumption. During his young manhood, his father also had succumbed to consumption, followed by one of his sisters. At this point the other of his sisters died, of the same cause.

The mother of the Brontë family died, a tuberculosis victim. (The Reverend Brontë also had a chronic tuberculosis infection.)

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John Martin's illustration of the darkness of noon at the Roman village of [Pompeii](#):

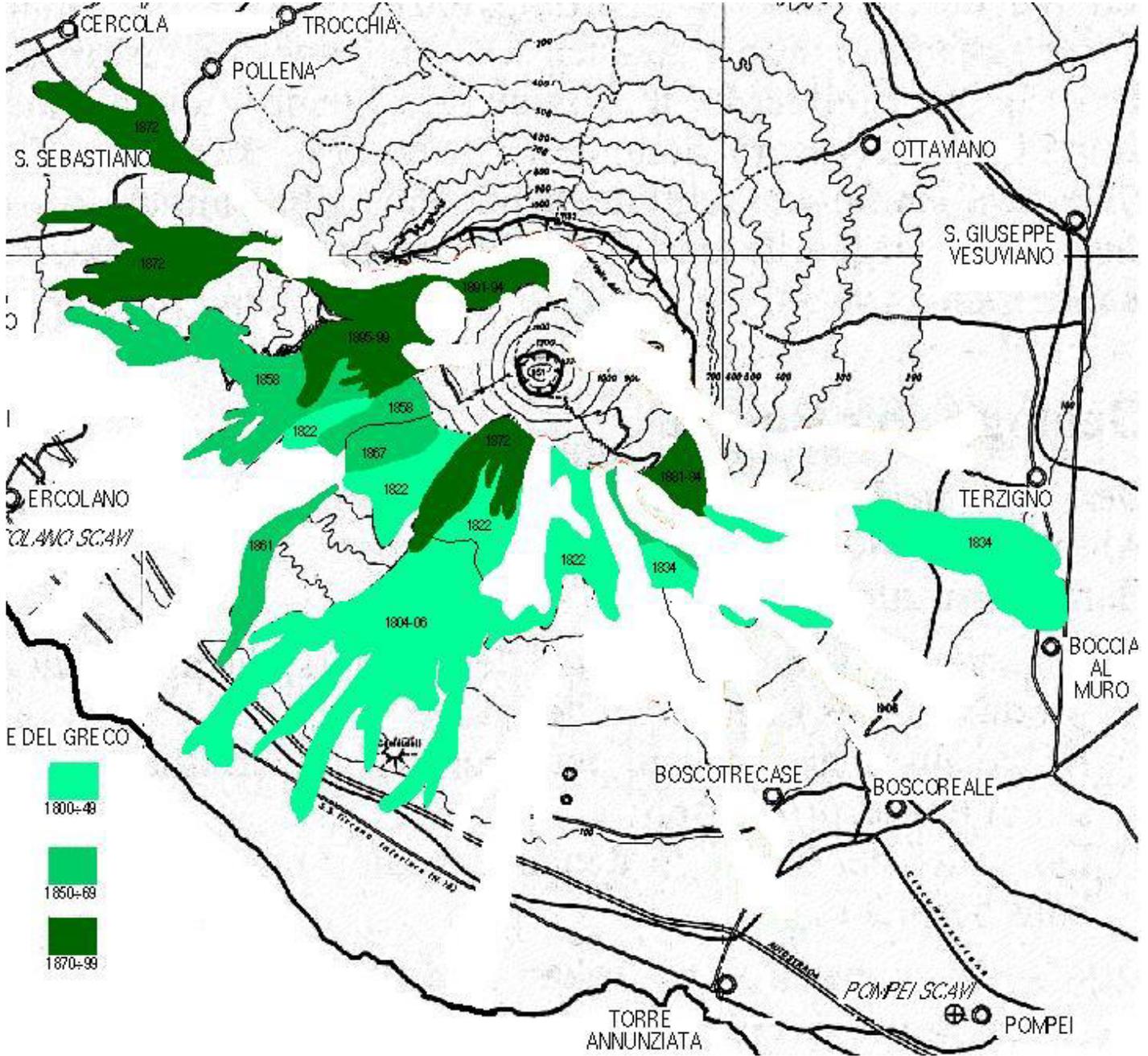


(Whether this artist was intending a political parallel with the current crushing of the Republic of [Naples](#) by Austrian troops in support of the Bourbons is a matter better left to our imaginations.)

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Here are the 19th-Century lava flows which even now remain on the surface of this volcano's slopes, color-coded to differentiate between those that occurred in the 1st half of the century, those that occurred around the middle of the century, and those that occurred toward the end of the century:

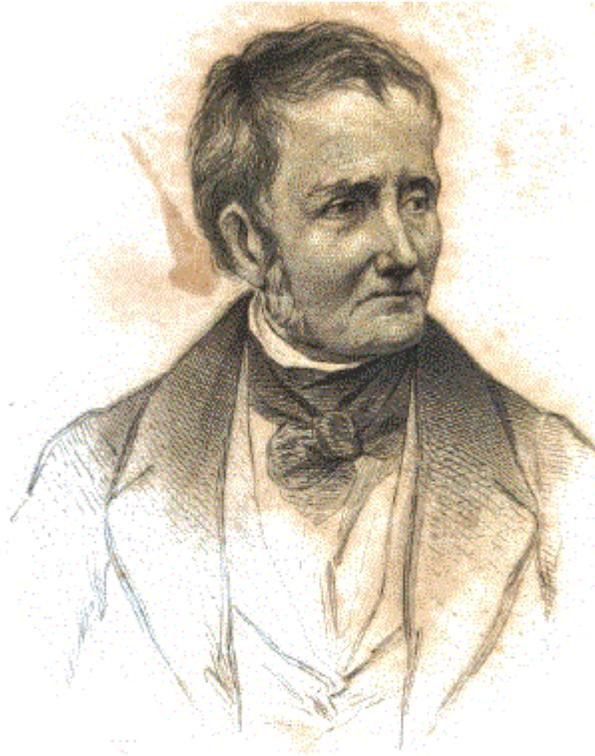


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→ [Opium](#) use had become endemic among the Fenish peoples of Britain, where use was tolerated but was successfully controlled by informal social mechanisms. Concerns were growing, however, over increasing use, particularly in the sedation of infants. Facing competition from other [poppy](#) *Papaver somniferum* growers, the British stepped up their efforts to increase their exports to [China](#).

[Thomas De Quincey](#) went to London to dispose of some translations from German authors, but was persuaded first to write and publish an account of his [opium](#) experiences, which soon appeared in the [London Magazine](#) and proved to be even more popular with the reading public than Lamb's ESSAYS OF ELIA, which were then appearing in that periodical. THE CONFESSIONS OF AN ENGLISH OPIUM-EATER would soon appear also in book form.



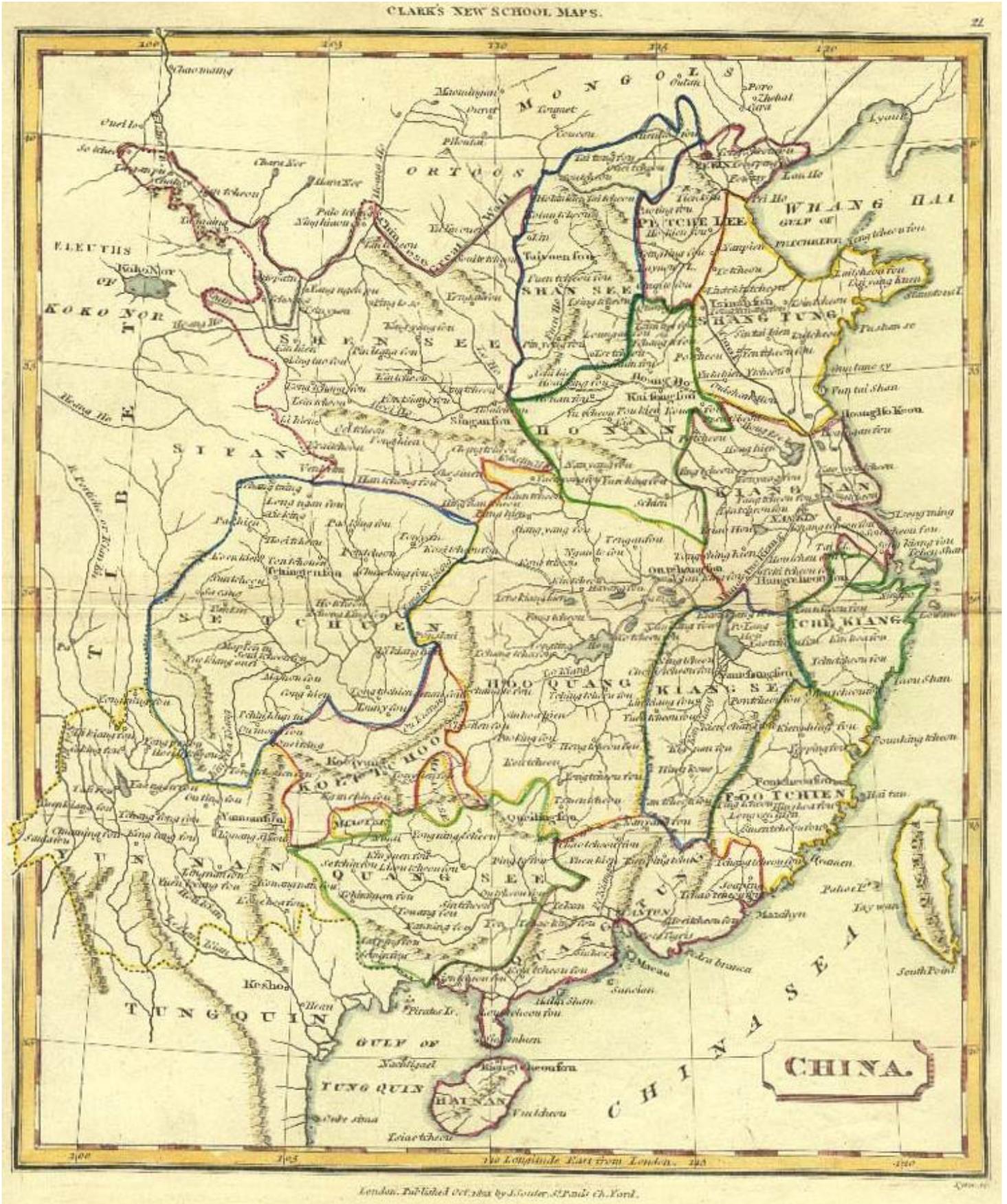
*Very truly yours,  
Thomas De Quincey.*

His translation of Friedrich Schiller's "The Sport of Fortune" appeared in [Blackwood's Magazine](#). However, he quarreled with William Blackwood. In this year he had conversations with John Keats's friend Richard Woodhouse.

→ On the following screen is a map of [China](#) created in this year by J. Souter in London. (We note that the map includes the existing Canton and [Macao](#), but of course lacks as-yet-nonexistent [Hong Kong](#).)

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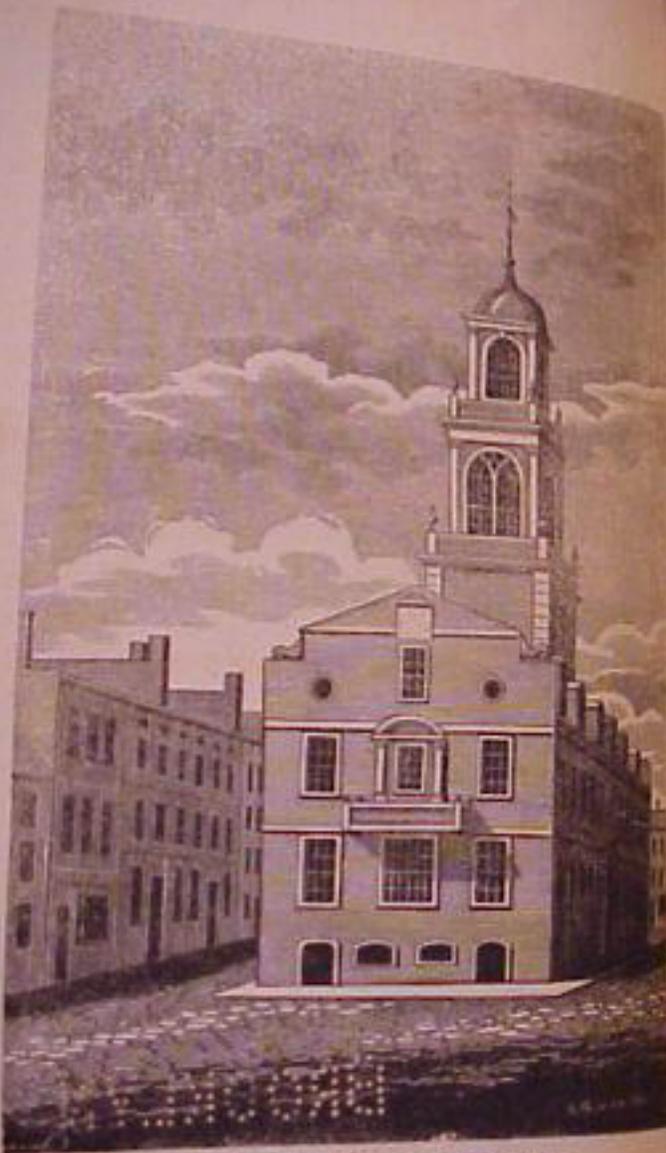
In [Boston](#), what has now become Beacon Street opened. (In this early era it would be referred to as the Mill Dam — thus, when in 1828 the Milldam Company would be formed in Concord, and the district in [Concord](#) known as the Mill Dam developed, it is possible that an implicit reference was being made to this district in Boston.)

E. Lincoln of Boston printed John G. Hales's small book "Survey of Boston and its Vicinity..." in which the distances from [Boston](#) to various locations such as Lincoln and [Concord](#) were cited, along with brief notes about these localities:

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[Lincoln's] soil is coarse and rocky, a great portion whereof is covered with wood, and not more than one third of the town under culture.... The south part of [Concord] against Lincoln...is hilly and considerably wooded.



A VIEW OF THE OLD STATE-HOUSE

A  
**SURVEY**  
 OF  
**BOSTON AND ITS VICINITY;**  
 SHEWING THE DISTANCE FROM THE  
 OLD STATE HOUSE, AT THE HEAD OF  
 STATE STREET,  
 TO ALL THE  
 TOWNS AND VILLAGES  
 NOT EXCEEDING FIFTEEN MILES THEREFROM; ALSO  
 THE INTERMEDIATE DISTANCE FROM ONE  
 PLACE TO ANOTHER, TOGETHER  
 WITH A SHORT  
 TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THE COUNTRY.  
 THE WHOLE TAKEN FROM ACTUAL SURVEY  
 AND LINEAL MEASURE IN THE YEARS  
 1818, 1819, AND 1820.

BY JOHN G. HALES,  
 Surveyor and Topographer.

BOSTON:  
 PRINTED BY EZRA LINCOLN.  
 1821.

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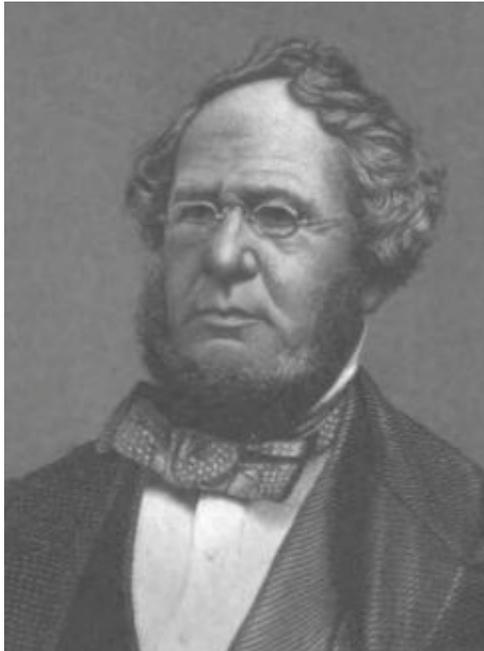
 In [London](#), Haymarket Theatre was rebuilt and reopened.

In [London](#), the building of the Bank of England was completed.

In [London](#), a 3rd Census was taken.

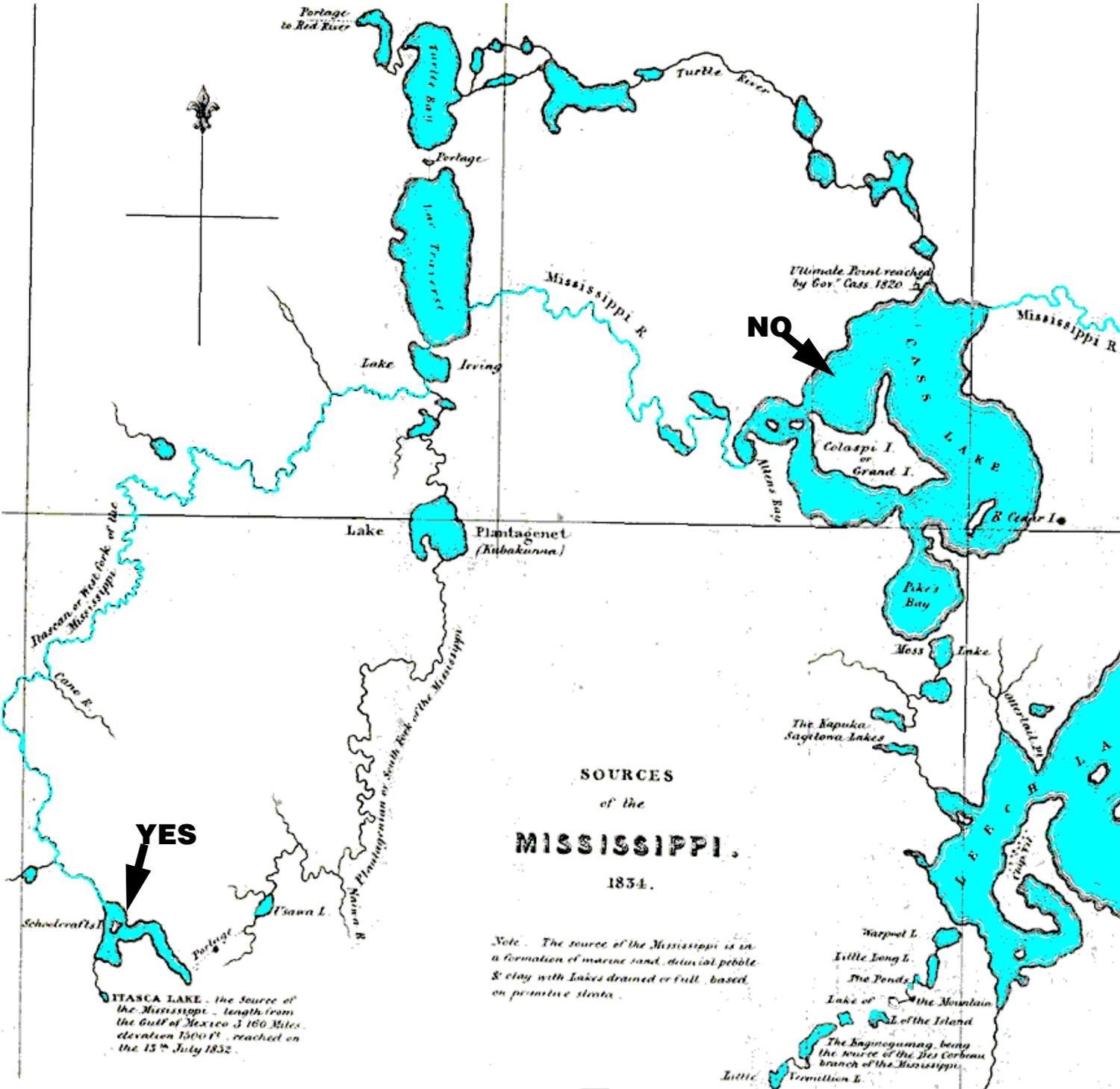
Pierce Egan's LIFE IN [LONDON](#).

 [Henry Rowe Schoolcraft](#)'s A NARRATIVE JOURNAL OF TRAVELS ... FROM DETROIT THROUGH THE GREAT CHAIN OF AMERICAN LAKES TO THE SOURCES OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.



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HDT

WHAT?

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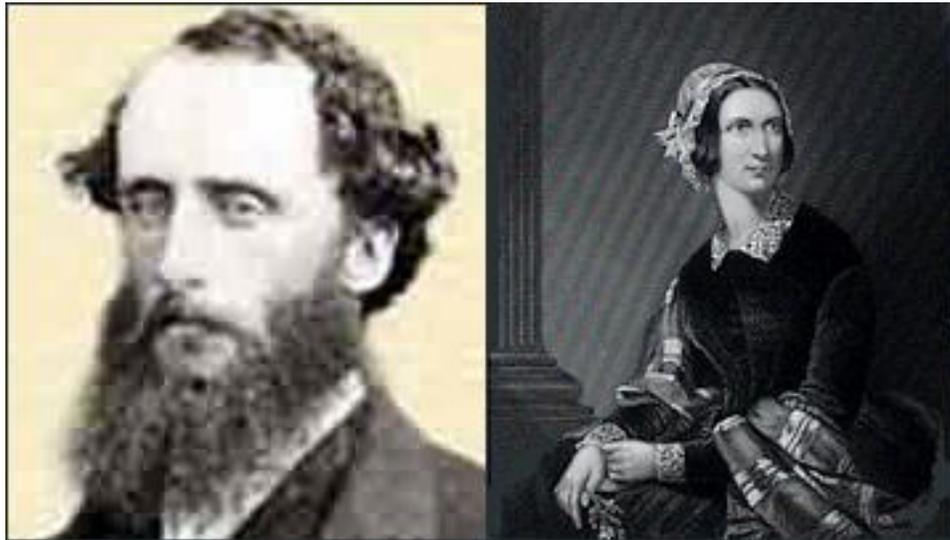
 [Myron Holley](#) was reelected to the New York General Assembly.



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→ [William Howitt](#) and Mary Botham of Coleford, Gloucestershire, married in the manner of Friends. The married couple would turn to authoring and make a successful living at it. Their first production, published in this year, was a joint one entitled THE FOREST MINSTRELS AND OTHER POEMS. She would write novels such as WOOD LEIGHTON, and many poems and stories for children; and translate the Swedish novels of [Fredrika Bremer](#) into English, as well as putting out an edition of ten of [Hans Christian Andersen](#)'s fairy tales (as WONDERFUL STORIES FOR CHILDREN). [Mary Howitt](#)'s books of verse would include SKETCHES OF NATURAL HISTORY (1834) and BALLADS AND OTHER POEMS (London: Longman, Brown, Green and Longmans, 1847). She would write a history of the United States. Margaret Howitt would edit her mother's AUTOBIOGRAPHY (London: W. Isbister, 1889). He would write, among other things, LAND, LABOUR, AND GOLD; OR TWO YEARS IN VICTORIA WITH VISITS TO SYDNEY AND VAN DIEMAN'S LAND (Boston: Ticknor & Fields, 1855) and THE BOOK OF THE SEASONS; OR, THE CALENDAR OF NATURE. They would reside abroad, for instance at Heidelberg and in Rome.



RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ [Horace Mann, Sr.](#) entered the law school at Litchfield presided over by the late Judge Gould. He was elected by his fellow students as attorney-general of their weekly moot court. Upon leaving this academy, Mann would get work in the office of the Honorable James Richardson of Dedham, "once a law partner of Fisher Ames."

W.E. Forster (who would go on to become England's counterpart to America's [Mann](#)), was the 3-year-old son of [Quaker](#) missionaries, and was sitting with his nurse in a coach. As he later told it, he was approached by a "Kind Old Gentleman" or "KOG":

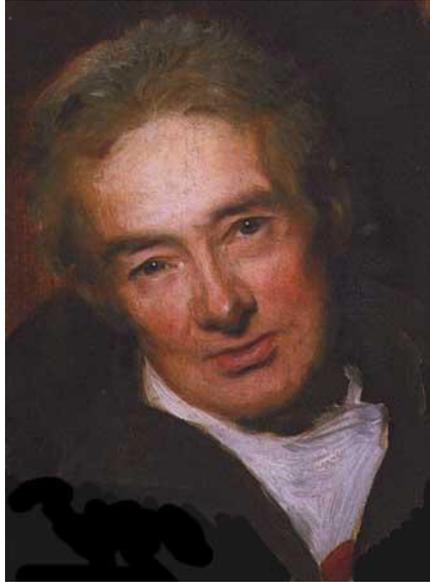
KOG: "Where is your Papa, my dear?  
 WEF: "Papa is preaching in America."  
 KOG: "And where is your Mama?"  
 WEF: "Mama is preaching in Ireland."

→ [Fanny Elssler](#), age eleven, became a member of the Corps de Ballet of the *Kaerntnertor Theater* in Vienna, Austria.

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➡ In England, [William Wilberforce](#) appealed to Thomas Fowell Buxton to undertake an inquiry into [slavery](#) in Parliament.



➡ Friend [Benjamin Lundy](#), an Ohio saddlemaker, urged the abolition of [slavery](#) and began publication of his antislavery newspaper [Genius of Universal Emancipation](#). He would soon relocate to Greenville, Tennessee, and would further relocate to [Baltimore](#) in 1824. A slavetrader would attack and severely injure him in 1828 — but Lundy would enlist the support of William Lloyd Garrison as associate editor for 6 months beginning in September 1829.





"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



William Wells Brown would have been about 7 years of age during this year, so I am taking the liberty of introducing the following undated material from his Narrative, at this point, for lack of any more precise guidelines:

Soon afterwards, my master removed to the city of St. Louis, and purchased a farm four miles from there, which he placed under the charge of an overseer by the name of Friend Haskell. He was a regular Yankee from New England. The Yankees are noted for making the most cruel overseers.

My mother was hired out in the city, and I was also hired out there to Major Freeland, who kept a public house. He was formerly from Virginia, and was a horse-racer, cock-fighter, gambler, and withal an inveterate drunkard. There were ten or twelve servants in the house, and when he was present, it was cut and slash – knock down and drag out. In his fits of anger, he would take up a chair, and throw it at a servant; and in his more rational moments, when he wished to chastise one, he would tie them up in the smoke-house, and whip them; after which, he would cause a fire to be made of tobacco stems, and smoke them. This he called "Virginia play." I complained to my master of the treatment which I received from Major Freeland; but it made no difference. He cared nothing about it, so long as he received the money for my labor. After living with Major Freeland five or six months, I ran away, and went into the woods back of the city; and when night came on, I made my way to my master's farm, but was afraid to be seen, knowing that if Mr. Haskell, the overseer, should discover me, I should be again carried back to Major Freeland; so I kept in the woods. One day, while in the woods, I heard the barking and howling of dogs, and in a short time they came so near that I knew them to be the bloodhounds of Major Benjamin O'Fallon. He kept five or six, to hunt runaway slaves with.

As soon as I was convinced that it was them, I knew there was no chance of escape. I took refuge in the top of a tree, and the hounds were soon at its base, and there remained until the hunters came up in a half or three quarters of an hour afterwards. There were two men with the dogs, who, as soon as they came up, ordered me to descend. I came down, was tied, and taken to St. Louis jail. Major Freeland soon made his appearance, and took me out, and ordered me to follow him, which I did. After we returned home, I was tied up in the smoke-house, and was very severely whipped. After the major had flogged me



to his satisfaction, he sent out his son Robert, a young man eighteen or twenty years of age, to see that I was well smoked. He made a fire of tobacco stems, which soon set me to coughing and sneezing. This, Robert told me, was the way his father used to do to his slaves in Virginia. After giving me what they conceived to be a decent smoking, I was untied and again set to work.

Robert Freeland was a "chip of the old block." Though quite young, it was not unfrequently that he came home in a state of intoxication. He is now, I believe, a popular commander of a steam-boat on the Mississippi river. Major Freeland soon after failed in business, and I was put on board the steamboat Missouri, which plied between St. Louis and Galena. The commander of the boat was William B. Culver. I remained on her during the sailing season, which was the most pleasant time for me that I had ever experienced. At the close of navigation I was hired to Mr. John Colburn, keeper of the Missouri Hotel. He was from one of the free states; but a more inveterate hater of the negro I do not believe ever walked God's green earth. This hotel was at that time one of the largest in the city, and there were employed in it twenty or thirty servants, mostly slaves.

Mr. Colburn was very abusive, not only to the servants, but to his wife also, who was an excellent woman, and one from whom I never knew a servant to receive a harsh word; but never did I know a kind one to a servant from her husband. Among the slaves employed in the hotel was one by the name of Aaron, who belonged to Mr. John F. Darby, a lawyer. Aaron was the knife-cleaner. One day, one of the knives was put on the table, not as clean as it might have been. Mr. Colburn, for this offence, tied Aaron up in the wood-house, and gave him over fifty lashes on the bare back with a cow-hide, after which, he made me wash him down with rum. This seemed to put him into more agony than the whipping. After being untied he went home to his master, and complained of the treatment which he had received. Mr. Darby would give heed to anything he had to say, but sent him directly back. Colburn, learning that he had been to his master with complaints, tied him up again, and gave him a more severe whipping than before. The poor fellow's back was literally cut to pieces; so much so, that he was not able to work for ten or twelve days.

There was, also, among the servants, a girl whose master resided in the country. Her name was Patsey. Mr. Colburn tied her up one evening, and whipped her until several of the boarders came out and begged him to desist. The reason for whipping her was this. She was engaged to be married to a man belonging to Major William Christy, who resided four or five miles north of the city. Mr. Colburn had forbid her to see John Christy. The reason of this was said to be the regard which he himself had for Patsey. She went to meeting that evening, and John returned home with her. Mr. Colburn had intended to flog John, if he came within the inclosure; but John knew too well the temper of his rival, and kept at a safe distance: - so he took vengeance on the poor girl. If all the slave-drivers had been called together, I do not think a more cruel man than John Colburn - and he too a northern man - could have been found among them. While living at the Missouri hotel, a circumstance occurred which caused me great

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unhappiness. My master sold my mother, and all her children, except myself. They were sold to different persons in the city of St. Louis.

➡ The American Colonization Society sent Dr. Eli Ayres, a white man, to purchase some coastal land north of Sierra Leone. With the aid of US naval Lieutenant Robert F. Stockton, another white man, Dr. Ayres cruised the coastal waters west of Grand Bassa seeking out lands appropriate for the colony. Lt. Stockton took charge of the negotiations with leaders of the Dey and Bassa peoples who lived in the area of Cape Mesurado. The local leaders were persuaded –some said at the point of a gun– to part with a “36 mile long and 3 mile wide” strip of coastal land for approximately \$300 worth of trade goods, supplies, weapons, and rum.

Between this year and 1831 more than 300 [slaving](#) expeditions would be bringing an estimated 60,000 more black captives to Cuba



TRIANGULAR TRADE

☰ The [negreros](#) *La Jeune Eugène*, *La Daphnée*, *La Mathilde*, and *L'Elize* were during this year captured by the USS *Alligator*. *La Jeune Eugène* was sent to the port of [Boston](#), but the other slavers escaped, only to be recaptured under the French flag (there would be controversy over credit, between the US and France) (HOUSE REPORTS, 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 187; FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE, 1824, pages 35-41).

The [negrero](#) *La Pensée* was captured with a cargo of 220 [slaves](#), by the USS *Hornet*, and taken to Louisiana (HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress, 1st session II, No. 92, page 5; 21st Congress, 1st session III, No. 348, page 186).



The [negrero](#) *Esencia* succeeded in putting 113 black [slaves](#) ashore at Matanzas (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, FURTHER PAPERS, III. page 78).

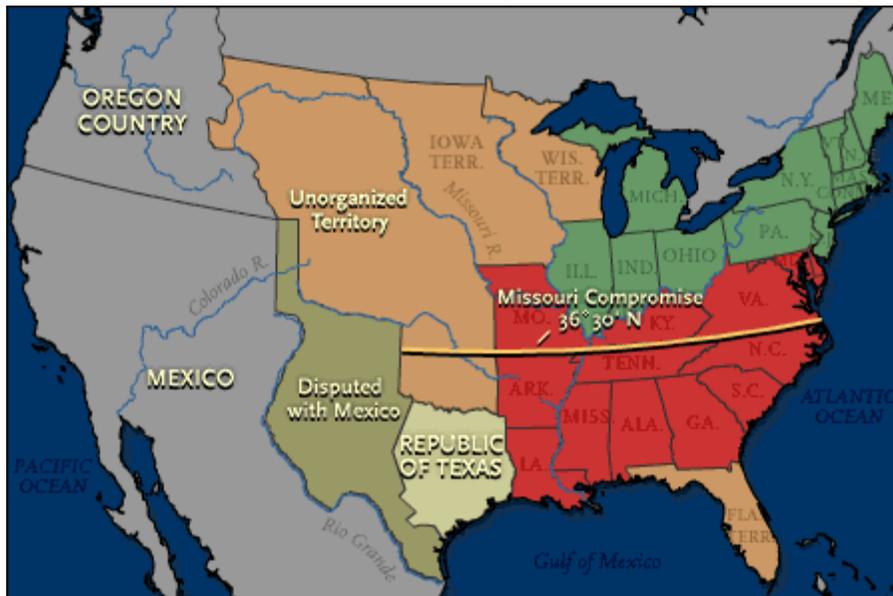
We infer that most likely it was in this year that the [negrero](#) *Dolphin* was captured by United States officers and sent into the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina (FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE (1824), pages 31-2).



The Louisville Public Advertiser was using an icon of fully clothed men and women with a stick and bundle alongside its notices offering rewards for runaway [slaves](#) and apprentices. With the increasing use of icons to advertise everything from steamboat departures to shoes, to compete for the reader's attention such runaway woodblocks would be used regularly.



In many, perhaps a majority, of the great sectional crises of the antebellum era, it was the status of free black Americans, not the status of black [slaves](#), which was the pivotal issue for the white Americans who were struggling over these issues. The crisis which preceded the 2nd Missouri Compromise in this year had been over a provision in Missouri's draft constitution barring free blacks and mulattos from the new state.



This provision was considered by many Northerners to negate the “privileges and immunities” clause of the US Constitution, which held in effect that if one state were to free a black slave and grant him or her citizenship, the other states would be bound to accept and honor and abide by such an action:

Article IV, Section 2, Paragraph 1: “The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.”

The crisis over South Carolina's Negro Seamen Acts of 1822-1823 would have to do with imprisoning (and threatening with slavery) free black American seamen. And of course the central issue in Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney's decision in the case of Dred Scott would focus not on the rights of slaves (they of course had none) but on whether **free** black Americans had legal rights. Taney's assertion that in the foundational



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period the black person had no rights which a white person was bound to respect, that a free black American might even be enslaved for white convenience, is of course utterly without foundation in either state or federal law; and Taney himself in like 1818 had unhesitatingly been asserting that the [Declaration of Independence](#) applied to black as well as white (for instance, in his defense of Gruber). Yet, however flawed his legalistic historical revisionism may have been, Taney is taken, even by many historians, as presenting a fairly accurate portrayal of Revolutionary-era racial attitudes. Having chosen to ground a justification of slavery upon the racial unfitness for liberty of black Africans, defenders of slavery were trapped in needing to perceive unenslaved black Americans as their primary obstacle. We may observe how many of the essays the COTTON IS KING book of 1854 (a more revealing and more honest title than it assumed when it was republished in 1860 as THE PRO-SLAVERY ARGUMENT) have as much or more to say about free blacks as about slaves. (The review of this book in [De Bow's Review](#), incidentally, was called "Free Negro-dom.") **Most** of the "pro-slavery" arguments made by John C. Calhoun through his career are not so much about the desirability of slavery as they are about the freedom of free black Americans — most notoriously, his continued and unrepentant presentation of lying statistics from the 1840 census on the rate of free black insanity. A particularly invidious legacy of this strategy of defending black slavery by attacking the freedom of black Americans is that the anti-free-black argument could continue — and has continued — long after slavery was no more. by seeking to debase all blacks to the level of slaves, proslavery ideologues turned freedpeople, a group which in most societies has identified much more closely with their former masters than with their former fellow slaves (Orlando Patterson, SLAVERY AND SOCIAL DEATH) into a sizeable population within the body politic committed to an end to slavery for personal as well as altruistic reasons.



*Santo Domingo* declared its freedom from Spain.

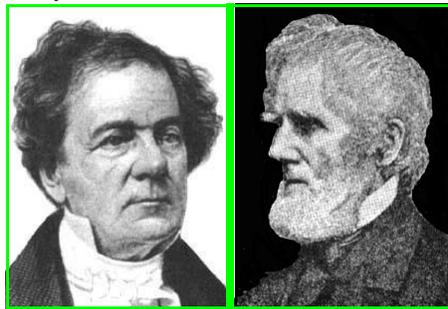
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→ The lawyer Charles Grandison Finney persuaded himself that he was the beneficiary of a “retainer from the



Lord Jesus Christ to plead His cause.” He began a career of helping himself by helping others that would make him into “the father of modern revivalism.” His highly charged preaching often accomplished an emotional catharsis which was then known as the “salvation experience” and which then was considered to need to prove itself through social action. Finney was a close friend of the rich men Lewis Tappan and Arthur Tappan, who



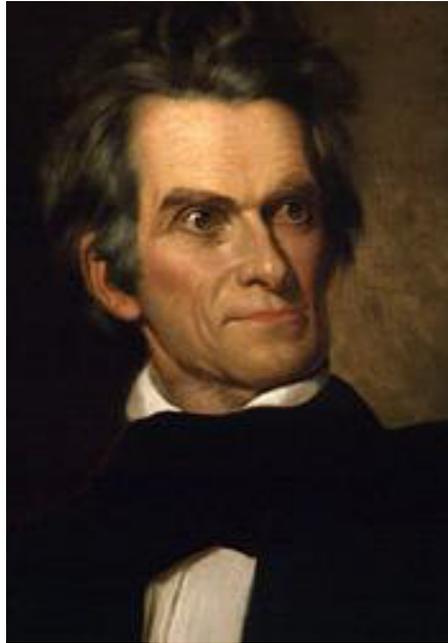
rented the Chatham Street Theater in New-York for his use. Revivalism, Salvation, and Abolitionism — enslavement equals sin:

When I first went to New York, I had made up my mind on the question of slavery, and was exceedingly anxious to arouse public attention to the subject. I did not, however, turn aside to make it a hobby, or divert the attention of the people from the work of converting souls.

It was sin but if it was merely a sin of other persons, then it was a secondary issue to the issue of one’s own personal salvation, and the evil of this sin was to be explored, Finney’s attitude was, only if it “can be made an appendage of a general revival.” Finney was as alienated by radical anti-slavery talk as he was by slavery itself. Although he would not allow slavemasters to join his church, he also was hostile to the idea of blacks and whites sitting together in church. As a matter of fact, he was even hostile to the idea of two choirs, one black and one white, being permitted to sing the same hymns at the same time.

The slave Johann Samuel died poor and marginalized in the white Moravian religious community which in

1771 had accepted him. At first his white coreligionists has been able to accept him more or less as a peer, albeit enslaved, but over the years there had been a dwindling commitment among Moravians to the equality of all true believers in their faith. His black children would be acceptable only within a new black church sponsored by the Moravians. For more on this, consult Jon F. Sensbach's A SEPARATE CANAAN: THE MAKING OF AN AFRO-MORAVIAN WORLD IN [NORTH CAROLINA](#), 1763-1840 (Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1998). A rump group of Northern congressmen nominated John Caldwell Calhoun for president. –Three times this man would see a chance to get himself made president, and three times there would be an autobiographical campaign biography produced (anonymous of course and written in the third person).



**LET US CONQUER SPACE.**

[Sam Houston](#) resigned from the office of Attorney General of the Nashville District in Tennessee to return to private law practice.



Friend [Moses Brown](#) wrote A SHORT HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN UNION MEETING AND SCHOOL-HOUSE ERECTED IN PROVIDENCE... (32 pages, printed by Brown & Danforth in Providence). Although he had donated land atop the hill in [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#), he had rather that his name have been omitted from this document as published, “as I don’t approve of Singing Meetings and some other parts yet if it suit the Coloured people I shall not oppose them.”

**AME**

*Moses Brown*

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➡ A horse pulling a sleigh ran over [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) at the age of 9. His right hip would bring him pain for the entirety of his life.

The African Methodist Episcopal Zion communion of the Methodist Episcopal Church officially became a separate denomination, under the leadership of James Varick. (It would be this African Methodist Episcopal Zion church that Frederick Douglass eventually would join in [New Bedford](#), and for which he would become a lay exhorter.)

➡ In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, which had been inactive since 1793, resumed sponsoring its lawsuits under President David Howell.

After the extensive slavetrading career of James DeWolf of [Bristol](#) had finally been brought to a halt by the antislavery reformers, he had founded the Arkwright Mill in Coventry and had been the owner of the most successful [privateer](#) vessel of the [War of 1812](#), the *Yankee*. At this point he was elected to the US Senate to represent [Rhode Island](#).



The DeWolf Crest



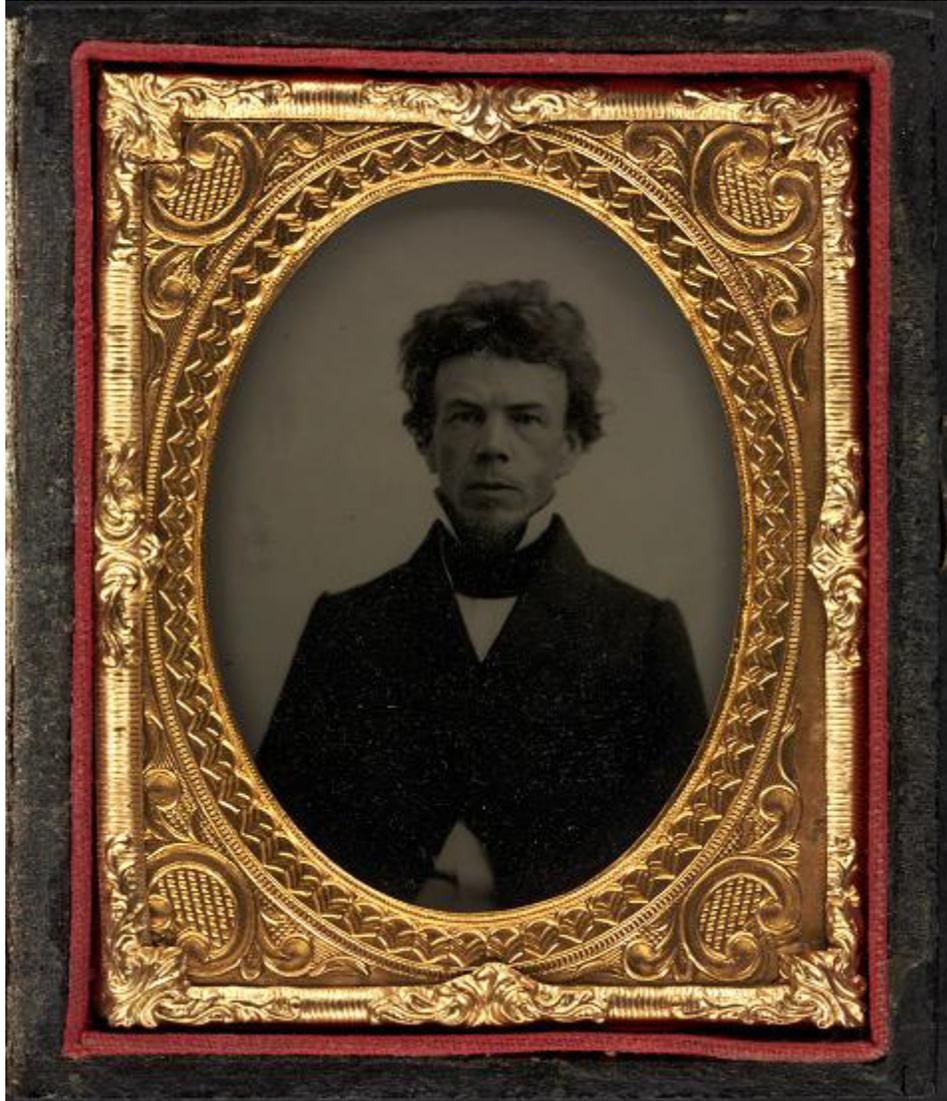
The DeWolf Carriage

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For his annual exams this year at Andover Theological Seminary, [Henry C. Wright](#) was assigned the topic “The Evils of Indulging a Disputatious Spirit.” After this he would stop out for a year of schoolteaching in Newburyport, Massachusetts, where he would meet a rich widow a number of years his senior, complete with four kiddies in need of a father figure.





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Using the name Alcandro Grineo, [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) became a member of the Accademia dei Catenati di Macerata. (He would soon determine that, with the Napoleonic project in ruins and the Pope in control, he needed to flee entirely from his native land.)

On the [Italian](#) peninsula, the [Waldenses](#) religious college at Torre Pellice, erected on the site of a fort once built to suppress them, was of course shut down by the new state authorities for having been teaching the doctrines of that heretic anti-Catholic faith.

Meanwhile, Joel Roberts Poinsett, a descendant of these [Huguenots](#), was entering the US House of Representatives.

[WIKIPEDIA'S LIST OF HUGUENOTS](#)

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→ Nathaniel Hawthorne left the home of his Manning relatives in Salem and journeyed to Bowdoin College, where Franklin Pierce was already in residence, and he would reside there into 1825 (one could hardly term him a student) and would luck into a lifelong alliance with some other undistinguished young men one of



whom would amount to something.<sup>8</sup> No-one, not even Hawthorne, has ever represented that his college drinking companion Frank was the greatest president we've ever had, or that he possessed native strength of intellect, or native strength of character — as Hawthorne later was to represent an immensely popular genocidal racist named Andy “Long Knife” Jackson:



the greatest man we ever had; and his native strength, as well of intellect as character, compelled every man to be his tool that came within his reach; and the cunninger the individual might be, it served only to make him the sharper tool.



Nevertheless, Hawthorne would later be willing to write a campaign biography for this drunkard, and lie about the man's attitudes, and help him follow Andrew Jackson as President of the United States, merely because of this superficial personal connection and from a realistic expectation and hope that through the political reward system set up by Jackson and inherited by Pierce he, Hawthorne, would receive a personal and generous reward.

8. He also would become lifelong friends with Horatio Bridge and Jonathan Cilley. Of these college years he would write:

*“I was an idle student, negligent of college rules and the Procrustean details of academic life, rather choosing to nurse my own fancies than to dig into Greek roots and be numbered among the learned Thebans.”*



**Statesman Chum and Pretty Boy**

Also hovering in the background in those grand years at Bowdoin was a shorty student named [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#), who would go on to provide the stuff of legends. During these years of semi-idleness and dissipation he would begin working at FANSHAW, with its Bowdoin-like setting,<sup>9</sup> and, perhaps, on some of the series of stories that would be issued as SEVEN TALES OF MY NATIVE LAND.

Allmendinger, David F. PAUPERS AND SCHOLARS: THE TRANSFORMATION OF STUDENT LIFE IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY NEW ENGLAND. NY: St. Martin's Press, 1975

9. The "Hartley College" of this narrative had been in fictive existence for 19 years as the aged narrator of this tale recollects upon his youthful matriculation, and in [Hawthorne](#)'s 1st year at Bowdoin College as of 1821, it had likewise been inexistence for 19 years, having opened its doors in 1802. It is possible that no such inscription as recorded in this narrative ("borrowed ... SCHOLAR") has ever been placed upon the grave of Mather. In the Reverend Cotton Mather's *MAGNALIA CHRISTI AMERICANA; OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEW-ENGLAND* the author recorded of his brother Nathanael that "He was as hard student, and quickly became a good scholar." As republished in Hartford CT in 1820, there is at the front of the first volume an "Attestation" by the Reverend John Higginson in which it is stated that over the grave of Cotton's brother Nathanael in Salem there had been written THE ASHES OF AN HARD STUDENT, A GOOD SCHOLAR, AND A GREAT CHRISTIAN. During the lifetime of Hawthorne, the inscription above Nathanael Cotton's grave in Salem read as it now reads: "An Aged person that had seen but Nineteen Winters in the World." If this is an unaccountable substitution of inscription, the switch would have needed to have been effected after the end of the 17th Century.



## "A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

### COLLEGES

Allmendinger's history is a refreshing look into the collegial history of New England. Instead of the usual focus on Harvard, Yale, and the other Ivy League schools as the central forces of university history, Allmendinger turns his glance upon smaller New England institutions like Williams, Bowdoin, and Amherst and upon the students who populated these schools. What he has unearthed is telling: since most of these "new," smaller schools were broke, they attracted poorer students looking for educational bargains and academic schedules that allowed them time to work. [Hawthorne](#) knew of, and was one of these "new" students himself. In *PASSAGES FROM THE AMERICAN NOTE-BOOKS OF NATHANIEL HAWTHORNE*, he saw these students at a commencement in the Berkshires of Williams College and wrote that "Country graduates, - rough, brown featured, schoolmaster-looking, half-bumpkin, half-scholarly figures, in black ill-cut broadcloth, - their manners quite spoilt by what little of the gentlemen there was in them" (quoted in Allmendinger 2).

On the surface the admission and matriculation of these non-traditional students in "marginal" institutions may seem unimportant, but Allmendinger show that their effect on American university life was profound. Penniless sons of farmers and small businessmen affected the style and tone of college life. They imposed, Allmendinger observes, "their need for economy upon college arrangements for food and shelter," forcing "Young gentlemen who sought refinement did so on their own." They also introduced the frugality, independence, and, in general, the kind of self-reliant student experience that has become so deep a part of popular myth about college life today. These young men also contributed to the notion that a college experience should lead to a practical and rewarding middle class career. [Shawn Gillen, February 1992]

In 1820, at the age of sixteen, he became a student of Bowdoin College, at Brunswick, Maine. It was in the autumn of the next year, that the author of this memoir entered the class below him; but our college reminiscences, however interesting to the parties concerned, are not exactly the material for a biography. He was then a youth, with the boy and man in him, vivacious, mirthful, slender, of a fair complexion, with light hair that had a curl in it: his bright and cheerful aspect made a kind of sunshine, both as regarded its radiance and its warmth; insomuch that no shyness of disposition, in his associates, could well resist its influence. We soon became acquainted, and were more especially drawn together as members of the same college society. There were two of these institutions, dividing the college between them, and typifying, respectively, and with singular accuracy of feature, the respectable conservative, and the progressive or democratic parties. Pierce's native tendencies inevitably drew him to the latter.

His chum was Zenas Caldwell, several years elder than himself, a member of the Methodist persuasion, a pure-minded, studious, devoutly religious character; endowed thus early in life with the authority of a grave and sagacious turn of mind. The friendship between Pierce and him appeared to be mutually strong, and was of itself a pledge of correct deportment in the



former. His chief friend, I think, was a classmate named Little, a young man of most estimable qualities, and high intellectual promise; one of those fortunate characters whom an early death so canonizes in the remembrance of their companions, that the perfect fulfilment of a long life would scarcely give them a higher place. Jonathan Cilley, of my own class, —whose untimely fate is still mournfully remembered,— a person of very marked ability and great social influence, was another of Pierce's friends. All these have long been dead. There are others, still alive, who would meet Franklin Pierce, at this day, with as warm a pressure of the hand, and the same confidence in his kindly feelings, as when they parted from him, nearly thirty years ago. Pierce's class was small, but composed of individuals seriously intent on the duties and studies of their college life. They were not boys, but for the most part, well advanced towards maturity; and, having wrought out their own means of education, were little inclined to neglect the opportunities that had been won at so much cost. They knew the value of time, and had a sense of the responsibilities of their position. Their first scholar —the present Professor Stowe— has long since established his rank among the first scholars of the country. It could have been no easy task to hold successful rivalry with students so much in earnest as these were. During the earlier part of his college course, it may be doubted whether Pierce was distinguished for scholarship. But, for the last two years, he appeared to grow more intent on the business in hand, and, without losing any of his vivacious qualities as a companion, was evidently resolved to gain an honorable elevation in his class. His habits of attention, and obedience to college discipline, were of the strictest character; he rose progressively in scholarship, and took a highly creditable degree.

The first civil office, I imagine, which Franklin Pierce ever held, was that of chairman of the standing committee of the Athenaeum Society, of which, as above hinted, we were both members; and, having myself held a place on the committee, I can bear testimony to his having discharged not only his own share of the duties, but, that of his colleagues. I remember, likewise, that the only military service of my life was as a private soldier in a college company, of which Pierce was one of the officers. He entered into this latter business, or pastime, with an earnestness with which I could not pretend to compete, and at which, perhaps, he would now be inclined to smile. His slender and youthful figure rises before my mind's eye, at this moment, with the air and step of a veteran of the school of Steuben; as well became the son of a revolutionary hero, who had probably drilled under the old baron's orders. Indeed, at this time, and for some years afterwards, Pierce's ambition seemed to be of a military cast. Until reflection had tempered his first predilections, and other varieties of success had rewarded his efforts, he would have preferred, I believe, the honors of the battle field to any laurels more peacefully won. And it was remarkable how, with all the invariable gentleness of his demeanor, he perfectly gave, nevertheless, the impression of a high and fearless spirit. His friends were as sure of his courage, while yet untried, as now, when it has been displayed so brilliantly in famous battles.



1821

1821

At this early period of his life, he was distinguished by the same fascination of manner that has since proved so magical in winning him an unbounded personal popularity. It is wronging him, however, to call this peculiarity a mere effect of manner; its source lies deep in the kindness of his nature, and in the liberal, generous, catholic sympathy, that embraces all who are worthy of it. Few men possess any thing like it; so irresistible as it is, so sure to draw forth an undoubting confidence, and so true to the promise which it gives. This frankness, this democracy of good feeling, has not been chilled by the society of politicians, nor polished down into mere courtesy, by his intercourse with the most refined men of the day. It belongs to him at this moment, and will never leave him. A little while ago, after his return from Mexico, he darted across the street to exchange a hearty gripe of the hand with a rough countryman upon his cart – a man who used to "live with his father," as the general explained the matter to his companions. Other men assume this manner, more or less skilfully; but with Frank Pierce it is an innate characteristic; nor will it ever lose its charm unless his heart should grow narrower and colder – a misfortune not to be anticipated, even in the dangerous atmosphere of elevated rank, whither he seems destined to ascend. There is little else that it is worth while to relate, as regards his college course, unless it be, that, during one of his winter vacations, Pierce taught a country school. So many of the statesmen of New England have performed their first public service in the character of pedagogue, that it seems almost a necessary step on the ladder of advancement.

1821

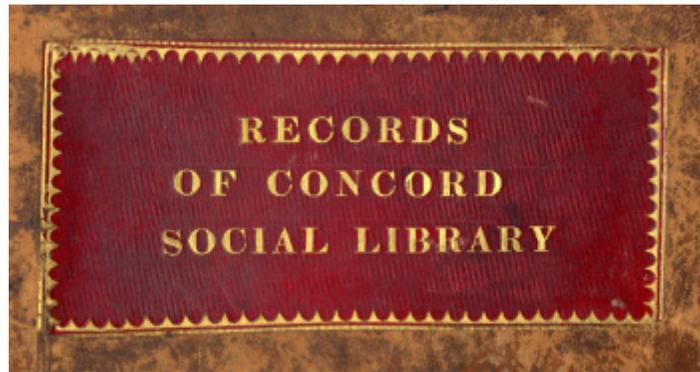
1821



Due to the need to provide some sort of education for boys who would have careers in business rather than vocations in the ministry or in the professions of law and medicine and education, the English High School opened its doors in [Boston](#). America's first high school.

The first patient was admitted to Massachusetts General Hospital in [Boston](#).

The [Concord](#) Social Library was established to house the collection of the earlier Charitable Library Society. [John Stacy](#), Concord bookseller and stationer, would be the librarian, and the library materials would be maintained in his and his son [Albert Stacy](#)'s store on the Milldam until in 1851 they would be transferred to the Concord Town Library in the new courthouse, and in 1873 passed along to the Concord Free Public Library.



This is despite what [Henry Thoreau](#) would say in the "Reading" chapter:

[WALDEN](#): My residence was more favorable, not only to thought, but to serious reading, than a university; and though I was beyond the range of the ordinary circulating library, I had more than ever come within the influence of those books which circulate round the world, whose sentences were first written on bark, and are now merely copied from time to time on to linen paper. Says the poet Mír Camar Uddîn Mast, "Being seated to run through the region of the spiritual world; I have had this advantage in books. To be intoxicated by a single glass of wine; I have experienced this pleasure when I have drunk the liquor of the esoteric doctrines." I kept Homer's Iliad on my table through the summer, though I looked at his page only now and then. Incessant labor with my hands, at first, for I had my house to finish and my beans to hoe at the same time, made more study impossible. Yet I sustained myself by the prospect of such reading in future. I read one or two shallow books of travel in the intervals of my work, till that employment made me ashamed of myself, and I asked where it was then that **I** lived.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

MÍR CAMAR UDDÍN MAST  
JOHN CHARLES FRÉMONT  
HOMER



1821

1821

Going on the basis of this mention, Stacy's offerings could not have been particularly sophisticated. However, he would, when [WALDEN](#) was published in 1854, purchase a copy for \$0.<sup>75</sup> presumably for this town circulating library.<sup>10</sup>



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

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

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

Elijah Wood built a large ell onto his home on Wood Street in [Concord](#) and hired apprentices in the manufacture of shoes for shipment to the American South and West. The 10 to 20 male cobbler's apprentices worked until 9PM. Uppers were stitched by Concord women in their homes at piecework rates.

A group holding to trinitarian beliefs decided to separate itself from [Concord's](#) First Parish Church into a Trinitarian Congregationalist Church. For the time being they would continue to meet at the First Parish meetinghouse (eventually they would have their own structure on the far side of Mill Brook).

Here is a summary of the situation in nearby Acton for this year:

In 1821, there were 140 dwelling houses; 230 other buildings; 513 acres of tillage land on which was raised 705 bushels of rye, 932 of oats, 5833 of corn, 75 of barley, and 140 of beans. 1527 acres of mowing land, producing 956 tons of hay; 2026 acres of pasturing, keeping 939 cows, 196 oxen, 69 horses, and 181 swine; 2055 acres of wood; 3633 acres unimproved; and 1311 unimproveable; 240 used as roads and 500 covered with water. It then had 3 grist-mills, 2 carding-machines; 2 fulling-mills, and 4 saw-mills. In 1825, there were 236 polls. Valuation \$8629.28. The principal employment of the inhabitants is agriculture. Barrels may be considered the *staple production* of the town [of Acton]. From 15,000 to 20,000 of this article, it is estimated, are annually manufactured here [in Acton], and this business is the source of considerable income.

During 20 years subsequent to 1800, there were published 208 intentions of marriage, and there occurred 161 marriages, 344 births (as recorded); 302 deaths, of whom 72 died under one year old; 32 were 80 and upwards, 8 were 90 and upwards, and one lived 99%. The average number annually was 15, about one in 70 of the whole population. The mean average was 35 years.<sup>11</sup>

10. By the way, you can make up your own mind whether Henry was being perfectly fair here, in not awarding more weight to the Concord Social Library. Its full records survive, and are now available for your inspection at the Concord Free Public Library. There is even a finding aid for the Social Library records, and it is available on the CFPL website: [http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Fin\\_Aids/ConcordSocialLibrary.htm](http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Fin_Aids/ConcordSocialLibrary.htm). The CFPL has, also, the records of the Charitable Library Society, the Concord Town Library, and other pre-public libraries in Concord — although they have not as yet been able to make their finding aids for the other materials available on the internet. (Give them some money: let's get this work done.)

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. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)

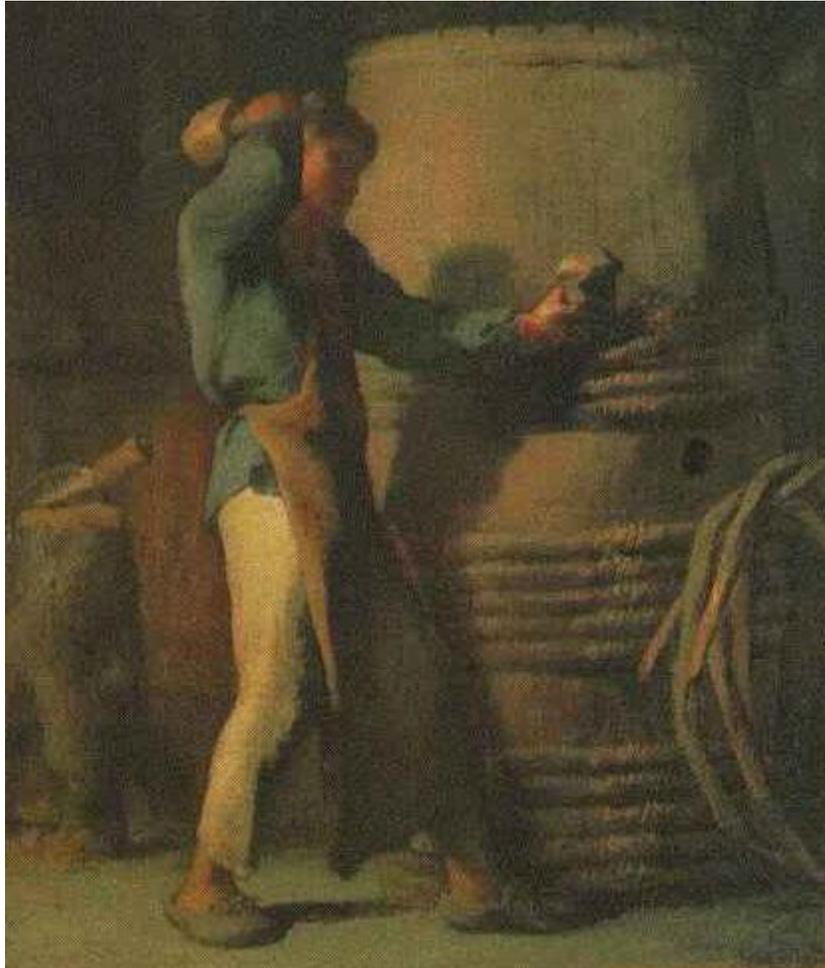
HDT

WHAT?

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Representatives of [Carlisle](#) to the General court of Massachusetts (not represented in 1822):

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

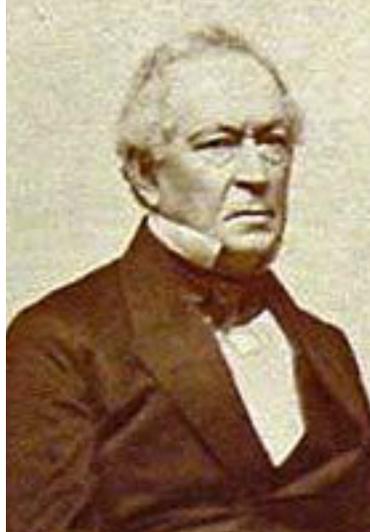
Town Clerks of [Carlisle](#)

Zebulon Spaulding	1780-1784.
Asa Parlin	1785-1802; 1806-'8.
John Jacobs	1803, 1809-'12, 1826.
Jonathan Heald	1804, 1805.
Jonathan Heald, Jr.	'13, '14, '18-'20.
John Heald	'15-'17, '21-'25, '27-'29.
Cyrus Heald	1829-----.

1821

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➡ Since [Waldo Emerson](#) began reading [Alexander von Humboldt](#), and referring to him in his JOURNAL, at this point, it seems likely that he had been told of this explorer and author by his professor [Edward Everett](#) while at [Harvard College](#).



Emerson would come to own many of Humboldt's books and it is likely that it was in these volumes that [Henry Thoreau](#) first encountered the explorer (he would by 1853 have studied Humboldt's major works).

Publication, in this year, by the firm of W. Allason etc., in London, of a new edition of the dozen volumes of [Edward Gibbon](#)'s THE HISTORY OF THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE (this is the edition that would find its way into the personal library of [Emerson](#)).

- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL I
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL II
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL III
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL IV
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL V
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL VI
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL VII
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL VIII
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL IX
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL X
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL XI
- GIBBON, DECLINE & FALL XII

1821

1821

At the end of the journal entries for 1820 and 1821, [Emerson](#) listed his recent readings in Oriental materials: “Cudworth (containing many quotations from the Neo-[Platonists](#)); Zendavesta (*apud* [Gibbon](#)).”

<http://www.sacred-texts.com/zor/>

ZOROASTER

As he completed his senior year, Waldo wrote a Bowdoin Prize essay “The Present State of Ethical Philosophy.” From this year into 1825, having acquired the status of college graduate, he would be teaching school.





According to Mary Helen Dunlop's SIXTY MILES FROM CONTENTMENT: TRAVELING THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN INTERIOR (NY: HarperCollins BasicBooks, 1995, pages 113-7),

In a search for pleasant and understandable Indian material to distract them from contemporary conditions too painful to dwell on, numerous travelers turned to retailing legends – not tribal legends but white-concocted legends about Indians, sentimental European-style legends about thwarted romance and star-crossed lovers and death leaps. Because so much of the fakelore is about death, it can be read as a series of approaches to a culture under siege; furthermore, the legends are most unstable whenever they concern those matters of Indian life that travelers least comprehended – family structure, authority, and the position of women. The travel writer's favorite among made-up legends was the story of Winona, which had a conveniently visible geographic location – a high bluff on the upper Mississippi– that travelers could easily view from a comfortable position aboard a steamboat or train.

She has captured and described a series of nine such mythifications, of which this is the 1st:<sup>12</sup>Mary Helen

In [Henry Schoolcraft](#)'s 1821 telling, the Sioux Winona loves a "young chief" but her parents wish her to marry an "old chief." Winona apparently accedes to their wishes, but while the wedding feast is in preparation, she exits "her father's cabin," makes a run for the cliff, throws herself off, and is "instantly dashed to a thousand pieces" on the rocks below. Schoolcraft's tale is about both romantic love and European-style male authority over women's lives; in his framing, a woman's sole route of resistance to male authority is suicide. Schoolcraft kept his story contained within tribal society and admired it as an "instance of sentiment" that, in his view, elevated Sioux culture.



Dunlop points out that in the Wisconsin territory in this year, when [Henry Rowe Schoolcraft](#) wrote about his observations of native American cultivation practices, he revealed to posterity more than he herself would have liked to understand, about the manner in which we go about creating racial **Others** who are, willy-nilly, going to be **wrong**, because they have been **Othered** — no matter **what** they do and no matter **how** they react

to us. They are just the wrong people, so how could they **ever** be considered to have gotten **anything** right? This is from page 103 of her SIXTY MILES FROM CONTENTMENT:

Some travelers, employing an established method of denying land ownership, asserted that Indians had no agriculture; meanwhile others were busy scorning Indians for eating from nature. In 1821, [Henry Schoolcraft](#) was so "surprised" to encounter cultivated fields of squashes, beans, and melons along the Turkey River in Wisconsin that he at once denied such evidence by pointing out that the fields were "without any enclosures" and thus not properly owned; when he came upon an asparagus patch, Schoolcraft hastened to assert that it was not evidence of cultivation: "the seeds," he wrote, "had probably been dropped by some former traveler." For a traveler to assign to another traveler's casual loss more evidence of cultivation than he would assign to the Indian population constituted an extreme effort at erasing visible facts. The ease, propriety, and delicacy of Indian table manners were ignored in favor of the assertion that Indians did not say thank-you when whites gave them food, and Indian concern that all should share equally in the food available was transformed into tales of guests forced to eat anything set before them. If one traveler claimed that Indians were forced to "eat their dogs when other food fails," later travelers escalated that detail into claims that dog meat was an Indian idea of the "greatest delicacy to set before a guest" and that identifiable whole roasted puppies had been set before them by Indians.

 The Spanish ceded the town of St. Augustine in Florida FLORIDA to the United States of America. This town, which seems to boast more antique cannon per square mile than any other city in America, has possibly changed hands more times than Poland.



 The fad for experimentation with the swiftwalker bicycle mechanism created in 1816 by Baron Karl von Drais de Sauerbrun was at this point a thing of the past, although, as in the case of the hula hoop, some use would continue.

P. Stanbury, a Brit who was making a pedestrian tour of the USA (over 2,000 miles), commented that he was noticing that pedestrianism was considerably more rare here than in England. He attributed this, perhaps incorrectly, to Americans being in general somewhat more well-to-do than Europeans.

12. The subsequent versions awarded this deep reading by Dunlop in her 1995 monograph are:

-  the Fredrika Bremer 1848 construction of this Winona fakelore, contained in volume 2 of 1853's THE HOMES OF THE NEW WORLD,
-  the Mary Eastman 1853 construction of this Winona fakelore, contained in 1849's DAKOTAH: OR, LIFE AND LEGENDS OF THE SIOUX,
-  the Ida Pfeiffer mid-1850s construction of this Winona fakelore, contained in 1855's A LADY'S SECOND JOURNEY ROUND THE WORLD,
-  the Laurence Oliphant 1855 construction of this Winona fakelore, contained in MINNESOTA AND THE FAR WEST,
-  the Harriet Bishop 1857 construction of this Winona fakelore, contained in FLORAL HOME: OR, FIRST YEARS OF MINNESOTA,
-  the Aleksandr Lakier 1859 construction of this Winona fakelore, and, finally,
-  the Mark Twain 1883 demolition of this Winona fakelore, as contained in his LIFE ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

-  [Michael Faraday](#) demonstrated electromagnetic rotation, the basis for the electric motor.
-  Joanna Baillie's METRICAL LEGENDS OF EXALTED CHARACTERS.
-  Letitia Landon's THE FATE OF ADELAIDE.
-  John Clare's THE VILLAGE MINSTREL.
-  Mary Hays's MEMOIRS OF QUEENS (overlaps with FEMALE BIOGRAPHY, 1803).
-  According to Joseph Felt's ANNALS OF SALEM, in this year an exhibition of glass blowing was touring Massachusetts.
-  Thomas Beddoes's THE IMPROVISATORE.
-  The English law read: "Any person, who commits the crime of sodomy, either with a man, or with any animal, and is found guilty, will be put to death." The sentence was always death of course, but until this date to obtain a conviction of bestiality the presence of semen in the animal had to be proven, and thus many of those charged were released. In order to increase the rate of conviction, the requirement was eased at this point in time so that it would no longer be necessary for the prosecution "to prove ejaculation, rather intercourse shall be deemed to have occurred if penetration has occurred." If penetration could not be established but a witness testified to observing an "attempt" to penetrate the animal, the sentence would be 10 years imprisonment. The English law would be revised in 1861 to reduce the sentence of [hanging](#) to life imprisonment (still in effect).



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

 [Tilloch's Philosophical Magazine](#) reported that a mason of Auchtertool, a village four miles from Kirkaldy in Scotland, had been dressing a millstone cut out of a section of rock that had been about seven feet thick and that had been dug from about fourteen feet below the surface of the earth, at the Cullaloe quarry reputed to produce fine millstones, when he had in cutting away a part of the stone disclosed a small lizard. The lizard, which was brownish yellow and about 1 1/4 inches in length, had been coiled up within a cavity of its own exact shape, in a damp section of the stone, and for about a half an inch in all directions the stone was of a soft sand. The lizard was at first supposed to be dead, but after about five minutes of exposure to the air it began to show life signs. When the workmen put [snuff](#) in its eyes, it ran around “with much celerity.” Then they killed it. The informant, David Virtue, reported that the stone had been an excellent barley millstone, quite hard and with no fissures.

 The usual story is that Sequoyah (*Sikwayi*) invented the [Cherokee](#) syllabary at this point, creating it out of whole cloth in an entirely arbitrary manner. That wouldn't be much of an accomplishment, as one of my daughters, when she was like twelve, devised a secret code at least as sophisticated — so that she could keep a diary but none of her siblings could intercept her secrets.

**i G @ Q T A O E R P C S D M E Y @ J G A L D  
 @ B T E W S O F T E U L t @ V F @ G S S V G A G Z H F P P  
 @ A @ 4 S T L Y J P H h P B J J C h O J S N V @ ? K @ B W**



1821

1821

There is, however, an allegation that at least some of the symbols this scholar used were not of his own arbitrary devising but had already been in existence among the Cherokee, and also, that because of his status as the white missionaries' red darling,<sup>13</sup> certain complexities of that adaption situation have been elided. In other words, this date "1821" is a soft date, and something, some sort of cultural material, we know not what, was already in existence in the Cherokee context although whatever it was that had already been in existence was of course not unproblematically adaptable to the standardization demands of precast lead printing type.

13. This was a remarkable darlinghood, leading to such appropriations as to take the gigantic tree the Southern Sierra Miwok had always referred to as *wohwohna* and rechristen it:

*Wellingtonia gigantea* = *Sequoiadendron giganteum*

“What would Pliny and Evelyn have said of that eighth wonder of the world, the giant sequoia of California, which springing from so small a seed (the cones are said to be shaped like those of a white pine, but to be only two and a half inches long) has outlasted so many of the kingdoms of the world?”

PLINY

1821

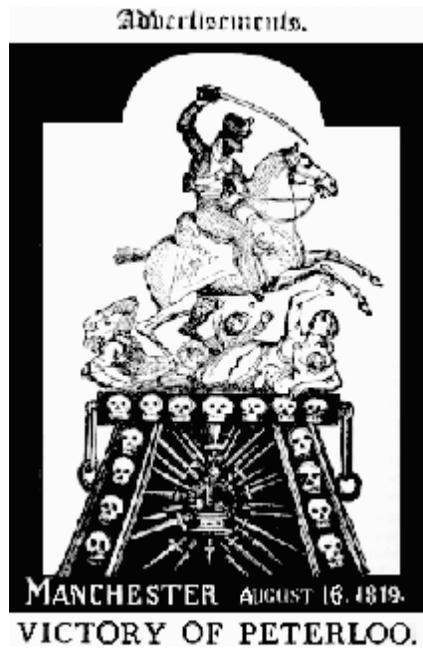
1821



1821

1821

 Cruickshank prepared a sarcastic wood engraving for a commemorative statue, mocking the manner in which the British government had not seen fit to disavow the violence of its “Peterloo Massacre” of 1819:



1821

1821



Birth of [Ebenezer Elliott](#)'s and Fannie Gartside Elliot's 8th child, Fanny Ann Elliott.

When the [potato](#) crop again failed in Ireland as it had in 1800-1801 and in 1816-1819, the nature of [Irish](#) emigration began to change drastically. Previously the immigrants to America had come from families of Protestants in the North who could afford the transatlantic fare. Suddenly the British government was organizing mass emigration from the South in order to avert [famine](#) in the counties of Mayo, Clare, Kerry, and Cork. Some 50,000 would starve or die of starvation-related diseases from Donegal to Youghal (the years of the West Ireland potato famines: 1739, 1816, 1821, 1822, 1831, 1835, 1836, mid-1840s). The goal of the Colonial Office was to provide 2,000 "assisted places" per year. At first the poor Irish Catholics assumed that the grim ships were "transportation", taking their friends and relatives to what would amount to penal servitude in Australia — which, given the climate of British opinion in regard to the Irish as would be witnessed for instance soon in the early published attitudes of Thomas Carlyle, would not in those times one would have to acknowledge have been an altogether unrealistic suspicion.



The Reverend [Andrew Bigelow](#)'s LEAVES FROM A JOURNAL; OR SKETCHES OF RAMBLES IN SOME PARTS OF NORTH BRITAIN AND IRELAND. CHIEFLY IN THE YEAR 1817 (Boston: Wells and Lilly, Court-Street).<sup>14</sup>

### TRAVELS OF ANDREW (I)

(He also published a farewell sermon he had preached at his new church in Eastport, Maine.)

14. If you bet that in the course of these foreign travels the good Reverend had learned nothing about prospects of famine....



According to Simon Heffer’s MORAL DESPERADO: A LIFE OF THOMAS CARLYLE (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1995), page 42:

In the ten years between the 1811  and 1821  censuses the population of Britain rose by 17%, from 12,000,000 to 14,000,000. Wages, which had risen steadily in real terms since the start of the Napoleonic Wars, were now beginning a downward progress that would not be stopped until after the repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846 – three years after [Thomas Carlyle](#) had railed against the economic and social conditions in England in PAST AND PRESENT. The political establishment was unsteady, the King mad, his son the Prince Regent dissolute and disliked. High stamp duties, of 4d on a newspaper, limited the circulation of opinions hostile to the Tory government or Lord Liverpool. A rash of prosecutions for seditious libel, and for the defamation of the King and his ministers, also occurred in 1817,  as another means of encouraging conformity. A fall in demand immediately after the war led to a great rise in unemployment, exacerbated by the reduction in manpower of the army and navy. Sporadic rioting, and disturbances even among the middle classes, fed the Tory establishment’s fear

Soon, however, letters would begin to arrive from the new continent, explaining that in fact they had not been taken around the world to Australia, that there were not very many [anti-Catholic](#) riots or lynchings going on in America, or at least not at that moment, that it was relatively easy to slip across the border from the United States of America to freedom in Canada, that it was relatively easy and risk-free for white people to walk away from the indenture systems then in effect in the USA and assume new identities, etc.

### Population Trends

	England / Wales	Ireland
1821	12,000,000	6,800,000
1831	13,900,000	7,770,000
1841	15,920,000	8,180,000
1845	about 16,700,000	about 8,300,000 (blight, then famine, fever, and emigration)
1851	17,930,000	6,550,000
1861	20,070,000	5,800,000
1871	31,629,299	5,410,000
1881	35,026,108	5,170,000

1821

1821

→ Early in the year Fanny Wright and her sister Camilla returned from America to England, where Fanny described her impressions of the visit in *VIEWS OF SOCIETY AND MANNERS IN AMERICA*. Although William Fenimore Cooper would review the book as “nauseous flattery,” it would lead to a friendship with the *Marquis de Lafayette* and a visit to his estate in France.



→ In this year Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)) would have been approximately 24 years old.

1821

1821

 As [Mexico](#) became independent from Spain, Mexican troops replaced Spanish troops at the Alamo.



REMEMBERING THE ALAMO

Mexico began to use its [California](#) province as a dumping-ground for criminals. Upon condition of their pledging that all children born in Mexico would be free—even the children of their slaves— Mexico allowed a group of United States citizens led by Stephen A. Austin to bring slaves into the “Texas” region of Mexico. The white American families emigrating with Austin were awarded large tracts of land on which to settle, and the Spanish government of [Texas](#) promised to refrain from offering freedom to the slaves of these families, so long as they were slaves **of the initial generation**.<sup>15</sup>

Between 1814 and this year, Thomson had been creating this map:



15. Later, these white USers would of course ignore the pledge they had made, and treat the new children of their slaves as **a new crop** of their slaves — but by that time they would be heavily armed and would have created an effective segregated militia, so the government of Mexico would be unable to bring them to honor the pledge they had made in order to obtain these grants of land.

1821

1821



"War is God's way of teaching Americans geography."

- Ambrose G. Bierce



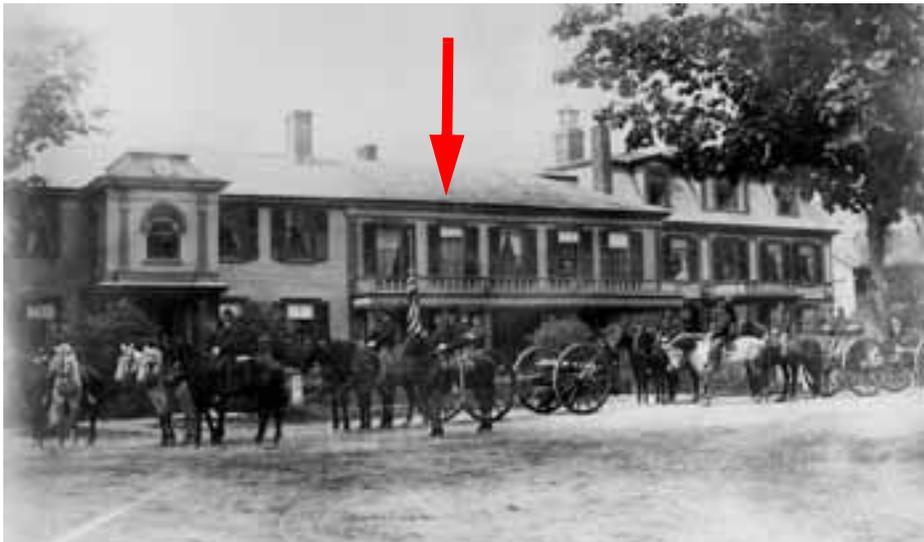
US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS



At this point, in [Concord](#), [Daniel Shattuck](#), who as a partner of Deacon [John White](#) had been living over the



variety store which now is a central part of the present-day Colonial Inn, was able to purchase that store and its stock from his partner.



[Concord](#) had been allowing its poor to be housed separately, maintained by various contracts with various individual providers, but in this year it took a contract whereby all the town's paupers were to be housed together at an Alms House and Poor Farm. This cost the town \$1,450, although in subsequent years the total cost would go down significantly. Here was the general financial situation:



Since the Revolution new state-valuations have been taken, once in ten years, and that after the taking of the census. In these valuations various articles of personal property are required to be enumerated and described, not however uniformly alike. In the following table some of the principal only are mentioned.<sup>16</sup>

**Articles of Property. In 1781. In 1791. In 1801. In 1811. In 1821. In 1831.**

Polls	326	340	390	390	435	489
Dwelling houses	193	188	227	224	235	253
Barns	174	142	184	183	203	225
Other buildings	—	—	64	79	265	125
Acres of tillage land	1188	1063	1112	1156	1137	1098
Acres of English Mowing	753	721	840	992	1205	1279
Acres of Meadow	2089	1827	2236	2131	2153	2111
Acres of Pasturing	3099	4398	3800	2982	3852	4059
Acres of Woodland	3878	4436	3635	3386	3262	2048
Acres Unimproved	—	—	1282	1732	1392	2833
Acres Unimproveable	—	—	384	—	395	612
Acres Used for roads	—	—	—	348	286	—
Acres of Water	—	—	—	515	695	—
Barrels of Cider	882	799	1376	1767	1079	—
Tons of English Hay	—	—	731	838	880	836
Tons of Meadow Hay	—	—	1434	1453	1270	1370
Bushels of Rye	—	—	4738	2942	3183	2327
Bushels of Corn	—	—	10505	10052	11375	11424
Bushels of Oats	—	—	1388	1463	2372	4129
Horses	137	146	182	179	145	177
Oxen	324	288	374	326	337	418
Cows	916	775	934	831	743	725
Swine	137	308	290	269	294	408
The total valuation, in 1801, was \$20,322, in 1811, \$24,554, in 1821, \$25,860, and in 1831, \$36,681·29.						

1821

1821

 There at Chelmsford, Massachusetts [David Henry Thoreau](#) learned to walk before he chopped off his right big toe (presumably with the sort of thick-bladed hatchet used for splitting kindling):



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

Per a later journal entry: “Chelmsford, till March, 1821. (Last charge in Chelmsford about middle of March, 1821.) Aunt Sarah taught me to walk there when fourteen months old. Lived next the meeting-house, where they kept the powder in the garret. Father kept shop and painted signs, etc.” That house next door to the meeting-house was the house bought in 1799 by David Henry’s grandfather, which is now the east wing of the Colonial Inn. “Aunt Sarah” was Sarah Thoreau, John’s sister who was working in [Concord](#) as a seamstress. It was of course utterly dangerous for the family to be living so near to the town’s stored explosives.

THOREAU RESIDENCES  
 CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU  
 JOHN THOREAU

Here is some more of what Thoreau recorded, on January 7, 1856, that he had been told about that early period:

[January 7, 1856] They tell how I swung on a gown [?] on the stair way when I was at Chelmsford – the gown [?] gave way; I fell & fainted & it took 2 pails of water to bring me to – for I was remarkable for holding my breath – in those cases – [Aunt L. tells how (a 4th of July?) I stood at the window there & exclaimed – the bells ring, & the guns fire, & the pee-pe you”]] Mother tried to milk the cow which father took on trial – but she kicked at her & spilt the milk (They say a dog had bitten her teats) Proctor laughed at her as a city girl & then he tried but the cow kicked him over – & he finished by beating her with his cow-hide shoe – Capt. Richardson milked her warily – standing up. Father came home – & thought he would “brustle right up to her” for she needed much to be milked but suddenly she lifted her leg & “struck him fair & square right in the muns” – knocked him flat & broke the bridge of his nose – which shows it yet. He distinctly heard her hoof rattle on his nose. This “started the claret” & without staunching the blood he at once drove her home to the man he had her of – She ran at some young women by the way – who saved themselves by getting over the wall in haste. Father complained of the powder in the M.H. garret at Town meeting but it did not get moved while we lived there. Here he painted over his old signs for guide-boards – & got a fall when painting Hale’s (?) factory. Here the bladder John was playing with burst on the hearth – The cow came into the entry after pumpkins – I cut my toe – & was knocked over by a hen

16. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:...](#) Boston: Russell, Odiome, 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.)



1821

1821

with chickens &c &c. Mother tells how at the Brick House we each had a little garden a few feet square - & I came in one day having found a potatoe just sprouted which by her advice I planted in my garden - Ere long John came in with a potatoe which he had found & had it planted in his garden - "O mother I have found a potatoe all sprouted. I mean to put it in my garden." &c Even Helen is said to have found one - But next I came crying - that some body had got my potatoe - &c &c - but it was restored to me as the youngest & original discoverer if not inventor of the potatoe - & it grew in my garden - & finally its crop was dug by myself & yielded a dinner for the family. I was kicked down by a passing ox - had a chicken given me by Lidy - Hannah - & peeped through the key hole at it - Caught an eel with John - Went to bed with new boots on - and after with cap - "Rasselas" given me. &c &c - Asked P. Wheeler - "Who owns all the land?" Asked mother having got the medal for geography, "Is Boston in Concord" - If I had gone to Miss Wheeler a little longer should have received the chief prize book - "Henry Lord Mayor" - &c &c

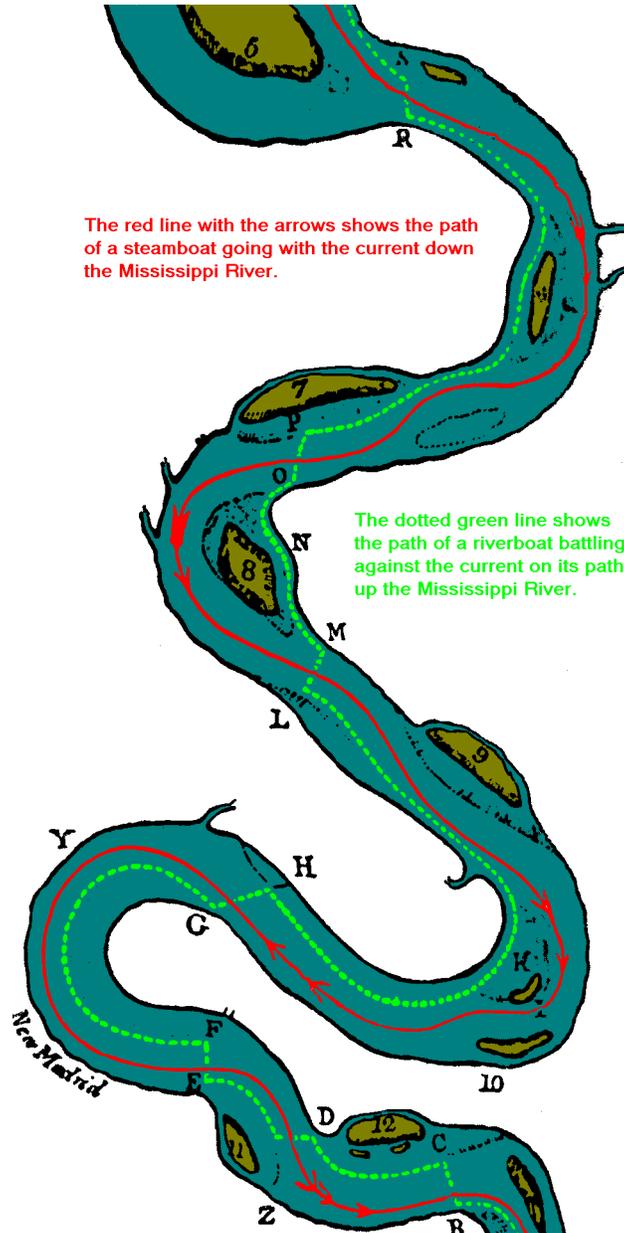


The first US [spice](#) grinding operation began its processing, in [Boston](#).

1821

1821

 [John Banvard](#), who would paint a panorama of the banks of the Mississippi River on a role of canvas, advertised to be half a mile long (actually, it wasn't, but it was pretty long), and would then travel around the US in the "Chautauqua" circuit, having stagehands scroll this huge canvas visual aid behind him as he gave immensely popular lectures for the stay-at-home crowd, about the adventure of traveling by steamboat on the Mississippi — was born.



 William Still, the youngest of 17 or 18 children of Levin Steel and Sidney Steel, was born a slave in the Pine Barrens forest of [Maryland](#).

1821

1821

➡ At this point the New York State Constitutional Convention was requiring potential male voters of African origin to be freeholders worth \$250, a requirement not being placed upon any other block of potential voters and a requirement that effectively would disenfranchise all or virtually all black New Yorkers. This race discrimination would not be removed until 1870.

➡ The father of [William Jardine](#), Sir Alexander Jardine, was dying, and the son returned from medical school at [Paris](#) to [Scotland](#) to attend to the details of being 7th Baronet of Applegirth, Dumfriesshire, a large landed proprietor.

Augustin Jean Fresnel of [France](#) presented the laws which would for the 1st time enable the intensity and polarization of reflected and refracted light to be calculated.

### HISTORY OF OPTICS

[Jean-Pierre Abel-Rémusat](#)'s "Sur la succession des 33 premiers patriarches de la religion de Bouddha" appeared in the [Journal des Savantes](#). For the following decade, Professor [Abel-Rémusat](#) and Humboldt would be producing *LETTRES ÉDIFIANTES ET CURIEUSES SUR LA LANGUE CHINOISE*.

In Edinburgh, Transactions of the [Phrenological](#) Society.

While on a visit to [Paris](#), Dr. Charles Caldwell (1772-1853), a Philadelphia racist who had become a professor at a university in Kentucky, met the [phrenologists](#) Franz Joseph Gall (1758-1828) and Johann Gaspar Spurzheim (1776-1823) and decided to combine their doctrine of brain differences between individuals with his own doctrine of racial differences to form a much needed doctrine of brain differences between races.



"Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal – why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?"



– [Stephen Jay Gould](#)  
BULLY FOR BRONTOSAURUS  
NY: Norton, 1991, page 429

By the end of the 1820s, Dr. Caldwell had examined enough native American skulls found in mounds, and had felt the heads of enough native Americans visiting the cities, to be comfortable that hasn't going to hurt anybody, in announcing that

when the wolf, the buffalo and the panther shall have been completely domesticated, like the dog, the cow, and the household cat, then, and not before, may we expect to see the **full-blooded** Indian civilized, like the white man.



In 1830, Dr. Caldwell would present his THOUGHTS ON THE ORIGINAL UNITY OF THE HUMAN RACE, (NY: E. Bliss), one of his thoughts on the original unity of the human race being that “To the Caucasian race is the world indebted for all the great and important discoveries, inventions and improvements, that have been made in science and the arts, [while the African has remained] Motionless; fixed to a spot, like the rocks and trees, in the midst of which they dwell; each generation pursuing the same time-beaten track.... Even century succeeds to century, and the last finds them the same degraded and unimproved beings with the former.” One medical historian has asserted that “[phrenology](#) ... was certainly at least as influential in the first half of the nineteenth century as psychoanalysis was in the first half of the twentieth.”<sup>17</sup> Dr. Caldwell would become such an advocate of phrenology, the scientific doctrine that was so amply supporting his racism, that he would even become a vigorous opponent of the teaching of the science of chemistry! By the end of the 1830s, Dr. Caldwell would become the most popular phrenologist in America, partly by pandering to the American need for a scientific legitimation of genocide at a time before the mainline American scientific establishment had –under the leadership of the American school of ethnology based in Philadelphia– taken up the cudgel on

17. Ackerknecht, Erwin H. MEDICINE AT THE PARIS HOSPITAL, 1794-1848. Baltimore MD: Johns Hopkins UP, 1967, page 172.

behalf of genocide beginning in about 1839.



"The Whites, by law of conquest, by justice of civilization, are masters of the American continent, and the best safety of the frontier settlers will be secured by the total annihilation of the few remaining Indians."

- Lyman Frank Baum, author of the Oz books



**Mr. Trust Me,  
the White Man's  
Ambassador**

1821

1821

[Dr. Richard Harlan](#) was elected as Professor (Lecturer) of Comparative Anatomy at Charles Willson Peale's Philadelphia Museum. Here is his illustration of a hermaphrodite orangoutan that was found to have perfectly formed male and female genitalia:



During this year and the following one, [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#)'s lectures on representative government would be appearing in two volumes as HISTOIRE DES ORIGINES DU GOUVERNEMENT REPRÉSENTATIF.

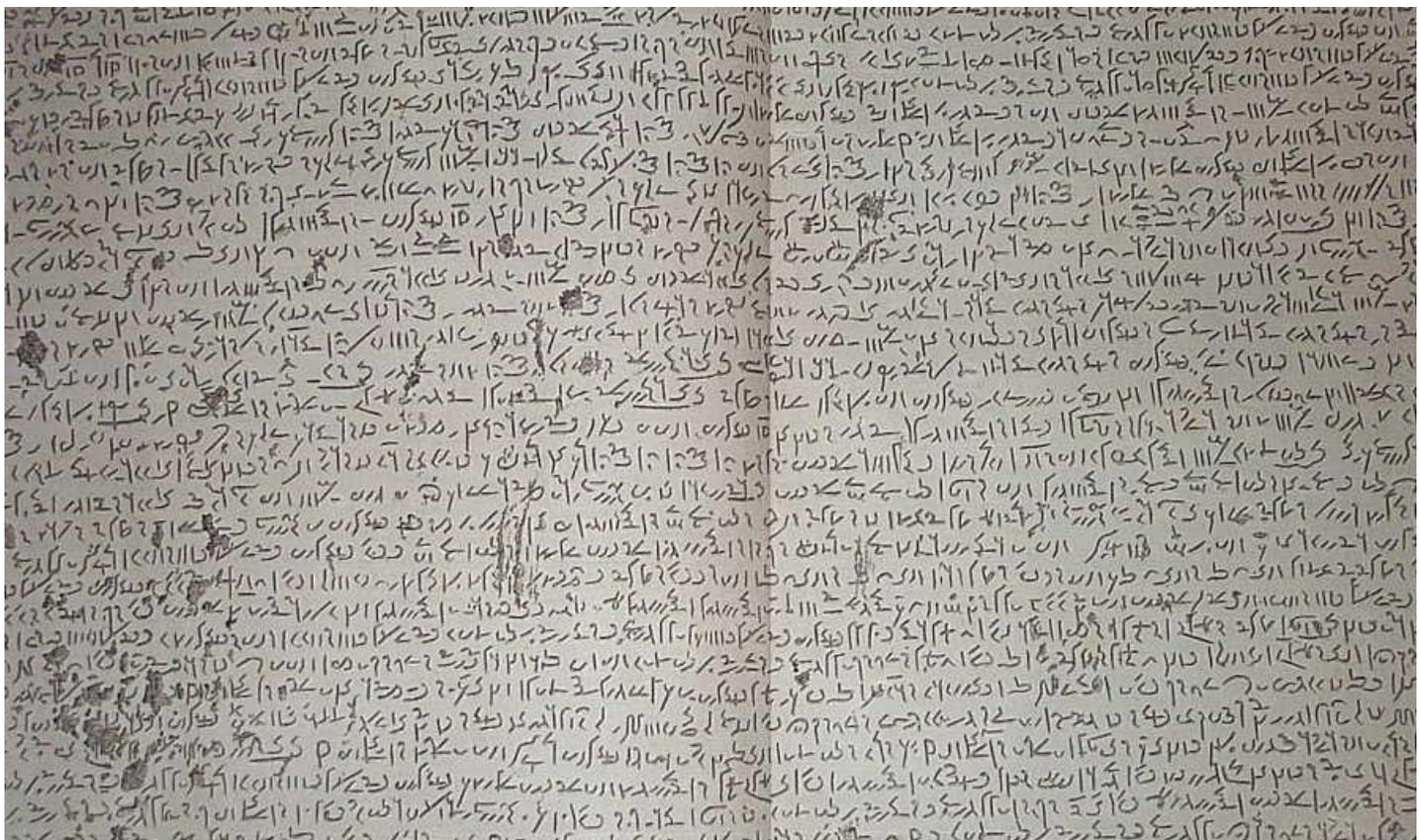


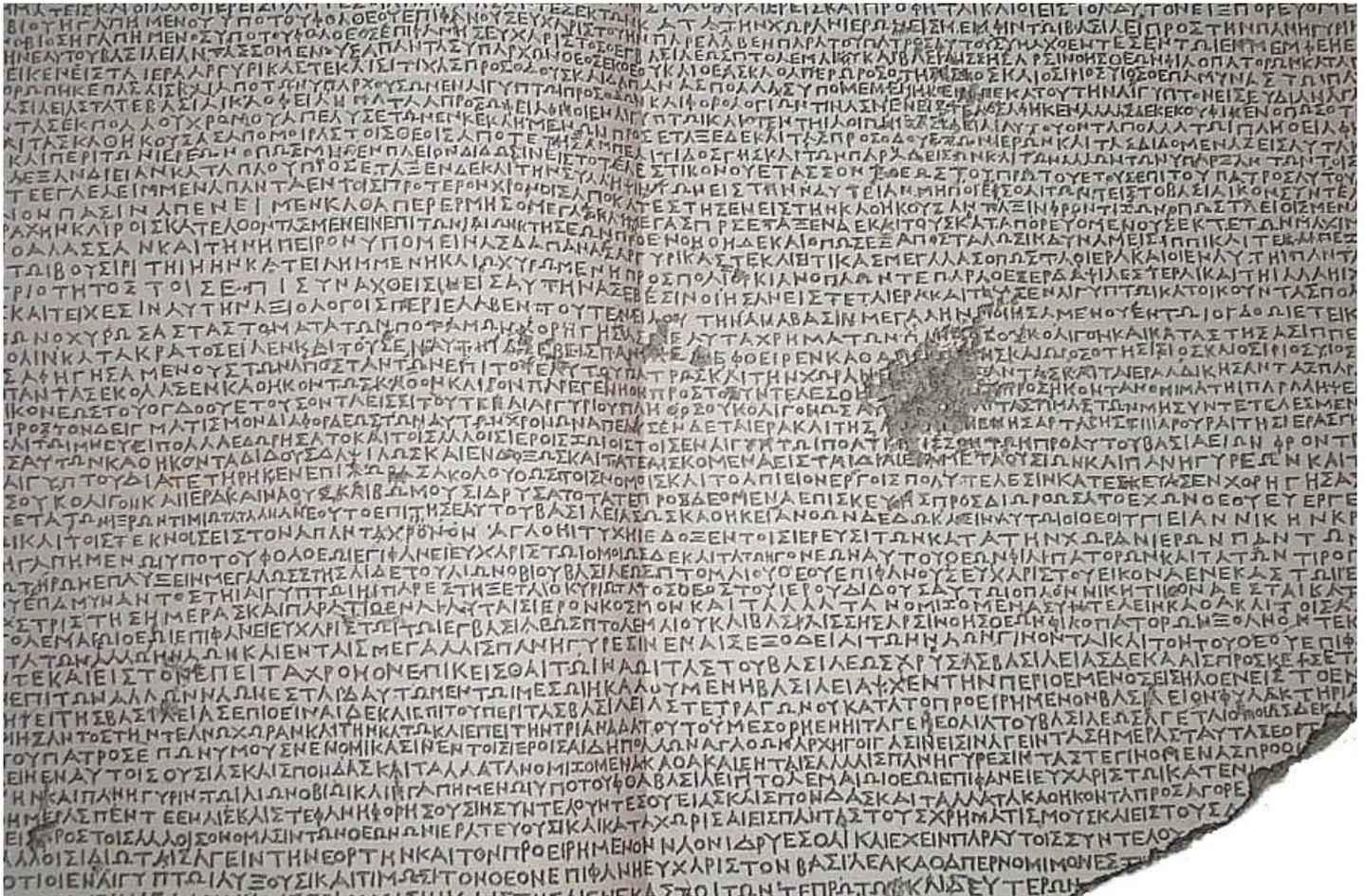
1821

1821



During this year and the following one [Jean-François Champollion](#) would be publishing his work on the hieroglyphic and hieratic symbols and their Greek equivalents on the inscribed stone which had been found at Rosetta in the Nile delta: he had come to recognize that although some of these symbols were alphabetic, some were syllabic and some were neither. Some of the symbols, he figured out, were in a third category, determinative in that they stood for a concept or indicated some linguistic entity which earlier in the same inscription had been already expressed.





 [Charles Lyell](#) received the degree of M.A. from [Exeter College of Oxford University](#).

 Friedrich Scheiermacher's *DER CHRISTLICHE GLAUBE NACH DEN GRUNDSÄTZEN DER EVANGELISCHEN KIRCHE* (publication continuing into 1822).

 Mrs. Felicia Hemans's *SUPERSTITION AND ERROR; DARTMOOR*; a second edition of *THE SKEPTIC*; "Stanzas to the Memory of the Late King."

 William Blake painted a new series of Job watercolors.

 John Hamilton Reynolds's *THE GARDEN OF FLORENCE AND OTHER POEMS*.

 Barry Cornwall (alias for Bryan Waller Procter), *MIRANDOLA, A TRAGEDY*.



1821

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[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#): SARDANAPALUS; CAIN; MARINO FALIERO (flopped in [London](#)); THE TWO FOSCARI; THE VISION OF JUDGEMENT (a poem written retaliating against [Robert Southey](#)'s "A Vision of Judgement," which attacked "the Satanic School"); THE PROPHECY OF DANTE; DON JUAN III-V. This was the year of the Bowles controversy, during which Byron wrote two letters in defence of Pope, attacking the Lake Poets and the Cockneys.

Lockhart's unsigned JOHN BULL'S LETTER TO THE RT. HON. [LORD BYRON](#).



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

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

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

Elijah Wood built a large ell onto his home on Wood Street in [Concord](#) and hired apprentices in the manufacture of shoes for shipment to the American South and West. The 10 to 20 male cobbler's apprentices worked until 9PM. Uppers were stitched by Concord women in their homes at piecework rates.

A group holding to trinitarian beliefs decided to separate itself from [Concord's](#) First Parish Church into a Trinitarian Congregationalist Church. For the time being they would continue to meet at the First Parish meetinghouse (eventually they would have their own structure on the far side of Mill Brook).

Here is a summary of the situation in nearby Acton for this year:

In 1821, there were 140 dwelling houses; 230 other buildings; 513 acres of tillage land on which was raised 705 bushels of rye, 932 of oats, 5833 of corn, 75 of barley, and 140 of beans. 1527 acres of mowing land, producing 956 tons of hay; 2026 acres of pasturing, keeping 939 cows, 196 oxen, 69 horses, and 181 swine; 2055 acres of wood; 3633 acres unimproved; and 1311 unimproveable; 240 used as roads and 500 covered with water. It then had 3 grist-mills, 2 carding-machines; 2 fulling-mills, and 4 saw-mills. In 1825, there were 236 polls. Valuation \$8629.28. The principal employment of the inhabitants is agriculture. Barrels may be considered the *staple production* of the town [of Acton]. From 15,000 to 20,000 of this article, it is estimated, are annually manufactured here [in Acton], and this business is the source of considerable income.

During 20 years subsequent to 1800, there were published 208 intentions of marriage, and there occurred 161 marriages, 344 births (as recorded); 302 deaths, of whom 72 died under one year old; 32 were 80 and upwards, 8 were 90 and upwards, and one lived 99%. The average number annually was 15, about one in 70 of the whole population. The mean average was 35 years.<sup>18</sup>

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

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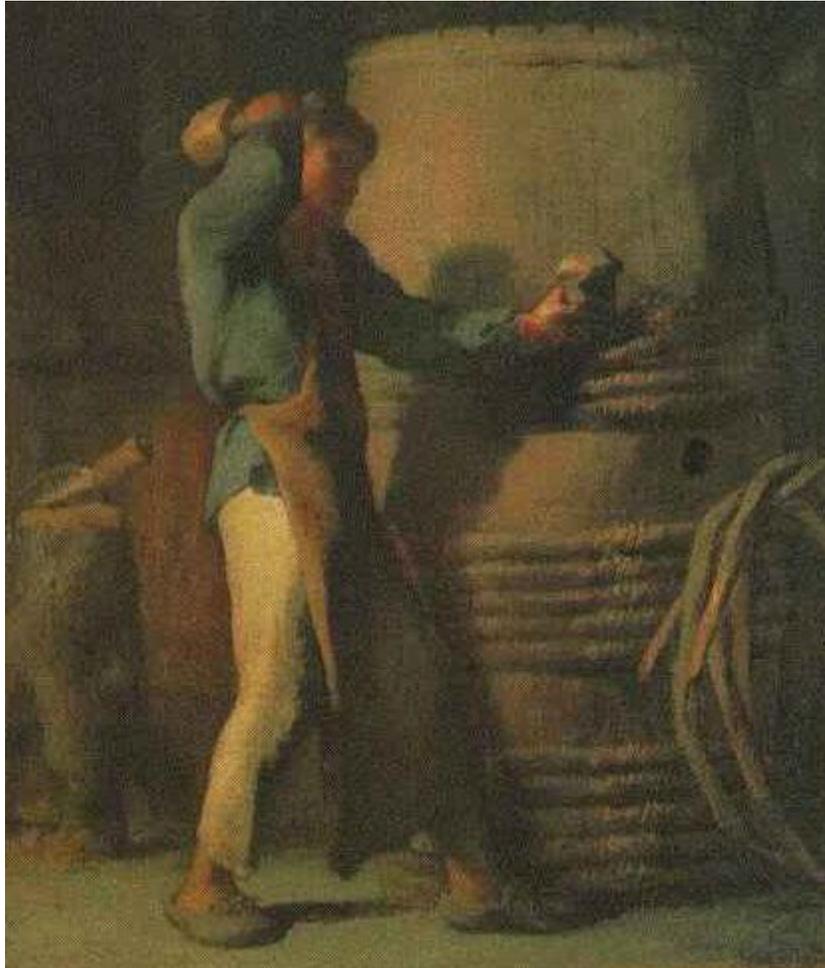
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WHAT?

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Representatives of [Carlisle](#) to the General court of Massachusetts (not represented in 1822):

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

Town Clerks of [Carlisle](#)

Zebulon Spaulding	1780-1784.
Asa Parlin	1785-1802; 1806-'8.
John Jacobs	1803, 1809-'12, 1826.
Jonathan Heald	1804, 1805.
Jonathan Heald, Jr.	'13, '14, '18-'20.
John Heald	'15-'17, '21-'25, '27-'29.
Cyrus Heald	1829-----.



William Henry Furness graduated from [Harvard College](#) and went on to [Harvard Divinity School](#).

**NEW "HARVARD MEN"**

[Charles Jarvis](#) of [Concord](#), son of the baker and farmer Deacon [Francis Jarvis](#), and John Milton Cheney of [Concord](#), son of the farmer Hezekiah Cheney, graduated from [Harvard](#). They would continue their studies, respectively, in medicine and the law:

[CHARLES JARVIS](#) [of [Concord](#)], son of Deacon [Francis Jarvis](#), was born November 27, 1800 and grad[uated at [Harvard](#) in] 1821. He studied medicine with Doctors Hurd and Bartlett of [Concord](#), and Shattuck of [Boston](#), and received his medical degree in 1825. He settled in South Bridgewater where he soon obtained a respectable practice. But in the following July he was attacked with a fatal disease, removed to his father's house and died February 23, 1826 aged 25.<sup>19</sup>

JOHN MILTON CHENEY [of [Concord](#)], son of Hezekiah Cheney, was graduated [at [Harvard](#)] in 1821. He settled as a lawyer in [Concord](#), and was appointed Cashier of the Concord Bank in April,



1821

1821

1832.<sup>20</sup>

 At [Harvard College](#)'s Divinity School, the following gentlemen commenced their studies:

Enos Stewart  
Eliphalet Porter Crafts (Brown University)  
Edward Brooks Hall  
Charles Wentworth Upham  
Alexander Young

In 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.

 Until 1828, the USS *Constitution* would be in the Mediterranean, serving as the flagship of the US squadron there.

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

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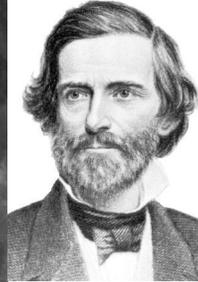
20. Ibid.

1821

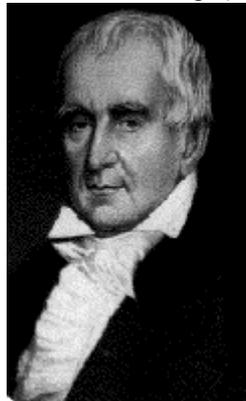
1821



The war for liberation of Greece from the Ottoman Empire began. This would last into 1829. In [Rhode Island](#), William C. Gibbs was in charge. [Samuel Gridley Howe](#), who like Byron would take an active part in the Greek war against Turkey, graduated from [Brown University](#) in [Providence](#).



During his undergraduate education, he had been notorious for his pranks, such as leading the college president's horse up the stairs to the top floor of the College Edifice. (Speaking of the College Edifice, in this year the lot adjacent to it was being purchased upon which a 3-story brick building would be constructed by [Nicholas Brown, Jr.](#) and named in honor of his sister Hope.)



[Mexico](#) declared independence from Spain, claiming freedom also for California and [Texas](#).

The Santa Fe Trail became a major route to the Southwest, including Mexico and California (it would persist until 1850).



Martin Van Buren was a delegate to the convention for the revision of the New York state constitution. From this year into 1828, he would be a U.S. Senator and would be helping to form the Democratic party; then in 1828 he would be managing Andrew Jackson's presidential campaign.



1821

1821

## JANUARY

 January/February: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) visited Teresa Viviani and wrote “Epipsychidion.”

 January: A resolution was passed by the general assembly of [Rhode Island](#), requiring the clerks of the various towns to collect and communicate information regarding their schools, and in particular their school costs.

[PUBLIC EDUCATION](#)

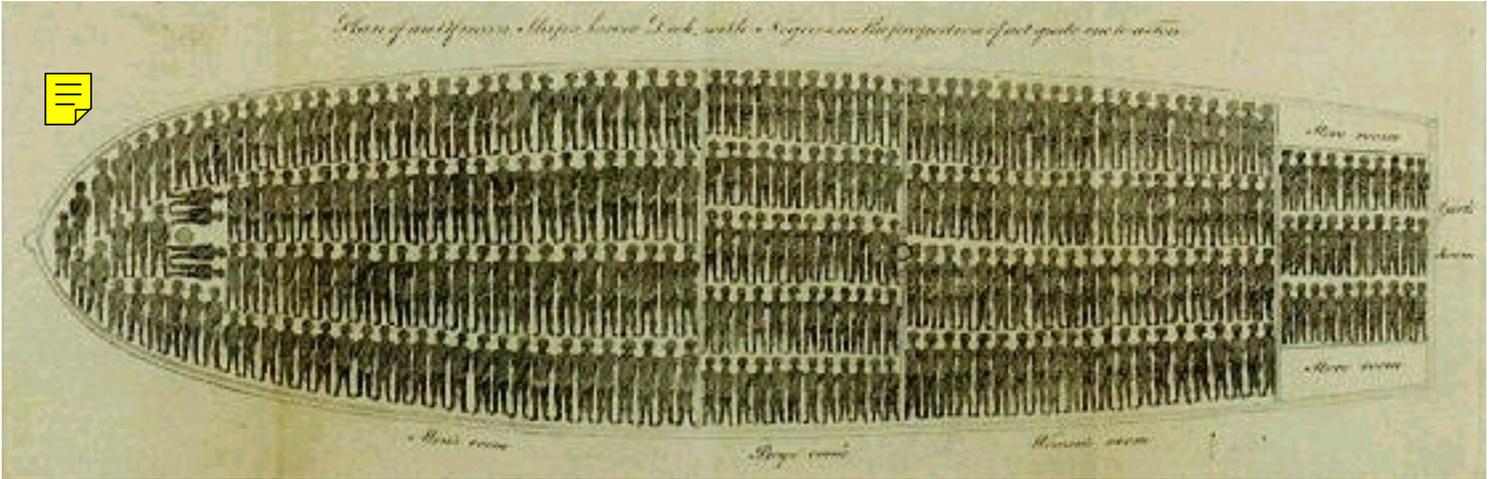
 January: Anthracite coal was first used in on New-York.

1821

1821



January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag, the *Atalanta*, master Peoli, J.J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 570 [enslaved](#) Africans at the port of Havana, Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



➡ January: [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) was formally recognized as a “Public Friend,” that is, as a traveling Quaker minister, in spite of the fact that one of her favorite messages was to the effect that we ought to be evaluating people on the basis of their likeness to Jesus rather than on the basis of their notions about him.<sup>21</sup>



➡ January 1, Monday: Midshipman [George Back](#) was promoted to Lieutenant.

[John James Audubon](#) made himself a new-year’s promise that he was gonna paint all of 99 birds in not more than 99 days. He hired some market hunters to bring him dead specimens of various interesting species, stiffing them back up into more or less imaginary naturalistic poses by inserting strong wires inside their flesh. The backgrounds for such naturalistic paintings his student Joseph Mason would add for him, or he would hire others to create for him in bulk.



During this year he and Joseph Mason would go to New Orleans in order to raise funds to continue to travel, and in order to send money back home to his wife Lucy, he would paint on commission and would teach students.

Portuguese troops in Belem, Brazil rebelled and set up a liberal government.

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

21. When elderd by evangelical Quakers for saying such an impious thing, Friend [Lucretia](#) would pin the tale on friend [William Penn](#), claiming that she was merely citing a rap by that authoritative Founding Father!

*2nd day 1st of 1st M 1821 / News in Town This morning of the Death of James Burrell Senator in Congress from this State — This may be justly considered a great public loss, few so good men go to Congress, he had in this & former Sessions distinguished himself as a friend to the cause of the Abolition of Slavery, & is worthy of double Honor. -<sup>22</sup>*



**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

1821. The Court of Common Pleas was then in session at Providence, and on Monday morning, the 1st of January, Gen. Bridgham, in behalf of the Bar, and as President of the General Bar meeting, rose and addressed the Court in the most feeling and impressive manner, on this melancholy event [the death, late in the previous year, of James Burrill, Jr. U.S. Senator from this State]. To which Chief Justice Martin responded in a brief and appropriate notice of the deceased, and in respect to his memory the Court then adjourned. At a General Bar Meeting assembled on the 3d, Resolutions expressive of grief and the highest respect to the memory of the deceased were passed, and Hon. Tristram Burges was appointed to deliver an eulogy on the 15th January - on which day, the members of the bar, and a great portion of the citizens, formed a procession, and marched to the First Congregational Church, where a most impressive and eloquent eulogy was pronounced by Mr. Burges, and solemn dirges and funeral ceremonies were performed. The auditory was bathed in tears, and the speaker himself was so strongly affected, that utterance was sometimes difficult. The newspapers at Washington, and letter writers there to papers in other places, laid their partisan feelings to rest, and spoke in the most respectful terms of his character as a man, a lawyer and a statesman. Mr. Burrill was born in this town in the year 1772; graduated at the University here in 1788; at the age of 19, was admitted to the bar, and at 25 elected Attorney General, which office held sixteen years, and resigned in 1814. In October of that year he was elected a member of the General Assembly, and was soon after chosen Speaker of that body, and continued as such

22. 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

while he held a seat in the House, but from which he was soon after transferred to the bench of the Supreme Judicial Court, as Chief Justice. In February, 1817, he was elected Senator to Congress, and before the expiration of half his constitutional term, was carried to the silent grave. He was a fine belles lettres scholar, and eminent lawyer, and able statesman. He was remarkably domestic in his habits, home was the cynosure of his delights, and there he was beloved and honored.

 January 2, Tuesday: Lieutenant [George Back](#) arrived at the trading posts on Lake Athabasca. When the new supplies arrived, he would take them to Fort Enterprise.

[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) had been married to Penelope for six years but only the first year had been happy:

### EPIGRAM ON MY WEDDING-DAY.

To Penelope.

This day, of all our days, has done  
The worst for me and you :—  
'Tis just six years since we were one,  
And five since we were two.

Early in the month there would occur a spate of marches in honor of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) becoming the Queen Consort of the empire. [King George IV](#)'s proclamation as king would be met, in a number of cities, with shouts of "Queen, Queen, Long Live the Queen." The monarch would be booed even at Ascot. There would be street cries of "No Queen, No King." London walls would be chalked with the slogan "The Queen Forever, the King in the River."

 January 4, Thursday: The selectmen of Concord, New Hampshire were authorized to cooperate with the selectmen of the nearby community of Boscawen to repair or rebuild the bridge across the Contocook River near John Chandler's, with Concord paying half the expense.

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

*5th day 4th of 1st M / A Small but favor'd Meeting, Jonathon  
Dennis appeard in a short but good testimony.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 5: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Message from the President ... transmitting ... Information on the Subject of the African Slave Trade."—HOUSE DOCUMENT, 16 Cong. 2 sess. IV. No. 48.

1821

1821

→ January 6-July 29: [Thomas Jefferson](#) sketched out the events of his life up to his service as Secretary of State, taking care to mention of course that in 1776, as a member of the committee appointed by the Continental Congress to “prepare a declaration of independence,” his colleagues had “desired me to do it. It was accordingly done, and being approved by them, I reported it to the house on Friday the 28th of June.”



Because “the sentiments of men are known not only by what they receive, but what they reject also,” Jefferson included in this sketch not only the draft approved by Congress but also the “parts struck out” by its members and “those inserted by them.” Since “erroneous statements of the proceedings on the declaration of independence” had appeared “before the public in latter times,” he alleged forcefully that his lengthy description of the genesis of the Declaration document had been derived not from memory but from notes he had taken on the spot (immensely valuable notes which, if actually they ever had existed, unfortunately we have never been able to place into the hands of our historians). In this memoir, however, he made no overt claim to authorship, either sole or otherwise.<sup>23</sup>

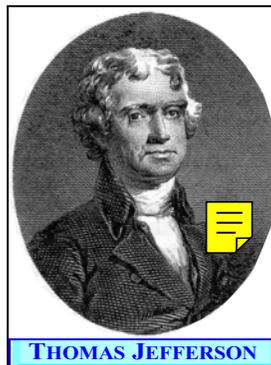
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE



“The United States of America had human slavery for almost one hundred years before that custom was recognized as a social disease and people began to fight it. Imagine that. Wasn’t that a match for Auschwitz? What a beacon of liberty we were to the rest of the world when it was perfectly acceptable here to own other human beings and treat them as we treated cattle. Who told you we were a beacon of liberty from the very beginning? Why would they lie like that? [Thomas Jefferson](#) owned slaves, and not many people found that odd. It was as though he had an infected growth on the end of his nose the size of a walnut, and everybody thought that was perfectly OK.”



- [Kurt Vonnegut](#), FATES WORSE THAN DEATH, page 84



THOMAS JEFFERSON

23. “Autobiography.” Peterson, Merrill D., ed. THOMAS JEFFERSON: WRITINGS. NY: 1984

At some point during this year [Thomas Jefferson](#) sat for a portrait by Thomas Sully:



(In France, this portrait would be used as the basis for a statue of him, that would stand seven-and-a-half-foot tall exclusive of pedestal for many years before the [White House](#).)



January 7, Sunday: [Henry Gilman Prichard](#) had very recently been born, son of [Moses Prichard](#) and [Jane Tompson Hallet Prichard](#) of [Concord](#) — but on this day this infant died.

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

*1st day 7th of 1 M / It was an uncommonly driving Snow Storm. Meeting in the morning was very small & no woman attended nor was it fit that any should the funeral of Benjamin Sherman which was to have gone to meeting was defered till tomorrow — In the Afternoon only Six Men attended which (I think) is the smallest Meeting I ever attended Yet in both, to my mind a good degree of The Ancient promise to the "Two or Three" was experienced, for which I desire to be thankful.*

1821

1821

➡ January 8, Monday: King Ferdinando arrived from [Naples](#) at Laibach (Ljubljana), where he was to meet with other crowned heads of Europe.

KENILWORTH by [Sir Walter Scott](#) was published by Constable & Co.

In the 97th year of his age a Mr. Huddy, on a wager, made his way the 15 miles from Lismore in [Ireland](#) (“A”), where he was postmaster, to Fermoy (“B”) with a large red night-cap on his head, in a Dungarvan oyster-tub, drawn by a pig, a badger, two cats, a goose, and a hedgehog, by the application of a pig-driver’s whip and a common cow’s horn. The newspapers recorded that as “one fool makes many,” the penalty of this wager was well observed along the way.<sup>24</sup>



➡ January 9, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 9th of 1 M / This morning between 5 & 6 OClock, I was called up to assist in performing one of the last offices for my friend & old respectable neighbour VALENTINE WIGHTMAN who left time about half an hour before, In the 88th Year of his age, he has lived about 20 years in this neighbour hood & was an intimate friend of my father’s he sustained the character of an honest man & was greatly esteemed by a numerous circle of friends here & many with whom he transacted buisness Abroad*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 11, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 1st M 1821 / Our first meeting to me was a season of uncommon favor for which I desire to be thankful - In the last (Select) the Solemnity of the first was in good measure preserved under which Solemn covering we were favord to transact the usual buisness that comes before us. - This Afternoon attended the funeral of our old neighbour Wightman*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ January 12, Friday: The New York legislature began purging Federalists from the government.

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

24. This was “Plough Monday,” marking the end of the Christmas holidays and the need for husbandmen to return to their labors. In some regions, especially the north counties, a plough would be pulled on long ropes by teams of men in their shirtsleeves decorated with gay ribbons, to the doors of the villagers and townspeople. There would be music and morris-dancers, a youth would dress up as an old woman and be addressed as “Bessy,” and money would be collected which was usually spent on a supper.

*6th day 1st M 12th / Again this morning called to the house of Mourning last evening about a quarter before 8 OClock Esther Bowen wife of Stephen Bowen departed this life. - Spent a few moments in sympathy with Stephen & her Sister who arrived a few days before her decease from Danvers - proffered my Services or advice with respect to the funeral, which was concluded to be on first day at the Meeting House in the forenoon. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 13, Saturday: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) met Edward and Jane Williams, who have recently arrived in [Pisa](#).

 January 14, Sunday: Lieutenant [John Franklin](#)'s party ventured in two canoes from Fort Enterprise down the Coppermine River to the sea, and then along the coast as far east as Bathurst Inlet. Running low on supplies, the party then ventured across the barren tundra in the general direction of Fort Enterprise. Lieutenant [George Back](#) went ahead to search for natives, found some, and sent them to the main group with supplies. Ten men died before the supplies arrived.

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

*1st day 14th of 1st M / The funeral of Esther Bowen was this forenoon & tho' the day was very stormy the Meeting was very pretty full & it proved a season of favor & Solemnity not soon to be forgotten, our frd D Buffum & Father Rodman were engaged in public testimony, I Thought with life & Authority. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 15, Monday: The publication of Fantaisie with Variations on Au Clair de la lune op.48 by Muzio Clementi was entered at Stationer's Hall, London.

 January 17, Wednesday: A lead-mine operator from Missouri who had been ruined during the collapse of 1819, Moses Austin, was granted a large tract of territory in the Mejican province of Tejas by the government of New Spain, with permission to bring in a party of some 300 settlers provided that they were all Catholics, and all descended exclusively from Europeans. (Moses would die, but his son [Stephen F. Austin](#) would be allowed by the government of [Mexico](#) to inherit his grant and lead this group of acceptable [Catholic](#) white folks into [Texas](#). They would of course bring with them their black slaves.)

Governor Clinton of New York accused Martin Van Buren of bartering states rights for patronage in Washington DC.

 January 18, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 18 of 1 M / Considering the much Snow on The ground Our meeting was well attended both by Male & female & a good time it was - J Dennis & father Rodman bore short but pertinent testimonys*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1821

1821

 January 21, Sunday: New-York's North (Hudson) River froze over.

The Reverend [Beriah Green](#) got married with Marcia Deming of Middlebury, who would die on March 31, 1826 after having given birth in 1822 to Samuel W. Green and in 1824 to Ann Parker Green.

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

*1st day 21st of 1st M / Our Morning Meeting was well attended  
Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis had short but lively testimonys  
In the Afternoon we were Silent, but as many as usual attended  
in the Afternoon. –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

 January 22, Monday: The Ohio legislature authorized construction of the state's 1st mental hospital. (Located in Cincinnati, the Commercial Hospital and Lunatic Asylum of Ohio would be ready to admit patients on January 26th, 1824. In 1838, the hospital would be sold and renamed the Commercial Hospital of Cincinnati and its mentally ill relocated to a new Ohio Lunatic Asylum in Columbus.)<sup>25</sup>

**PSYCHOLOGY**

 January 23, Tuesday: The *Nautilus* sailed from Hampton Roads, Virginia for Africa with 33 blacks, intent on creating a colony for [manumitted slaves](#) in West Africa (this vessel was owned by the American Colonization Society).

**INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE**

 January 24, Wednesday: A fire beginning at 3AM in a wooden building owned by Sarah Smith and operated as a tavern or boarding house, on Front Street between Fulton Slip and Crane Wharf close upon the East River, got out of hand because in the intense cold the fire engines could not be supplied readily with water and were becoming clogged with ice, got out of hand and by 6AM had consumed a cluster of wooden buildings on New-York's Front, Fulton, and South Streets (the cleared lots would be transformed into a fish market, the Fulton Market, that would replace the outdated Fly Market at Maiden Lane). in order to simplify progress through the excessively snow-clogged streets, the chief engineer of the city's Fire Department issued a temporary order allowing two fire-engine companies temporarily to consolidate as one.

The Cortes decided to create a liberal constitution for Portugal.

 January 25, Thursday: Erlkonig, a song by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was performed for the initial time in a public hall, the Musikverein of Vienna.

Temperatures in New-York dropped as low as -14° and thousands were able to walk from Jersey City, New Jersey, to Manhattan on the frozen ice on the Hudson (North) River. They also walked to Brooklyn and to Governor's Island.

Incorporation of the town of Concord, Maine.

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

*5th day 25th of 1st M 1821 / Our Monthly Meeting this day held  
in [Newport](#) was very small, owing to the extreme cold weather &*

25. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



*the drifting of the Snow but two friends & they young men came from [Portsmouth](#), & only nine women attended. – yet we held the Meeting & transacted the affairs of Society I trust in an honorable way – Such was the uncommon cold that no blame could be attached to those who did not attend, in the morning the Mercury in The Thermometer stood 8 degrees below Zero & rose to only six above at any time of the Day.*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

 January 26, Friday: The Congress of Laibach (Ljubljana) opened. Present were Tsar Alyeksandr of Russia and Emperor Franz of Austria as well as special representatives of the Kings of France and Prussia. Great Britain was represented only by its ambassador to Vienna, who would of course be able to act merely as an observer. Also present were King Ferdinando of [Naples](#) and the Duke of Modena. Other Italian sovereigns had also sent representatives. The subject was the peace of Europe — in particular, unrest in Italy.

This date marked the 1st recorded instance of a “Schubertiad” — 14 friends gathered in the Vienna rooms of Franz von Schober drank and made merry until 3AM.

New Yorkers walked from Paumanok Long Island to Staten Island, on the ice.

During the following 31 days the cause of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) would be experiencing a series of defeats in the House of Commons, winding up with the Whigs abandoning her cause.

Most gracious Queen we thee implore  
To go away and sin no more,  
Or, if that effort be too great,  
To go away at any rate.

 January 27, Saturday: Antonio Salieri signed a 2d recommendation for Franz Schubert.

Lalla Rukh, a festspiel by Gaspare Spontini to words of Spiker after Moore, was performed for the initial time, in the Royal Palace, Berlin.

 January 28, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 28th of 1 M / Our morning Meeting was pretty well attended, father Rodman appeared in testimony & in the Afternoon Silent meeting - both were pretty good Meetings to me –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

 January 30, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 30th of 1st M 1821 / Set out this morning for [Providence](#) to attend our apporaching Quarterly Meeting – We went in a Sleigh over the Stone bridge & Sleids ferry our company Isaac Mitchell, David Rodman, Elizabeth Rodman, Mary Williams & Mary Chase. – we dined at Fairfax alias Scra [? right hand margin obscured] Town & reached [Moses Brown](#)'s by tea time where we were kindly received & lodged. –*

*At the different Meetings which I attended my mind was favord with a good degree of that life which crow[ns] our assemblys & tho' there was Some little of the "bitter herbs w?" the*

Passover" yet Truth gained the Victory. – In the Meeting for buisness I was appointed assistent Clerk. Th[is] Seemed to me like a Season Somewhat out of Season, ab[out] fifteen years ago I was solicited to accept the same appointment & at that time could I have given up to I believe I should have been in my place & been serviceable, I record this that whoever may read ma[y?] be willing while young to render Such service as they are thought capable of by their friends in the Season of their usefulness. This I believe is the way to become Shining lights, by thus giving up they will grow in usefulness to their own peace & comfort & the satisfaction of their friends, thereby Subserving the Cause of the great Master. –

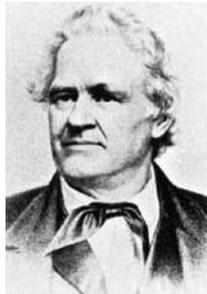
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FEBRUARY

February/March: Percy Bysshe Shelley wrote "A Defence of Poetry."

February: Silvio Pellico was transferred to the prison "Piombi di Venezia" to await trial.

February: Joshua Reed Giddings was admitted to the bar and commenced practice in Jefferson, Ohio.



February 1, Thursday: Canvass White received a US patent for a cement that would harden underwater.

CANALS

The publication of two Capriccios for piano op.47 by Muzio Clementi was entered at Stationer's Hall, London.

Sagt, woher stammt Liebeslust, a lied for soprano, alto, female chorus and guitar by Carl Maria von Weber, was performed for the initial time, as part of Der Kaufmann von Venedig, a play by Schlegel after Shakespeare, in the Dresden Hoftheater.

The Reverend Barnard Hanbury and George Waddington arrived back at their point of insertion into the African desert, Wadi Halfa, only a bit the worse for wear and tear.

HENRY WOULD READ ABOUT IT



1821

1821

 February 2, Friday: A Bucktail caucus nominated Martin Van Buren for the federal Senate.

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

*On Sixth day I went to the [School House](#) & spent two long sittings with the [School committee](#) which proved to me a Season of exercise. but am disposed to think all will work together for good & feel encouraged that the institution is in a prosperous State – In the evening returned to Browns & the next morning Our company took the Sleigh & set it on a pair of Coach Wheels kindly lent us by [Moses Brown](#) They reached home at Noon on First day but I returned on 7th day in the Mail Stage. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 3, Saturday: Elizabeth Blackwell was born, who would shatter a glass ceiling by making herself the 1st woman to get a medical diploma from a US medical school.

“Die Soldatenliebschaft,” a singspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Casper, was performed for the initial time with orchestra, in a specially constructed theater in the [Mendelssohn](#) home, Berlin. It was the composer’s 12th birthday.

[Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) dated the manuscript to his earliest known composition, a Polonaise in A flat.

Two days after Friedrich Kalkbrenner was denied the status of a subscriber, Muzio Clementi resigned from the London Philharmonic Society terming this a “flagrant insult.”

 February 4, Sunday: Frederick Goddard Tuckerman was born in [Boston](#) to Sophia May and Edward Tuckerman, a local merchant.

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

*1st day 4th of 2 M 1821 / In the forenoon Meeting Father Rodman was engaged in testimony - in the Afternoon Silent Meeting - to me they were seasons of Some encouragement. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Tuesday: A charter was granted for a college near Washington DC. (Initially this college would go under the name “Columbian,” but in 1904 it would change its name to George Washington University, retaining the name “Columbian” only for its College of Arts and Sciences.)

The New York legislature elected Martin Van Buren to the federal Senate.

1821

1821

 February 7, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Secretary of the Navy.” –HOUSE REPORTS, 17 Cong. 1 sess. No. 92, pp. 15-21.

Men from the American sealer *Cecilia* went ashore for an hour at Hughes Bay in Graham Land — the initial humans known to place their feet upon the ices and snows of Antarctica.

THE FROZEN SOUTH

 February 8, Thursday: Franz Schubert’s song “Sehnsucht” to words of Schiller was performed for the initial time, in the Musikverein, Vienna.

Enactment of bylaws for the Social Library of [Concord](#), Massachusetts.

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

*8th of 2nd M / Our meeting was a comfortable Season, Some [of? left hand margin obscured] four young females attended who are not members, whose countenances bespoke solidity & reverence - Father Rodman [in] a short testimony - In sitting down [this] evening & feeling after the Witness of Truth & life in my own mind, I have humbly to acknowledge [the?] renewings of it in my own heart, it has risen [to] my encouragement, & furnished renewed evidence [that] I am not forsaken. - Oh Blessed be the Name of the Lord, that notwithstanding the many short [com]ing & sometimes backslidings of my rebellious heart [he is] still near, & visits, he renews the touches of his love to my comfort.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 9, Friday: Enactment of further bylaws for the Social Library of [Concord](#), Massachusetts.

Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Committee to which was referred so much of the President’s message as relates to the Slave Trade.” –HOUSE REPORTS, 16 Cong. 2 sess. No. 59.

 February 10, Saturday: *Child of the Mountain*, or *The Deserted Mother*, an opera by Anton Philipp Heinrich to words of McMurtrie, was performed for the initial time, in the Walnut Street Theater, Philadelphia.

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

*1st day 11th of 2nd M 1821 / Father Rodman & Jona Dennis were both engaged in public testimony in the mornng Meeting & in the Afternoon Silent. After the last Meeting went with J Dennis to visit James Goddard Son of Thos Goddard who lays very low in a [consumption](#). our visit seemed to be acceptable to him & was very comfortable to us. The evident peaceful frame of his mind & the Solemnity felt on sitting down with him, warranted the belief that Holy help was near -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1821

1821

 February 12, Monday: Enactment of further bylaws for the Social Library of [Concord](#), Massachusetts.

The Mercantile Library of the City of New-York, announced during the previous year, opened its doors.

 February 14, Wednesday: Carl Loewe became musical director for the City of Stettin (Szczecin). He would work in Stettin for the following 45 years.

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

*5th day 15th of 2nd M / At Meeting a Short testimony from Jona Dennis. – it is a little remarkable that the first thing that occurred to my mind on waking this morning was the Passage of Scripture which he mentioned Vizt - "Wherewithall shall a young man cleanse his way, By taking heed thereto according to thy word."*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Mr. Meigs of the United States House of Representatives again made a proposal in regard to the evil of human [enslavement](#) and in regard to the persistence of the [international slave trade](#):

"Whereas slavery, in the United States, is an evil, acknowledged to be of great and increasing magnitude, ... therefore,  
"Resolved, That a committee be appointed to inquire into the expediency of devoting five hundred million acres of the public lands, next west of the Mississippi, as a fund for the purpose of, in the  
"First place; Employing a naval force, competent to the annihilation of the slave trade," etc. Question to consider decided in the affirmative, 63 to 50; laid on the table, 66 to 55. HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress, 2d session, page 238; ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress, 2d session, pages 1168-70.

 February 16, Friday: [Heinrich Barth](#) was born in Hamburg.

Publication of the Piano Concerto op.85 by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

John Scott, the editor of [London Magazine](#), had accused [Blackwood's Magazine](#) of libel. A representative of the journal, J.H. Christie, had challenged Scott to a [duel](#). Scott had accepted, and in this case "the sword proved to be mightier than the pen" — the editor would die of his wounds.

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

*1st day 18th of 2nd M / Father Rodman & David Buffum were both engaged in testimony in the forenoon Meeting, & in the Afternoon both were Silent. –  
Rec'd this morning From my F Thos Thompsons of Liverpool [who assisted Paul Cuffe when Cuffe first arrived, friend with whom [Paul Cuffe](#) stayed in 1811, 9th month just before leaving England] a Pacquet containinng a letter from him dated the 28th of 11th M last George Bishops New England Judged and address by Thos Shillito to Friends in England & Ireland & a Manuscript Book in the hand writing of Griffeth Given entitled "A*



1821

1821

Collection of some Papers writt By DANIEL GOULD & MADE PUBLIC in order to Promote Piety & good Works By G O & T C The circumstance of this Ancient & (to me) valuable manuscript comeing into my Possession [is] quite remarkable & on this wise, many years ago when I was a lad I used to visit my much loved cousin Bathsheba Gould who lived then at Middletown in the family of her Brother Thomas Gould in my visits to her she used to amuse me & ot[her] of her young relations with Anecdotes of our venerable predecessor Daniel Gould & would read to us some of The Papers, which were his & among them two letters from Griffith Owen to him, in one of which. dated 30th of 1 M 1714 was contained information that "he & Thomas Chalkley had perused his papers, sorted & placed them with titles to each & had written a preface, & that Friends in Philadelphia being Slow & backward in Printing & their Printer not an Artist, he had concluded to send it to Great Britain to be printed & had ordered mony there to be paid for them if he approved of it. -having got them transcribed fair in a Book." This information I treasured & pondered in my mind till at length cousin Bathsheba gave me the letters & having become acquainted with Thos Thompson by letter thro' the introduction of Wm Rickaman & understanding he was an Antiquarian I copyed the whole of the foregoing letter & sent to him in quiring if he had any knowledge of the Book therin mentioned, & to my joy & Astonishment he sent me the Identical manuscript as popyed [copyed?] by Griffith Owen it appears from some cause to have been overlooked [-?] to the printing, but carfully preserved in the original Manuscript, & to me is a valuable acquisition.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 19, Monday: The Adams/Onis treaty with Spain was ratified by the US Senate.



February 21, Wednesday: Holding court in Savannah, US District Judge William Davies split the Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#) among the Spanish and Portuguese claimants. A number were also to be turned over to the federal government of the United States.



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



February 22, Thursday: US Marshal John H. Morel reported that he at that time held 212 Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#) (one had disappeared, one had been "judicially discharged," and 44 had died).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Dr. Abiel Heywood was administered an oath in regard to the [Concord](#) Social Library.

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

5th day 22nd of 2nd M 1821 / The travelling is very bad, & I felt afraid to go with any one in a Chaise & considered it improper for me to be at The expence of one alone, so I concluded to omit going to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held there. - In the Afternoon attended the funeral of James Goddard son of Thomas on the Point



1821

1821

*Father Rodman was engaged in testimony & it proved a pretty solid opportunity - he [James Goddard] was not member of society, but being descended from friends bury in our ground & according to our custom.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1821

1821



February 23, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 23rd of 2 M 1821 / This evening Sally Brown spent with us, & to me it was an agreeable time – Oh that she & I too were more religiously devoted. –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

The “rapid [consumption](#)” mentioned by Shelley –the last stage of the [tuberculosis](#) he had caught from tending his brother Tom Keats in the previous year – resulted in [John Keats](#)’s death at the age of 25 in a small room overlooking the Spanish Steps in [Rome](#).

“Bring me the candle,” he called to Brown, with whom he was staying, “and let me see this blood.” He looked at the bright red spot on his pillow and then, his excitement and intoxication gone, he said calmly, “I know the colour of that blood. It’s arterial blood.... That blood is my death warrant.”

## Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."

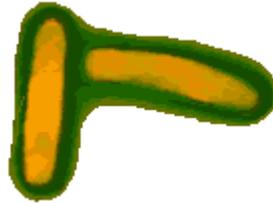
— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787



**"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."**

**—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853**

1821	John Keats	dying of TB in Rome	<i>"Severn ... I am dying ... I shall die easy ... don't be frightened ... be firm and thank God it has come."</i>
1825	Phebe Walker Bliss Emerson Ripley	died in Concord	<i>"Don't call Dr. Ripley his boots squeak so, Mr. Emerson used to step so softly, his boots never squeaked."</i>
1826	<a href="#">Thomas Jefferson</a>	died at 12:50PM	<i>"Is it the 4th? —Ah."</i>
1826	John Adams	died at 5:30PM — Jefferson actually had, in Virginia, predeceased him	<i>"Thomas Jefferson still surv..."</i>
1830	King George IV	early one morning in Windsor Castle	<i>"Good God, what is this? — My boy, this is death."</i>
1832	Sam Sharpe	being hanged after an unsuccessful slave revolt on the island of Jamaica	<i>"I would rather die on yonder gallows than live in slavery."</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			



Here is Keats's deathmask:



**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

 February 24, Saturday: The failure of the Carbonari plan.

"Matilde Shabran ossia Bellezza, e cuor di ferro," a melodramma giocoso by Gioachino Rossini to words of Ferretti after Hoffmann and Boutet de Monvel, was performed for the initial time, in Rome's Teatro Apollo, and was conducted by [Nicolò Paganini](#) (the work encountered a mixed reception).

 February 27, Tuesday: Landgrave Wilhelm I of Hesse-Kassel died and was succeeded by his son Wilhelm II.

MARCH

➡ March: The Greeks in Morea rose against Turkish rule.

➡ March: Four-year-old [Allegra](#) having come to be more bother than she was worth, she was packed off to be cared for at the convent of Bagnacavallo.



GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

1821

1821

➡ March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Herculina*, master José Garay, on its first of two known Middle Passages, out of an unknown area of Africa with a cargo of 390 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Havana, Cuba.



➡ March: [Julia Thuillier Savage Landor](#) gave birth to a female infant that would be christened as [Julia](#).

Austrian troops crushed the Neapolitan republic and restored the hegemony of the Bourbons throughout [Italy](#).

[NAPLES](#)

March: According to a [comet](#) list published in Boston in 1846, attributed to Professor [Benjamin Peirce](#) (the fingernail in the photo belongs to Brad Dean, who rooted out this information in the Harvard stacks):

No.	Date.	Greenwich M. S. T. of Perihelion Passage.	Longitude of Ascending Node.	Longitude of Perihelion.	Angle betw. Perihelion and Node.	Inclination.	Perihelion Distance.	Eccentricity.	Period of Revolution.	Direction.	Name of Computer.
133	1819	Nov. 20.24484	77 39 54	67 44 45	350 4 51	9 1 16	0.892559	0.6867458	4.810	D	Encke.
134	1821	Mar. 21.21198	49 8 35	240 0 10	169 8 25	73 20 0	0.0922882			R	Rumcker.
		Mar. 21.53656	49 5 13	239 53 42	169 11 31	73 33 7	0.0918232			R	Rosenberger.
135	1822	May 23.35388	177 1 31	193 26 47	343 34 44	53 48 36	0.502736			R	Encke.
E	1822	May 23.3519	334 42 59	157 34 56	182 51 57	13 22 25	0.345793	0.8445479	3.318	D	Encke.
136	1822	July 16.0352	98 14 50	220 17 15	237 57 35	37 43 4	0.84612			R	Heiligenstein.
137	1822	Oct. 23.99639	93 10 58	271 53 23	181 17 35	52 39 7	1.1433992	0.9914768	1550	R	Encke.
		23.80102	93 5 50	271 59 45	181 6 5	52 40 41	1.146091	0.9823022	1817	R	Rumcker.
138	1823	Dec. 9.43750	303 25 25	274 55 5	28 30 20	76 12 6	0.2267453			R	Nicolai.
139	1824	July 11.511	134 40 29	169 37 12	231 2 37	54 34 19	0.591263			R	Rumcker.
140	1824	Sept. 29.06645	279 37 53	4 53 15	85 15 22	54 35 32	1.049835			D	Encke.
141	1825	May 30.353	20 38 4	273 25 7	107 12 57	58 35 58	0.9020186			R	Rumcker.
142	1825	Aug. 18.71105	193 17 5 10	35 21 177	18 16 89 41 47	0.8834712			D	Clausen.	
143	1825	Dec. 10.68187	216 3 23	319 6 50	256 56 33	33 32 39	1.240849	0.9953690	4386	R	Hansen.
		10.77845	216 5 6	318 49 2	257 16 4	33 31 3	1.045837	0.9562464	152	R	Rumcker.
B	1826	May 18.96231	251 46 6	110 11 19	218 25 13	13 33 15	0.902430	0.7470093	6.737	D	Gambert.
144	1826	Apr. 21.977	197 56 40	117 19 33	279 22 53	40 0 26	2.007902	1.0089597		D	Nicolai.
145	1826	Apr. 29.03904	40 48 51	36 7 51	4 41 0	5 17 2	0.1881167			D	Nicolai.
146	1826	Oct. 8.95224	44 25 42	58 7 38	13 41 56	25 57 18	0.85281			R	Cluver.
147	1826	Nov. 18.41206	235 27 10	155 3 20	80 23 50	90 37 50	0.0268914			D	Argelander.
148	1827	Feb. 4.92144	184 46 47	33 49 14	150 57 33	77 35 35	0.50652			R	Cluver.
149	1827	June 7.84112	318 29 10	297 50 24	20 38 46	43 38 45	0.808154			R	Heiligenstein.
150	1827	Sept. 11.69286	149 57 56	251 15 57	258 41 59	54 4 42	0.1378433	0.9992730	2611	R	Heiligenstein.
151	1830	April 9.30062	206 38 28	212 11 44	5 23 16	21 16 28	0.9214454			R	Cluver. [Mayer. Haedenkampff and

SKY EVENT

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

*5th day 1st of 3rd M 1821 / Silent & to me a solid good meeting  
The number was rather smaller than usual owing to the bad  
Walking. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 2, Friday: Joaquin Anduaga Cuenca replaced Juan Javat as the Spanish 1st Secretary of State.

March 4, Sunday: [Elizabeth Georgiana Adelaide Hanover](#) died at the age of three months.

Eusebio Bardaji y Azara replaced Joaquin Anduaga Cuenca as the Spanish 1st Secretary of State.

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

*1st 4 of 3 M / Silent meetings & to me Poverty was my Portion  
in both*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 5, Monday: In this year the traditional date for inauguration, March 4th, happened to fall on a Sunday, so, upon the advice of Chief Justice Marshall, although his previous term had expired on Saturday, President James Monroe waited until the following Monday before going to the newly rebuilt Hall of the House of Representatives to take the oath of office and deliver his 2d Inaugural Address. The weather being cold and wet, the ceremonies were moved indoors and the change in the location caused some confusion because many visitors and dignitaries were unable to find a place to stand.

Fellow-Citizens: I shall not attempt to describe the grateful



emotions which the new and very distinguished proof of the confidence of my fellow-citizens, evinced by my reelection to this high trust, has excited in my bosom. The approbation which it announces of my conduct in the preceding term affords me a consolation which I shall profoundly feel through life. The general accord with which it has been expressed adds to the great and never-ceasing obligations which it imposes. To merit the continuance of this good opinion, and to carry it with me into my retirement as the solace of advancing years, will be the object of my most zealous and unceasing efforts. Having no pretensions to the high and commanding claims of my predecessors, whose names are so much more conspicuously identified with our Revolution, and who contributed so preeminently to promote its success, I consider myself rather as the instrument than the cause of the union which has prevailed in the late election. In surmounting, in favor of my humble pretensions, the difficulties which so often produce division in like occurrences, it is obvious that other powerful causes, indicating the great strength and stability of our Union, have essentially contributed to draw you together. That these powerful causes exist, and that they are permanent, is my fixed opinion; that they may produce a like accord in all questions touching, however remotely, the liberty, prosperity, and happiness of our country will always be the object of my most fervent prayers to the Supreme Author of All Good. In a government which is founded by the people, who possess exclusively the sovereignty, it seems proper that the person who may be placed by their suffrages in this high trust should declare on commencing its duties the principles on which he intends to conduct the Administration. If the person thus elected has served the preceding term, an opportunity is afforded him to review its principal occurrences and to give such further explanation respecting them as in his judgment may be useful to his constituents. The events of one year have influence on those of another, and, in like manner, of a preceding on the succeeding Administration. The movements of a great nation are connected in all their parts. If errors have been committed they ought to be corrected; if the policy is sound it ought to be supported. It is by a thorough knowledge of the whole subject that our fellow-citizens are enabled to judge correctly of the past and to give a proper direction to the future. Just before the commencement of the last term the United States had concluded a war with a very powerful nation on conditions equal and honorable to both parties. The events of that war are too recent and too deeply impressed on the memory of all to require a development from me. Our commerce had been in a great measure driven from the sea, our Atlantic and inland frontiers were invaded in almost every part; the waste of life along our coast and on some parts of our inland frontiers, to the defense of which our gallant and patriotic citizens were called, was immense, in addition to which not less than \$120,000,000 were added at its end to the public debt. As soon as the war had terminated, the nation, admonished by its events, resolved to place itself in a situation which should be better calculated to prevent the recurrence of a like evil, and, in case it should recur, to mitigate its calamities. With this



view, after reducing our land force to the basis of a peace establishment, which has been further modified since, provision was made for the construction of fortifications at proper points through the whole extent of our coast and such an augmentation of our naval force as should be well adapted to both purposes. The laws making this provision were passed in 1815 and 1816, and it has been since the constant effort of the Executive to carry them into effect. The advantage of these fortifications and of an augmented naval force in the extent contemplated, in a point of economy, has been fully illustrated by a report of the Board of Engineers and Naval Commissioners lately communicated to Congress, by which it appears that in an invasion by 20,000 men, with a correspondent naval force, in a campaign of six months only, the whole expense of the construction of the works would be defrayed by the difference in the sum necessary to maintain the force which would be adequate to our defense with the aid of those works and that which would be incurred without them. The reason of this difference is obvious. If fortifications are judiciously placed on our great inlets, as distant from our cities as circumstances will permit, they will form the only points of attack, and the enemy will be detained there by a small regular force a sufficient time to enable our militia to collect and repair to that on which the attack is made. A force adequate to the enemy, collected at that single point, with suitable preparation for such others as might be menaced, is all that would be requisite. But if there were no fortifications, then the enemy might go where he pleased, and, changing his position and sailing from place to place, our force must be called out and spread in vast numbers along the whole coast and on both sides of every bay and river as high up in each as it might be navigable for ships of war. By these fortifications, supported by our Navy, to which they would afford like support, we should present to other powers an armed front from St. Croix to the Sabine, which would protect in the event of war our whole coast and interior from invasion; and even in the wars of other powers, in which we were neutral, they would be found eminently useful, as, by keeping their public ships at a distance from our cities, peace and order in them would be preserved and the Government be protected from insult. It need scarcely be remarked that these measures have not been resorted to in a spirit of hostility to other powers. Such a disposition does not exist toward any power. Peace and good will have been, and will hereafter be, cultivated with all, and by the most faithful regard to justice. They have been dictated by a love of peace, of economy, and an earnest desire to save the lives of our fellow-citizens from that destruction and our country from that devastation which are inseparable from war when it finds us unprepared for it. It is believed, and experience has shown, that such a preparation is the best expedient that can be resorted to prevent war. I add with much pleasure that considerable progress has already been made in these measures of defense, and that they will be completed in a few years, considering the great extent and importance of the object, if the plan be zealously and steadily persevered in. The conduct of the Government in what relates to foreign powers is always an object of the highest importance to the nation. Its agriculture, commerce, manufactures,



fisheries, revenue, in short, its peace, may all be affected by it. Attention is therefore due to this subject. At the period adverted to the powers of Europe, after having been engaged in long and destructive wars with each other, had concluded a peace, which happily still exists. Our peace with the power with whom we had been engaged had also been concluded. The war between Spain and the colonies in South America, which had commenced many years before, was then the only conflict that remained unsettled. This being a contest between different parts of the same community, in which other powers had not interfered, was not affected by their accommodations. This contest was considered at an early stage by my predecessor a civil war in which the parties were entitled to equal rights in our ports. This decision, the first made by any power, being formed on great consideration of the comparative strength and resources of the parties, the length of time, and successful opposition made by the colonies, and of all other circumstances on which it ought to depend, was in strict accord with the law of nations. Congress has invariably acted on this principle, having made no change in our relations with either party. Our attitude has therefore been that of neutrality between them, which has been maintained by the Government with the strictest impartiality. No aid has been afforded to either, nor has any privilege been enjoyed by the one which has not been equally open to the other party, and every exertion has been made in its power to enforce the execution of the laws prohibiting illegal equipments with equal rigor against both. By this equality between the parties their public vessels have been received in our ports on the same footing; they have enjoyed an equal right to purchase and export arms, munitions of war, and every other supply, the exportation of all articles whatever being permitted under laws which were passed long before the commencement of the contest; our citizens have traded equally with both, and their commerce with each has been alike protected by the Government. Respecting the attitude which it may be proper for the United States to maintain hereafter between the parties, I have no hesitation in stating it as my opinion that the neutrality heretofore observed should still be adhered to. From the change in the Government of Spain and the negotiation now depending, invited by the Cortes and accepted by the colonies, it may be presumed, that their differences will be settled on the terms proposed by the colonies. Should the war be continued, the United States, regarding its occurrences, will always have it in their power to adopt such measures respecting it as their honor and interest may require. Shortly after the general peace a band of adventurers took advantage of this conflict and of the facility which it afforded to establish a system of buccaneering in the neighboring seas, to the great annoyance of the commerce of the United States, and, as was represented, of that of other powers. Of this spirit and of its injurious bearing on the United States strong proofs were afforded by the establishment at Amelia Island, and the purposes to which it was made instrumental by this band in 1817, and by the occurrences which took place in other parts of Florida in 1818, the details of which in both instances are too well known to require to be now recited. I am satisfied had a less decisive course been adopted that the worst



consequences would have resulted from it. We have seen that these checks, decisive as they were, were not sufficient to crush that piratical spirit. Many culprits brought within our limits have been condemned to suffer death, the punishment due to that atrocious crime. The decisions of upright and enlightened tribunals fall equally on all whose crimes subject them, by a fair interpretation of the law, to its censure. It belongs to the Executive not to suffer the executions under these decisions to transcend the great purpose for which punishment is necessary. The full benefit of example being secured, policy as well as humanity equally forbids that they should be carried further. I have acted on this principle, pardoning those who appear to have been led astray by ignorance of the criminality of the acts they had committed, and suffering the law to take effect on those only in whose favor no extenuating circumstances could be urged. Great confidence is entertained that the late treaty with Spain, which has been ratified by both the parties, and the ratifications whereof have been exchanged, has placed the relations of the two countries on a basis of permanent friendship. The provision made by it for such of our citizens as have claims on Spain of the character described will, it is presumed, be very satisfactory to them, and the boundary which is established between the territories of the parties westward of the Mississippi, heretofore in dispute, has, it is thought, been settled on conditions just and advantageous to both. But to the acquisition of Florida too much importance can not be attached. It secures to the United States a territory important in itself, and whose importance is much increased by its bearing on many of the highest interests of the Union. It opens to several of the neighboring States a free passage to the ocean, through the Province ceded, by several rivers, having their sources high up within their limits. It secures us against all future annoyance from powerful Indian tribes. It gives us several excellent harbors in the Gulf of Mexico for ships of war of the largest size. It covers by its position in the Gulf the Mississippi and other great waters within our extended limits, and thereby enables the United States to afford complete protection to the vast and very valuable productions of our whole Western country, which find a market through those streams. By a treaty with the British Government, bearing date on the 20th of October, 1818, the convention regulating the commerce between the United States and Great Britain, concluded on the 3d of July, 1815, which was about expiring, was revived and continued for the term of ten years from the time of its expiration. By that treaty, also, the differences which had arisen under the treaty of Ghent respecting the right claimed by the United States for their citizens to take and cure fish on the coast of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, with other differences on important interests, were adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. No agreement has yet been entered into respecting the commerce between the United States and the British dominions in the West Indies and on this continent. The restraints imposed on that commerce by Great Britain, and reciprocated by the United States on a principle of defense, continue still in force. The negotiation with France for the regulation of the



commercial relations between the two countries, which in the course of the last summer had been commenced at Paris, has since been transferred to this city, and will be pursued on the part of the United States in the spirit of conciliation, and with an earnest desire that it may terminate in an arrangement satisfactory to both parties. Our relations with the Barbary Powers are preserved in the same state and by the same means that were employed when I came into this office. As early as 1801 it was found necessary to send a squadron into the Mediterranean for the protection of our commerce, and no period has intervened, a short term excepted, when it was thought advisable to withdraw it. The great interests which the United States have in the Pacific, in commerce and in the fisheries, have also made it necessary to maintain a naval force there. In disposing of this force in both instances the most effectual measures in our power have been taken, without interfering with its other duties, for the suppression of the slave trade and of piracy in the neighboring seas. The situation of the United States in regard to their resources, the extent of their revenue, and the facility with which it is raised affords a most gratifying spectacle. The payment of nearly \$67,000,000 of the public debt, with the great progress made in measures of defense and in other improvements of various kinds since the late war, are conclusive proofs of this extraordinary prosperity, especially when it is recollected that these expenditures have been defrayed without a burthen on the people, the direct tax and excise having been repealed soon after the conclusion of the late war, and the revenue applied to these great objects having been raised in a manner not to be felt. Our great resources therefore remain untouched for any purpose which may affect the vital interests of the nation. For all such purposes they are inexhaustible. They are more especially to be found in the virtue, patriotism, and intelligence of our fellow-citizens, and in the devotion with which they would yield up by any just measure of taxation all their property in support of the rights and honor of their country. Under the present depression of prices, affecting all the productions of the country and every branch of industry, proceeding from causes explained on a former occasion, the revenue has considerably diminished, the effect of which has been to compel Congress either to abandon these great measures of defense or to resort to loans or internal taxes to supply the deficiency. On the presumption that this depression and the deficiency in the revenue arising from it would be temporary, loans were authorized for the demands of the last and present year. Anxious to relieve my fellow-citizens in 1817 from every burthen which could be dispensed with, and the state of the Treasury permitting it, I recommended the repeal of the internal taxes, knowing that such relief was then peculiarly necessary in consequence of the great exertions made in the late war. I made that recommendation under a pledge that should the public exigencies require a recurrence to them at any time while I remained in this trust, I would with equal promptitude perform the duty which would then be alike incumbent on me. By the experiment now making it will be seen by the next session of Congress whether the revenue shall have been so augmented as to be adequate to all these necessary purposes.



Should the deficiency still continue, and especially should it be probable that it would be permanent, the course to be pursued appears to me to be obvious. I am satisfied that under certain circumstances loans may be resorted to with great advantage. I am equally well satisfied, as a general rule, that the demands of the current year, especially in time of peace, should be provided for by the revenue of that year. I have never dreaded, nor have I ever shunned, in any situation in which I have been placed making appeals to the virtue and patriotism of my fellow-citizens, well knowing that they could never be made in vain, especially in times of great emergency or for purposes of high national importance. Independently of the exigency of the case, many considerations of great weight urge a policy having in view a provision of revenue to meet to a certain extent the demands of the nation, without relying altogether on the precarious resource of foreign commerce. I am satisfied that internal duties and excises, with corresponding imposts on foreign articles of the same kind, would, without imposing any serious burdens on the people, enhance the price of produce, promote our manufactures, and augment the revenue, at the same time that they made it more secure and permanent. The care of the Indian tribes within our limits has long been an essential part of our system, but, unfortunately, it has not been executed in a manner to accomplish all the objects intended by it. We have treated them as independent nations, without their having any substantial pretensions to that rank. The distinction has flattered their pride, retarded their improvement, and in many instances paved the way to their destruction. The progress of our settlements westward, supported as they are by a dense population, has constantly driven them back, with almost the total sacrifice of the lands which they have been compelled to abandon. They have claims on the magnanimity and, I may add, on the justice of this nation which we must all feel. We should become their real benefactors; we should perform the office of their Great Father, the endearing title which they emphatically give to the Chief Magistrate of our Union. Their sovereignty over vast territories should cease, in lieu of which the right of soil should be secured to each individual and his posterity in competent portions; and for the territory thus ceded by each tribe some reasonable equivalent should be granted, to be vested in permanent funds for the support of civil government over them and for the education of their children, for their instruction in the arts of husbandry, and to provide sustenance for them until they could provide it for themselves. My earnest hope is that Congress will digest some plan, founded on these principles, with such improvements as their wisdom may suggest, and carry it into effect as soon as it may be practicable. Europe is again unsettled and the prospect of war increasing. Should the flame light up in any quarter, how far it may extend it is impossible to foresee. It is our peculiar felicity to be altogether unconnected with the causes which produce this menacing aspect elsewhere. With every power we are in perfect amity, and it is our interest to remain so if it be practicable on just conditions. I see no reasonable cause to apprehend variance with any power, unless it proceed from a violation of our maritime rights. In these contests, should they



occur, and to whatever extent they may be carried, we shall be neutral; but as a neutral power we have rights which it is our duty to maintain. For like injuries it will be incumbent on us to seek redress in a spirit of amity, in full confidence that, injuring none, none would knowingly injure us. For more imminent dangers we should be prepared, and it should always be recollected that such preparation adapted to the circumstances and sanctioned by the judgment and wishes of our constituents can not fail to have a good effect in averting dangers of every kind. We should recollect also that the season of peace is best adapted to these preparations. If we turn our attention, fellow-citizens, more immediately to the internal concerns of our country, and more especially to those on which its future welfare depends, we have every reason to anticipate the happiest results. It is now rather more than forty-four years since we declared our independence, and thirty-seven since it was acknowledged. The talents and virtues which were displayed in that great struggle were a sure presage of all that has since followed. A people who were able to surmount in their infant state such great perils would be more competent as they rose into manhood to repel any which they might meet in their progress. Their physical strength would be more adequate to foreign danger, and the practice of self-government, aided by the light of experience, could not fail to produce an effect equally salutary on all those questions connected with the internal organization. These favorable anticipations have been realized. In our whole system, national and State, we have shunned all the defects which unceasingly preyed on the vitals and destroyed the ancient Republics. In them there were distinct orders, a nobility and a people, or the people governed in one assembly. Thus, in the one instance there was a perpetual conflict between the orders in society for the ascendancy, in which the victory of either terminated in the overthrow of the government and the ruin of the state; in the other, in which the people governed in a body, and whose dominions seldom exceeded the dimensions of a county in one of our States, a tumultuous and disorderly movement permitted only a transitory existence. In this great nation there is but one order, that of the people, whose power, by a peculiarly happy improvement of the representative principle, is transferred from them, without impairing in the slightest degree their sovereignty, to bodies of their own creation, and to persons elected by themselves, in the full extent necessary for all the purposes of free, enlightened and efficient government. The whole system is elective, the complete sovereignty being in the people, and every officer in every department deriving his authority from and being responsible to them for his conduct. Our career has corresponded with this great outline. Perfection in our organization could not have been expected in the outset either in the National or State Governments or in tracing the line between their respective powers. But no serious conflict has arisen, nor any contest but such as are managed by argument and by a fair appeal to the good sense of the people, and many of the defects which experience had clearly demonstrated in both Governments have been remedied. By steadily pursuing this course in this spirit there is every reason to believe that our system



1821

1821

will soon attain the highest degree of perfection of which human institutions are capable, and that the movement in all its branches will exhibit such a degree of order and harmony as to command the admiration and respect of the civilized world. Our physical attainments have not been less eminent. Twenty-five years ago the river Mississippi was shut up and our Western brethren had no outlet for their commerce. What has been the progress since that time? The river has not only become the property of the United States from its source to the ocean, with all its tributary streams (with the exception of the upper part of the Red River only), but Louisiana, with a fair and liberal boundary on the western side and the Floridas on the eastern, have been ceded to us. The United States now enjoy the complete and uninterrupted sovereignty over the whole territory from St. Croix to the Sabine. New States, settled from among ourselves in this and in other parts, have been admitted into our Union in equal participation in the national sovereignty with the original States. Our population has augmented in an astonishing degree and extended in every direction. We now, fellow-citizens, comprise within our limits the dimensions and faculties of a great power under a Government possessing all the energies of any government ever known to the Old World, with an utter incapacity to oppress the people. Entering with these views the office which I have just solemnly sworn to execute with fidelity and to the utmost of my ability, I derive great satisfaction from a knowledge that I shall be assisted in the several Departments by the very enlightened and upright citizens from whom I have received so much aid in the preceding term. With full confidence in the continuance of that candor and generous indulgence from my fellow-citizens at large which I have heretofore experienced, and with a firm reliance on the protection of Almighty God, I shall forthwith commence the duties of the high trust to which you have called me.



March 6, Tuesday: [George Curtis](#), a banker and businessman, got married with the very, very pregnant [Mary Elizabeth Burrill](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

A small force under Alexander Ypsilanti, a Greek officer in the Russian army, crossed the Moldavian frontier with the intention of liberating Greece from Turkish control.



US District Judge William Davies decided that Portugal was to receive 142 of the remaining Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#), Spain was to receive 63 — and 7 were to be freed.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



March 7, Wednesday: The Reverend Elijah Demond was ordained as the pastor of the Congregational Church of [West Newbury, Massachusetts](#). The Reverend Warren Fay of the First Congregational Church in Charlestown presented, and Crocker & Brewster (No. 50, Cornhill in Boston) would print, during this year, A SERMON, DELIVERED MARCH 7, 1821, AT THE ORDINATION OF THE REV. ELIJAH DEMOND, AS PASTOR OF THE CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH AND SOCIETY IN WEST NEWBURY, MASS.

At Rieti northeast of Rome, Austrian troops defeated the constitutional army of the Two Sicilies. This effectively ended the liberal revolution in that nation.

Two works by Franz Schubert, Das Dorfchen, a vocal quartet to words of Burger, and Gesang der Geister uber den Wassern for male octet to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), were performed for the initial time, in the Karntnertortheater of Vienna. There was also the initial public offering of "Erkonig," a song by Schubert to words of [Goethe](#).



March 8, Thursday: In the Musikverein of Vienna, "Gruppe aus dem Tartarus," a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schiller, was performed for the initial time.

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

*5th day 8th of 3rd M / Oh! for a growth in Grace & knowledge of the Truth, both in myself 7 others. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



March 9, Friday: The Portuguese Cortes adopted 36 articles, declaring the principles on which a constitution would be based.

Eunice Melvin was born in [Concord](#) to Charles Melvin (1) and Betsy Farrar Melvin.

THE MELVINS OF CONCORD



March 10, Saturday: A liberal revolution began in Piedmont, led by army officer Santorre di Santarosa. The liberals desired a constitution, and to place Carlo Alberto Carignan on the throne.



March 11, Sunday: Daniel Dennis of Gloucester, 47 years of age, drowned at sea.

Sardinian liberals issued a manifesto calling for the unification of [Italy](#).



A [negrero](#) flying the US flag, the *Esencia*, master Brown, on its only known Middle Passage, delivered a cargo of 113 Africans at Matanzas, Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

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

*1st day 11th of 3rd M / Our meetings were well attended. In the forenoon D Buffum, Father Rodman & J Dennis were engaged in testimony & in the Afternoon Father again had a short communication*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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➡ March 12, Monday: Richard Wylly Habersham, US District Attorney for Georgia, appealed US District Judge William Davies' decision, arguing that the proportion of the Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#) awarded to Portugal was too large.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

➡ March 13, Tuesday: King Vittorio Emanuele of Piedmont abdicated in favor of his brother Carlo Felice.

➡ March 14, Wednesday: The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) delivered a lecture on "The Evidence of Revealed Religion" at [Harvard College](#), which [Waldo Emerson](#) thought was just the most brilliant thing he had ever heard.



In the Konigliche Hofbuhne, Berlin, incidental music to Wolff's play Preciosa by Carl Maria von Weber was performed for the initial time, to great success with the public.

➡ Toward the middle of the month [John James Audubon](#) would take part, in a field near New Orleans, in a general slaughter of migrating Golden Plover, amounting by his own estimate to a body count of some 48,000. (Hey, what's gunpowder for, anyway? –It's for having fun, right?)

➡ March 15, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 15th of 3rd M / Our meeting was a season of some comfortable feelings, but in some parts of it, it was difficult to tell whether strength or weakness predominated. -- In the Afternoon Attended the funeral of Mary Wanton widow of the late John E Wanton & a distant relation of Mine on the side of my Mother, her Age was 92 Years & about 11 Months Her maiden name was Bull & was great grand daughter of the late Governor Henry Bull She was a member of society, & has lived with her Son in Law Daniel Lyman for some Years in the Town of Johnson & their died on the 12th inst & was brought down here to be buried with her husband & Son Gideon who both lay in our burying ground. [Gideon had been engaged in the [international slave trade](#)] The sitting was a Solid time & father Rodman delivered a short testimony. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



 March 16, Friday: Carlo Felice of Sardinia forced Carlo Alberto to renounce the throne.

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

*6th day 16th of 3rd M 1821 / This forenoon Uncle & Aunt Stanton arrived with their Baggage, intending to settle on their Farm in [Portsmouth](#) – This Afternoon I went on board the Packet (Ann Mariah) that brought them & sailed round the North end of the Island thro' the Stone Bridge afterwhich we Anchored under Goulds Island & Staid all night. in the night it blowed hard at SE & I Slept but little, next Morning (7th day) after breakfast we run down to the farm & laid the sloop on shore & got all things into the house early in the Afternoon. I slept there with Uncle & next morning (1 day [Sunday]) came home but not in season to get to Meeting, & in the Afternoon, I felt unwell with a cold & fatigue & staid at home*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 19, Monday: [Richard Francis Burton](#) was born in Torquay, Devonshire, England.

[The Champion](#) commented that not since 1688, when the trial of the seven bishops produced a revolution, had the nation of England been so riveted by what happened in the courts of law.

 March 21, Wednesday: [John Thoreau, Senior](#)'s grocery store in Chelmsford MA was abandoned after a little more than two years of marginal operation.

THOREAU RESIDENCES



**John in later years**

The family moved to [Boston](#).

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU

 March 22, Thursday: The [Inquisition](#) was abolished in Portugal. The Banco de Lisboa was established.

[Hector Berlioz](#) received a *Bachelier es lettres* (the baccalaureate degree) at Grenoble.

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

*5th day 22nd of 3 M / Silent Meeting – Poverty my portion, but had some satisfaction in a labor to obtain life. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 23, Friday: Austrian troops entered [Naples](#) to restore King Ferdinando to absolutism, sparking widespread uprisings.

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

*6th day 23rd of 3rd M / Wrote this forenoon to cousin Lewis L Clarke & in the letter was favored to address Cousin Hannah & her daughters Hannah & Mary Ann much to my own satisfaction.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 24, Saturday: The citizens of the US were being informed about Missouri:

**Laws of the United States.**  
**Resolution, providing for the admission of Missouri into the union on a certain condition.**  
*Resolved, by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled, That Missouri shall be admitted into this union on an equal footing with the original states, in all respects whatever, upon the fundamental condition, that the fourth clause of the twenty-sixth section of the third article of the constitution, submitted on the part of the said state to congress, shall never be construed to authorize the passage of any law, and that no law shall be passed in conformity thereto, by which any citizen of either of the states in this union, shall be excluded from the enjoyment of any of the privileges and immunities to which such citizen is entitled, under the constitution of the U. States: Provided, That the legislature of the said state, by solemn public act, shall declare the assent of the said state to the said fundamental condition, and transmit to the president of the United States, on or before the fourth Monday in November next, an authentic copy of the said act; upon the receipt whereof, the president, by proclamation shall announce the fact: whereupon, and without any further proceeding on the part of congress, the admission of the said state into this union shall be considered as complete.*  
**JOHN W. TAYLOR,**  
 Speaker of the house of representatives.  
**JOHN GAILLARD,**  
 President of the senate, pro tempore.  
 3 Washington, March 2, 1821.—Approved:  
**JAMES MONROE.**

 March 25, Sunday: Some sources say that on this day Greece gained its independence. Other sources say that on this day sporadic, unconnected uprisings occurred in Greece against Turkish rule.

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

*1st day 25th of 3rd M / Our meetings were Seasons of some favor. In the Morning Father Rodman deliverd a short sweet good testimony - Silent in the Afternoon. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*2nd day 26th of 3rd M / This Morning took John in the Waggon & went out & visited Auncle & Aunt Stanton in Their new habitation, found them as comfortably settled as could be expected for the time, but they begin to miss the Society of the City, & probably will feel lonesome till the summer sets in, & time wears out those attatchments which they have long had to more Social 7 buisy scenes – after tea we rode home. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

*3rd day 27th of 3rd M 1821 / Various circumstances have conspired to renew in my mind a conviction which I have been long under Vizt the Religion is the only & alone thing that can sustain the mind thro' the Losses & crosses, visissitudes & disappointments, attendant on the Passage thro' time, to what else have we to flee when the mind is reduced to any streight, it is not, situation, money or friends, for all these fail, & are naught but the Everlasting Truth is a sure basis to build on it is a sure & certain hiding place, on which all the Righteous in every Age of the World have built on & fled too, & found Safty. here the beseting things of time have no effect, for the mind knows a rest a Hope beyond them, & Oh Saith my soul may this Rest & Hope be my Portion*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

*5th day 29 of 3 M / Our first meeting was a season of some favor D Buffum engaged in a lively testimony - The last (Monthly) we had considerable buisness, & some exercise was experienced in transacting it, but on the whole I trust it was not an unprofitable Meeting to me*

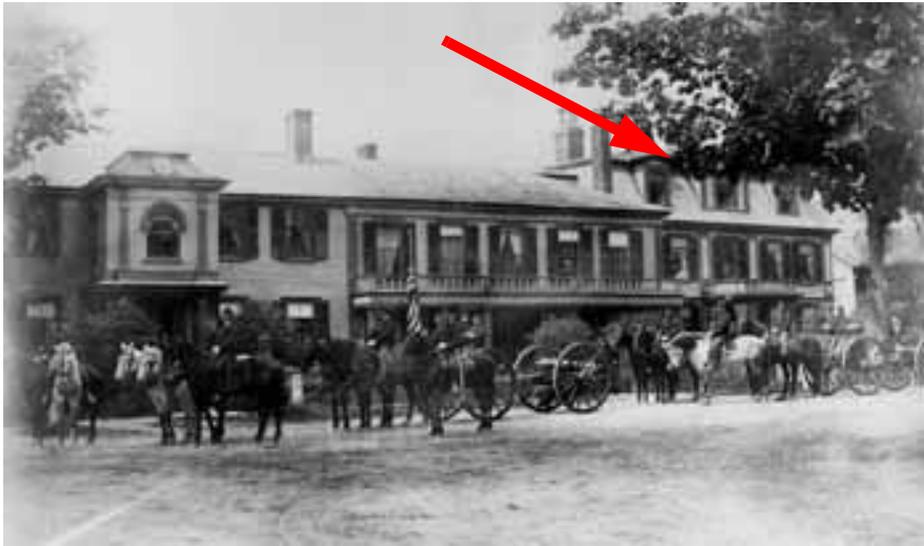
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ End of March: Toward the end of the month, the Thoreaus moved to [Concord](#) and for a short time “Lived next the meeting-house, where they kept the powder in the garret.” This was the house bought in 1799 by [David Henry Thoreau](#)’s grandfather; it is now the east wing of the Colonial Inn and to the best of anyone’s knowledge no explosives are stored next door. (The family would then go on to reside in [Boston](#).)

THOREAU RESIDENCES  
CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU  
JOHN THOREAU



→ March 31, Saturday: “Erlkonig,” a song by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was published by Cappi and Diabelli to great success.

The [New York](#) legislature incorporated the Ontario [Canal](#) Company.

SPRING 1821

→ Early in the year, [Mary Moody Emerson](#) was writing [Ralph Waldo Emerson](#) letters about “a remarkable Hindoo Reformer.”



In [India](#), Rammohan Roy was publishing at his own expense a book of 150 pages, *SECOND APPEAL TO THE CHRISTIAN PUBLIC IN DEFENCE OF “THE PRECEPTS OF JESUS,”* asserting that what was important about Christianity had nothing to do with those Biblical miracles — miracles, that is, other than the main miracle, of the love of God as it can be made manifest in the beneficence which we can occasionally summon toward our fellow creatures. One of the [Baptist](#) missionaries in Calcutta, a [Reverend William Adam](#) who had been discussing religion with Rammohan in an effort to bring him “over to the belief of that Doctrine,” was beginning to “entertain some doubts respecting the Supreme Deity of Jesus Christ” and was becoming [Unitarian](#) and was starting up what would be known as the *Sambad Kaumudi*.

King Frederick VI of Denmark endowed the college which the [Baptist](#) missionaries had founded at Serampore on the river Hoogly in [India](#) with the rent of a house worth about \$5,000, and sent them in addition a gold medal. At that point a visitor described the Reverend [William Carey](#) as short in stature, with white hair, and a countenance equally bland and benevolent in feature and expression.



APRIL

➡ April: Expatriate Greeks from Russia invaded Turkish provinces.

➡ April 1, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 1st of 4 M 1821 / Our Morning Meeting was large & favord, Anne Dennis deliverd a short but acceptable testimony - In the Afternoon The funeral of our Ancient friend Mary Sisson widow of Edward Sisson went to meeting which was large & attended with uncommon solemnity. D Buffum was first engaged in a very sweet & lively testimony, he was followed by Hannah Dennis, & then Jonathon & Hannah concluded in solemn reverend Supplication to the throne [at the bottom left of the page "a most us-"] of Grace for help & preservation thro' visissitudes of time - & the Meeting closed under as solemn a covering as I ever felt - The Corpse was interd in the upper ground in the Medow field by the side of her late husband - She was the daughter of old James Chase & a woman much respected by friends & others -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ April 3, Tuesday: Maranhao adhered to the liberal government of Belem, Brazil.

➡ April 4, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 4th of 4th M 1821 / I have finished transcribing the Manuscript sent me by Thos Thompson of Liverpool that was written by my great great Grandfather DANIEL GOULD, a Certificate & epistle which he rec'd from friends in Maryland, and also to write some little account of his Life & make a few extracts from his Journal. -- & if I can complete all this to my Mind, I think to send it to the Meeting for Sufferings, to see if they will not think it best to publish it. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ April 5, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 5th of 4 M / Our meeting was silent, & to me rather a dull season, particularly so as I was laboring under an hard cold & Cough - After Meeting The committee in care of the Jamestown Meeting met & concluded to open a meeting there the insuing season. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ April 8, Sunday: Austrian forces defeated the Piedmontoise followers of Carlo Alberto at Novara west of Milan.

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

*1st day 8th of 4 M / Our Meetings were both Silent but seasons of precious favor to me. – the women's side of the house was thin, as it rained hard most of the day – My desires are that Zion may yet arise & shine in her ancient splendor, & for this has been the travel of my spirit this day together with the preservation of mine own Soul. – There are generally a goodly number attends our Meeting who sit quietly & seem to know a better feeding place than that of Words*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 9, Monday: Caroline Ivah Bullard was born in [Concord](#), Massachusetts, a daughter of Sampson Bullard and Ivah Patterson Bullard. She would get married with William J. Bellows in Littleton, New Hampshire on August 12, 1847. She would give birth to Mary Ivah Bellows, William Henry Bellows, and George Sampson Bellows, and die in Littleton on July 22, 1890.

 April 10, Tuesday: In a [duel](#) between M. Manuel and M. Beaumont, M. Manuel was killed.

 April 11, Wednesday: A letter from London informed [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) of [John Keats](#)'s death in Rome.

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

*5th day 12th of 4th M 1821 / Our first meeting was a solid opportunity. Abigail Sherman spoke a short testimony also Father Rodman & Hannah Dennis were engaged in short lively communications – The Select Meeting which followed was a Season of Search, & some weighty considerations proposed. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*6th day 13th of 4 M / This Afternoon Went out of Town on buisness intending to stay some days - lodged at Pardon Browns where I went to clean his Clock - Next morning finding myself unwell, finished my buisness & returned home in the Afternoon & found Uncle Stanton had sent in for my H & John to spend the Day, & stay all night, & finding the exercise of Walking had much relieved my back which was very lame, I took a Chaise & went out again, & got to Uncle Stantons fofore tea time, where we lodged. –*

*Next Morning being First Day we went to [Portsmouth](#) Meeting where we found Sarah Tucker who appeard twice in Testimony & a few words were spoken by Anne Dennis & a precious Meeting it Was. Sarah I thought was favord to speak to the States of some present in a remarkable manner. – We returned & dined at Uncle Stantons spent the Afternoon & rode home. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 13, Friday: John Horwood was [hanged](#) at the “New” Bristol Gaol, three days after his 18th birthday, for the murder of Eliza Balsum, an older girl who had spurned his advances. He had heaved a rock at her while she crossed a stream near Hanham Mill, fracturing her skull. He had commented while in jail, “Lord, thou knowest that I did not mean then to take away her life but merely to punish her: though I confess that I made up my mind, some time or other, to murder her.” His body would be taken to the Bristol Royal Infirmary and dissected by the surgeon Richard Smith. An account of his dissection and a transcript of his trial would be bound as a book covered with his skin — a grisly *memento mori* which in fact is still in existence.



[THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS](#)

**WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1821**

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
10/03	Mary Clarke		Northampton	Murder of husband
14/03	Margaret Plunkett	29	Trim (County Meath)	Murder of husband
14/03	Francis Gilligan	18	Trim (County Meath)	Aiding Plunkett
31/03	Esther Waters		Leicester	Murder
13/08	Ann Barber	45	York Castle	Petty treason
27/11	Ann Norris		Newgate	Robbed brothel
07/12	Margaret Tindell	36	Montrose	Murder of husband



April 19, Thursday: In an attempt to develop a remote coal area, the British Parliament passed a bill to build a steam rail line from Darlington to Stockton-on-Tees.

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

*5th day 19th of 4th M / I feel this morning my mind quickened & enlivened with desires for preservation & enlargement – at last a dull meeting & so we see times & seasons are not at our command*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)



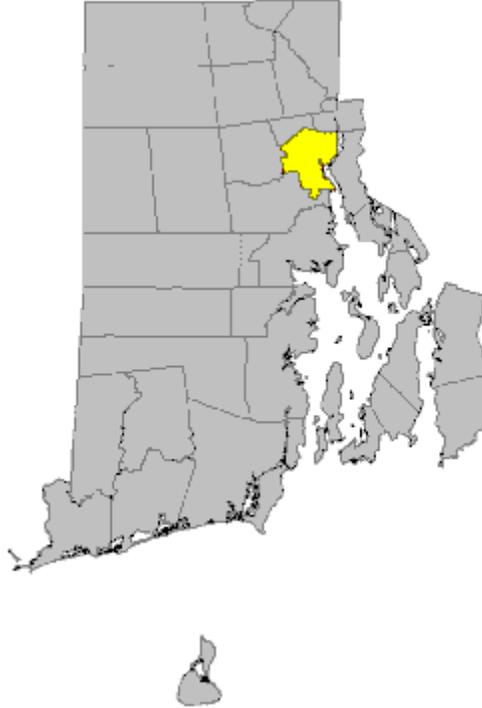
April 21, Saturday: *Lion of the West* departed from Rochester, [New York](#), as the initial boat from there to Utica along the [Erie Canal](#).

Benderli Ali Pasha replaced Seyyid Ali Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

In a [duel](#) between Viscount Petersham and Mr. Wedderburne, there were no injuries.



April 22, Easter Sunday: [James Burrill Curtis](#) was born in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to the newlywed couple George Curtis and Mary Elizabeth Burrill Curtis.



In response to unrest in his Romanian lands and a massacre of Turks by Greeks in the Morea, the Ottoman sultan ordered that the Ecumenical Patriarch Gregorios be hanged in front of his palace in Constantinople. The Archbishops of Adrianople, Thessalonika, and Tirnovo were also hanged. There would follow widespread massacres of Christians by Turks in Thessaly, Macedonia, and Anatolia.

In the Karntnertortheater of Vienna, Franz Schubert's male vocal quartet "Die Nachtigall" to words of Unger was performed for the initial time.

King Joao of Portugal appointed Dom Pedro as his regent in Brazil.

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

*1st day 22 of 4 M / Our Meetings were well attended. In the Morning D Buffum just lifted the latch for Sarah Tucker who followed in a very pertinent & well Authorised testimony at two different Standings – In The Afternoon She was again concerned in a short but lively testimony - Henry Gould & John T Nichols set the evng with us.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 23, Monday: A Polonaise in A<sub>b</sub> by [Fryderyk Franciszek Chopin](#) was performed for the initial time, by the composer and his teacher, Wojciech Zywny.

Francisco de Paula Escudero replaced Eusebio Bardaji y Azara as First Secretary of State of Spain.

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



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*2nd day 23rd of 4th M 1821 / This Afternoon our fr Sarah Tucker finished her family visits in This town, but did not make a general visit in [Newport](#) her concern laying chiefly to those who had familys particularly of young children - Father Rodman accompanied her about Town - In [Portsmouth](#) & [Middletown](#) her visits were more general - & all to good satisfaction - It is cause of thankfulness that The father of Mercies is moving on the hearts of his servants to labor in the Vineyards & May this labor of love prove to his honor - may the good seed be sown, take root downward & spring upward & produce an hundred fold.-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 24, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 24th of 4th M / This Afternoon went with Dr Hazard to take a ride. - We went to visit my Aged cousin Elizabeth Chase Spent the time & took tea with her - during this visit my mind dwelt much on Old times a degree of pleasure & pain Attending*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Daniel Webster](#) appealed to the Senate of Massachusetts that they not impeach his client, Judge James Prescott:<sup>26</sup>

Mr. President, the case is closed! The fate of the respondent is in your hands. It is for you now to say, whether, from the law and the facts as they have appeared before you, you will proceed to disgrace and disfranchise him. If your duty calls on you to convict him, let justice be done, and convict him; but, I adjure you, let it be a clear, undoubted case. Let it be so for his sake, for you are robbing him of that for which, with all your high powers, you can yield him no compensation; let it be so for your own sakes, for the responsibility of this day's judgment is one which you must carry with you through life. For myself, I am willing here to relinquish the character of an advocate, and to express opinions by which I am prepared to be bound as a citizen and a man. And I say upon my honor and conscience, that I see not how, with the law and constitution for your guides, you can pronounce the respondent guilty. I declare that I have seen no case of wilful and corrupt official misconduct, set forth according to the requisitions of the constitution, and proved according to the common rules of evidence. I see many things imprudent and ill-judged; many things that I could wish had been otherwise; but corruption and crime I do not see.

Sir, the prejudices of the day will soon be forgotten; the passions, if any there be, which have excited or favored this prosecution will subside; but the consequence of the judgment you are about to render will outlive both them and you. The respondent is now brought, a single, unprotected individual, to this formidable bar of judgment, to stand against the power and authority of the State. I know you can crush him, as he stands before you, and clothed as you are with the sovereignty of the State. You have the power "to change his countenance and

26. 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).



to send him away." Nor do I remind you, that your judgment is to be rejudged by the community; and, as you have summoned him for trial to this high tribunal, that you are soon to descend yourselves from these seats of justice, and stand before the higher tribunal of the world. I would not fail so much in respect to this honorable court as to hint that it could pronounce a sentence which the community will reverse. No, Sir, it is not the world's revision which I would call on you to regard; but that of your own consciences, when years have gone by and you shall look back on the sentence you are about to render. If you send away the respondent, condemned and sentenced, from your bar, you are yet to meet him in the world on which you cast him out. You will be called to behold him a disgrace to his family, a sorrow and a shame to his children, a living fountain of grief and agony to himself.

If you shall then be able to behold him only as an unjust judge, whom vengeance has overtaken and justice has blasted, you will be able to look upon him, not without pity, but yet without remorse. But if, on the other hand, you shall see, whenever and wherever you meet him, a victim of prejudice or of passion, a sacrifice to a transient excitement; if you shall see in him a man for whose condemnation any provision of the constitution has been violated or any principle of law broken down, then will he be able, humble and low as may be his condition, then will he be able to turn the current of compassion backward, and to look with pity on those who have been his judges. If you are about to visit this respondent with a judgment which shall blast his house; if the bosoms of the innocent and the amiable are to be made to bleed under your infliction, I beseech you to be able to state clear and strong grounds for your proceeding. Prejudice and excitement are transitory, and will pass away. Political expediency, in matters of judicature, is a false and hollow principle, and will never satisfy the conscience of him who is fearful that he may have given a hasty judgment. I earnestly entreat you, for your own sakes, to possess yourselves of solid reasons, founded in truth and justice, for the judgment you pronounce, which you can carry with you till you go down into your graves; reasons which it will require no argument to revive, no sophistry, no excitement, no regard to popular favor, to render satisfactory to your consciences; reasons which you can appeal to in every crisis of your lives, and which shall be able to assure you, in your own great extremity, that you have not judged a fellow-creature without mercy.

Sir, I have done with the case of this individual, and now leave it in your hands. But I would yet once more appeal to you as public men; as statesmen; as men of enlightened minds, capable of a large view of things, and of foreseeing the remote consequences of important transactions; and, as such, I would most earnestly implore you to consider fully of the judgment you may pronounce. You are about to give a construction to constitutional provisions which may adhere to that instrument for ages, either for good or evil. I may perhaps overrate the importance of this occasion to the public welfare; but I confess it does appear to me that, if this body give its sanction to some of the principles which have been advanced on this occasion, then there is a power in the State above the

constitution and the law; a power essentially arbitrary and despotic, the exercise of which may be most dangerous. If impeachment be not under the rule of the constitution and the laws, then may we tremble, not only for those who may be impeached, but for all others. If the full benefit of every constitutional provision be not extended to the respondent, his case becomes the case of all the people of the Commonwealth. The constitution is their constitution. They have made it for their own protection, and for his among the rest. They are not eager for his conviction. They desire not his ruin. If he be condemned, without having his offences set forth in the manner which they, by their constitution, have prescribed, and in the manner which they, by their laws, have ordained, then not only is he condemned unjustly, but the rights of the whole people are disregarded. For the sake of the people themselves, therefore, I would resist all attempts to convict by straining the laws or getting over their prohibitions. I hold up before him the broad shield of the constitution; if through that he be pierced and fall, he will be but one sufferer in a common catastrophe.



April 25, Wednesday: Joseph W. Pratt was born to Mary Field Pratt and the [Reverend Enoch Pratt](#) (Joseph would move to California).

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

*4th day 25th of 4th M / This Afternoon Walked out to Uncle Stantons & lodged - Next Morning Rode with Aunt Patty to Meeting it being Monthly Meeting - In the first Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively sweet testimony of encouragement & Sarah Tucker was concerned in a Truly Apostolic testimony which strengthened (I have no doubt) The hearts of Many brethren - Mine did rejoice to feel renewed spring of gospel love flow to the people & a very good meeting it Was. - The buisness of the last meeting went on well - A proposition was made from the Select Committee to add some suitable friends as Elders which after being considered, a committee was appointed to consider of The Subject & report such names as they might think suitable. - Returned & dined at Uncle Stantons sister Ruth with us - & after dinner Uncle Sent his waggon to bring us home. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 26, Thursday: King Joao and the Portuguese court departed from Brazil for Portugal.



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

*1st day 29 of 4th M 1821 / Yesterday Afternoon I went to Conannicut & lodged last Night at Cousin Joseph Greenes - Attended Meeting there, it being the first held there this season. it was Father Rodmans & Ruth Mitchells turn to go, but they both being unwell, I went in their stead - it was a large Meeting & a good solid one - Mary Weedon delivered a short testimony Dined at Joseph Greenes & returned in season to attend Afternoon*



1821

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*Meeting at home - in which Jons Dennis & Hannah Dennis bore a short testimony  
It has been as day of some favor to me. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 30: Gretchen am Spinnrade, a song by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was published by Cappi and Diabelli.

Haci Salih Pasha replaced Benderli Ali Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

MAY

 May: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) finished SARDANAPALUS.

1821

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→
 May/June: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) wrote a poem<sup>27</sup> “*Adonais*, An Elegy on the Death of [John Keats](#)” in the preface to which he alluded to the current myth of the delicacy of genius: “The genius of [[Keats](#)] was not less delicate and fragile than it was beautiful. . . . The savage criticism on his *Endymion*, which appeared in the [Quarterly Review](#), produced the most violent effect on his susceptible mind; the agitation thus originated ended in the rupture of a blood-vessel in the lungs; a rapid consumption ensued, and the succeeding acknowledgments from more candid critics of the true greatness of his powers were ineffectual to heal the wound wantonly inflicted.”<sup>28</sup>



In fact, this tale of Keats’s vulnerability to criticism would spread so far, perhaps through Lord Byron’s jibes as much as through the anecdotes of [James Henry Leigh Hunt](#), as to find a place in Part I of Louisa May Alcott’s *LITTLE WOMEN, OR, MEG, JO, BETH AND AMY* in 1868:

Her family and friends administered comfort and commendation liberally. Yet it was a hard time for sensitive, high-spirited Jo, who meant so well and had apparently done so ill. But it did her good, for those whose opinion had real value gave her the criticism which is an author’s best education, and when the first soreness was over, she could laugh at her poor little book, yet believe in it still, and feel herself the wiser and stronger for the buffeting she had received.

“Not being a genius, like Keats, it won’t kill me,” she said stoutly, “and I’ve got the joke on my side, after all, for the parts that were taken straight out of real life are denounced as impossible and absurd, and the scenes that I made up out of my own silly head are pronounced ‘charmingly natural, tender, and true.’ So I’ll comfort myself with that, and when I’m ready, I’ll up again and take another.”

In “[Sunday](#)” of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), of course, [Henry Thoreau](#) would initially go along with this reading by incidentally mentioning this figure as “representative of all promising youths

27. It would be printed in July.

28. [Keats](#)’s hemorrhage would occur on February 3, 1820 and his death, in Italy, on February 23, 1821. The “rapid consumption” mentioned here by [Shelley](#) was the last stage of *phthisis*, the 19th-Century term for TB, the disease Keats had caught from his brother Tom.



1821

1821

who have died a premature death, and whose memory is melodiously prolonged to the latest morning,”

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.

ENDYMION

and we don't quite know here whether Thoreau is referring to Endymion's long sleep, or to Keats's early demise due to TB, or maybe to both Endymion's long dream and Keats's early death. At any rate, this first mention by Thoreau is utterly conventional.



May 1, Tuesday: At the Tuileries in Paris, *Blanche de Provence, ou La cour de fees*, an opera by Luigi Cherubini, Adrien Boeildieu and three others to words of Theaulon de Lambert and de Rance, was performed for the initial time.

Samuel Phillips Prescott Fay was appointed as Judge of Probate.

1821

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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.**

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

*3rd day 1st of 5 M 1821 / Our friends have this forenoon gone to attend The Quarterly Meeting at Greenwich - every circumstance considered I felt most easy to Stay at home tho' I trust my concern for the good cause is not decreased yet considering that I have attended five Quarterly Meetings in Succession & thereby have expended more time & money than I can afford, I believe it was best at this time to omit going - Often at these meetings has my strength been renewed & my understanding enlarged & it is my testimony that it is worth while to devote as much time to them as we can consistently the faces of our friends revive us, love is increased by an*

*intercourse with them, & thus are helped & are helpful to others.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Early May: *EPIPSYCHIDION* was published anonymously.

Edward and Jane Williams moved to Pugnano while [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) moved to Bagni di San Giuliano (both being places on the River Serchio).

 May 2, Wednesday: Carl Maria von Weber and his spouse Caroline Brandt arrived in Berlin from Dresden for the premiere of *Der Freischutz*.

*Les Arts rivaux*, a scene lyrique by Adrien Boieldieu and Berton to words of Chazet, was performed for the initial time, at the Hotel de Ville, Paris.

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

*4th day 2 of 5 M / This has been a day of bustle & some confusion being the Annual State Election, but tho' I have been necessarily exposed to Some of it, yet my mind has been in good measure abstracted & feel thankful that no accident has occurred in the course of it*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 3, Thursday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) gave a concert in Berlin. While in the city, he would make the acquaintance of royal Kapellmeister Gasparo Spontini.

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

*5th day 3rd 5th M 1821 / Oh! the poverty of our meeting this day – while I hope & trust there were some present that enjoyed the light of life, I have to lament my own nothingness*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*6th day 4th of 5th M / Friends have returned from [Greenwich](#) & give a pretty favorable account of the Quarterly Meeting – Sister Ruth informs that a number of Friends remembered their love to us, which was comfortable – Also that Our Aged cousin Abigail Casey is very low & evidently drawing near the close of life. She sent her love to us probably for the last time. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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→ May 5, Saturday: The Journal des debats announced that Luigi Cherubini and Adrien Boieldieu, among others, had been named Chevaliers in the Order of St. Michael.

At Longwood on remote [St. Helena](#) in the billows of the Atlantic Ocean, after years and years, the emeritus emperor and troublemaker [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) finally kicked the bucket, due to gastric cancer. (This was a great relief for one of his Brit guards, a Captain Marryat, because under the enforced idleness of this long-term guard duty the officer had been fantasizing a plot by the boys in Brazil to rescue his prisoner by submarine, and embarrass him the way the British Commissioner Sir Neil Campbell had been embarrassed in 1815 on Elba in the Mediterranean.)<sup>29</sup>



If you look carefully at the back of this depiction, you will see that the wallpaper has a star pattern. Here is a surviving sample of this very wallpaper. It has tested extremely high in arsenic. It would now appear that the health of everyone living in that house had been being challenged by flakes of arsenic falling off the old wallpaper. A sample of Napoleon’s hair, for instance, has tested high for arsenic. –But, you see, this is not evidence that anyone was attempting to poison him, as in that period this sort of wallpaper had been rather common, and anyway, he had been taking a medication that included arsenic as one of its ingredients.



29. So no, Napoleon had not been poisoned by his British captors. The only real mystery of his life is why it was that such a capable man could not have lived a life that amounted to something. When Charles-Maurice Talleyrand would hear of this death, for instance, his comment would be “Not an event, more a news-item.”

With the former emperor of the French no longer a target for their attentions, most of the Brit troops were sent away and Hudson Lowe was free to sail back home to jolly old England.



**ST. HELENA RECORDS**



May 6, Sunday: There are tourist guidebooks that will tell you that on this day, the day after the death of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) on [St. Helena](#), [Jonathan the giant tortoise](#) was born. Don't believe this! For instance, on page 66 of Lia Ditton's 50 WATER ADVENTURES TO DO BEFORE YOU DIE (A&C Black, 2015), we notice the following material:



A visit to Longwood House, where the French Emperor Napoleon Bonaparte spent his final years in exile in the early 19th century, will leave you debating whether Napoleon could really have died from the arsenic in the wallpaper. Visit the tombstone that marks the spot where he was buried until his body was exhumed, and say hello to Jonathan, the giant waist-high tortoise who was born in 1821, on the day after Napoleon died. Considered one of the oldest, if not the oldest living reptile on earth, you may be surprised to discover that Jonathan is still pretty active particularly with the three other Seychelles

tortoises half his age!



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

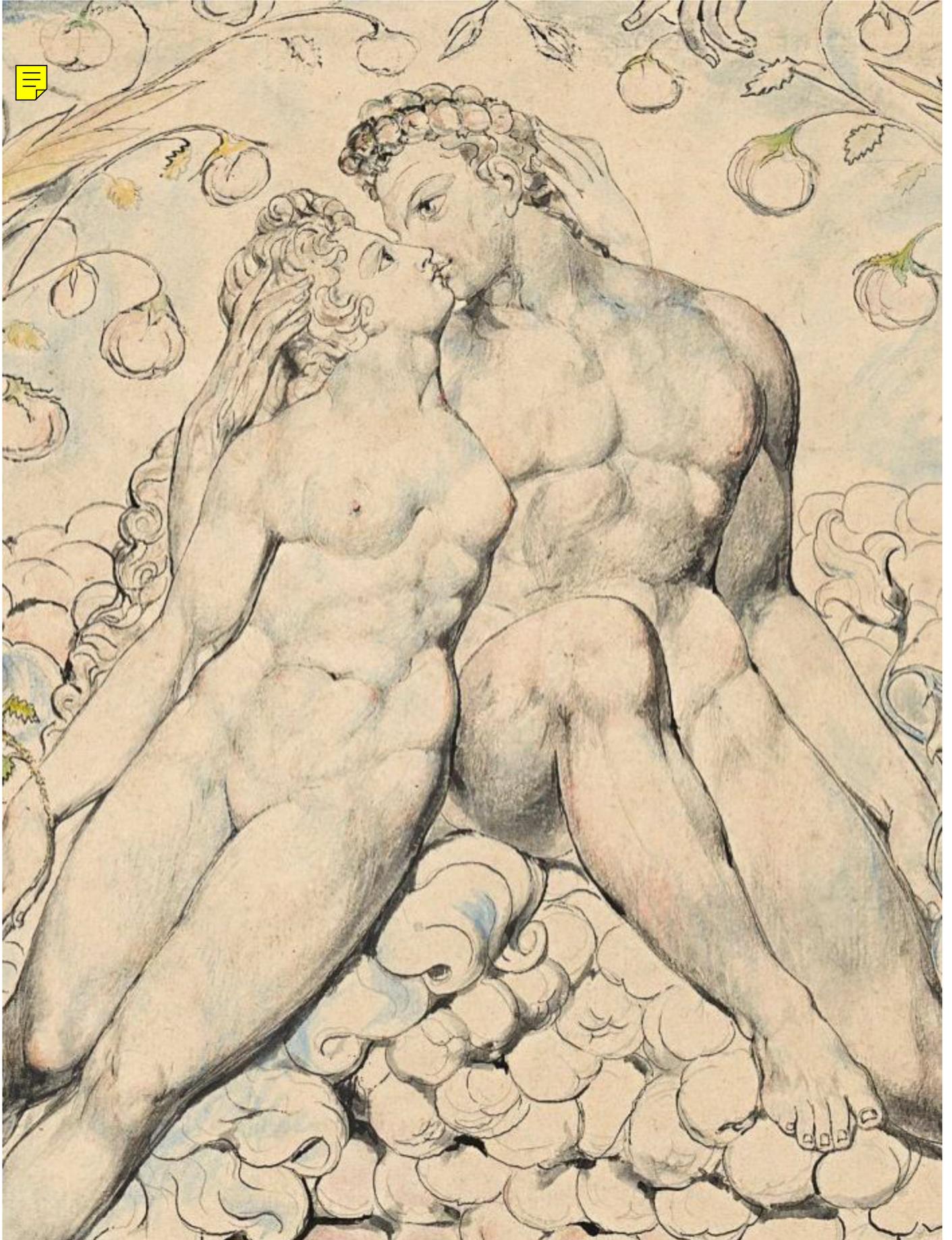
*1st day 6th of 5 M / Our Meetings were both Silent, to me seasons of some exercise, some favor & some leanness. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 7, Monday: Due to rising debts the Africa Company was dissolved and Sierra Leone, Gambia, and the Gold Coast were absorbed by the British Crown. The Gold Coast became a crown colony.

The [Reverend William Adam](#) of the [Baptist](#) Missionary Society in [Calcutta](#) made the mistake of revealing to another white man that, in the process of attempting to convert a heathen, Rajah Rammohan Roy, to Christianity, while in the context of studying the Christian scriptures with that heathen, he had himself begun to “entertain some doubts respecting the Supreme Deity of Jesus Christ.” The tight little missionary community went into shock and began to make remarks about this Reverend Adam as “the Second fallen Adam.”





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 May 8, Tuesday: Continuing to represent the Africans of the [negrero Antelope](#), Richard Wylly Habersham, US District Attorney for Georgia, argued his appeal in Milledgeville before US Supreme Court Justice William Johnson, who ruled that Spain was to get 93 of the Africans, 16 were to be freed, and the remainder were Portuguese property.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 May 9, Wednesday: The remains of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) were interred on [St. Helena](#).

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

*5th day 10th of 5 M / Silent Meeting - I have humbly to acknowledge that I am poor. - Oh may light & life again arise. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 11, Friday: According to an article in the [Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser](#) of Dublin, Ireland for May 17th, an announcement of military promotions had been issued by the "WAR-OFFICE" on May 11th, according to which [Captain John Thoreau](#), who had been on half-salary paid by the 40th Regiment of Foot, had arranged with Archibald Taylor to take up that officer's full-pay position as Captain in the 37th Regiment of Foot.<sup>30</sup> (That may well mean that John had passed along some coin of the realm.)

 May 12, Saturday: The Congress of Laibach (Ljubljana) closed after deciding on measures against revolutions in Italy and Greece. The final protocol was agreed to by Russia, Austria, and Prussia but not by Great Britain or France. Their denunciation of the Greek rebellion would lead the Turks to repressive measures.

 May 13, Sunday: [Issachar J. Roberts](#) was baptized by the Reverend William Martin in Shelbyville, Tennessee.

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

*1st day 13 of 5 M / In the Morning a large Solid & favord Meeting our Frd D Buffum was engaged in a weighty lively & pertinent testimony on the Subject of Silent Meetings The dear old mans shines bright & is remarkably green in old age. - Hannah Dennis followed him in a corresponding testimony, sweet lively & in Authority - Silent in the Afternoon but a good Meeting Sister Elizabeth teek tea & spent the evening with us.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 14, Monday: Olympia, an opera by Gaspere Spontini to words of Dieulafoy and Briffaut, translated by Hoffmann, was performed for the initial time, in the Berlin Opera. The audience included Carl Maria von Weber, in town for the premiere of Der Freischutz. This was the German version of Olympie.

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

*2nd day 14th of 5 M / Attended the funeral of Nancy Dennis the*

30. 37th (North Hampshire) Regiment of Foot. On the 1st of August of each year, known as "Minden Day," he would be wearing a rose in his headdress to commemorate this regiment's participation in the Battle of Minden.

HDT

WHAT?

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*sitting was solid & Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively & to my feeling pertinent testimony. -- She was once a member of our Society & was buried after our manner & in our burying place near the Meeting house by the side of her Mother Lydia Dennis Rec'd this Afternoon a letter from my unknown frd Thos Thompson of Liverpool [Friend Stephen had never met him in person, but must have known of him through [Paul Cuffe](#)] dated 31 of 3 M last wherein he acknowledges the receipt of my letter & several Books & manuscripts, sent him some time past. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 15, Tuesday: [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) left [Charleston](#) to live in Philadelphia with the family of Friend Israel Morris at "Greenhill Farm." She was accompanied by her sister Anna Grimké Frost, the widow of an Episcopal clergyman and a determined defender of the slavery status quo, and her sister's child, because this sister needed to support herself by teaching school — and was unable to perform this sort of work in her home city since such activities would do such damage to her family of origin's high social standing.

In this year Sarah began a diary that eventually would amount to more than 500 closely written manuscript pages.

King Ferdinando returned to [Naples](#), to restore absolutism.

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

*5th day 17th of 5th M 1821 / At Meeting Jona Dennis was engaged in a Shrort testimony. - it was a season of exercise to me, & I hope to some proffit. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day 20th of 5th M / Proving await me. The Prayer of my Soul is for preservation. - I long to attain to that State of Christian experience wherein the things which perplex vex & grieve can have no assendency  
Our Meetings were both Silent & I thought favord - The Morning meeitng was very full, & the Afternoon larger than common, in some measure owing to their being no meetings at two of the other Meeting houses in town. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 22, Tuesday: In a [duel](#) between a Mr. Cuddie and a Mr. Brittlebank, Mr. Cuddie was killed.

 May 23, Wednesday: Ontario [Canal](#) Company commissioners N. Gorham, Z. Seymour, Asa Stanley, P.P. Bates, and William H. Adams opened the books for subscriptions, at Coe's Hotel in Canandaigua.

[Friend Elizabeth Fry](#)'s daughter Richenda Fry would describe the speech her brother-in-law Thomas Fowell Buxton made to the House of Commons on this day, about [Capital Punishment](#):

On 23rd May, Sir James Mackintosh brought forward his motion, "for mitigating the severity of punishment in certain cases of

forgery". It was on this occasion that Mr. Buxton delivered his admirable speech upon capital punishment. Many were convinced by his arguments; based as they were upon incontrovertible facts, varied calculations, and unquestionable evidence. some had taken their seats, indifferent as to the question at issue, his warm appeal to their humanity, and the responsibility of legislating for the lives of thousands, without having weighed the merits of the case, or considered the practical effects of punishment, aroused them from their apathy; others from a dread of change, and a certain sort of adherence to the opinions of a party, unconnected with the merits or demerits of the opinions themselves, were startled by the delicate irony, with which he showed the impracticability of the laws.

➡ May 24, Thursday: Piaui adhered to the liberal government of Belem, Brazil.

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

*5th day 24th of 5 M / Our meeting was about as usual for size, was solid & comfortable to my mind - To some present I have no [known?] it was a Season of baptism, of proffitable Baptism. - Jonathon Dennis was concerned in a short testimony. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ May 25, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 18th birthday.



➡ May 27, Sunday: Charles Griffin of Gloucester, 23 years of age, died in Batavia.

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

*1st day 27th of 5 M / Our founnoon meeting was a season of precious favour to my mind. - Hannah Dennis was concerned in a sweet & lively testimony - on the subject of Samuels going to anoint a king from the house of Jesse, first the oldest tallest & best looking, came before him, which proved not to be the one & so in succession till it went thro' the family till it came to the youngest who was young & ruddy in countenance - this contrary to appearance & expectation proved to be the one on whom royal dignaty Was to be confereed. here She drew the contrast between a Specious religion, goodly in appearance, but not of the right stamp. - & that which was meek & lowly & more likely to be overlooked but of the true kind & recommended to us to be inward in our minds that we might come to the true discernment between thing & thing - Father Rodman enlarged on her Subject*

*shewing the liability of human judgement in matters of religion - had Samuel attended to his first impression when he exclaimed that "Surely the Lords anointed was before him." he would have erred & anointed the wrong person, thereby involving himself & the nation in much affliction &c. - Hannah concluded in Solemn supplication - In the Afternoon we were Silent, but a solid Good meeting, & as in the morning several attended who are not usual attendants of our meetings - After Meeting I took John & went out to D Buffums & took tea with him & his wife.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 29, Tuesday: In Beverly, the Reverend Elijah Demond got married with Lucy Brown, daughter of Aaron Brown of Groton.

Cappi and Diabelli of Vienna published four songs by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) as his op.3: Schafers Klagelied, Heideroslein, and the 2d settings of Meeresstille and Jagers Abendlied. They also published three other of Schubert's songs as his op.4: Der Wanderer to words of Schmidt von Lubeck, Morgenlied to words of Werner, and the 1st setting of Wandrers Nachtlid to words of Goethe.

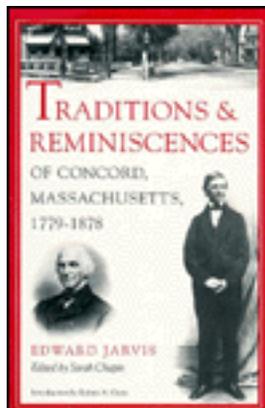
[Sarah Moore Grimké](#) was accepted as a Friend and as a member of the Fourth and Arch Street monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#).



May 30, Wednesday: On the King's nameday, at the Teatro San Carlo in [Naples](#), [Vincenzo Bellini](#) and a fellow student, Francesco Florimo, publicly proclaimed "Long Live our King Ferdinand, consecrated by God and by Right." They had been suspects in the recent uprising of the Carbonari, had confessed, and had been required to make this public proclamation.

This "Election Day," according to Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#)'s TRADITIONS AND REMINISCENCES OF CONCORD, MASSACHUSETTS 1779-1878, would be the last one on which the populace of [Concord](#) would conduct their traditional general bird slaughter:

Fortunately for the morals and sensibilities of our boys and youth, Election Day with its corrupting and demoralizing influences occurred but once a year, and in 1821 it ceased entirely.





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May 31, Thursday: Formal dedication of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in [Baltimore](#), the first [Roman Catholic](#) cathedral in the USA. The construction, designed by [Benjamin Henry Latrobe](#), had begun in 1806.

The Reverend [Edward Hitchcock](#) got married with Orra White, who had been one of his teachers at the Deerfield Academy (this union would produce six surviving children).

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

*5th M 31st 1821 5th day / In our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this Day Anne Greene appeared in testimony with much sweetnes - there were two other short testimonys of the Authority for which I can say but little - In the last we had considerable buisness & among it was the weighty appointment of a female Elder which resulted (I trust) to her encouragement & (I hope) & believe to the satisfaction of the Meeting. - Ruth Mitchell, Adam Anthony & Doctor Wadsworth dined with us. - This evening between 7 OClock DIED JONATHON ALM, Town Clerk, Aged 76 years he had been Town Clerk about 20 years*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

## JUNE



June: The [Thoreaus](#) relocated to [Boston](#) where they would reside in "Pope's House, at South End in Boston, five or six (?) months, a ten-footer." (Their path from Chelmsford took them through [Concord](#) and they may have tarried there a while.)

Day-book says, "Moved to Pinckney Street Sep 10<sup>th</sup> 1821 on Monday." There the Thoreaus lived in "Whitwell's House, Pinckney Street, Boston, to March, 1823 (?)."

[HENRY DAVID THOREAU](#)



June: Dr. Joshua Marshman again placed a critical review of Rajah Rammohan Roy's efforts in the journal of the Evangelical missionaries, [Friend of India](#). It occupied 128 pages of the journal and professed a concern that Rammohan's eyes be opened before "it be forever too late!" Can the subaltern speak? Does the native informant know his place? God and his surrogate, the white missionary, are not to be mocked!



1821

1821

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

### "A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

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

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

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

(Kathryn C. Mapes, March 9, 1992)

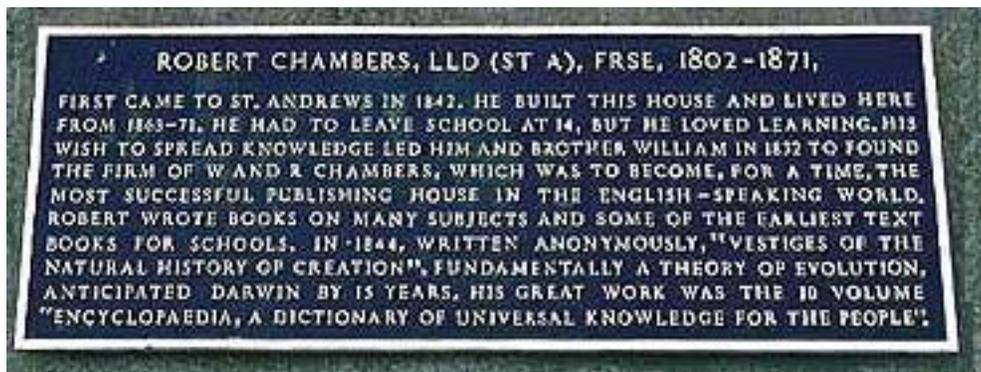
1821

1821



June: While in Leith Walk<sup>31</sup> at Edinburgh, just below Pilrig Street, on his way toward his “daily bathe on the sands between Lieth [*sic*] and Portobello,” [Thomas Carlyle](#) achieved the spiritual transformation appropriate to a close reader of the book of Job which he would characterize, in his [SARTOR RESARTUS](#), as the “Everlasting No.”

31. Leith Walk was a cheap commercial thoroughfare connecting Edinburgh with its port. [Robert Chambers](#) at one early point in his life had had a book stall on this street.



[P]erhaps the miserablest man in the whole French Capital or Suburbs, was I, one sultry Dog-day, after much perambulation, toiling along the dirty little *Rue Saint-Thomas de l'Enfer*, among civic rubbish enough, in a close atmosphere, and over pavements hot as Nebuchadnezzar's Furnace; whereby doubtless my spirits were little cheered; when all at once there rose a Thought in me, and I asked myself: "What **art** thou afraid of? Wherefore, like a coward, dost thou forever pip and whimper, and go cowering and trembling? Despicable biped! What is the sum-total of the worst that lies before thee? Death? Well, Death; and say the pangs of Tophet too, and all that the Devil and Man may, will or can do against thee! Hast thou not a heart; canst thou not suffer whatsoever it be; and, as a Child of Freedom, though outcast, trample Tophet itself under thy feet, while it consumes thee? Let it come, then; I will meet and defy it!" And as so I thought, there rushed like a stream of fire over my whole soul; and I shook base Fear away from me forever, I was strong, of unknown strength, a spirit, almost a god. Even from that time, the temper of my misery was changed; not Fear or whining Sorrow was it, but Indignation and grim fire-eyed Defiance.

Thus has the EVERLASTING NO (*das ewige Nein*) pealed authoritatively through all the recesses of my Being, of my ME; and then was it that my whole ME stood up, in native God-created majesty, and with emphasis recorded its Protest. Such a protest, the most important transaction in Life, may that same Indignation and Defiance, in psychological point of view, be fitly called. The Everlasting No had said: "Behold, thou art fatherless, outcast, and the Universe is mine (the Devil's)"; to which my whole Me now made answer: "**I** am not thine, but Free, and forever hate thee!"

It is from this hour that I incline to date my Spiritual New-birth, or Baphometric Fire-baptism; perhaps I directly thereupon began to be a Man.



THOMAS CARLYLE

Carlyle also recounted in his book that his inspiration for a Philosophy of Clothes occurred "when, turning the corner of a lane, in the Scottish Town of Edinburgh, I came upon a Signpost." The sign was a trade sign consisting of a painted depiction of a pair of leather breeches, with between their knees painted

“these memorable words, SIC ITUR AD ASTRA”:<sup>32</sup>

It was in this high moment, when the soul, rent, as it were, and shed asunder, is open to inspiring influence, that I first conceived this Work on Clothes: the greatest which I can ever hope to do; which has already, after long retardations, occupied, and will yet occupy, so large a section of my Life.

Later on, [Thomas Carlyle](#) would match this EVERLASTING NO up with a corresponding EVERLASTING YEA:

So true is it, what I then say, that **the Fraction of Life can be increased in value not so much by increasing your Numerator as by lessening your Denominator**. Nay, unless my Algebra deceive me, **Unity** itself divided by **Zero** will give **Infinity**. Make thy claim of wages a zero, then; thou hast the world under thy feet. Well did the Wisest of our time write: “It is only with Renunciation (*Entsagen*) that Life, properly speaking, can be said to begin”... there is in man a HIGHER than Love of Happiness: he can do without Happiness, and instead thereof find Blessedness!... Love not Pleasure; love God. This is the EVERLASTING YEA, wherein all contradiction is solved; wherein whoso walks and works, it is well with him.



June 1, Friday: Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) was on her way north from Italy, and had reached St. Omer near Calais. She rejected the British government’s offer of £50,000. Parting from Bartolomeo Pergami or Bergami, she embarked to cross the channel.



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

*7th day 2nd of 6 M 1821 / This Afternoon attended the funeral of my Old friend JONATHON ALMY, he was a pleasant companion & I loved him much & shall miss him for a long time, in his Office he was affable & kind, & having frequent reason to go to the Town Clerks office I became intimate with him - my mind was more than commonly affected at his funeral. - This Afternoon Sister Mary came down to have a tooth pulled, in which she suffered much which --tul my sympathy [word obscured by spine]*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 3, Sunday: Gigar Iyasu replaced Iyoas II Hezqeyas as Emperor of Ethiopia.

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

*1st day 3rd of 6th M 1821 / Our Meeting was large this morning & D Buffum was engaged in a lively & powerful testimony - In the Afternoon it was well attended & Silent. - A very considerable number meets with us who are not members, & I trust they, or many of them, come from religious motives, & I trust know how to enjoy a Silent meeting. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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

32. We may remind ourself here of [Thomas Carlyle](#)’s treatment of leathern-suited [George Fox](#) of the [Quakers](#).

1821

1821

2nd day 4th of 6th M / Felt my self under the necessity this mornng to leave my buisness & go with Doctor Hazard, out to Uncle Stantons, he has been quite unwell for some time & required bleeding. – the operation affected him much & made him very sick & faint but before we left him This Afternoon he was about & quite Smart. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ June 5, Tuesday: Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) arrived at Dover, and rioting broke out in support of her.

→ June 6, Wednesday: [King George IV](#) submitted to Parliament the evidence against Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), in two green bags.



→ June 7, Thursday: A group of Greek landowners declared itself the government of the Peloponnesus.

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

5th day 7th of 6M / I was sorry to be detained from meeting this day, but having buisness of a peculiar nature that could not be defer'd, submitted with reluctance to my situation – Those who were at meeting said it was a precious season & that short testimonys were deliverd by Father Rodman & Abigail Robinson. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1821

1821

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

*7th day 9 of 6th M / Our Yearly meeting begins at [Portsmouth](#) this morning. I went out last night to Uncle Stantons & Lodged - Our Select meeting was a Season of favor Our frd Stephen Grellet was engaged in much Gospel love to point out many christian experiences & Doctrines to the consolation of many present & I supposed a few were disturbed at Some things he Said. - After Meeting I returned & dined dat Uncle Stantons & in the After Meeting rode home in the Rain & got much weter than I have been in many years -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 10, Sunday: There was a major fire in Bridgetown on the island of Barbados.

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

*1st day 10th of 6th M 1821 / The Morning Meeting was large as usual - The first I could not approve being of J S & of a spirit that stands for condemnation. - After some time Hannah Field was engaged in a precious testimony & Stephen Grellett was very large & Truth rose over all, by his testimony, soon after which The Meeting closed. - In the Afternoon the Meeting was interrupted in the forepart of it by two unsavory appearances, at least they were unseasonable & I believe did no good - next Hannah Field was concerned in a well Authorised & skilfull testimony then Deborah Otis in Supplication, & Mary Allen in a Baptising testimony concluded the Meeting*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*2nd day / The Meeting opened under a very solemn covering David Buffon appeared in a very reverend & impressive testimony - his opening was, where the Apostles received an injunction to tarry in Jerusalem untill they were endued with Power from on high. - Then Stephen Grellett in a solemn & very Baptising prayer, & the meeting under that covering proceeded to buisness & went thro' the usual service, in conducting which Some little Spirits Shewed themselves, but Truth rose above all & held dominion thro' all. - it is a season of deep trial & exercise in society, but I trust Zion will arise & shine & her Ancient beauty will be more & more conspicuous to people & Nations. - In the Afternoon we were again troubled as last Year with Jeremiah Austin, a disowned member from [Nantucket](#), he came and took his seat & persisted in Sitting but After a while by persuasion went out. - After which S Grellett addressed the meeting in a very Solemn manner on the subject of Watchfulness least we also become castaways, alluding to Jeremiah who had once stood well in society - The Answers to the queries excited many remarks from many exercised friends, & tho' the wormwood was again dispenced, yet Truth bore the dominion, & there was renew'd cause to trust in Israels Shepperd, who will never forsake his humble dependant ones, not leave his Church without*



1821

1821

*faithful Pillars to Support it The Meeting adjourned till 4 O'clock tomorrow Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 12, Tuesday: [Egypt](#) annexed the Sudan.

Ontario [Canal](#) Company subscriptions reached \$20,000.

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

*3rd day / The Select Meeting was a season wherein a portion of Affliction was dispensed, but Truth was in dominion to the comfort & encouragement of Many hearts, Some of whom are in great travel [travail] for the prosperity of Zion. - The Meeting at large in the Afternoon was a memorable time - The usual business was transacted, & tho' a wrong spirit was manifested by J Harris. - yet "TRUTH The everlasting Truth was over all above all & as G Fox said "On atop". -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*4th day / The meeting at large did not meet this forenoon but the Select meeting did at 8 O'clock & closed about Noon under fresh evidences of the Mighty power of Truth. In the Afternoon the Meeting for the members at large gathered at the 3rd hour & concluded the business before it in which the same life & Authority continued, the same wrong spirits appeared, particularly when the epistles were under consideration yet they were always promptly met & laid, no rising was successful & in every Setting we had fresh evidences of the Mighty power of Truth, for which according to my measure I desire to ascribe Thanksgiving & praise where it is alone due.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 14, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day / In our Public meeting (with the exception of a spurious offering in the forepart) Truth rose into dominion by the preaching of our Beloved Brother Stephen Grellett & when he sat down a most solemn covering was felt over the Meeting - after a space - Hannah Field appeared in a very lively testimony & the meeting closed soon after a short but well adapted testimony from Benjamin Fry  
The Meeting was Smaller than usual in consequence of its being a very rainy day. -  
After dinner we parted with nearly all our friends that have constituted our family thro' the Yearly Meeting who were - Rowland Greene & his daughter Phebe and Freeloove & Son Elisha from Plainfield - Daniel Howland & Thomas Anthony, from [Greenwich](#) - Stephen Oliver, Micajah Collins Pratt, Isiah Chase, Sarah Collins from Hopkinton*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 15, Friday: The guard in the King's Mews mutinied in support of Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#).

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

*6th day / My Mother, Cousin Molly Howland & Cousin Hannah Gardiner Spent the Afternoon with us - we also had a call from Micajah Collins & wife who remain in Town, expecting to be here on first day. - Stephen Grellett Attends a meeting at [Warren](#) this Afternoon & expects to return to [Portsmouth](#) & attend meeting there next first Day*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 16, Saturday: The Bloomingdale Asylum, previously known as the New York Lunatic Asylum, opened for patients. (In 1894 the Bloomingdale Asylum would become the Westchester Division of New York State Hospital and relocate to White Plains.)<sup>33</sup>

PSYCHOLOGY

 June 17, Sunday: [Ephraim George Squier](#) was born in Bethlehem, New York, a son of a Methodist minister. He would study civil engineering while working on a farm until the Panic of 1837 would cause him to consider in turn becoming a teacher, a lawyer, and a journalist.

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

*1st day 17th of 6th M 1821 / Our frd Micajah Collins attended both Meetings with us - in the Morning he was engaged in a lively & useful testimony, also in the Afternoon tho' the gospel key did not rise as in the forenoon yet I believe many hearts were Sensibly baptized & particularly among the Youth. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 18, Monday: [James Elliot Cabot](#) was born.

At 7PM, Carl Maria von Weber's romantic opera Der Freischutz to words of Kind after Apel and Laun was performed for the initial time, at the opening of the rebuilt Berlin Schauspielhaus. In the audience was an interested 12-year-old, [Felix Mendelssohn](#). Within the following two years, Der Freischutz would be staged in all the important theaters of Germany.

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

*2nd day 18th of 6th M / This morning I went with Micajah to visit -ty Carpenter & Avis Howland - & Wm Lee & his hopeful while where he had much useful matter to communicate - his wife Dined with us & set the Afternoon at A Robinsons & my [H] with them. they went to R. Mitchells to lodge*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 19, Tuesday: Turkish troops defeated Greek rebels at Dragashan.

33. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

 June 20, Wednesday: A duet and aria for Ferdinand Herold's *Das Zauberglockchen* (La clochette) by Franz Schubert, to words of Theaulon de Lambert translated by Treitsche, was performed for the initial time, in Vienna's Karnnertortheater.

 June 21, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 21 of 6 M 1821 / Our meeting was short & Silent, & to me a season of some poverty. – Before Meeting attended the funeral of John Dennis son of John Dennis a young man who was unfortunately drowned on 3rd day Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 23, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 23rd of 6 M / Sally Porter has just left us to return to her home at Narragansett & from thence is to set out with her son for the State of Tennasee where She expects to Spend the residue of her days. – She is an old friend & acquaintance of my mother & aunt Stantons, her Maiden name was Johnson & is related to the family of Malbons – it was affecting, particularly to Mother & Aunt Stanton to part with her, not expecting to meet again in this life, but part we must & soon must take the solemn & final change as to all things here*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 24, Sunday: South American forces under [Simón Bolívar](#) defeated Spanish and Loyalist troops at Carabobo on Lake Maracaibo, insuring the independence of Venezuela.

[Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#)'s 2d birthday.

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

*1st day 24th of 6 M / Our meetings were both well attended In the forenoon D Buffum & in the Afternoon Father Rodman, were engaged in short testimonies – Took tea at Father Rodmans, & in the eveng called to see Mary Williams. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 25, Monday: Konzertstück J.282 for piano and orchestra by Carl Maria von Weber was performed for the initial time, in Berlin. During this program Weber accompanied the renowned French violinist Alexandre Boucher in his Variations on a Norwegian Air but, after beginning, Boucher motioned Weber to stop playing and went on a lengthy bizarre riff. When he found himself unable to segue back from this he covered by dropping his violin, embracing Weber and shouting “Ah grand maitre! que j’aime, que j’admire!” — one of the high moments of low comedy.

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

*3rd day 25th of 6th M / We have frequent warnings of the uncertainty of time, Some of them very sudden & Awful This*

1821

1821

Afternoon our neighbour Henry Moores daughter Harriet was brought south from [Providence](#) a corpse whither she went in usual health & was taken in a fit & died [in?] a few days Aged about 14 Years. –

Some days ago a man from beyond [Providence](#) came down with his wife & took quarters at the Widow Billings in the Wanton House, a few nights After his Wife was taken in a fit & lays very low. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 27, Wednesday: The House of Lords opened the two green bags of evidence submitted by [King George IV](#) against Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#). The evidence would be examined in secret by 15 peers. The green bags would immediately become a symbol of all that was wrong with the king's approach to the situation — he had had the Hanoverian ambassador to Rome hire informants who had spied on the queen's most intimate daily life, and had had burglars purloin papers out of her locked private cabinet.



June 28, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 28th of 6th M 1821 / Rode this mornng to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Moy [Monthly] Meeting – Stpoed at Uncle Peter Lawtons – At meeting Anne Dennis – Jonathon Dennis – Hannah Dennis & D Buffum all delivered testimonies – & I dont know but on the whole it was a pretty good Meeting, tho' in my mind the stream of life did not rise as it sometimes does.–

The buisness in the last meeting went on to good satisfaction – the brethren Harmonising together –

My H being with me we Dined at Uncle Thurstons took tea at Uncle Stantons & on our way home we Stopped at Uncle R Mitchells, so



1821

1821

*in the course of the day having visited four Uncles, by marriage  
- got home about Dark. -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



June 30, Saturday: Liberals in Portugal published a proposed constitution before the arrival of King Joao from Brazil.

“An Emma.” a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schiller, was published in the Zeitschrift fur Kunst, Vienna.

SUMMER 1821

➡ Summer: Properly preparation for the tour of a museum during the summer of 1821:



The [Irish](#) countryside was consumed in a lower-class [Catholic](#) millennialism that was anticipating that all Protestantism would be destroyed by 1825 (this was founded on a 1771 prophesy based upon the interpretation of the Apocalypse of St. John, by [Bishop Charles Walmsley Pastorino](#)). On the estates, in fear of these “Rockites,” as they were called because of their tendency to express their outraged righteousness through the throwing of stones, a Protestant family would fortify itself in its main house every evening among its Protestant attendants — dispatching its Catholic servants to spend the night isolated in an outbuilding.

JULY

→ July: It was discovered that a number of oak trees at Plantation on [St. Helena](#) were dying because of white worm infestation.

[Sir Walter Scott](#) had returned to [London](#) in order to be present at the coronation of [King George IV](#).



→ July: Publication of Thomas Hood's "To Hope" in the [London Magazine](#).

→ July: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) wrote CAIN.

Banishment of the Gamba Family.

→ July 1, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 1st of 7th M 1821 / In the forenoon Hannah Dennis & father Rodman were engaged in short testimonys - In the Afternoon Abigail Robinson was concerned in a short communication being the language of encouragement, & was very Sweet to my feelings - Tho' I did not think what she said was immediately applicable to me yet it met me on such ground, that her language was intelligible to my feelings*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1821

1821



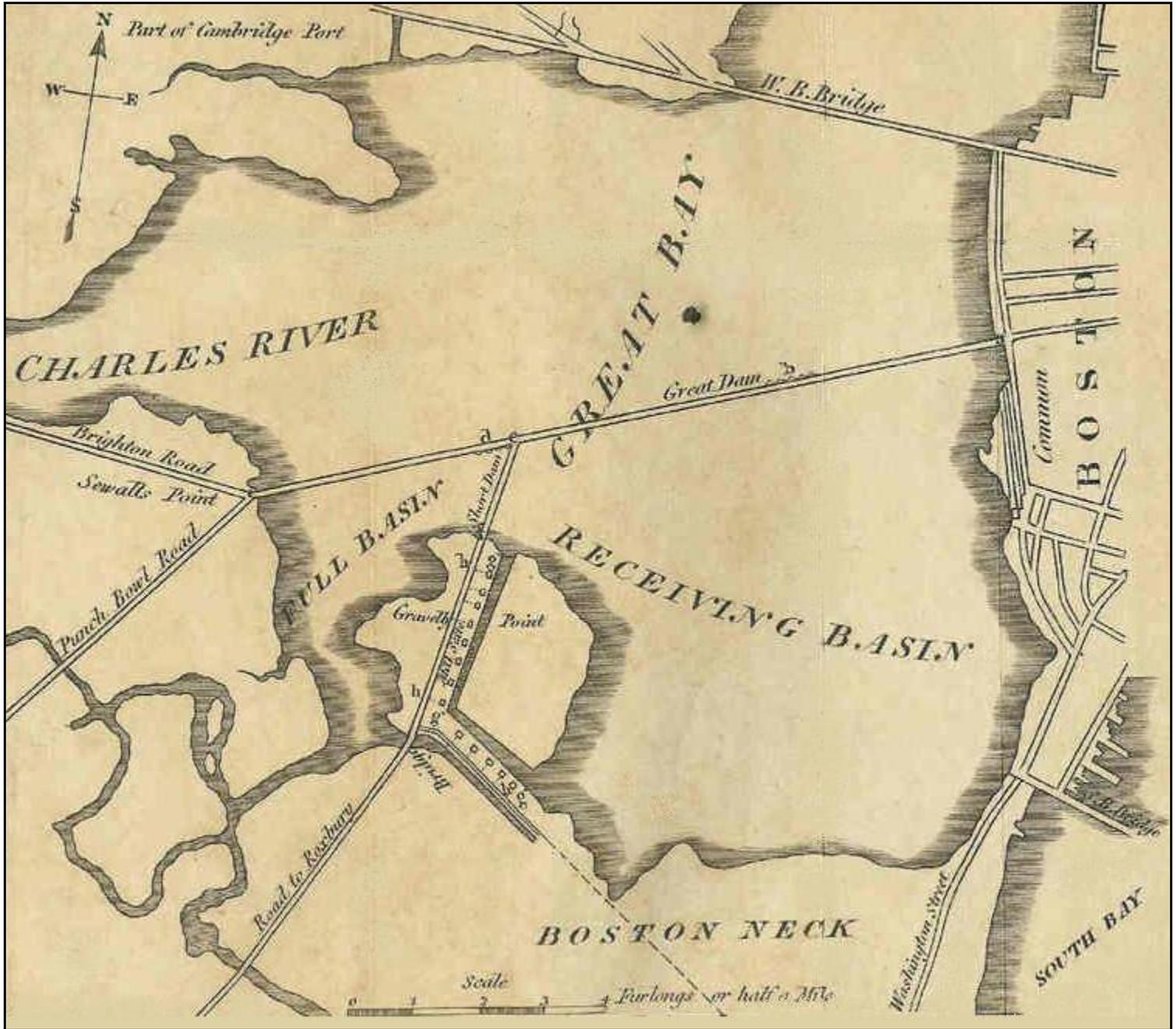
July 2, Monday: [Boston](#)'s "Milldam" opened, that had been under construction since 1814 to connect Beacon Street with Sewall's Point in Brookline.

Remains of fish weirs have been discovered in the Back Bay area, which date back some 4,500 years. The marshes in the area were at first fresh-water marshes on glacial earth, the sea level being more than seven meters lower — only later did these become salt-water marshes. The building in this year of a mill dam and causeways by the engineer Loammi Baldwin II, cutting this area off from the free circulation of ocean water,



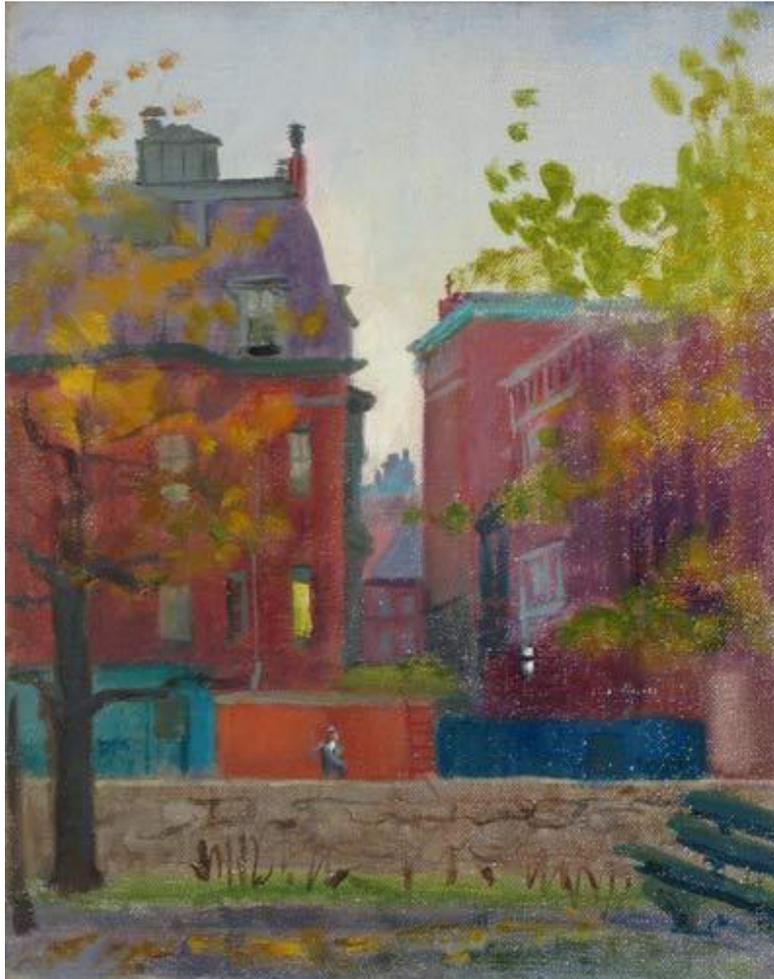
eventually would turn the area into a "nuisance" to the [Boston](#) Board of Health, "offensive and injurious to the large and increasing population residing upon it" and of use only as a dumping ground for fill — which

need not be clean fill.



The “milldam” was 50 feet wide and 1½ miles long, and in order to keep the ground from drying and releasing clouds of dust Baldwin had designed into it sluices that would empty water from the Great Bay of the Charles River into the Back Bay receiving area. This forethought would, however, simply prove to have been entirely

inadequate.



(A century later, after very considerable landfill, the Back Bay of Boston would be looking like the above.)

 July 3, Tuesday: Dom Joao VI of Portugal returned to his native country from exile in Brazil.



 Our national birthday, Wednesday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne's](#), or [Hathorne's](#), 17th birthday.

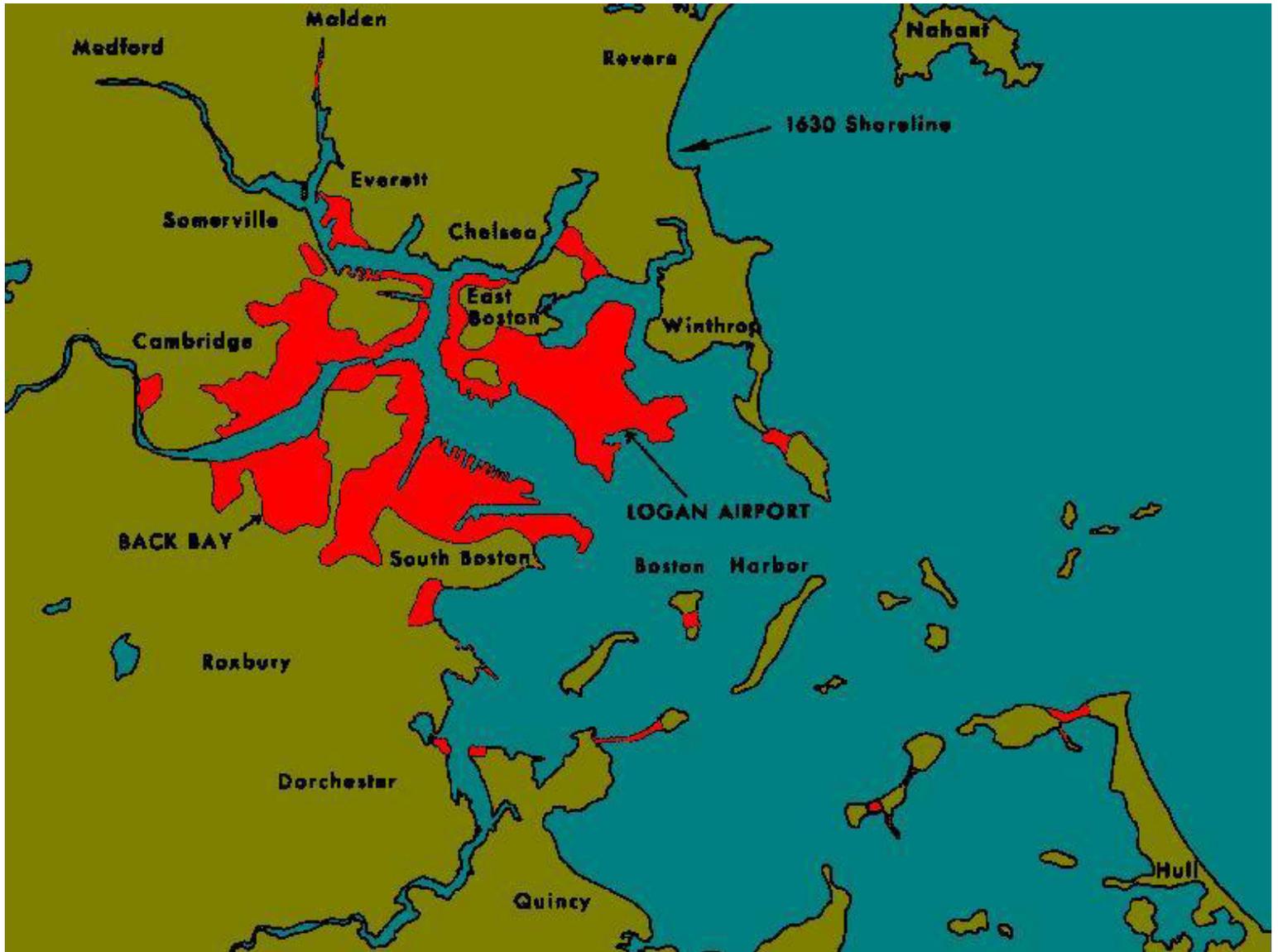
Since President James Monroe was ill, the Executive Mansion was closed to the public. At a ceremony held at the Capitol, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams read aloud from an original copy of the [Declaration of Independence](#). In Philadelphia, 90-year-old Timothy Matlack, the man who “wrote the first commission” for General George Washington, was chosen to be the one to read aloud that [Declaration](#).

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



1821

1821





1821

1821

Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira became Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

News of the demise of [Napoléon](#) reached London. After the report of the panel of 15 peers, the government introduced a bill in the House of Lords, "Pains and Penalties 1820," that would deprive Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#) of the title of Queen Consort and dissolve her marriage with [King George IV](#) on account of her alleged adultery. Caroline would joke, with friends, that indeed she had once committed adultery, with the husband of a Mrs. Fitzherbert.

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

*4th day 4th of 7 M / This has as usual been a day of noise in Town, but with all I have not learned any accident has taken place. - We have had our Cousins John Mary & Edwin Casey with us for a day or two from [Greenwich](#)*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 5, Thursday: [John Thoreau, Jr.](#)'s 7th birthday.

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

*5th day 5th of 7M / Our Meeting was nearly silent, & to me it was a very dull hard time, but dull as it was, I did indeavour to maintain the warfare & at times over come the enemy - This Afternoon attended the funeral of Betsy Buffum*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 7, Saturday: Emma, ou La promesse imprudente, an opera comique by Daniel Francois Esprit Auber to words of Planard, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre Feydeau, Paris.

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

*7th day 7th of 7 M / This Afternoon Rode with Aunt M Stanton to her house in [Portsmouth](#) & lodged -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day Rode to [Portsmouth](#) Meeting with Aunt Stanton It was a season of close conflict in my mind & some help was witnessed - Mary Hicks & Anne Dennis appeared in short testimonys - Returned to Dine at Uncle Stantons, spent the Afternoon & finding my stay necessary, till too late to come home, Staid all night & on @nd day Morning came home -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 9, Monday: Five songs by Franz Schubert to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) were published by Cappi and Diabelli, Vienna as his op.5: Raslose Liebe, Nähe des Geliebten, Der Fischer, Erster Verlust, and Der Konig in Thule.

1821

1821

 July 11, Wednesday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka received a Bible for success in his examinations. It was inscribed “From the St. Petersburg University Boarding School to Mikhail Glinka, for good conduct and achievement in scripture, Russian language and literature, statistics, mathematics, and Latin.”

 [David Henry Thoreau](#)’s 5th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Thursday, 1821. At about this birthday, little David Henry would have graduated, according to the conventions for children of the time, from a tunic of merino opening down the front and reaching below his knees, over white trousers reaching to his ankles and fashioned either of similar material or of white linen, to knee breeches or trousers and a shirt with a ruffled collar covered with a close-fitting jacket, and a cloth cap with a full soft crown and visor, or a straw hat. (However, there would not yet have been the “leg-of-mutton” sleeve at this point, as this style would not become popular either in male or female attire until the 1830s.)

- Waldo Emerson graduated from Harvard College and went to work for his brother William as an assistant in a girls’ school in Boston.
- There was great drought in Massachusetts and Walden Pond must have been many feet below normal levels.

**BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1821**

**BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1822**

 July 12, Thursday: After Lima had been abandoned by the Spanish, Don José Francisco de San Martín paraded his army into the city to the cheers of its populace. He would soon lay claim to the title “Protector del Perú” and sponsor a declaration of independence from Spain.

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

*5th day 12th of 7th M 1821 / Our first meeting was a season of favor tho’ the number was small yet life did freely flow & Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively testimony at two different standings – After the close of it the SELECT MEETING met, the buisness was conducted with weight, tho’ life was rather row [low] we had the company of Abigail Robinson which is the first time She has ever met in Select meeting Since I have been a member of it, it was pleasant that her health would admit of her being with us today. –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

 July 13, Friday: Andrew Law was “taken speechless at the dinner table [and] taken to his bed” and died in Cheshire, Connecticut at the age of 72.

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

*1st day 15th of 7th M / Both meetings were silent, & I am inclined to think the precious life was generally low. – In the Afternoon Hannah Dennis went to Coasters Harbour & had a meeting with the Poor at the Assylum. –*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

→ July 16, Monday: Mary Ann Morse Baker, to be known as Mary Baker Glover and Mary Baker Patterson and then to achieve religious fame as Mary Baker Eddy, founding father of the Church of Christ, Scientist, was born in Bow, New Hampshire.

→ July 17, Tuesday: At [Harvard College](#)'s commencement, the Reverend Samson Reed gave a lecture "Oration on Genius" on mystic doctrines quite similar to those of Emanuel Swedenborg, and [Waldo Emerson](#), a graduating senior eighteen years of age, the youngest of the 59 members of the Class of 1821 [youngest by how many days??], was allowed to read a valedictory poem despite ranking but 30th (he had been made the class poet after six others who had been asked had "positively refused"). It would presumably be this lecture by the Reverend Reed which would attract Lydia Maria Francis ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) to Swedenborgian doctrines. Emerson would borrow the Reverend Reed's manuscript, take notes from it, and then refer to these notes a number of times over the subsequent years.



Rajah Rammohan Roy's condensation of the *ISHOPANISHAD* presumably had already at this point made its way via [Mary Moody Emerson](#) into [Waldo](#)'s library — because she had recommended it to him while he was still attending [Harvard](#).



1821

1821

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

### "A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"



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

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

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

 July 17, Tuesday: Spain ceded Florida to the United States.



 July 18, Wednesday: Banda Oriental (Uruguay) was annexed by Brazil.

 July 19, Thursday: The delayed coronation banquet for [King George IV](#), “[George the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith.](#)” was finally staged in Westminster Hall. Although the coronation of [King George III](#) had cost only about £10,000, this one would sum up to about £243,000. His squat official wife, Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), had returned to England for the occasion but was not welcome at his coronation. She would be turned away at 6AM dressed to the nines at the doors to the East Cloister of [Westminster Abbey](#), then at the doors to the West Cloister, and then at the main entrance to Westminster Hall itself. The king had hired a bunch of bodybuilders and attired them in page costumes, and this group under the command of the champion pugilist Gentleman Jackson was charged to stand sturdily in blockage of her path. Bayonets were held under her chin and the Deputy Lord Chamberlain had the doors closed in her face. She then proceeded to a door near Poet’s Corner, where she was persuaded to desist and rode away in her carriage to the jeers of onlookers: “Back to Pergami!” She went home and after a dinner party which she spoiled by copious weeping, took a dose of milk of magnesia and some drops of laudanum and went off to bed. The monarch would refuse to recognize her as his Queen and would oblige the British ambassadors to ensure that monarchs in foreign courts did the same. By royal command Caroline’s name would be omitted from the Book of Common Prayer, the

liturgy of the Church of England.



When the monarch would seek a divorce, however, he would be warned that any divorce proceedings might well involve the publication of sordid details relating not only to the Queen's extensive series of adulteries, but also to the King's. The monarch would spend most of his later reign in seclusion at Windsor Castle. Numerous statues of him would be erected during his reign (a bronze on horseback by Sir Francis Chantrey in Trafalgar Square, for instance, and another outside the Royal Pavilion in Brighton), and such statues would hold still and remain silent and represent considerable improvements on the presence of the actual royal personage.

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

*5th day 19th of 7 M / Our Meeting was a silent comfortable time In the last (preparative) we had no buisness but what [was] usual. - This Afternoon rode to [Portsmouth](#) to Uncle Saml Thurstons - I was under appointment to visit Hannah Brown (late Lawton) for marrying out of the order of society - Jethro Mitchell & I went together & before we got thro' it was too late to come home so I lodged at Jethro's & 6th day Mornng walked home before breakfast. -*

 July 21, Saturday: Carl Maria von Weber's deteriorating health prompts him to make a last will and testament in Dresden.

While George was being crowned [George the Fourth, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith](#) on the 19th, his estranged official spouse Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbützel, Princess of Wales](#) had attempted repeatedly to gain admission to [Westminster Abbey](#) and had been turned away amidst some name-calling by onlookers. On this night she attended a pageant of the coronation at Drury Lane Theater and, returning home, became very ill with some kind of digestive condition.

 July 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 22nd of 7 M 1821 / Yesterday towards night with my wife crossed the ferry to Connanicut to take our turn in the committee to attend the Meeting lodged at Cousin J Greenes & was very unwell in the night, but this morning felt better & went to Meeting which was a season of some favor, but most of the time it was under suffering that I came at any thing that I desired. -Dined at J ? Greenes & after dinner he kindly brought us across in his little boat.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 24, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 24 of 7 M / have had much lowness & discouragement of mind for several days. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 25, Wednesday: Lieutenant-General Sir Hudson Lowe, no longer needed on [St. Helena](#) due to the demise of [Napoléon Bonaparte](#), resigned as governor.

 July 26, Thursday: Russia severed relations with the Ottoman Empire due to the latter's refusal to guarantee the safety of its Christian subjects.

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

*5th day 26 of 7 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day was in a good degree comfortable, in the first Father Rodman was engaged in a short testimony - In the last our buisness went on pretty well-  
A request was sent forward by [Portsmouth](#) Preparative meeting from ADam Anthony to be admitted to membership -  
Jos Greene, P Lawton Saml & Anne Dennis dined with us -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 28, Saturday: After royalist troops had evacuated Lima, its citizenry proclaimed the independence of Peru from Spain and awarded Jose Francisco de San Martin y Matorras the title "Protector."



1821

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

*1st day 29th of 7 M / Our Meetings were both Silent & hardly as large as usual & both were poor & weak as respected myself – Between Meetings was called to the house of Patience Tucker who had just deceased - no other of the Funeral committee being handy I had to make arrangements for the funeral - & as the house was so very small where she lived thought with the advice of several friends that it was best to meet at the Meeting house tomorrow at ? O'clock – [obscured -]*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 31, Tuesday: Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay](#) got married with Janet Eckford.

## AUGUST

 August: John Williams of Gloucester was lost at sea.

Upon publication of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s "Don Juan" III-V, Murray's premises in London were mobbed by Booksellers' messengers.

[Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) visited [Lord Byron](#) at Ravenna and urged him and the Gambas to move to Pisa.

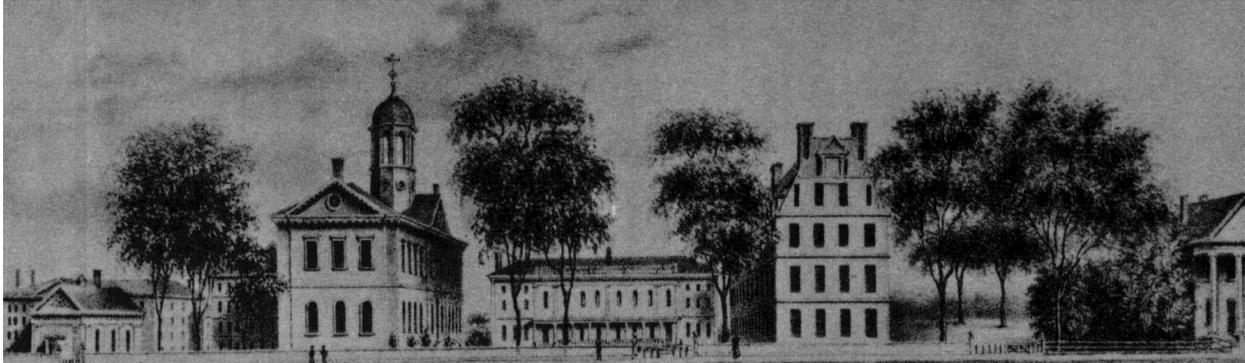
[Shelley](#), at age 19, to Elizabeth Hitchener: "Adequacy of motive is sufficient ... potence will become omnipotence."

1821

1821



August: Contractor William Britton, aided by 30 convicts from Auburn Prison, began construction of Rochester's [Erie Canal](#) Aqueduct over the Genesee River.



At the age of 18, [Waldo Emerson](#) graduated from [Harvard College](#).



Upon Waldo's graduation, his brother William employed him as an assistant in his girls' school on Federal Street in [Boston](#) (after the school closed, he would tutor and teach school in Chelmsford MA, until 1826).

[Augustus Addison Gould](#) matriculated at [Harvard](#).

This 1821 painting of [Harvard](#) is by [Alvan Fisher](#) and is in the university archives:

1821

1821



August/September: While putting down a [servile insurrection](#) in [North Carolina](#), a tragic misidentification occurred. Two groups of white men supposed themselves to be being confronted by armed black [slaves](#), and so they discharged their weapons. (Twelve of these white men wounded each other. It just shows to go you — you can't be too careful, especially in matters of race.)

 August 1, Wednesday: [Samuel Kneeland, Jr.](#) was born in Boston, Massachusetts, the 1st son of the merchant Samuel Kneeland (May 8, 1794- ) and Nancy Burt Johnson Kneeland. The infant was cross-eyed. He would be educated at Boston Latin School.

Friends and members of the Protestant Episcopal Church met at 5PM in a Raleigh, [North Carolina](#) home and agreed to form a congregation to be known by the name of "Congregation of Christs [*sic*] Church." They elected a 5-member Vestry that included John Haywood, State Treasurer of North Carolina, as Senior Warden, John Louis Taylor, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of North Carolina, as Junior Warden, and William Henry Haywood, Jr., later a United States Senator, as Clerk.

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

*5th day 1st of 8 M 1821 / Rode in the Stage this mornig to [Portsmouth](#) & -?[obscured] the Select Quarterly Meeting - Dined at Uncle R Mitchells came home with Uncle Stantons Waggon & returned with H & John & lodged at Uncle Stantons. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*5th day 2nd of 8th M 1821 / Our First Meeting was large & in a degree favourd, but the Service was hurt by injudicious appearances of those who were real well wishers to the cause. - In the last the buisness went on well & I hope Truth lost no ground - Returned at Uncle Stantons Dined & lodged - & on 6th day Morning came home. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 4, Saturday: Moses Wheeler, Jr., 39-year-old husband of Sally Sargeant Wheeler, drowned in Pigeon Cove, Rockport, Gloucester.

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

*1st day 5th of 8 M / Morning Meeting silent, to me a season of leaness, but was favoured to labor - In the Afternoon Ruth Meely a friend from Vermont formerly Ruth Fish of this Moy [Monthly] Meeting was engaged in a very lively & pertinent testimony.- Siste Ruth took tea & set the evening & gave us a pleasant account of her journey to [Providence](#) to attend the School committee*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1821

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August 7, Tuesday: At 10:25PM Lady [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, Princess of Wales](#), inconvenient wife of [King George IV of England](#) who had been ailing ever since being barred in the previous November from his coronation in [Westminster Abbey](#), finally died at Brandenburg House of an intestinal obstruction which may have been cancer. She had reached the age of 53. Right up to the end she had been being spied upon and reported upon by agents of the king. The king was aboard his yacht when he received the news, and retired to his cabin for the remainder of the day. The people, who would not be required by the government to officially mourn, again rallied to her. “she’s dead, great Caroline is dead.... The Rose of England is no more.” Crowds assembled to witness her funeral procession and insist upon a proper route for it, so the English monarch had his Life Guards fire into the crowds — despite two deaths the public refused to disperse.

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

*3rd day 7 of 8 M / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) this Afternoon with Zacheus Chase, lodged at Uncle Stantons - 4th day morning Walked to Meeting, went across the Land & stoped at Richd Sissons & on my way our to the rode passed by the old Sisson House which I believe is the only one on the Island that has leaden windows Sashes & dimond glass - was caught in a shower of Rain & stoped at ? Sissons & saw his mother aged 86 Years, a sociable, pleasant & intelligent old woman. - At Meeting which was a solid[?] time, Ruth Meely engaged in testimony, to the consolation of many minds present. - Dined at Uncle Thurstons & in the Afternoon had an opportunity with Adam Anthony in consequence of his request to be admitted to membership - Took tea with Adam & in the eveng he brought me home in his Chaise*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 9, Thursday: The first building of Amherst Academy was dedicated by an address by [Noah Webster](#).

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

*5th day 9th of 8 M 1821 / Our Meeting was pretty well attended & a very comfortable season it was, for my share of which I desire to be thankful - Hannah Dennis was very lively & large in testimony - father Rodman was also engaged in a short & pretty lively testimony. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 10, Friday: President James Monroe accepted the text of the constitution of the State of Missouri, a text which mandated that its legislature was to enact laws which would prevent non-white people from exercising the rights guaranteed to white people. It would be illegal for a free non-white person to enter that state without naturalization papers in hand — and there was **no such thing** as a naturalization paper for a free non-white person. Thus the question in Missouri was never to be, were you somebody’s [slave](#) or were you a free man or woman of color, but, rather, whose slave were you, who did you belong to? —Never before in the United States of America had there been a racial barrier as straightforward, as explicit, as uniform, as this one which was being accepted by our President.

Missouri would be the 24th state of the Union in accordance with the Missouri Compromise achieved in 1820 by which a slave state would be admitted to pair off against the free state of Maine. Jefferson City was declared to be its state capital. There were some 65,000 citizens, all 65,000 of whom were white males.

1821

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August 11, Saturday: In [The Middlesex Gazette](#) an article signed “S” recounted the convenient local legend “–the oldest people telle [*sic*] me that they heard it in their youth–” that [Henry Thoreau](#) would reference in Draft F of “The Ponds.”

**WALDEN:** Some have been puzzled to tell how the shore became so regularly paved. My townsmen have all heard the tradition, the oldest people tell me that they heard it in their youth, that anciently the Indians were holding a pow-wow upon a hill here, which rose as high into the heavens as the pond now sinks deep into the earth, and they used much profanity, as the story goes, though this vice is one of which the Indians were never guilty, and while they were thus engaged the hill shook and suddenly sank, and only one old squaw, named Walden, escaped, and from her the pond was named.

A deep and clear body of isolated water such as [Walden Pond](#) must have seemed quite mysterious before the development of the geological theory of ice ages, and before the development of an account of how buried masses of ice often linger at the edge of a retreating glacier and gradually melt over centuries or dozens of centuries, to leave precisely such deep water-filled holes. Alas, however, a people with a “forgotten” history of genocide, such as these white Concordians, are ever in dire need of some fanciful account by which their record can precisely be reversed and the people they victimized be portrayed as aggressors while the guilty (or themselves, descendants of the guilty parties and inheritors of the loot the guilt and the shame of genocide) can be allowed to posture as innocent prisoners being tortured and burned alive by barbarous savages. Barbarous savages whom these white Christians trapped in their peaceable villages in the snow of that winter of 1676-1677, and roped together at the neck, and marched onto the Deer Island concentration camp in Boston Harbor and destroyed by starvation and exposure.<sup>34</sup> Note that in this 1821 news item the existence of [Walden Pond](#) has become a fanciful proof that it is God, not white Concordians, who destroys strange peoples who interfere with the legitimate agendas of white Concordians. This article is not a “news story” at all, but rather it is a fantasy by which white people, as inheritors of desperate deeds, have discovered a way to add to the original affect of the viciousness and greed of their parents the affect of outrage of a surviving victim and thus mobilize, in the service of their own lives, the force of a shame which might otherwise forestall them from further such acts of desperation.

34. The scenario is rather a familiar one –although its depths have never adequately been fathomed– at least we have been able to observe this legitimization-myth as it repeated itself in [Minnesota](#) during our race war and then in Germany before and during World War II. [Margaret Fuller](#), not one easy to deceive, described it as “the aversion of the injurer for him he has degraded.”



1821

1821

### Walden Pond

This pond, in the southerly part of town, has something singular, both in its appearance and in the tradition concerning it. It is said that the place which now contains a body of water, was once a high hill – that on this hill the Indians assembled at certain seasons to celebrate their religious festivals, and at other times to burn and torture prisoners taken in the wars with the early settlers of the country; it was on a meeting of numerous chiefs and tribes for the latter purpose, that this celebrated hill disappeared in the midst of their barbarous rejoicings, and sunk with all its savage inhabitants upon it. And on account of the remarkable depth of the water, which has never been fathomed, it was supposed to have continued to sink to such an amazing depth, that the bottom dropped out one day. This much for tradition – We do not vouch for the truth of the story, still there is enough that is singular about this pond, to warrant a stranger in going a little distance to view it; its banks are very bold, and decorated on all sides with evergreens and other forest trees – its waters are pure – no weeds or grass grow on its borders, no stream runs into it, or issues from it, and it is found to be highest in the driest time. In this deep water many pike and pickerell have been taken, weighing from one to five pounds, and it is confidently asserted, that others have been seen which would probably weigh from ten to twenty pounds; this sort never have been taken.

Some of your readers, it is hoped, will give a more particular description of this singular pond.

Perhaps father John Thoreau, or someone else who regularly read the gazettes, clipped this vicious article when it was printed and passed it on to [Henry](#) in 1853/1854 while he was writing the history of the pond. Perhaps it was passed on with the suggestion that Thoreau be the one to realize the last sentence, “give a more particular description of this singular pond” — give a description of this singular pond that will particularly and effectively remove it forever from the list of geographical landforms available for use by white people as legitimators of genocide.

We may remember that indeed there was a “high hill” near [Concord](#), upon which a “barbarous” event had taken place. However, this barbarous event was not the torture and slaughter of innocent white people by savage red people, but was, instead, the murder of Native American women and children by white Concordians. For which, you must refer to the events of 1676.



Walden

Mount Misery

According to Professor Walter Roy Harding’s *THE DAYS OF HENRY THOREAU* (NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1966), in the course of this year:

### “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)

In 1836, in [John Warner Barber](#)’s *CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS: CONTAINING A GENERAL COLLECTION OF INTERESTING FACTS, TRADITIONS BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ANECDOTES, ETC., RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF EVERY TOWN IN [CONNECTICUT](#)*, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS

(Durrie & Peck and J.W. Barber), in regard to Lake Quinebaug (Nell Alexander's Lake) in Killingly, Connecticut:

In ancient times, when the red men of this quarter had long enjoyed prosperity, that is, when they had found plenty of game in the woods, and fish in the ponds and rivers, they at length fixed a time for a general powwow, a sort of festival for eating, drinking, smoking, singing and dancing. The spot chosen for this purpose was a sandy hill, or mountain, covered with tall pines, occupying the situation where the lake now lies. The powwow lasted four days in succession, and was to continue longer had not the Great Spirit, enraged at the licentiousness which prevailed there, resolved to punish them. Accordingly, while the red people in immense numbers were capering about upon the summit of the mountain, it suddenly "gave way" beneath them, and sunk to a great depth, when the water from below rushed up and covered them all except *one good old squaw*, who occupied one of the peaks, which now bears the name of Loon's Island. Whether the tradition is entitled to credit or not we will do it justice by affirming that in a clear day, when there is no wind and the surface of the lake is smooth, the huge trunks and leafless branches of *gigantic pines* may be occasionally seen in the deepest part of the water, some of them reaching almost to the surface, in such huge and fantastic forms as to cause the beholder to startle!

Professor Robert M. Thorson has inferred in his *WALDEN'S SHORE: HENRY DAVID THOREAU AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY SCIENCE* (Harvard UP, 2013, page 307), that the Concord fable about the inversion of Walden Pond in Concord, Massachusetts would be merely [Henry's](#) extrapolation from this fable about Alexander's Lake in Killingly, Connecticut, pointing out that in his personal copy of *WALDEN* we find the



notation in his handwriting "This is told of Alexanders Lake in Killingly, CT, by Barber in his Con. Hist. Coll." "That Thoreau borrowed this story of topographical inversion for Walden suggests he thought it applied there as well." Nevertheless, Concord had been the initial inland town settled in all of New England and the record we have of its Walden Pond fable dates to 1821 or earlier, whereas the Killingly region had not been settled by white intrusives until 1700 –in fact the 42d such town settled in Connecticut– and the record we have of its Alexander's Lake fable has been dated only as far back as 1835. Aiding us in this is evidence of Concord's criminal motivation: we don't yet know of any criminal motivation in the case of Killingly, but, in the case of Concord, we do know of a decided motive for the creation of such a fable: the fable helped conceal through the common criminal tactic of inversion the town shame of a mass murder of reds by whites, followed by the undeniable hanging of white town citizens on Boston's common for this sad race atrocity. Unless and until,



1821

1821

therefore, we have chronological evidence to the contrary from Connecticut, it is going to remain more plausible for us to suspect that all the cultural borrowing had been done by Connecticut that to suspect that any of the cultural borrowing had been done by Concordians!



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

*1st day 12th of 8 M 1821 / Our meetings were both solid - D Buffum in the forenoon & father Rodman in the Afternoon deliver'd short testimonys - After meeting in the Afternoon by request of Geo [?] Hazard set out with his son Alfred to go to Plainfield in Connecticut to place him at Rowland Greenes school The first night we lodged at Uncle Stantons. 2nd day [Monday] morning rose early & reached Benj Pearces at the Toll gate in [Portsmouth](#) & took breakfast then crossed [Bristol](#) ferry & rode to [Warren](#) where we fed our horse, then went on to [Providence](#) & reached [Moses Brown's](#) & lodged - 3rd day Morning proceeded on our journey stoped at several places to rest, & reached Sterling to dinner then went on & reached Rowlands House by the middle of the Afternoon - found it a pleasant situation, & the people also very pleasant within doors*

*Lodged there & on 4th day Morning, left my charge - & proceeded homewards, suffering much with the heat - dined at Fishes tavern in Scituate - then came -[obscured] & got into town in season to take a dish of tea at Obadiah Browns, walked round [Providence](#) to transact a little buisness & then rode out to [Moses Browns](#) & lodged, spending the evening in his very interesting company - 5th day Morning went up to the Yearly Meeting School & spent a little time very satisfactorily with the Superintendent & teachers, then came on to [Warren](#) and Dined & in the Afternoon reached home*

*This little journey has been in a good degree proffitable to me - my views have been extended, I have seen a greater extent of inland country than I ever did before, - it was the first time, & may be the only time I ever shall be in the State of Connecticut. - The Scenerey of the country has afforded an abundant theme for reflection & much beyond my theme of contemplation. - but according to my measure, I endeavour'd to proffit by it - In & about [Providence](#) I met with some of my friends that I love, & whose company is proffitable, so that altho' there has been no pecuniary benefit, yet is has been no loss. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 16, Thursday: [Arthur Cayley](#) died.

The Paris Opera moved into new quarters in the Rue Le Peletier (its old theater in the Rue de Richelieu had been demolished after the Duc de Berry had been stabbed while leaving).

The casket of [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttele](#) was placed on board a ship at Harwich. During the night, as her coffin had lain awaiting the morning tide at Harwich, a plaque reading "CAROLINE OF BRUNSWICK, INJURED QUEEN OF ENGLAND" had been ripped away.



1821

1821



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

*6th day 17th of 8 m 1821 / This morning visited my Uncle Benjamin Gould who is in the 87th Year of his Age & so very low as to be apparantly near the close of life, hourly his dissolution may be expected. In consequence of an old family difficulty I have not been in the habit of visiting him since I was a boy & was afraid visiting him at this late period when he is so low as to speak but in a whisper, would disturb him. - but on going into the room, I found he looked quiet appeared to know me & on my inquiring of him how he did he answered in a whisper in his usual reply, that he was "meagre" - on sitting with him I felt a degree of quietude (tho not wholly free from exercise) yet a hope was raised in my heart that his peace was made. - on parting with he he squeezed my hand. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 19, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 19th of 8 M / Mary Morton was engaged in testimony in the forenoon & father Rodman in the Afternoon --After meeting in the Afternoon with Job Sherman visited J-[obscured] Mason aged 84 Years. he is a seventh day [Baptist](#), & very Sweet & lively in spirit. I dont know when I have visited any old man that seemed more quiet in spirit & being with him, did raise in my mind strong desires that my last days might be as tranquil as his. -*  
*In a thunder gust last evening two men were drowned near Rose Island, a boat went off this Afternoon to look for them but found only their boat. One was Elisha Billington of this town & the other Simmons of Connanicut. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 20, Monday: 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, William H. Adams were appointed to study a route.

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

*2nd day 20th of 8 M 1821 / Between 11 & 12 OClock at night Uncle BENJAMIN GOULD departed this life In the 87th Year of his Age, he was the oldest child of my Grandfather James Gould & Martha his wife - he is all the own Uncle I ever knew, there was another brother by the name of Joseph but he died before I was born. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 21, Tuesday: Thomas Johann Seebeck gave the 1st of a series of four talks before the Academy of Sciences in Berlin in which he described recent experiments. He had found that two unlike metals joined at two different points, with each point at a different temperature, would produce a flow of electricity (this phenomenon, later termed "Seebeck Effect," was the beginning of thermoelectricity).

THE SCIENCE OF 1821

 August 22, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 22 of 8 M / Attended the funeral of Uncle Benjamin Gould, it was a solid sitting of Friends - silent & concluded to satisfaction. - his remains were decently interred in the Burying ground near friends Meeting House, where his last wife several of his children his Father & Mother & his grandfather Stanton are all buried. - After the funeral we returned home with cousin Henry & took tea in company with David Buffum & wife, Jonathon Dennis & wife & several others. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Thursday: Three songs by Franz Schubert were published by Cappi and Diabelli, Vienna as his op.6: "Memnon" and "Antigone und Oedip" to words of Mayrhofer, and "Am Grabe Anselmos" to words of Claudius.

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

*5th day 23rd of 8 M / Silent but comfortable Meeting - in the Preparative meeting we had no business. - - In the Afternoon the committee met & Adam Anthony at our House, on the subject of his request which was[?] solid & satisfactory, & we agreed on a report to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting  
My mind in the investigation of Adams application has been concerned to[?] feel after true judgement where by we may be satisfied both with [obscured] his[?] and our own Conduct -  
Whoever is engaged rightly in the concerns in society will find frequent need of deep dipping -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 24, Friday: The casket of [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel](#) arrived at Brunswick.

 August 25, Saturday: The body of [Caroline Amelia of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel](#) was interred in Brunswick Cathedral.

The Battle of Vassilika between Greek insurgents and the Ottoman Empire, near Thermopylae. The insurgents managed to destroy an Ottoman relief army on its way to the forces of Omar Vrioni in Attica, capturing supplies and baggage. 800 Turks were killed and 220 captured. Greek prizes included 18 flags, 2 cannons, and 800 horses. Turks retreated to Lamia to the north of Thermopylae. This victory prevented the Ottoman army in Attica and Evia from entering the Peloponnese and delivering Ottoman garrisons besieged by the Greeks.

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

*1st day 26th of 8 M 1821 / In the forenoon Meeting Father Rodman delivered a short but impressive testimony on the subject of death. - Silent in the Afternoon. - After meeting took a walk with John over to the Point & called in a few moments to see A Robinson & Mary Morton. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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August 27, Monday: There was an annular [eclipse](#) of the sun (#7218) from Baja California to the tip of Florida.



August 29, Wednesday: In [Chicago](#), a treaty document was created by [Lewis Cass](#) and Solomon Sibley, Commissioners of the United States, and endorsed by headmen of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie nations:

ARTICLE 1. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians cede to the United States all the Land comprehended within the following boundaries: Beginning at a point on the south bank of the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, near the Parc aux Vaches, due north from Rum's Village, and running thence south to a line drawn due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, thence with the said line east to the Tract ceded by the Pottawatamies to the United States by the Treaty of Fort Meigs in 1817, if the said line should strike the said Tract, but if the said line should pass north of the said Tract, then such line shall be continued until it strikes the western boundary of the Tract ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807, and from the termination of the said line, following the boundaries of former cessions, to the main branch of the Grand River of Lake Michigan, should any of the said lines cross the said River, but if none of the said lines should cross the said River, then to a point due east of the source of the said main branch of the said river, and from such point due west to the source of the said principal branch, and from the crossing of the said River, or from the source thereof, as the case may be, down the said River, on the north bank thereof, to the mouth; thence following the shore of Lake Michigan to the south bank of the said river St. Joseph, at the mouth thereof, and thence with the said south bank to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid, there shall be reserved, for the use of the Indians, the following Tracts:  
One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be Village, on the river Peble, of six miles square.  
One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be, of six miles square.  
One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square.  
One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square.  
One tract at the village the Match-be-barh-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river.

ART. 3. There shall be granted by the United States to each of the Grants to persons following persons, being all Indians by descent, and to their heirs, the following Tracts of Land:  
To John Burnet, two sections of land.  
To James Burnet, Abraham Burnet, Rebecca Burnett and Nancy Burnet, each one section of land; which said John, James, Abraham, Rebecca, and Nancy, are children of Kaw-kee-me, sister of Top-ni-be, principal chief of the Potwatamie nation.  
The land granted to the persons immediately preceding, shall begin on the north bank of the river St. Joseph, about two miles from the mouth, and shall extend up and back from the said river for quantity.  
To John B. La Lime, son of Noke-no-qua, one-half of a section



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of. land, adjoining the tract before granted, and on the upper side thereof.

To Jean B. Chandonai, son of Chip-pe-wa-quaa, two sections of land, on the river St. Joseph, above and adjoining the tract granted to J. B. La Line.

To Joseph Daze, son of Chip-pe-wa-quaa, one section of land above and adjoining the tract granted to Jean B. Chandonai.

To Monguago, one-half of a section of land, at Mish-she-wa-kokink.

To Pierre Moran or Peeresh, a Potawatamie Chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elkheart river.

To Pierre Le Clerc, son of Moi-quaa, one section of land on the Elkheart river, above and adjoining the tract granted to Mora and his children.

The section of land granted by the Treaty of St. Mary's, in 1818, to Peeresh or Perig, shall be granted to Jean B. Cicot, son of Pe-say-quot, sister of the said Peeresh, it having been so intended at the execution of the said Treaty.

To O-she-ak-ke-be or Benac, one-half of a section of land on the north side of the Elk-heart river, where the road from Chicago to Fort Wayne first crosses the said river.

To Me-naw-che, a Potawatamie woman, one-half of a section of land on the eastern bank of the St. Joseph, where the road from Detroit to Chicano first crosses the said river.

To Theresa Chandler or To-e-ak-qui, a Potawatamie woman, and to her daughter Betsey Fisher, one section of land on the south side of the Grand River, opposite to the Spruce Swamp.

To Charles Beaubien and Medart Beaubien, sons of Man-na-ben-aquaa, each one-half of a section of land near the village of Kewi-go-shkeem, on the Washtenaw river.

To Antoine Roland, son of I-gat-pat-a-wat-a-mie-quaa, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Pierre Moran.

To William Knaggs or Was-es-kuk-son, son of Ches-quaa, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Antoine Roland.

To Madeline Bertrand, wife of Joseph Bertrand, a Potawatamie woman, one section of land at the Pare aux Vaches, on the north side of the river St. Joseph.

To Joseph Bertrand, junior, Benjamin Bertrand, Laurent Bertrand, Theresa Bertrand, and Amable Bertrand, children of the said Madeline Bertrand, each one half of a section of land at the portage of the Kankakee river.

To John Riley, son of Me-naw-cum-a-go-quoi, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said River.

To Peter Riley, the son of Me-naw-cum-e-go-quaa, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said river.

To Jean B. Le Clerc, son of Moi-quaa, one half o a section of land, above and adjoining the tract granted to Pierre Le Clerc.

To Joseph La Framboise, son of Shaw-we-no-quaa, one section of land upon the south side of the river St. Joseph, and adjoining on the upper side the land ceded to the United States, which said section is also ceded to the United States.



The Tracts of Land herein stipulated to be granted, shall never be leased or conveyed by the grantees or their heirs to any persons whatever, without the permission of the President of the United States. And such tracts shall be located after the said cession is surveyed, and in conformity with such surveys as near as may be, and in such manner as the President may direct.

ART. 4. In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States engage to pay to the Ottawa nation, one thousand dollars in specie annually forever, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of ten years, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith, of a Teacher, and of a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils. And the United States also engage to pay to the Potawatamie nation five thousand dollars in specie, annually, for the term of twenty years, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith and a Teacher. And one mile square shall be selected, under the direction of the President, on the north side of the Grand River, and one mile square on the south side of the St. Joseph, and within the Indian lands not ceded, upon which the blacksmiths and teachers employed for the said tribes, respectively, shall reside.

ART. 5. The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty.

ART. 6. The United States shall have the privilege of making and using a road through the Indian country, from Detroit and Fort Wayne, respectively, to Chicago.

ART. 7. This Treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the said Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattiwatima nations, have hereunto set their hands, at Chicago aforesaid, this 29th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

[signatures]

The tract reserved at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Ke-kal-i-ma-zoo river, was by agreement to be three miles square. The extent of the reservation was accidentally omitted.

➡ August 30, Thursday: The New York state constitutional convention began in Albany.

Franz Schubert's female chorus Der 23. Psalm, translated by Moses Mendelssohn, was performed for the initial time, in the Gundelhof, Vienna.

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

*5th day 30 of 8 M / Rose early & with my H rode to [Portsmouth](#) to attend our Moy [Monthly] Meeting on the way went down to Uncle Stantons of which circumstance I was glad as Aunt would not have been able to get to meeting without our assistance as Uncle was lame & The boy not at home  
At the first meeting Anne Dennis appeared in a few words follow'd by Mary Morton Hannah Dennis & Ruth Mealy all well adapted & pertinent & I thought it a pretty good meeting - In the last Adam Anthony was received into Membership - & Several other subjects of weight & importance came before us, some of them occasioned close exercise, but on the whole I considered truth gained the Victory & the meeting closed pretty well - We returned with Aunt Patty & dined, & then rode home*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FALL 1821

➡ Fall: [Alexander Young, Jr.](#) entered at [Harvard Divinity School](#) for the regular 3-year course leading toward an appointment as a reverend.

➡ Late Fall: Friend [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) sailed, in her plain [Quaker](#)-gray dress, from Philadelphia to confront her family of origin in [Charleston](#).

SEPTEMBER

➡ September: Foundation of the Calcutta [Unitarian](#) Committee, a precursor group for the British [Indian](#) Unitarian Association of Calcutta, with Rajah Rammohan Roy and the [Reverend William Adam](#) prominent.<sup>35</sup> This group would become involved in correspondence with the [Reverend Professor Jared Sparks](#) of the First Independent Church of Baltimore, Dr. Thomas Rees of London, Sir John Bowring, the Reverend Thomas Belsham, the Reverend W.J. Fox, Harriet Martineau, Robert Dale Owen, Dr. Lant Carpenter, and Dr. J.B. Estlin.

35. There were already Unitarians in India, for the South Indian Unitarians had formed on December 19, 1813 around one William Roberts, "native of Carnatick."



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September: The Middlesex Cattle Show, which [Henry David 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 crabbled 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.

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→ September 1, Saturday: This month's issue of the London Magazine included the 1st installment of Thomas de Quincey's Confessions of an English Opium-Eater.

Jose de San Martin landed at Pisco south of Lima, and declared against Spain.

There was a hurricane at the island of Guadeloupe with 200 deaths and with 88 houses of Basse-Terre destroyed, and at Turks Island, extending to the Bahamas.



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

*1 day 2nd of 9th M 1821 / In the forenoon Father Rodman & in the Afternoon Mary Morton & Hannah Dennis were engaged in short testimonys. - Poverty in both Meetings were my portion. - In the evening called at D Williams to see Wm R Thurston & his wife from NYork, but finding they were not at home, went down to Sally Eastons where we found them, & his wife to be appeared an amiable intersting & religious woman. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 3, Monday: Chiapas declared its independence from Spain.

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September 4, Tuesday: [Tsar Alyeksander I](#) of [Russia](#) declared that the southern border of the Russian territory of Alaska was smack on the 51st parallel, thus laying a claim to the northern end of Vancouver Island, British Columbia, in territory contested by both Britain and the USA.

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September 5, Wednesday: Spain having ceded Florida on July 17th, the news on this day was that the USA had taken possession:



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**S. CAROLINA. CHARLESTON, AUG. 23.**  
**THE FLORIDAS.**  
*St. Augustine, Aug. 18.* Despatches have been received by Mr. WORTHINGTON from Gov. JACKSON, informing that he took possession of Pensacola on the 17th July. Judge FROMENTIN, of the U. S. Court, has arrived at Pensacola.  
JOHN RODMAN, Esq. Collector, Mr. ROBERT S. HEDDEN, and MATTHEW JENKINS, Inspectors of the Customs, have arrived here from New-York.  
Don Julian Fernandez de Roldan has entered on his duties as Intendant of Cuba.



September 6, Thursday: After his retirement and after the deaths of his wife, a son, and a daughter, the Reverend [Vicesimus Knox II](#) had resided upon the Adelphi Terrace in London.



At this point he died of an obstruction of the bowels in the 69th year of his age, while paying a visit to one of his two surviving sons, the Reverend Thomas Knox, in Tonbridge in Kent where this son had succeeded him as headmaster at the Tonbridge School. His remains would be deposited in the chancel of the parish church on the 13th and eventually a memorial would be positioned there:



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TO THE MEMORY OF  
**VICESIMUS KNOX, D.D.**  
MASTER OF TUNBRIDGE SCHOOL, AND RECTOR OF RUNWELL AND  
RAMSDEN CRAYS IN ESSEX.  
BORN DEC. 8, 1752. — DIED, SEPT. 6, 1821.

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A SOUND DIVINE,  
AN ELEGANT AND PROFOUND SCHOLAR,  
A POLISHED AND POWERFUL WRITER,  
AN ELOQUENT, ZEALOUS, AND PERSUASIVE PREACHER OF THE GOSPEL,  
HE EMPLOYED HIS HIGH ENDOWMENTS  
TO THE GLORY OF GOD,  
AND THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL IMPROVEMENT OF MAN.  
ANXIOUS EVER TO ADVANCE THE HAPPINESS OF HIS FELLOW-CREATURES,  
UPON THE PUREST PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPY,  
WITH A LOFTY SPIRIT OF INDEPENDENCE,  
AND A RARE DISINTERESTEDNESS IN CONDUCT,  
HE DISREGARDED THE ORDINARY OBJECTS OF WORLDLY AMBITION,  
AND SHEWED HIMSELF ON ALL OCCASIONS  
THE ENEMY OF PUBLIC ABUSES,  
THE FRIEND OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY,  
THE OPPONENT OF OFFENSIVE WAR,  
THE PROMOTER OF PEACE,  
AND THE ADVOCATE OF ALL THE CLAIMS OF HUMANITY.

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“HE BEING DEAD YET SPEAKETH.”

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

*5th day 6 of 9 M / Our Meeting was larger than usual a number of Strangers were present some that were & some that were not Members. — Jonathon & Hannah Dennis both delivered short testimonies - & I thought it was a pretty good meeting. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 7, Friday: Carl Loewe got married with Julie von Jacob in Halle.

Filipe Ferreira de Araujo e Castro replaced Silvestre Pinheiro Ferreira as Portugal's Secretary of State (prime minister).

→ September 9, Sunday: There was a hurricane at the islands of Antigua and St. Barths in the Caribbean.



HURRICANES

Warner, New Hampshire experienced a severe tornado which is said to have commenced near Lake Champlain. This phenomenon passed over Lake Sunapee and through a portion of New London and Sutton, and entered that part of Warner called the Gore not far from the base of Kearsarge Mountain. The barn of William Harwood was carried away, and the homes of M.F. Goodwin, J. Ferrin, and Abner Watkins were damaged. Ferrin's barn was ripped to pieces and Watkins's barn lost its roof. A stone weighing six hundred pounds moved several feet. At the home of Daniel Savory, his 72-year-old father Samuel and the women who were present were upstairs attempting to secure an open window when the tornado lifted the building and whirled it. The bodies of six of the family would be recovered from the wreckage. Samuel Savory's brains had been dashed out. His wife Elizabeth was badly injured by the debris. Daniel Savory's wife Mary had severe bruises, and her infant in arms did not survive. The nearby house of Robert Savory was also lost, and all eight members of the family were hurt to one degree or another. John Palmer, half a mile away, saw the cloud coming, too late, and would relate that it looked like an inverted funnel. The buildings of Peter Flanders were torn apart, and the Flanders infant was very severely injured. A Miss Anna Richardson was killed. The buildings of Deacon Joseph True, in the corner of Salisbury, New Hampshire, were demolished and the entire family buried in chimney bricks. The deacon's life was saved when a huge timber stuck endways into the ground within two feet of the place in which he was standing, because then the wreckage falling upon that upright piece protected him from being crushed. He was able to dig his family out from under more than a foot of crushed bricks. The oven had just been heated and the brick wreckage he removed was so hot that his fingers burned to the bone. At the end, the tornado passed again into Warner, tearing down another barn and passing over a pond in such manner as to draw its waters noticeably up at its center. The tornado then played itself out

in a quarter of the woods bordering on what would become Webster, New Hampshire. William C. Redfield of Connecticut would follow a portion of the path of this hurricane on foot, and would notice that in some places where trees had been knocked over, they had been knocked over toward the southeast, whereas elsewhere some fruit trees and some corn plants had been knocked down toward the northwest. He correctly inferred therefore, in the Ben-Franklin manner, that these hurricanes must be of the nature of whirlwinds. (Other meteorologists of the time, however, would disagree, insisting that because hurricanes were driven by convection forces, the general movement of air in a hurricane must be upward rather than at a horizontal angle.)

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

*1st day 9th of 9th M 1821 / In the forenoon Meeting Father Rodman & in the Afternoon D Buffum had short but lively testimonies & to me the Afternoon (particularly) was a season of some favor, for which I desire to be thankful  
Oh the leanness of my spirit of late. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 10, Monday: After moving from Chelmsford MA back to [Concord](#) for a short stay, and then to a house in [Boston](#)'s South End, the Thoreaus moved to 4 Pinckney Street in [Boston](#) itself.

THOREAU RESIDENCES  
CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU  
JOHN THOREAU



"Is a house but a gall on the face of the earth,  
a nidus which some insect has provided for its young?"  
-JOURNAL May 1, 1857



 September 11, Tuesday: A meeting was held in Philadelphia to resuscitate the Chesapeake and Delaware [canal](#) plans.

In [Concord](#), [Nehemiah Ball](#) got married with Mary Merriam, sister of one of Concord's leading citizens, [Ephraim Merriam](#).

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

*4th day 12th of 9 M / Attended the funeral of John Goddards Child about 14 Months old - it was to me a season of favor, it seemed a little like the removal of the Vale, or a change from a state of leanness to a state of sweet tenderness, for which I desire to be thankful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*5th day 13 of 9 M / Our Meeting was to me rather an unsettled season but a degree of favor was experienced - A few words by J Dennis - At 2 O'clock the committee in care of the Request of John A Wardsworth met at our house, which was a solid interesting*

*opportunity – After which I rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Benjamin & Niobe Marshall who arrived just before Meeting time on a visit to their father & Mother, we got there in season to return before dark. – Aunt Patty had gone to take a ride with Ellen, but Uncle was at home & highly pleased to see his children & grandchild –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 15, Saturday: Representatives of landowners and clergy met in Guatemala City and proclaimed the independence of the Kingdom of Guatemala (consisting of Chiapas, Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, and Nicaragua).

 September 16, Sunday: Tsar Alyeksandr of Russia claimed the west coast of North America from the Bering Sea to latitude 51° north. He further banned foreign ships from coming within 185 kilometers of the coast.

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

*1st day 16th of 9th M / Our Morning Meeting was large & favord  
 - Mary Morton was first engaged in a lively testimony, her  
 opening was [obscure] ist the Devil & he will flee from us & was  
 favord to shew the -ration of the divine principle, the way to  
 escape temptation & finally land safe in the kingdom of heaven  
 -The Hannah Dennis was large in testimony & much favord on the  
 general subjects of religion - Then David Buffum pointed out the  
 operations of truth & endeavoured to turn our minds to the  
 principle, from the outward to the inward Stating that we [-]  
 ed must talk about religion, must bubby [?] theory we [-] no  
 more about religion than we did about a country [-]rewing a map,  
 but the way to have a correct understanding was to go & see the  
 country, so with religion, doctrine & theory would answer no  
 better purpose but we must come to the experimental part, to  
 feel it in our selves & obey its leadings & directions &  
 concluded with saying what an Awful thing it would be should the  
 language be applicabile to any "The summers is past & the harvest  
 is ended & we are not gathered "Then Hannah Dennis rose & very  
 feelingly addressed the Aged particularly & concluded with a few  
 words to the Middle aged & the Youth. -  
 In the Afternoon we had a short but lively testimony from father  
 Rodman. -  
 In the evening I visited my cousins, Peggy & Hannah Gould. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 18, Tuesday: Amherst Academy began operations with a president, a staff of two professors, and a student body of 47 students. Of these, 15 had been brought along from Williams College by the new president.

According to BIRTHS, MARRIAGES AND DEATHS OF THE TOWN OF [CONCORD](#), MASSACHUSETTS (Groton, 1894), Eliab Bolton of Groton & Dorcas Farwell of Concord filed an intention to marry.

A setting of Psalm 19 for two solo voices, chorus and piano by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.



1821

1821

 September 19, Wednesday: In [Boston](#), a carpenter named Pearl was convicted of having sex with his apprentice boy — who was discovered actually to be a young woman, in disguise.

[John Shepard Keyes](#) was born in Concord, a son of [John Keyes](#) and Ann Stow Shepard Keyes. He would grow up with a sister Mary Keyes (born March 24, 1827; died October 3, 1834), a brother Joseph Boyden Keyes (born May 13, 1829; married May 17, 1855; died May 6, 1870), and a brother George Keyes (born May 12, 1832; married September 14, 1854). He would be educated at the Concord Academy under Phineas Allen and William Whiting, at Harvard College (1837-1841), and at the Harvard Law School. He would begin to practice law in 1844, become a Massachusetts state senator, become a sheriff of Middlesex County, become a United States marshal, and become a judge of the District Court of Eastern Middlesex. His duties as Marshal would during the Civil War come to include handling cases of prize ships, contraband goods, and the custody of certain types of prisoners and due to this, for a period the family would need to reside closer into Boston rather than in Concord.

 September 20, Thursday: Captain Hezekiah Weatherbee [Wetherbee] got married with Grace E. Baker [Billings].

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

*5th day 20th of 9 M 1821 / Silent Meeting. - & in The last there was some buisness - Jm Wilbour reported as having married out of the order of Society. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day 23rd of 9 M / Silent meeting in the forenoon - in the Afternoon a few words from father Rodman. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 25, Tuesday: [Tsar Alyeksander I](#) of [Russia](#) declared a monopoly on all hunting, fishing, and trading in Russian America and adjacent waters.

 September 27, Thursday: Augustin de Iturbide entered Mexico City in triumph after his Mexican forces defeated Spanish troops.

[Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#) was born in Genève, [Switzerland](#) in a [Huguenot](#) family that had fled from Languedoc to Genève due to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

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

*5th day 27th of 9 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was this day held in town. The first was a season of some favor, Anne Dennis was concerned in a few words - Anne Greene followed in a communication of some length & father Rodman closed in a short testimony - in the last Meeting we had but little buisness & The Meeting closed at a little past on OClock Uncle Saml Thurston & Aunt Stanton Dined with us, after which My H & John went out with Aunt Stanton intending to Spend a few days on a visit to them -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ September 28, Friday: Augustin de Iturbide took on the title of President of the Regency of the Empire.

→ September 29, Saturday: The Boston Handel and Haydn Society Collection of Church Music, compiled by Lowell Mason, was announced in the leading American music journal, The Euterpeiad.

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

*7th day 29th of 9 M 1821 / Towards night Cousin Henry Gould took me to Portsmouth in his Chaise as far as black Sam's Corner & I walked from thence down to Uncle Stantons, & staid all night*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*Next Morning took Aunt Patty my H & John in the Waggon & went to meeting - Abigail Sherman & Anne Dennis said a little & I thought it was a pretty good meeting - returned & dined at Uncle Stantons & in the Afternoon returned home, rode part of the way & walked a part of the way, leaving Hannah & John to complete their visit.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

OCTOBER

→ October: [Sam Houston](#) was elected by his fellow officers to the position of Major General in the Tennessee state militia.

→ October: Cyrus Baldwin and Rufus Hosmer spoke at the [Concord](#) annual agricultural exhibition. Exhibitors received prizes totaling \$277.

*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*.<sup>36</sup>

 October/November: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) wrote "Hellas."

 October: At the age of 24, [John Gardner Wilkinson](#) arrived for the initial time in [Egypt](#). He would be there continuously for the following 12 years, visiting ancient sites, recording their inscriptions and paintings and compiling notes.

 October: The Universalist Reverend John Murray had between 1772 and 1815 preached frequently in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and other Universalists had preached there from time to time. At this point the first Universalist society was incorporated. It would come to occupy two churches on Westminster Street before erecting a more spacious building at the corner of Greene Street and Washington Street.

**RHODE ISLAND RELIGION**

The second such Universalist society, known as "The Church of the Mediator," would be established in 1845, and would occupy the substantial edifice on Cranston Street at the corner of Burgess Street. Besides these two parishes there would be in Rhode Island three other Universalist parishes: one in [Woonsocket](#), one in Pawtucket, and one in East Providence where a new church edifice would be dedicated on October 24, 1882. There would be Universalist chapels at Valley Falls and Cumberland and for some years a missionary reverend would be going out to preach at Burrillville, Anthony, Harmony, and other towns.

 October: [Sarah Moore Grimké](#) wrote from Greenhill Farm outside Philadelphia:



On last Fifth Day I changed my dress for the more plain one of the Quakers, not because I think making my clothes in their peculiar manner makes me any better, but because I believe it was laid upon me, seeing that my natural will revolted from the idea of assuming this garb. I trust I have made this change in a right spirit, and with a single eye to my dear Redeemer. It was accompanied by a feeling of much peace.

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

36. [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.)



October: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Antonioa*, master Zorilla, J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Brazil.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



October 4, Thursday: A setting of the Mass by [Vincenzo Bellini](#) was performed for the initial time, in the church of San Francesco d'Assisi, Catania.



October 5, Friday: The publication of twelve Monferrinas for piano op.49 by Muzio Clementi was entered at Stationer's Hall, London.

Greek rebels captured Tripolitza in the Morea and massacred the Turks living there.

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

*6th day 5th of 10th M 1821 / On buisness of the Estate of the late Mary Tillinghast, I went this Morning to the Island of Prudence. We took Quarters at Saml Pearces[?], & on 7th day evening about a 1 / 2 past 7 OC after we had finished our buisness & got our supper we got on board the boat & by Moon light had a pleasant Sail down the river & got home before bed time. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1821

1821

October 6, Saturday: A cargo manifest of this date (slaves for the coastal trade, being "sold south") pertaining to a cargo vessel whose home port was in decent Duxbury, Massachusetts:



MANIFEST of Negros, Mulattos, and persons of Color, taken on board the Schooner *Gustavus* of Duxbury, Mass. whereof Solomon Bassett is Master, burthen 78<sup>15</sup>/<sub>15</sub> tons, to be transported to the Port of Savannah, Geo. in the District of Savannah — for the purpose of being sold or disposed of as Slaves, or to be held to service or Labour.

NUMBER OF ENTRY.	NAMES.	SEX.		AGE.	HEIGHT.		Whether Negro, Mulatto, or person of Color.	Owner or Shipper's Name and Residence.
		MALE.	FEMALE.		FEET.	INCHES.		
1	Stephen	Man		21	5	5 3/4	dark complexion	Austin Woolfolk Senr. of Augusta, Georgia - owner, Shipper & Consignee
2	Samuel	"		31	5	6	do.	
3	Isaac	"		25	5	8	do.	
4	Frederick	"		22	5	11/4	dark	
5	Sam	"		20	6	00	black	
6	Samon	"		30	5	8	do.	
7	Robert	"		30	5	5/4	dark	
8	Susan	Woman		20	5	2 1/2	do.	
9	Harriet	do.		18	5	3	black	
10	Delilah	do.		20	5	3	yellow	
11	Benny	do.		19	5	2	do.	
12	Ann	do.		20	5	2	dark	
13	Eliza	do.		18	5	1 1/4	black	
14	Sarah	do.		36	5	0 1/2	dark	
15	Maria	do.		20	5	4 1/4	do.	
16	Seacser	do.		19	5	5 1/4	black	
17	Maria	girl		13	4	6 1/2	do.	
18	Ellen	do.		9	4	1 1/2	dark	
19	Emmetine	do.		16	3	4 1/2	black	
20	Martha	do.		9	4	1 1/2	do.	
21	Louisa	do.		14	3	1 1/4	dark	
22	Charles	child		2	2	2	yellow	
23	Abraham	child		2	2	2 1/4	dark	
24	John	infant		12 Mo.	2	1 3/4	yellow	
25	John	Woman		30	5	2 1/4	do.	
26	Joseph	infant		2 months			do.	

District of Baltimore, Port of Baltimore, the 6<sup>th</sup> day of October 1821  
 We, Austin Woolfolk Senr. Owner & Shipper of the persons named and particularly described in the above Manifest, and Solomon Bassett Master of the Schooner *Gustavus* do solemnly, sincerely, and truly swear, each of us to the best of our knowledge and belief, that the above described Slaves have not been imported into the United States since the first day of January, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Eight; and that under the Laws of the State of Maryland, they are held to Service or Labour, as Slaves and are not entitled to freedom under these Laws, at a certain time, and after a known period of service.—So Helping God.  
 Sworn to this 6 day of October 1821 before  
 J. W. C. Collector.  
 Austin Woolfolk Senr.  
 Solomon Bassett

A ship manifest of black Americans being "sold south"

What mental anguish, what turmoil of soul, this good Massachusetts ship captain must have felt while he was being obliged in this manner, due to the unredeemable wickedness of wicked white Southerners, to engage in such an iniquitous commerce! Oh, well, business is business!

October 7, Sunday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 7th of 10th M / Both our Meetings were Silent, but pretty well attended - to me they were seasons of great poverty & need, Oh! that it was a season of more life, but I hope not to be in a State I am now in for any great length of time. -

→ October 10, Wednesday: A contract was signed between Lowell Mason and George K. Jackson of the Boston Handel and Haydn Society. Mason's tunebook would be issued under the name of the society.

[Benjamin Robert Haydon](#) got married with the widowed Mrs. Mary Cawrse Hyman, who had two children by her deceased husband, and some money of her own.

MARRIAGES solemnized in the Parish of ST. MARY-LE-BONE, in the County of MIDDLESEX, in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-one.

*Benjamin Robert Haydon* *Esq.* of *this* Parish  
*Cricketor*  
 and *Mary Hyman* of *the* Parish  
*of Stoke Newington in the County of Devon* Widow  
 were married in this Church by *Lime*

this *Tenth* Day of  
*October* in the Year One Thousand Eight Hundred and Twenty-one  
 By me *[Signature]*

This Marriage was solemnized between us *Benjamin Robert Haydon*  
*Mary Hyman*

In the Presence of *Rich. Parkin*  
*William G. Pau*

No. 682

This couple would produce an additional three children (who would need to be supported by others after their father had committed suicide).

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

*5th day 11th of 10th M / Our Meeting was a season of some favor to me Father Rodman & Anned Dennis delivered short testimonies- The Select Meeting was a season of depression as to life*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*7th day 13th of 10 M / This Afternoon to Connaticut to take my turn as one of the committee to attend the Meeting there. lodged at cousin Greenes - Next Morning went to Meeting, the tide was so high that I had to wade across the bridge & this reminded me of the primitive going [-] meeting - The Meeting was a favord time to me & after Dining at Joseph Greenes crossed the ferry & came home -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 15, Monday: The publication of three Piano Sonatas op.50 by Muzio Clementi was entered at Stationer's Hall, London.

[James Foord](#) died, and would be succeeded as Registrar of Deeds for Norfolk County, Massachusetts by his son Enos Foord.

 October 17, Wednesday: The British West African Territories were established as a union of Gambia, Sierra Leone, and the Gold Coast.

 October 18, Thursday: [John Wedderburn Halkett](#) was in Montréal as an executor of the estate of Thomas Douglas, 5th Earl of Selkirk, when he was confronted in front of his hotel by a couple of former North West Company employees. Angry at what he had written about their activities in [Canada](#), they threatened him with a horsewhip, whereupon he had them arrested. As a precaution he then armed himself with a brace of pistols. That evening he was attacked with a whip by Jasper Vandersluys and struck twice, whereupon he shot Vandersluys. Wounded, Vandersluys would get him charged with "assault with the intent to kill" — but that charge would then be dropped.

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

*5th day 18th of 10 M 1821 / Our meeting was a season of no small suffering as we sat in the Middle part & The weather was very cold & raw A few words were spoken by Father Rodman, after which the opportunity soon closed*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 20, Saturday: Edward Capen was born in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

 October 21, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 21 of 10th M / Our Mornng Meeting seemed to be a remarkably solid season, soon after we were settled, life rose in my mind, & I thought spread - Mary Morton was engaged in a very lively solid & pertinent testimony  
In the Afternoon we were favoured with a good degree of the Mornings Solidity & some reverences & the Meeting closed in Silence. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Waldo Emerson to his journal:

*In England they are hardened by long unquestioned custom to survey with indifference this odious spectacle [of political corruption]. Indeed I know not what of malignant crime, of dark enormity, or wide-spread wickedness would startle the public mind there. I am proud and thankful when I contrast this with the uncontaminated innocence of my own country and it is this comparative purity joined to the energy of a youthful people still free from the complicated difficulties of an old government which constitutes the distinction and promise of this nation [the USA].*



October 22, Monday: Helen Louisa Thoreau's 9th birthday.

October 24, Wednesday: According to an article in the Caledonian Mercury of Edinburgh, Scotland for December 6th, on October 24th the army of the United Kingdom had placed a number of its officers on half-pay. Among those were the officers of the 37th Regiment of Foot: "Captain J. Thoreau; Lieutenant C. Vincent; Ensign Hon. A.C.J. Brown."

CAPTAIN JOHN THOREAU

Thomas Jefferson's proposal for a revision of the laws of Virginia was approved. This self-described "author of the Declaration of Independence" had an understanding of race "treason" that would create a "treason" law of aiding and abetting a servile insurrection, which after several revisions would become the deadly Virginia "treason" statute under which Captain John Brown would be hanged:

On the subject of the Criminal law, all were agreed that the punishment of death should be abolished, except for treason and murder; and that, for other felonies should be substituted hard labor in the public works, and in some cases, the Lex talionis. How this last revolting principle came to obtain our approbation, I do not remember. There remained indeed in our laws a vestige of it in a single case of a slave. it was the English law in the time of the Anglo-Saxons, copied probably from the Hebrew law of "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth," and it was the law of several antient people. But the modern mind had left it far in the rear of its advances.



1821

1821



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 steel in joy or sorrow  
In grief or hope to clasp 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



1821

1821

 October 25, Thursday: The Kyrie and Gloria from the Missa Solemnis by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) were performed for the initial time, in the Landstandischer Saal, Vienna.

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

*5th day 25 of 10th M / Last evening Uncle Stanton sent his Waggon in & with My H & John went to [Portsmouth](#) & lodged at his House - This forenoon we went to Meeting - In the first, father Rodman spoke a little which to me was Savory, & it was a pretty good meeting - In the last which was our Moy [Monthly] Meeting we had considerable buisness, attended with exercise, but Truth rose over all & had dominion over all wrong things - John A Wadsworth was recd into membership, & Holder C Weeden & Abby Anthony proposed their intentions of Marriage - After Meeting which held pretty late in consequence of considerable buisness -we Rode back to Uncle Stantons & again lodged, as there was not time for the Carriage to come to Town & return -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 26, Friday: [Hector Berlioz](#) received a passport for domestic travel at the Grenoble Town Hall. Before the month was out, he would use it to travel to Paris to study the art of medicine.

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

*This 6 day Uncle Brot us home.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day, 28th of 10th M / Our Meetings were well attended Solid & good, in the forenoon father Rodman was concerned in testimony - in the Afternoon J Dennis & Mary Morton were concerned - We set the evening at father Rodmans, Mary Morton was also there -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 29, Monday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) left Ravenna to rejoin Teresa at [Pisa](#).

## NOVEMBER

 October/November: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) wrote "Hellas."

 November: [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#) of [Concord](#) and [Martha Tilden Bradford](#) of Waltham announced their intent to marry.

 November: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) and the Shelleys joined in [Pisa](#), forming the "Pisan circle." There [Lord Byron](#) began writing "The Deformed Transformed."<sup>37</sup>

➡ November: Never having been attracted at all to [Unitarianism](#), Lydia Maria Francis ([Lydia Maria Child](#)), together with the Reverend Samson Reed and some 60 others, joined the local Swedenborgian Church (that is, the [Boston](#) Society of the Church of the New Jerusalem).



➡ November 2, Friday: Carl Friedrich Zelter arrived in Weimar from Berlin along with his daughter and a promising young student named [Felix Mendelssohn](#). He wanted them to make the acquaintance of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#).

37. Was this the winter spoken of by Kay Redfield Jamison in TOUCHED WITH FIRE (The Free Press, 1993)?

The winter before Byron sailed for Greece, an English physician observed the poet's melancholy and reported that Byron had asked him, "Which is the best and quickest poison?" His sudden and ungovernable rages, which had been part of his emotional makeup since childhood, and which had been especially pronounced during his year with Lady Byron, became more frequent and more furiously irrational. Moore noted that one of the grounds for the charges of insanity brought by Lady Byron against her husband, in addition to fears for her own safety, was the fact that Byron had taken an old watch that he loved and had had for years, and in "a fit of vexation and rage... furiously dashed this watch upon the hearth, and ground it to pieces among the ashes with the poker."

1821

1821

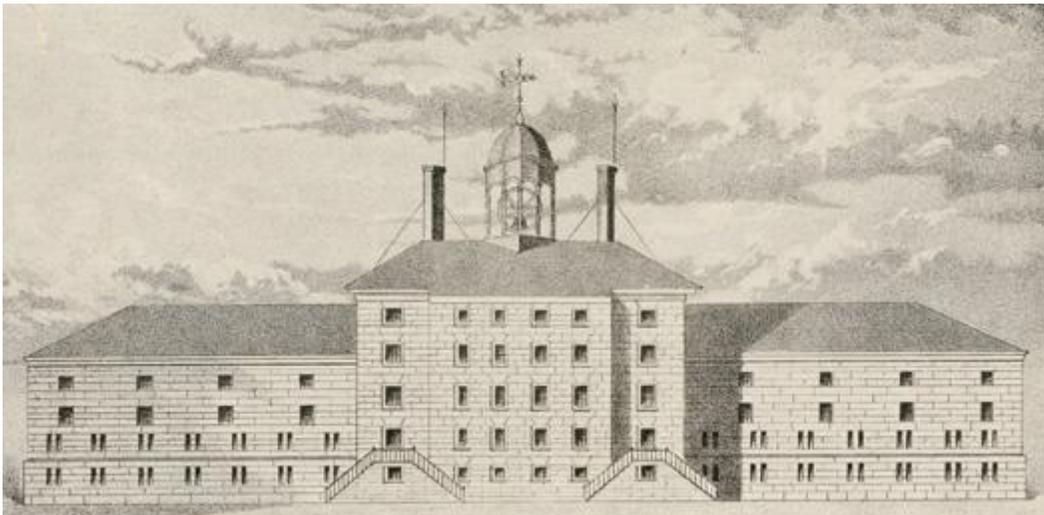
➡ November 4, Sunday: In Weimar, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) met [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) for the initial time. In spite of the vast difference in their ages, over the following couple of weeks the two would forge a strong friendship. Felix had brought several songs by his sister Fanny on Goethe texts — the poet was delighted and would in gratitude compose a poem for Fanny. Also present was the Weimar Kapellmeister, [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#).

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

*1st day 4th of 11th M / Our Meetings were both Silent & small, the day being rainy. - to me seasons of wading, but some help experienced, for which I desire to be thankful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 8, Thursday: [Samuel Green](#) attacked Billy Williams, a black convict, with an iron bar in a shop in the yard of the Massachusetts State Prison, causing fatal injuries, and would be [hanged](#) at the gallows on [Boston Neck](#) just outside the town gate and near the burying grounds.<sup>38</sup>



➡ November 8, Thursday, evening: Captain Jackson's brig *Cobbesecontee* had sailed that morning from Havana for Boston. He had only proceeded about four miles from Moro Castle when brought to by a vessel with about 30 pirates. Captain Jackson had noticed their sloop at Regla the day before. These Cubans took the personal items of the captain and his mate, stripping them nearly naked. They broke a large broadsword across the captain's back and stabbed him through his thigh so that he almost bled to death. After they beat the mate, he was [hanged](#) under the maintop. From the cargo were obtained three bales of cochineal and six boxes of cigars. Captain Jackson would confirm a report brought by other American sailors who had been brought to grief in Havana, that some of the local whites were openly countenancing these acts of [piracy](#) against US citizens — as a gesture of retaliation against US interference with the Cuban [slave](#) trade.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

*5th day of 11 M / Our Meeting was small - a considerable portion of those who generally attend were absent at David Buffums where*

38. Another convict, Howard Trask, was also involved in this beating. He also, on September 16th while confined in the old Leverett Street Jail, would attempt to kill cellmates Francis Durgen and John Newman. Considered insane, he would not be executed.



1821

1821

*Sarah Sherman has lain very ill for some weeks & while the Meeting was sitting today She expired - She was a [-]lid [solid?, words obscured by binding crease] young woman & tho' all the forepart of her illness she was deprived of her mental powers, but a few days previous to her death she came to her understanding & expressed her reconciliation to the Solemn Change -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**

**THE WEST INDIA PIRATES**  
**CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ATROCITIES, MANNERS OF LIVING, &C., WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE SQUADRON UNDER COMMODORE PORTER IN THOSE SEAS, THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ALLEN, THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN LINCOLN, &C.<sup>39</sup>**



Those innumerable groups of islands, keys and sandbanks, known as the West-Indies, are peculiarly adapted from their locality and formation, to be a favorite resort for pirates; many of them are composed of coral rocks, on which a few cocoa trees raise their lofty heads; where there is sufficient earth for vegetation between the interstices of the rocks, stunted brushwood grows. But a chief peculiarity of some of the islands, and which renders them suitable to those who frequent them as pirates, are the numerous caves with which the rocks are perforated; some of them are above high-water mark, but the

39. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



majority with the sea water flowing in and out of them, in some cases merely rushing in at high-water filling deep pools, which are detached from each other when the tide recedes, in others with a sufficient depth of water to allow a large boat to float in. It is hardly necessary to observe how convenient the higher and dry caves are as receptacles for articles which are intended to be concealed, until an opportunity occurs to dispose of them. The Bahamas, themselves are a singular group of isles, reefs and quays; consisting of several hundred in number, and were the chief resort of pirates in old times, but now they are all rooted from them; they are low and not elevated, and are more than 600 miles in extent, cut up into numerous intricate passages and channels, full of sunken rocks and coral reefs. They afforded a sure retreat to desperadoes. Other islands are full of mountain fastnesses, where all pursuit can be eluded. Many of the low shores are skirted, and the islands covered by the mangrove, a singular tree, shooting fresh roots as it grows, which, when the tree is at its full age, may be found six or eight feet from the ground, to which the shoots gradually tend in regular succession; the leaf is very thick and stiff and about eight inches long and nine wide, the interval between the roots offer secure hiding places for those who are suddenly pursued. Another circumstance assists the pirate when pursued. – As the islands belong to several different nations, when pursued from one island he can pass to that under the jurisdiction of another power. And as permission must be got by those in pursuit of him, from the authorities of the island to land and take him, he thus gains time to secrete himself. A tropical climate is suited to a roving life, and liquor as well as dissolute women being in great abundance, to gratify him during his hours of relaxation, makes this a congenial region for the lawless.

The crews of pirate vessels in these seas are chiefly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Mulattoes, Negroes, and a few natives of other countries. The island of Cuba is the great nest of pirates at the present day, and at the Havana, piracy is as much tolerated as any other profession. As the piracies committed in these seas, during a single year, have amounted to more than fifty, we shall give only a few accounts of the most interesting.

In November 1821, the brig Cobbessecontee, Captain Jackson, sailed from Havana, on the morning of the 8th for Boston, and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with 10 men, came alongside, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the captain and mate – all the cooking utensils and spare rigging – unrove part of the running rigging – cut the small cable – broke the compasses – cut the mast's coats to pieces – took from the captain his watch and four boxes cigars – and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the captain severely – broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Captain Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Captain Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by



other persons from the Havana, that this system of piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place – who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade.

About this time the ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N.H., was boarded off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing movable, even of her *flags*, rigging, and a boat which happened to be afloat, having a boy in it, which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not – in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close alongside, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bodies floating near her. The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew!* – and intended doing the same with them. They said "look at the turtles (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same." They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt. Captain Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

In 1822, the United States had several cruisers among the West-India islands, to keep the pirates in check. Much good was done but still many vessels were robbed and destroyed, together with their crews. This year the brave Lieutenant Allen fell by the hand of pirates; he was in the United States schooner Alligator, and receiving intelligence at Matanzas, that several vessels which had sailed from that port, had been taken by the pirates, and were then in the bay of Lejuapo. He hastened to their assistance. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast.* Himself, Captain Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boat reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Captain Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honorable to his character, and more consoling to his friends, than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.

The surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, "He continued giving orders and conversing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his



condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieutenant Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave, intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

About this time Captain Lincoln fell into the hands of the pirates, and as his treatment shows the peculiar habits and practices of these wretches, we insert the very interesting narrative of the captain.

The schooner Exertion, Captain Lincoln, sailed from Boston, bound for Trinidad de Cuba, Nov. 13th, 1821, with the following crew; Joshua Bracket, mate; David Warren, cook; and Thomas Young, Francis De Suze, and George Reed, seamen.

The cargo consisted of flour, beef, pork, lard, butter, fish, beans, onions, potatoes, apples, hams, furniture, sugar box shooks, &c., invoiced at about eight thousand dollars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the passage, except much bad weather, until my capture, which was as follows: -

Monday, December 17th, 1821, commenced with fine breezes from the eastward. At daybreak saw some of the islands northward of Cape Cruz, called Keys - stood along northwest; every thing now seemed favorable for a happy termination of our voyage. At 3 o'clock, P.M., saw a sail coming round one of the Keys, into a channel called Boca de Cavolone by the chart, nearly in latitude 20° 55' north, longitude 79° 55' west, she made directly for us with all sails set, sweeps on both sides (the wind being light) and was soon near enough for us to discover about forty men on her deck, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses, long knives, dirks, &c., two carronades, one a twelve, the other a six pounder; she was a schooner, wearing the Patriot flag (blue, white and blue) of the Republic of Mexico. I thought it not prudent to resist them, should they be pirates, with a crew of seven men, and only five muskets; accordingly ordered the arms and ammunition to be immediately stowed away in as secret a place as possible, and suffer her to speak us, hoping and believing that a republican flag indicated both honor and friendship from those who wore it, and which we might expect even from Spaniards. But how great was my astonishment, when the schooner having approached very near us, hailed in English, and ordered me to heave my boat out immediately and come on board of her with my papers. - Accordingly my boat was hove out, but filled before I could get into her. - I was then ordered to tack ship and lay by for the pirates' boat to board me; which was done by Bolidar, their first lieutenant, with six or eight Spaniards armed with as many of the before mentioned weapons as they could well sling about their bodies. They drove me into the boat, and two of them rowed me to their privateer (as they called their vessel), where I shook hands with their commander, Captain Jonnia, a Spaniard, who before looking at my papers, ordered Bolidar, his lieutenant, to follow the Mexican in, back of the Key they had left, which was done. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the Exertion was anchored in eleven feet water, near this vessel, and an island,



which they called Twelve League Key (called by the chart Key Largo), about thirty or thirty-five leagues from Trinidad. After this strange conduct they began examining my papers by a Scotchman who went by the name of Nickola, their sailing master. – He spoke good English, had a countenance rather pleasing, although his beard and mustachios had a frightful appearance – his face, apparently full of anxiety, indicated something in my favor; he gave me my papers, saying "take good care of them, for I am afraid you have fallen into bad hands." The pirates' boat was then sent to the Exertion with more men and arms; a part of them left on board her; the rest returning with three of my crew to their vessel; viz., Thomas Young, Thomas Goodall, and George Reed – they treated them with something to drink, and offered them equal shares with themselves, and some money, if they would enlist, but they could not prevail on them. I then requested permission to go on board my vessel which was granted, and further requested Nickola should go with me, but was refused by the captain, who vociferated in a harsh manner, "No, No, No." accompanied with a heavy stamp upon the deck. When I got on board, I was invited below by Bolidar, where I found they had emptied the case of liquors, and broken a cheese into pieces and crumbled it on the table and cabin floor; the pirates, elated with their prize (as they called it), had drank so much as to make them desperately abusive. I was permitted to lie down in my berth; but, reader, if you have ever been awakened by a gang of armed, desperadoes, who have taken possession of your habitation in the midnight hour, you can imagine my feelings. – Sleep was a stranger to me, and anxiety was my guest. Bolidar, however, pretended friendship, and flattered me with the prospect of being soon set at liberty. But I found him, as I suspected, a consummate hypocrite; indeed, his very looks indicated it. He was a stout and well built man, of a dark, swarthy complexion, with keen, ferocious eyes, huge whiskers, and beard under his chin and on his lips, four or five inches long; he was a Portuguese by birth, but had become a naturalized Frenchman – had a wife, if not children (as I was told) in France, and was well known there as commander of a first rate privateer. His appearance was truly terrific; he could talk some English, and had a most lion-like voice.

Tuesday, 18th. – Early this morning the captain of the pirates came on board the Exertion; took a look at the cabin stores, and cargo in the state rooms, and then ordered me back with him to his vessel, where he, with his crew, held a consultation for some time respecting the cargo. After which, the interpreter, Nickola, told me that "the captain had, or pretended to have, a commission under General Traspelascus, commander-in-chief of the republic of Mexico, authorizing him to take all cargoes whatever of provisions, bound to any royalist Spanish port – that my cargo being bound to an enemy's port, must be condemned; but that the vessel should be given up and be put into a fair channel for Trinidad, where I was bound." I requested him to examine the papers thoroughly, and perhaps he would be convinced to the contrary, and told him my cargo was all American property taken in at Boston, and consigned to an



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American gentleman, agent at Trinidad. But the captain would not take the trouble, but ordered both vessels under way immediately, and commenced beating up amongst the Keys through most of the day, the wind being very light. They now sent their boats on board the Exertion for stores, and commenced plundering her of bread, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, fish, beans, &c., took up some sugar box shocks that were on deck, and found the barrels of apples; selected the best of them and threw the rest overboard. They inquired for spirits, wine, cider, &c. and were told "they had already taken all that was on board." But not satisfied they proceeded to search the state rooms and forcastle, ripped up the floor of the later and found some boxes of bottled cider, which they carried to their vessel, gave three cheers, in an exulting manner to me, and then began drinking it with such freedom, that a violent quarrel arose between officers and men, which came very near ending in bloodshed. I was accused of falsehood, for saying they had got all the liquors that were on board, and I thought they had; the truth was, I never had any bill of lading of the cider, and consequently had no recollection of its being on board; yet it served them as an excuse for being insolent. In the evening peace was restored and they sung songs. I was suffered to go below for the night, and they placed a guard over me, stationed at the companion way.

Wednesday, 19th, commenced with moderate easterly winds, beating towards the northeast, the pirate's boats frequently going on board the Exertion for potatoes, fish, beans, butter, &c. which were used with great waste and extravagance. They gave me food and drink, but of bad quality, more particularly the victuals, which was wretchedly cooked. The place assigned me to eat was covered with dirt and vermin. It appeared that their great object was to hurt my feelings with threats and observations, and to make my situation as unpleasant as circumstances would admit. We came to anchor near a Key, called by them Brigantine, where myself and mate were permitted to go on shore, but were guarded by several armed pirates. I soon returned to the Mexican and my mate to the Exertion, with George Reed, one of my crew; the other two being kept on board the Mexican. In the course of this day I had considerable conversation with Nickola, who appeared well disposed towards me. He lamented most deeply his own situation, for he was one of those men, whose early good impressions were not entirely effaced, although confederated with guilt. He told me "those who had taken me were no better than pirates, and their end would be the halter; but," he added, with peculiar emotion, "I will never be hung as a pirate," showing me a bottle of laudanum which he had found in my medicine chest, saying, "If we are taken, that shall cheat the hangman, before we are condemned." I endeavored to get it from him, but did not succeed. I then asked him how he came



to be in such company, as he appeared to be dissatisfied. He stated, that he was at New Orleans last summer, out of employment, and became acquainted with one Captain August Orgamar, a Frenchman, who had bought a small schooner of about fifteen tons, and was going down to the bay of Mexico to get a commission under General Traspelascus, in order to go a privateering under the patriot flag. Capt. Orgamar made him liberal offers respecting shares, and promised him a sailing master's berth, which he accepted and embarked on board the schooner, without sufficiently reflecting on the danger of such an undertaking. Soon after she sailed from Mexico, where they got a commission, and the vessel was called Mexican. They made up a complement of twenty men, and after rendering the General some little service, in transporting his troops to a place called ----- proceeded on a cruise; took some small prizes off Campeachy; afterwards came on the south coast of Cuba, where they took other small prizes, and the one which we were now on board of. By this time the crew were increased to about forty, nearly one half Spaniards, the others Frenchmen and Portuguese. Several of them had sailed out of ports in the United States with American protections; but, I confidently believe, none are natives, especially of the northern states. I was careful in examining the men, being desirous of knowing if any of my countrymen were among this wretched crew; but am satisfied there were none, and my Scotch friend concurred in the opinion. And now, with a new vessel, which was the prize of these plunderers, they sailed up Manganeil bay; previously, however, they fell in with an American schooner, from which they bought four barrels of beef, and paid in tobacco. At the Bay was an English brig belonging to Jamaica, owned by Mr. John Louden of that place. On board of this vessel the Spanish part of the crew commenced their depredations as pirates, although Captain Orgamar and Nickola protested against it, and refused any participation; but they persisted, and like so many ferocious blood-hounds, boarded the brig, plundered the cabin, stores, furniture, captain's trunk, &c., took a hogshead of rum, one twelve pound carronade, some rigging and sails. One of them plundered the chest of a sailor, who made some resistance, so that the Spaniard took his cutlass, and beat and wounded him without mercy. Nickola asked him "why he did it?" the fellow answered, "I will let you know," and took up the cook's axe and gave him a cut on the head, which nearly deprived him of life. Then they ordered Captain Orgamar to leave his vessel, allowing him his trunk and turned him ashore, to seek for himself. Nickola begged them to dismiss him with his captain, but no, no, was the answer; for they had no complete navigator but him. After Captain Orgamar was gone, they put in his stead the present brave (or as I should call him cowardly) Captain Jonnia, who headed them in plundering the before mentioned brig, and made



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Bolidar their first lieutenant, and then proceeded down among those Keys or Islands, where I was captured. This is the amount of what my friend Nickola told me of their history.

Saturday, 22d. - Both vessels under way standing to the eastward, they ran the Exertion aground on a bar, but after throwing overboard most of her deck load of shooks, she floated off; a pilot was sent to her, and she was run into a narrow creek between two keys, where they moored her head and stern along side of the mangrove trees, set down her yards and topmasts, and covered her mast heads and shrouds with bushes to prevent her being seen by vessels which might pass that way. I was then suffered to go on board my own vessel, and found her in a very filthy condition; sails torn, rigging cut to pieces, and every thing in the cabin in waste and confusion. The swarms of moschetoes and sandflies made it impossible to get any sleep or rest. The pirate's large boat was armed and manned under Bolidar, and sent off with letters to a merchant (as they called him) by the name of Dominico, residing in a town called Principe, on the main island of Cuba. I was told by one of them, who could speak English, that Principe was a very large and populous town, situated at the head of St. Maria, which was about twenty miles northeast from where we lay, and the Keys lying around us were called Cotton Keys. - The captain pressed into his service Francis de Suze, one of my crew, saying that he was one of his countrymen. Francis was very reluctant in going, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, "I shall do nothing but what I am obliged to do, and will not aid in the least to hurt you or the vessel; I am very sorry to leave you." He was immediately put on duty and Thomas Goodall sent back to the Exertion.

Sunday, 23d. - Early this morning a large number of the pirates came on board of the Exertion, threw out the long boat, broke open the hatches, and took out considerable of the cargo, in search of rum, gin, &c., still telling me "I had some and they would find it," uttering the most awful profaneness. In the afternoon their boat returned with a perough, having on board the captain, his first lieutenant and seven men of a patriot or piratical vessel that was chased ashore at Cape Cruz by a Spanish armed brig. These seven men made their escape in said boat, and after four days, found our pirates and joined them; the remainder of the crew being killed or taken prisoners.

Monday, 24th. - Their boat was manned and sent to the before-mentioned town. - I was informed by a line from Nickola, that the pirates had a man on board, a native of Principe, who, in the garb of a sailor, was a partner with Dominico, but I could not get sight of him. This lets us a little into the plans by which this atrocious system of piracy has been carried on. Merchants having partners on board of these pirates! thus pirates at sea



and robbers on land are associated to destroy the peaceful trader. The willingness exhibited by the seven above-mentioned men, to join our gang of pirates, seems to look like a general understanding among them; and from there being merchants on shore so base as to encourage the plunder and vend the goods, I am persuaded there has been a systematic confederacy on the part of these unprincipled desperadoes, under cover of the patriot flag; and those on land are no better than those on the sea. If the governments to whom they belong know of the atrocities committed (and I have but little doubt they do) they deserve the execration of all mankind.

Thursday, 27th. – A gang of the pirates came and stripped our masts of the green bushes, saying, “she appeared more like a sail than trees” – took one barrel of bread and one of potatoes, using about one of each every day. I understood they were waiting for boats to take the cargo; for the principal merchant had gone to Trinidad.

Sunday, 30th. – The beginning of trouble! This day, which peculiarly reminds Christians of the high duties of compassion and benevolence, was never observed by these pirates. This, of course, we might expect, as they did not often know when the day came, and if they knew it, it was spent in gambling. The old saying among seamen, “no Sunday off soundings,” was not thought of; and even this poor plea was not theirs, for they were on soundings and often at anchor. – Early this morning, the merchant, as they called him, came with a large boat for the cargo. I was immediately ordered into the boat with my crew, not allowed any breakfast, and carried about three miles to a small island out of sight of the Exertion, and left there by the side of a little pond of thick, muddy water, which proved to be very brackish, with nothing to eat but a few biscuits. One of the boat’s men told us the merchant was afraid of being recognized, and when he had gone the boat would return for us; but we had great reason to apprehend they would deceive us, and therefore passed the day in the utmost anxiety. At night, however, the boats came and took us again on board the Exertion; when, to our surprise and astonishment, we found they had broken open the trunks and chests, and taken all our wearing apparel, not even leaving a shirt or pair of pantaloons, nor sparing a small miniature of my wife which was in my trunk. The little money I and my mate had, with some belonging to the owners, my mate had previously distributed about the cabin in three or four parcels, while I was on board the pirate, for we dare not keep it about us; one parcel in a butter pot they did not discover. – Amidst the hurry with which I was obliged to go to the before-mentioned island, I fortunately snatched by vessel’s papers, and hid them in my bosom, which the reader will find was a happy circumstance for me. My writing desk, with papers, accounts, &c., all Mr. Lord’s letters (the gentlemen to



whom my cargo was consigned) and several others were taken and maliciously destroyed. My medicine chest, which I so much wanted, was kept for their own use. What their motive could be to take my papers I could not imagine, except they had hopes of finding bills of lading for some Spaniards, to clear them from piracy. Mr. Bracket had some notes and papers of consequence to him, which shared the same fate. My quadrant, charts, books and bedding were not yet taken, but I found it impossible to hide them, and they were soon gone from my sight.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1822 – A sad new-year's day to me. Before breakfast orders came for me to cut down the Exertion's railing and bulwarks on one side, for their vessel to heave out by, and clean her bottom. On my hesitating a little they observed with anger, "very well, captain, suppose you no do it quick, we do it for you." Directly afterwards another boat full of armed men came along side; they jumped on deck with swords drawn, and ordered all of us into her immediately; I stepped below, in hopes of getting something which would be of service to us; but the captain hallooed, "Go into the boat directly or I will fire upon you." Thus compelled to obey, we were carried, together with four Spanish prisoners, to a small, low island or key of sand in the shape of a half moon, and partly covered with mangrove trees; which was about one mile from and in sight of my vessel. There they left nine of us, with a little bread, flour, fish, lard, a little coffee and molasses; two or three kegs of water, which was brackish; an old sail for a covering, and a pot and some other articles no way fit to cook in. Leaving us these, which were much less than they appear in the enumeration, they pushed off, saying, "we will come to see you in a day or two." Selecting the best place, we spread the old sail for an awning; but no place was free from flies, moschettoes, snakes, the venomous skinned scorpion, and the more venomous santipee. Sometimes they were found crawling inside of our pantaloons, but fortunately no injury was received. This afternoon the pirates hove their vessel out by the Exertion and cleaned one side, using her paints, oil, &c. for that purpose. To see my vessel in that situation and to think of our prospects was a source of the deepest distress. At night we retired to our tent; but having nothing but the cold damp ground for a bed, and the heavy dew of night penetrating the old canvass – the situation of the island being fifty miles from the usual track of friendly vessels, and one hundred and thirty-five from Trinidad – seeing my owner's property so unjustly and wantonly destroyed – considering my condition, the hands at whose mercy I was, and deprived of all hopes, rendered sleep or rest a stranger to me.

Friday, 4th. – Commenced with light winds and hot sun, saw a boat coming from the Exertion, apparently loaded; she passed between two small Keys to northward, supposed



to be bound for Cuba. At sunset a boat came and inquired if we wanted anything, but instead of adding to our provisions, took away our molasses, and pushed off. We found one of the Exertion's water casks, and several pieces of plank, which we carefully laid up, in hopes of getting enough to make a raft.

Saturday, 5th. – Pirates again in sight, coming from the eastward; they beat up along side their prize, and commenced loading. In the afternoon Nickola came to us, bringing with him two more prisoners, which they had taken in a small sail boat coming from Trinidad to Manganeil, one a Frenchman, the other a Scotchman, with two Spaniards, who remained on board the pirate, and who afterwards joined them. The back of one of these poor fellows was extremely sore, having just suffered a cruel beating from Bolidar, with the broad side of a cutlass. It appeared, that when the officer asked him "where their money was, and how much," he answered, "he was not certain but believed they had only two ounces of gold" – Bolidar furiously swore he said "ten," and not finding any more, gave him the beating. Nickola now related to me a singular fact; which was, that the Spanish part of the crew were determined to shoot him; that they tied him to the mast, and a man was appointed for the purpose; but Lion, a Frenchman, his particular friend, stepped up and told them, if they shot him they must shoot several more; some of the Spaniards sided with him, and he was released. Nickola told me, the reason for such treatment was, that he continually objected to their conduct towards me, and their opinion if he should escape, they would be discovered, as he declared he would take no prize money. While with us he gave me a letter written in great haste, which contains some particulars respecting the cargo; – as follows: –

*January 4th, 1822.*

Sir, – We arrived here this morning, and before we came to anchor, had five canoes alongside ready to take your cargo, part of which we had in; and as I heard you express a wish to know what they took out of her, to this moment, you may depend upon this account of Jamieson for quality and quantity; if I have the same opportunity you will have an account of the whole. The villain who bought your cargo is from the town of Principe, his name is Dominico, as to that it is all that I can learn; they have taken your charts aboard the schooner Mexican, and I suppose mean to keep them, as the other captain has agreed to act the same infamous part in the tragedy of his life. Your clothes are here on board, but do not let me flatter you that you will get them back; it may be so, and it may not. Perhaps in your old age, when you recline with ease in a corner of your cottage, you will have the goodness to drop a tear of pleasure to the memory of him, whose highest ambition should have been to subscribe himself, though devoted to the gallows, your friend,



Excuse haste. NICKOLA MONACRE.

Sunday, 6th. – The pirates were under way at sunrise, with a full load of the Exertion's cargo, going to Principe again to sell a second freight, which was done readily for cash. I afterwards heard that the flour only fetched five dollars per barrel, when it was worth at Trinidad thirteen; so that the villain who bought my cargo at Principe, made very large profits by it.

Tuesday, 8th. – Early this morning the pirates in sight again, with fore top sail and top gallant sail set; beat up along side of the Exertion and commenced loading; having, as I supposed, sold and discharged her last freight among some of the inhabitants of Cuba. They appeared to load in great haste; and the song, "O he oh," which echoed from one vessel to the other, was distinctly heard by us. How wounding was this to me! How different was this sound from what it would have been, had I been permitted to pass unmolested by these lawless plunderers, and been favored with a safe arrival at the port of my destination, where my cargo would have found an excellent sale. Then would the "O he oh," on its discharging, have been a delightful sound to me. In the afternoon she sailed with the perough in tow, both with a full load, having chairs, which was part of the cargo, slung at her quarters.

Monday, 14th. – They again hove in sight, and beat up as usual, along-side their prize. While passing our solitary island, they laughed at our misery, which was almost insupportable – looking upon us as though we had committed some heinous crime, and they had not sufficiently punished us; they hallooed to us, crying out "Captain, Captain," accompanied with obscene motions and words, with which I shall not blacken these pages – yet I heard no check upon such conduct, nor could I expect it among such a gang, who have no idea of subordination on board, except when in chase of vessels, and even then but very little. My resentment was excited at such a malicious outrage, and I felt a disposition to revenge myself, should fortune ever favor me with an opportunity. It was beyond human nature not to feel and express some indignation at such treatment. – Soon after, Bolidar, with five men, well armed, came to us; he having a blunderbuss, cutlass, a long knife and pair of pistols – but for what purpose did he come? He took me by the hand, saying, "Captain, me speak with you, walk this way." I obeyed, and when at some distance from my fellow prisoners, (his men following) he said, "the captain send me for your *wash*" I pretended not to understand what he meant, and replied, "I have no clothes, nor any soap to wash with – you have taken them all," for I had kept my watch about me, hoping they would not discover it. He demanded it again as before; and was answered, "I have nothing to wash;" this raised his anger, and lifting his blunderbuss, he roared out, "what the d – l you call him



that make clock? give it me." I considered it imprudent to contend any longer, and submitted to his unlawful demand. As he was going off, he gave me a small bundle, in which was a pair of linen drawers, sent to me by Nickola, and also the Rev. Mr. Brooks' "Family Prayer Book." This gave me great satisfaction. Soon after, he returned with his captain, who had one arm slung up, yet with as many implements of war, as his diminutive wicked self could conveniently carry; he told me (through an interpreter who was his prisoner.) "that on his cruize he had fallen in with two Spanish privateers, and beat them off; but had three of his men killed, and himself wounded in the arm" - Bolidar turned to me and said, "it is a d - n lie" - which words proved to be correct, for his arm was not wounded, and when I saw him again, which was soon afterwards, he had forgotten to sling it up. He further told me, "after tomorrow you shall go with your vessel, and we will accompany you towards Trinidad." This gave me some new hopes, and why I could not tell. They then left us without rendering any assistance. - This night we got some rest.

Tuesday, 15th. The words "go after tomorrow," were used among our Spanish fellow prisoners, as though that happy tomorrow would never come - in what manner it came will soon be noticed.

Friday, 18th commenced with brighter prospects of liberty than ever. The pirates were employed in setting up our devoted schooner's shrouds, stays, &c. My condition now reminded me of the hungry man, chained in one corner of a room, while at another part was a table loaded with delicious food and fruits, the smell and sight of which he was continually to experience, but alas! his chains were never to be loosed that he might go and partake - at almost the same moment they were thus employed, the axe was applied with the greatest dexterity to both her masts and I saw them fall over the side! Here fell my hopes - I looked at my condition, and then thought of home. - Our Spanish fellow prisoners were so disappointed and alarmed that they recommended hiding ourselves, if possible, among the mangrove trees, believing, as they said, we should now certainly be put to death; or, what was worse, compelled to serve on board the Mexican as pirates. Little else it is true, seemed left for us; however, we kept a bright look out for them during the day, and at night "an anchor watch" as we called it, determined if we discovered their boats coming towards us, to adopt the plan of hiding, although starvation stared us in the face - yet preferred that to instant death. This night was passed in sufficient anxiety - I took the first watch.

Saturday, 19th. - The pirate's largest boat came for us - it being day-light, and supposing they could see us, determined to stand our ground and wait the result. They ordered us all into the boat, but left every thing else; they rowed towards the Exertion - I noticed a dejection



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of spirits in one of the pirates, and inquired of him where they were going to carry us? He shook his head and replied, "I do not know." I now had some hopes of visiting my vessel again – but the pirates made sail, ran down, took us in tow and stood out of the harbor. Bolidar afterwards took me, my mate and two of my men on board and gave us some coffee. On examination I found they had several additional light sails, made of the Exertion's. Almost every man, a pair of canvas trousers; and my colors cut up and made into belts to carry their money about them. My jolly boat was on deck, and I was informed, all my rigging was disposed of. Several of the pirates had on some of my clothes, and the captain one of my best shirts, a cleaner one, than I had ever seen him have on before. – He kept at a good distance from me, and forbid my friend Nickola's speaking to me. – I saw from the companion way in the captain's cabin my quadrant, spy glass and other things which belonged to us, and observed by the compass, that the course steered was about west by south, – distance nearly twenty miles, which brought them up with a cluster of islands called by some "Cayman Keys." Here they anchored and caught some fish, (one of which was named *guard fish*) of which we had a taste. I observed that my friend Mr. Bracket was somewhat dejected, and asked him in a low voice, what his opinion was with respects to our fate? He answered, "I cannot tell you, but it appears to me the worst is to come." I told him that I hoped not, but thought they would give us our small boat and liberate the prisoners. But mercy even in this shape was not left-for us. Soon after, saw the captain and officers whispering for some time in private conference. When over, their boat was manned under the command of Bolidar, and went to one of those Islands or Keys before mentioned. On their return, another conference took place – whether it was a jury upon our lives we could not tell. I did not think conscience could be entirely extinguished in the human breast, or that men could become fiends. In the afternoon, while we knew not the doom which had been fixed for us, the captain was engaged with several of his men in gambling, in hopes to get back some of the five hundred dollars, they said, he lost but a few nights before; which had made his unusually fractious. A little before sunset he ordered all the prisoners into the large boat, with a supply of provisions and water, and to be put on shore. While we were getting into her, one of my fellow prisoners, a Spaniard, attempted with tears in his eyes to speak to the captain, but was refused with the answer. "I'll have nothing to say to any prisoner, go into the boat." In the mean time Nickola said to me, "My friend, I will give you your book," (being Mr. Colman's Sermons,) "it is the only thing of yours that is in my possession; I dare not attempt any thing more." But the captain forbid his giving it to me, and I stepped into the boat – at that moment Nickola said in a low voice, "never mind, I



may see you again before I die." The small boat was well armed and manned, and both set off together for the island, where they had agreed to leave us to perish! The scene to us was a funereal scene. There were no arms in the prisoners boat, and, of course, all attempts to relieve ourselves would have been throwing our lives away, as Bolidar was near us, well armed. We were rowed about two miles north-easterly from the pirates, to a small low island, lonely and desolate. We arrived about sunset; and for the support of us eleven prisoners, they only left a ten gallon keg of water, and perhaps a few quarts, in another small vessel, which was very poor; part of a barrel of flour, a small keg of lard, one ham and some salt fish; a small kettle and an old broken pot; an old sail for a covering, and a small mattress and blanket, which was thrown out as the boats hastened away. One of the prisoners happened to have a little coffee in his pocket, and these comprehended all our means of sustaining life, and for what length of time we knew not. We now felt the need of water, and our supply was comparatively nothing. A man may live nearly twice as long without food, as without water. Look at us now, my friends, left benighted on a little spot of sand in the midst of the ocean, far from the usual track of vessels, and every appearance of a violent thunder tempest, and a boisterous night. Judge of my feelings, and the circumstances which our band of sufferers now witnessed. Perhaps you can and have pitied us. I assure you, we were very wretched; and to paint the scene, is not within my power. When the boats were moving from the shore, on recovering myself a little, I asked Bolidar, "If he was going to leave us so?" – he answered, "no, only two days – we go for water and wood, then come back, take you." I requested him to give us bread and other stores, for they had plenty in the boat, and at least one hundred barrels of flour in the Mexican. "No, no, suppose to-morrow morning me come, me give you bread," and hurried off to the vessel. This was the last time I saw him. We then turned our attention upon finding a spot most convenient for our comfort, and soon discovered a little roof supported by stakes driven into the sand; it was thatched with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, considerable part of which was torn or blown off. After spreading the old sail over this roof, we placed our little stock of provisions under it. Soon after came on a heavy shower of rain which penetrated the canvas, and made it nearly as uncomfortable inside, as it would have been out. We were not prepared to catch water, having nothing to put it in. Our next object was to get fire, and after gathering some of the driest fuel to be found, and having a small piece of cotton wick-yarn, with flint and steel, we kindled a fire, which was never afterwards suffered to be extinguished. The night was very dark, but we found a piece of old rope, which when well lighted served for a candle. On examining the ground under the roof, we found perhaps thousands of



creeping insects, scorpions, lizards, crickets, &c. After scraping them out as well as we could, the most of us having nothing but the damp earth for a bed, laid ourselves down in hopes of some rest; but it being so wet, gave many of us severe colds, and one of the Spaniards was quite sick for several days.

Sunday, 20th. - As soon as day-light came on, we proceeded to take a view of our little island, and found it to measure only one acre, of coarse, white sand; about two feet, and in some spots perhaps three feet above the surface of the ocean. On the highest part were growing some bushes and small mangroves, (the dry part of which was our fuel) and the wild castor oil beans. We were greatly disappointed in not finding the latter suitable food; likewise some of the prickly pear bushes, which gave us only a few pears about the size of our small button pear; the outside has thorns, which if applied to the fingers or lips, will remain there, and cause a severe smarting similar to the nettle; the inside a spongy substance, full of juice and seeds, which are red and a little tartish - had they been there in abundance, we should not have suffered so much for water - but alas! even this substitute was not for us. On the northerly side of the island was a hollow, where the tide penetrated the sand, leaving stagnant water. We presumed, in hurricanes the island was nearly overflowed. According to the best calculations I could make, we were about thirty-five miles from any part of Cuba, one hundred from Trinidad and forty from the usual track of American vessels, or others which might pass that way. No vessel of any considerable size, can safely pass among these Keys (or "Queen's Gardens," as the Spaniards call them) being a large number extending from Cape Cruz to Trinidad, one hundred and fifty miles distance; and many more than the charts have laid down, most of them very low and some covered at high water, which makes it very dangerous for navigators without a skilful pilot. After taking this view of our condition, which was very gloomy, we began to suspect we were left on this desolate island by those merciless plunderers to perish. Of this I am now fully convinced; still we looked anxiously for the pirate's boat to come according to promise with more water and provisions, but looked in vain. We saw them soon after get under way with all sail set and run directly from us until out of our sight, and we never saw them again! One may partially imagine our feelings, but they cannot be put into words. Before they were entirely out of sight of us, we raised the white blanket upon a pole, waving it in the air, in hopes, that at two miles distance they would see it and be moved to pity. But pity in such monsters was not to be found. It was not their interest to save us from the lingering death, which we now saw before us. We tried to compose ourselves, trusting to God, who had witnessed our sufferings, would yet make use of some one, as the instrument of his mercy towards us. Our next care, now,



was to try for water. We dug several holes in the sand and found it, but quite too salt for use. The tide penetrates probably through the island. We now came on short allowances for water. Having no means of securing what we had by lock and key, some one in the night would slyly drink, and it was soon gone. The next was to bake some bread, which we did by mixing flour with salt water and frying it in lard, allowing ourselves eight quite small pancakes to begin with. The ham was reserved for some more important occasion, and the salt fish was lost for want of fresh water. The remainder of this day was passed in the most serious conversation and reflection. At night, I read prayers from the "Prayer Book," before mentioned, which I most carefully concealed while last on board the pirates. This plan was pursued morning and evening, during our stay there. Then retired for rest and sleep, but realized little of either.

Monday, 21st. - In the morning we walked round the beach, in expectation of finding something useful. On our way picked up a paddle about three feet long, very similar to the Indian canoe paddle, except the handle, which was like that of a shovel, the top part being split off; we laid it by for the present. We likewise found some konchs and roasted them; they were pretty good shell fish, though rather tough. We discovered at low water, a bar or spit of sand extending north-easterly from us, about three miles distant, to a cluster of Keys, which were covered with mangrove trees, perhaps as high as our quince tree. My friend Mr. Bracket and George attempted to wade across, being at that time of tide only up to their armpits; but were pursued by a shark, and returned without success. The tide rises about four feet.

Tuesday, 22d. - We found several pieces of the palmetto or cabbage tree, and some pieces of boards, put them together in the form of a raft, and endeavored to cross, but that proved ineffectual. Being disappointed, we set down to reflect upon other means of relief, intending to do all in our power for safety while our strength continued. While setting here, the sun was so powerful and oppressive, reflecting its rays upon the sea, which was then calm, and the white sand which dazzled the eye, was so painful, that we retired under the awning; there the moschetoos and flies were so numerous, that good rest could not be found. We were, however, a little cheered, when, in scraping out the top of the ground to clear out, I may say, thousands of crickets and bugs, we found a hatchet, which was to us peculiarly serviceable. At night the strong north-easterly wind, which prevails there at all seasons, was so cold as to make it equally uncomfortable with the day. Thus day after day, our sufferings and apprehensions multiplying, we were very generally alarmed.

Thursday, 24th. - This morning, after taking a little coffee, made of the water which we thought least salt,



and two or three of the little cakes, we felt somewhat refreshed, and concluded to make another visit to those Keys, in hopes of finding something more, which might make a raft for us to escape the pirates, and avoid perishing by thirst. Accordingly seven of us set off, waded across the bar and searched all the Keys thereabouts. On one we found a number of sugar-box shooks, two lashing plank and some pieces of old spars, which were a part of the Exertion's deck load, that was thrown overboard when she grounded on the bar, spoken of in the first part of the narrative. It seems they had drifted fifteen miles, and had accidentally lodged on these very Keys within our reach. Had the pirates known this, they would undoubtedly have placed us in another direction. They no doubt thought that they could not place us on a worse place. The wind at this time was blowing so strong on shore, as to prevent rafting our stuff round to our island, and we were obliged to haul it upon the beach for the present; then dug for water in the highest place, but found it as salt as ever, and then returned to our habitation. But hunger and thirst began to prey upon us, and our comforts were as few as our hopes.

Friday, 25th. - Again passed over to those Keys to windward in order to raft our stuff to our island, it being most convenient for building. But the surf on the beach was so very rough, that we were again compelled to postpone it. Our courage, however, did not fail where there was the slightest hopes of life. Returning without it, we found on our way an old top timber of some vessel; it had several spikes on it, which we afterwards found very serviceable. In the hollow of an old tree, we found two guarnas of small size, one male, the other female. Only one was caught. After taking off the skin, we judged it weighed a pound and a half. With some flour and lard, (the only things we had except salt water,) it made us a fine little mess. We thought it a rare dish, though a small one for eleven half starved persons. At the same time a small vessel hove in sight; we made a signal to her with the blanket tied to a pole and placed it on the highest tree - some took off their white clothes and waved them in the air, hoping they would come to us; should they be pirates, they could do no more than kill us, and perhaps would give us some water, for which we began to suffer most excessively; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, she took no notice of us.

Saturday, 26th. - This day commenced with moderate weather and smooth sea; at low tide found some cockles; boiled and eat them, but they were very painful to the stomach. David Warren had a fit of strangling, with swelling of the bowels; but soon recovered, and said, "something like salt rose in his throat and choked him." Most of us then set off for the Keys, where the plank and shooks were put together in a raft, which we with



pieces of boards paddled over to our island; when we consulted the best plan, either to build a raft large enough for us all to go on, or a boat; but the shooks having three or four nails in each, and having a piece of large reed or bamboo, previously found, of which we made pins, we concluded to make a boat.

Sunday, 27 – Commenced our labor, for which I know we need offer no apology. We took the two planks, which were about fourteen feet long, and two and a half wide, and fixed them together for the bottom of the boat; then with moulds made of palmetto bark, cut timber and knees from mangrove trees which spread so much as to make the boat four feet wide at the top, placed them exactly the distance apart of an Havana sugar box. – Her stern was square and the bows tapered to a peak, making her form resemble a flat-iron. We proceeded thus far and returned to rest for the night – but Mr. Bracket was too unwell to get much sleep.

Monday, 28 – Went on with the work as fast as possible. Some of the Spaniards had long knives about them, which proved very useful in fitting timbers, and a gimblet of mine, accidentally found on board the pirate, enabled us to use the wooden pins. And now our spirits began to revive, though *water, water*, was continually in our minds. We now feared the pirates might possibly come, find out our plan and put us to death, (although before we had wished to see them, being so much in want of water.) Our labor was extremely burdensome, and the Spaniards considerably peevish – but they would often say to me “never mind captain, by and by, Americana or Spanyol catch them, me go and see ‘um hung.” We quitted work for the day, cooked some cakes but found it necessary to reduce the quantity again, however small before. We found some herbs on a windward Key, which the Spaniards called Spanish tea. – This when well boiled we found somewhat palatable, although the water was very salt. This herb resembles pennyroyal in look and taste, though not so pungent. In the evening when we were setting round the fire to keep of the moschetoes, I observed David Warren’s eyes shone like glass. The mate said to him – “David I think you will die before morning – I think you are struck with death now.” I thought so too, and told him, “I thought it most likely we should all die here soon; but as some one of us might survive to carry the tidings to our friends, if you have any thing to say respecting your family, now is the time.” – He then said, “I have a mother in Saco where I belong – she is a second time a widow – to-morrow if you can spare a scrap of paper and pencil I will write something.” But no tomorrow came to him. – In the course of the night he had another spell of strangling, and soon after expired, without much pain and without a groan. He was about twenty-six years old. – How solemn was this scene to us! Here we beheld the ravages of death commenced upon us. More than one of us considered



death a happy release. For myself I thought of my wife and children; and wished to live if God should so order it, though extreme thirst, hunger and exhaustion had well nigh prostrated my fondest hopes.

Tuesday, 29th. - Part of us recommenced labor on the boat, while myself and Mr. Bracket went and selected the highest clear spot of sand on the northern side of the island, where we dug Warren's grave, and boxed it up with shooks, thinking it would be the most suitable spot for the rest of us - whose turn would come next, we knew not. At about ten o'clock, A.M. conveyed the corpse to the grave, followed by us survivors - a scene, whose awful solemnity can never be painted. We stood around the grave, and there I read the funeral prayer from the Rev. Mr. Brooks's Family Prayer Book; and committed the body to the earth; covered it with some pieces of board and sand, and returned to our labor. One of the Spaniards, an old man, named Manuel, who was partial to me, and I to him, made a cross and placed it at the head of the grave saying, "Jesus Christ hath him now." Although I did not believe in any mysterious influence of this cross, yet I was perfectly willing it should stand there. The middle part of the day being very warm, our mouths parched with thirst, and our spirits so depressed, that we made but little progress during the remainder of this day, but in the evening were employed in picking oakum out of the bolt rope taken from the old sail.

Wednesday, 30th. - Returned to labor on the boat with as much vigor as our weak and debilitated state would admit, but it was a day of trial to us all; for the Spaniards and we Americans could not well understand each other's plans, and they being naturally petulant, would not work, nor listen with any patience for Joseph, our English fellow prisoner, to explain our views - they would sometimes undo what they had done, and in a few minutes replace it again; however before night we began to caulk her seams, by means of pieces of hard mangrove, made in form of a caulking-iron, and had the satisfaction of seeing her in a form something like a boat.

Thursday, 31st. - Went on with the work, some at caulking, others at battening the seams with strips of canvas, and pieces of pine nailed over, to keep the oakum in. Having found a suitable pole for a mast, the rest went about making a sail from the one we had used for a covering, also fitting oars of short pieces of boards, in form of a paddle, tied on a pole, we having a piece of fishing line brought by one of the prisoners. Thus, at three P.M. the boat was completed and put afloat. - We had all this time confidently hoped, that she would be sufficiently large and strong to carry us all - we made a trial and were disappointed! This was indeed a severe trial, and the emotions it called up were not easy to be suppressed. She proved leaky, for



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we had no carpenter's yard, or smith's shop to go to. – And now the question was, "who should go, and how many?" I found it necessary for six; four to row, one to steer and one to bale. Three of the Spaniards and the Frenchman claimed the right, as being best acquainted with the nearest inhabitants; likewise, they had when taken, two boats left at St. Maria, (about forty miles distant,) which they were confident of finding. They promised to return within two or three days for the rest of us – I thought it best to consent – Mr. Bracket it was agreed should go in my stead, because my papers must accompany me as a necessary protection, and my men apprehended danger if they were lost. Joseph Baxter (I think was his name) they wished should go, because he could speak both languages – leaving Manuel, George, Thomas and myself, to wait their return. Having thus made all arrangements, and putting up a keg of the least salt water, with a few pancakes of salt fish, they set off a little before sunset with our best wishes and prayers for their safety and return to our relief. – To launch off into the wide ocean, with strength almost exhausted, and in such a frail boat as this, you will say was very hazardous, and in truth it was; but what else was left to us? – Their intention was to touch at the Key where the Exertion was and if no boat was to be found there, to proceed to St. Maria, and if none there, to go to Trinidad and send us relief. – But alas! it was the last time I ever saw them! – Our suffering this day was most acute.

Tuesday, 5th. – About ten o'clock, A.M. discovered a boat drifting by on the southeastern side of the island about a mile distant. I deemed it a providential thing to us, and urged Thomas and George trying the raft for her. They reluctantly consented and set off, but it was nearly three P.M. when they came up with her – it was the same boat we had built! Where then was my friend Bracket and those who went with him? Every appearance was unfavorable. – I hoped that a good Providence had yet preserved him. – The two men who went for the boat, found it full of water, without oars, paddle, or sail; being in this condition, and about three miles to the leeward, the men found it impossible to tow her up, so left her, and were until eleven o'clock at night getting back with the raft. They were so exhausted, that had it not been nearly calm, they could never have returned.

Wednesday, 6th. – This morning was indeed the most gloomy I had ever experienced. – There appeared hardly a ray of hope that my friend Bracket could return, seeing the boat was lost. Our provisions nearly gone; our mouths parched extremely with thirst; our strength wasted; our spirits broken, and our hopes imprisoned within the circumference of this desolate island in the midst of an unfrequented ocean; all these things gave to the scene around us the hue of death. In the midst of this dreadful despondence, a sail hove in sight



bearing the white flag! Our hopes were raised, of course – but no sooner raised than darkened, by hearing a gun fired. Here then was another gang of pirates. She soon, however, came near enough to anchor, and her boat pushed off towards us with three men in her. – Thinking it now no worse to die by sword than famine, I walked down immediately to meet them. I knew them not. – A moment before the boat touched the ground, a man leaped from her bows and caught me in his arms! *It was Nickola!* – saying, “Do you now believe Nickola is your friend? yes, said he, *Jamieson* will yet prove himself so.” – No words can express my emotions at this moment. This was a friend indeed. The reason of my not recognizing them before, was that they had cut their beards and whiskers. Turning to my fellow-sufferers, Nickola asked – “Are these all that are left of you? where are the others?” – At this moment seeing David’s grave – “are they dead then? Ah! I suspected it, I know what you were put here for.” As soon as I could recover myself, I gave him an account of Mr. Bracket and the others. – “How unfortunate,” he said, “they must be lost, or some pirates have taken them.” – “But,” he continued, “we have no time to lose; you had better embark immediately with us, and go where you please, we are at your service.” The other two in the boat were Frenchmen, one named Lyon, the other Parrikete. They affectionately embraced each of us; then holding to my mouth the nose of a teakettle, filled with wine, said “Drink plenty, no hurt you.” I drank as much as I judged prudent. They then gave it to my fellow sufferers – I experienced almost immediate relief, not feeling it in my head; they had also brought in the boat for us, a dish of salt beef and potatoes, of which we took a little. Then sent the boat on board for the other two men, being five in all; who came ashore, and rejoiced enough was I to see among them Thomas Young, one of my crew, who was detained on board the Mexican, but had escaped through Nickola’s means; the other a Frenchman, named John Cadedt. I now thought again and again, with troubled emotion, of my dear friend Bracket’s fate. I took the last piece of paper I had, and wrote with pencil a few words, informing him (should he come there) that “I and the rest were safe; that I was not mistaken in the friend in whom I had placed so much confidence, that he had accomplished my highest expectations; and that I should go immediately to Trinidad, and requested him to go there also, and apply to Mr. Isaac W. Lord, my consignee, for assistance.” I put the paper into a junk bottle, previously found on the beach, put in a stopper, and left it, together with what little flour remained, a keg of water brought from Nickola’s vessel, and a few other things which I thought might be of service to him. We then repaired with our friends on board, where we were kindly treated. She was a sloop from Jamaica, of about twelve tons, with a cargo of rum and wine, bound to Trinidad. I asked “which way they intended to go?”



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They said "to Jamaica if agreeable to me." As I preferred Trinidad, I told them, "if they would give me the Exertion's boat which was along-side (beside their own) some water and provisions, we would take chance in her." – "For perhaps," said I, "you will fare better at Jamaica, than at Trinidad." After a few minutes consultation, they said "you are too much exhausted to row the distance of one hundred miles, therefore we will go and carry you – we consider ourselves at your service." I expressed a wish to take a look at the Exertion, possibly we might hear something of Mr. Bracket. Nickola said "very well," so got under way, and run for her, having a light westerly wind. He then related to me the manner of their desertion from the pirates; as nearly as I can recollect his own words, he said, "A few days since, the pirates took four small vessels, I believe Spaniards; they having but two officers for the two first, the third fell to me as prize master, and having an understanding with the three Frenchmen and Thomas, selected them for my crew, and went on board with orders to follow the Mexican; which I obeyed. The fourth, the pirates took out all but one man and bade him also follow their vessel. Now our schooner leaked so bad, that we left her and in her stead agreed to take this little sloop (which we are now in) together with the one man. The night being very dark we all agreed to desert the pirates – altered our course and touched at St. Maria, where we landed the one man – saw no boats there, could hear nothing from you, and agreed one and all at the risk of our lives to come and liberate you if you were alive; knowing, as we did, that you were put on this Key to perish. On our way we boarded the Exertion, thinking possibly you might have been there. On board her we found a sail and paddle. We took one of the pirate's boats which they had left along-side of her, which proves how we came by two boats. My friend, the circumstance I am now about to relate, will somewhat astonish you. When the pirate's boat with Bolidar was sent to the before mentioned Key, on the 19th of January, it was their intention to leave you prisoners there, where was nothing but salt water and mangroves, and no possibility of escape. This was the plan of Baltizar, their abandoned pilot; but Bolidar's heart failed him, and he objected to it; then, after a conference, Captain Jonnia ordered you to be put on the little island from whence we have now taken you. But after this was done, that night the French and Portuguese part of the Mexican's crew protested against it; so that Captain Jonnia to satisfy them, sent his large boat to take you and your fellow prisoners back again, taking care to select his confidential Spaniards for this errand. And you will believe me they set off from the Mexican, and after spending about as much time as would really have taken them to come to you, they returned, and reported they had been to your island, and landed, and that none of you were there, somebody having



taken you off! This, all my companions here know to be true. – I knew it was impossible you could have been liberated, and therefore we determined among ourselves, that should an opportunity occur we would come and save your lives, as we now have." He then expressed, as he hitherto had done (and I believe with sincerity), his disgust with the bad company which he had been in, and looked forward with anxiety to the day when he might return to his native country. I advised him to get on board an American vessel, whenever an opportunity offered, and come to the United States; and on his arrival direct a letter to me; repeating my earnest desire to make some return for the disinterested friendship which he had shown toward me. With the Frenchman I had but little conversation, being unacquainted with the language.

Here ended Nickola's account. "And now" said the Frenchman, "our hearts be easy." Nickola observed he had left all and found us. I gave them my warmest tribute of gratitude, saying I looked upon them under God as the preservers of our lives, and promised them all the assistance which my situation might enable me to afford. – This brings me to,

Thursday evening, 7th, when, at eleven o'clock, we anchored at the creek's mouth, near the Exertion. I was anxious to board her; accordingly took with me Nickola, Thomas, George and two others, well armed, each with a musket and cutlass. I jumped on her deck, saw a fire in the camboose, but no person there: I called aloud Mr. Bracket's name several times, saying "it is Captain Lincoln, don't be afraid, but show yourself," but no answer was given. She had no masts, spars, rigging, furniture, provisions or any thing left, except her bowsprit, and a few barrels of salt provisions of her cargo. Her ceiling had holes cut in it, no doubt in their foolish search for money. I left her with peculiar emotions, such as I hope never again to experience; and returned to the little sloop where we remained till –

Friday, 8th – When I had disposition to visit the island on which we were first imprisoned. – Found nothing there – saw a boat among the mangroves, near the Exertion. Returned, and got under way immediately for Trinidad. In the night while under full sail, run aground on a sunken Key, having rocks above the water, resembling old stumps of trees; we, however, soon got off and anchored. Most of those Keys have similar rocks about them, which navigators must carefully guard against.

Monday, 11th – Got under way – saw a brig at anchor about five miles below the mouth of the harbor; we hoped to avoid her speaking us; but when we opened in sight of her, discovered a boat making towards us, with a number of armed men in her. This alarmed my friends, and as we did not see the brig's ensign hoisted, they declared the boat was a pirate, and looking through the spy-glass, they knew some of them to be the Mexican's men! This



state of things was quite alarming. They said, "we will not be taken alive by them." Immediately the boat fired a musket; the ball passed through our mainsail. My friends insisted on beating them off: I endeavored to dissuade them, believing, as I did, that the brig was a Spanish man-of-war, who had sent her boat to ascertain who we were. I thought we had better heave to. Immediately another shot came. Then they insisted on fighting, and said "if I would not help them, I was no friend." I reluctantly acquiesced, and handed up the guns – commenced firing upon them and they upon us. We received several shot through the sails, but no one was hurt on either side. Our boats had been cast adrift to make us go the faster, and we gained upon them – continued firing until they turned from us, and went for our boats, which they took in tow for the brig. Soon after this, it became calm: then I saw that the brig had us in her power. – She manned and armed two more boats for us. We now concluded, since we had scarcely any ammunition, to surrender; and were towed down alongside the brig on board, and were asked by the captain, who could speak English, "what for you fire on the boat?" I told him "we thought her a pirate, and did not like to be taken by them again, having already suffered too much;" showing my papers. He said, "Captain Americana, never mind, go and take some dinner – which are your men?" I pointed them out to him, and he ordered them the liberty of the decks; but my friend Nickola and his three associates were immediately put in irons. They were, however, afterwards taken out of irons and examined; and I understood the Frenchmen agreed to enlist, as they judged it the surest way to better their condition. Whether Nickola enlisted, I do not know, but think that he did, as I understood that offer was made to him: I however endeavored to explain more distinctly to the captain, the benevolent efforts of these four men by whom my life had been saved, and used every argument in my power to procure their discharge. I also applied to the governor, and exerted myself with peculiar interest, dictated as I trust with heartfelt gratitude – and I ardently hope ere this, that Nickola is on his way to this country, where I may have an opportunity of convincing him that such an act of benevolence will not go unrewarded. Previous to my leaving Trinidad, I made all the arrangements in my power with my influential friends, and doubt not, that their laudable efforts will be accomplished. – The sloop's cargo was then taken on board the brig; after which the captain requested a certificate that I was politely treated by him, saying that his name was Captain Candama, of the privateer brig Prudentee of eighteen guns. This request I complied with. His first lieutenant told me he had sailed out of Boston, as commander for T.C. Amory, Esq. during the last war. In the course of the evening my friends were taken out of irons and examined separately, then put back again. The captain invited me to supper in his

cabin, and a berth for the night, which was truly acceptable. The next morning after breakfast, I with my people were set on shore with the few things we had, with the promise of the Exertion's small boat in a day or two, – but it was never sent me – the reason, let the reader imagine. On landing at the wharf Casildar, we were immediately taken by soldiers to the guard house, which was a very filthy place; thinking I suppose, and even calling us, pirates. Soon some friends came to see me. Mr. Cotton, who resides there brought us in some soup. Mr. Isaac W. Lord, of Boston, my merchant, came with Captain Tate, who sent immediately to the governor; for I would not show my papers to any one else. He came about sunset, and after examining Manuel my Spanish fellow prisoner, and my papers, said to be, giving me the papers, "Captain, you are at liberty." I was kindly invited by Captain Matthew Rice, of schooner Galaxy, of Boston, to go on board his vessel, and live with him during my stay there. This generous offer I accepted, and was treated by him with the greatest hospitality; for I was hungered and he gave me meat, I was athirst and he gave me drink, I was naked and he clothed me, a stranger and he took me in. He likewise took Manuel and my three men for that night. Next day Mr. Lord rendered me all necessary assistance in making my protest. He had heard nothing from me until my arrival. I was greatly disappointed in not finding Mr. Bracket, and requested Mr. Lord to give him all needful aid if he should come there. To Captain Carnes, of the schooner Hannah, of Boston, I would tender my sincere thanks, for his kindness in giving me a passage to Boston, which I gladly accepted. To those gentlemen of Trinidad, and many captains of American vessels, who gave me sea clothing, &c., I offer my cordial gratitude.

I am fully of the opinion that these ferocious pirates are linked in with many inhabitants of Cuba; and the government in many respects appears covertly to encourage them.

It is with heartfelt delight, that, since the above narrative was written, I have learned that Mr. Bracket and his companions are safe; he arrived at Port d'Esprit, about forty leagues east of Trinidad. A letter has been received from him, stating that he should proceed to Trinidad the first opportunity. – It appears that after reaching the wreck, they found a boat from the shore, taking on board some of the Exertion's cargo, in which they proceeded to the above place. Why it was not in his power to come to our relief will no doubt be satisfactorily disclosed when he may be so fortunate as once more to return to his native country and friends.

I felt great anxiety to learn what became of Jamieson, who, my readers will recollect, was detained on board the Spanish brig Prudentee near Trinidad. I heard nothing from him, until I believe eighteen months after I reached home, when I received a letter from him, from Montego Bay, Jamaica, informing me that he was then residing in that island. I immediately wrote to him, and invited him to come on to the United States. He accordingly came on passenger with Captain Wilson of Cohasset, and arrived



in Boston, in August, 1824. Our meeting was very affecting. Trying scenes were brought up before us; scenes gone forever, through which we had passed together, where our acquaintance was formed, and since which time, we had never met. I beheld once more the preserver of my life; the instrument, under Providence, of restoring me to my home, my family, and my friends, and I regarded him with no ordinary emotion. My family were delighted to see him, and cordially united in giving him a warm reception. He told me that after we separated in Trinidad, he remained on board the Spanish brig. The commander asked him and his companions if they would enlist; the Frenchmen replied that they would, but he said nothing, being determined to make his escape, the very first opportunity which should present. The Spanish brig afterwards fell in with a Columbian Patriot, an armed brig of eighteen guns. Being of about equal force, they gave battle, and fought between three and four hours. Both parties were very much injured; and, without any considerable advantage on either side, both drew off to make repairs. The Spanish brig Prudentee, put into St. Jago de Cuba. Jamieson was wounded in the action, by a musket ball, through his arm, and was taken on shore, with the other wounded, and placed in the hospital of St. Jago. Here he remained for a considerable time, until he had nearly recovered, when he found an opportunity of escaping, and embarking for Jamaica. He arrived in safety at Kingston, and from there, travelled barefoot over the mountains, until very much exhausted, he reached Montego Bay, where he had friends, and where one of his brothers possessed some property. From this place, he afterwards wrote to me. He told me that before he came to Massachusetts, he saw the villainous pilot of the Mexican, the infamous Baltizar, with several other pirates, brought into Montego Bay, from whence they were to be conveyed to Kingston to be executed. Whether the others were part of the Mexican's crew, or not, I do not know. Baltizar was an old man, and as Jamieson said, it was a melancholy and heart-rending sight, to see him borne to execution with those gray hairs, which might have been venerable in virtuous old age, now a shame and reproach to this hoary villain, for he was full of years, and old in iniquity. When Jamieson received the letter which I wrote him, he immediately embarked with Captain Wilson, and came to Boston, as I have before observed.

According to his own account he was of a very respectable family in Greenock, Scotland. His father when living was a rich cloth merchant, but both his father and mother had been dead many years. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and being, as he said, of a roving disposition, had always followed the seas. He had received a polite education, and was of a very gentlemanly deportment. He spoke several living languages, and was skilled in drawing and painting. He had travelled extensively in different countries, and acquired in consequence an excellent knowledge of their manners and customs. His varied information (for hardly any subject escaped him) rendered him a very entertaining companion. His observations on the character of different nations were very liberal; marking their various traits, their virtues and vices, with playful humorousness, quite free from bigotry, or narrow prejudice.

I was in trade, between Boston and Philadelphia, at the time he



came to Massachusetts, and he sailed with me several trips as my mate. He afterwards went to Cuba, and was subsequently engaged in the mackerel fishery, out of the port of Hingham, during the warm season, and in the winter frequently employed himself in teaching navigation to young men, for which he was eminently qualified. He remained with us, until his death, which took place in 1829. At this time he had been out at sea two or three days, when he was taken sick, and was carried into Cape Cod, where he died, on the first day of May, 1829, and there his remains lie buried. Peace be to his ashes! They rest in a strange land, far from his kindred and his native country.

Since his death I have met with Mr. Stewart, of Philadelphia, who was Commercial Agent in Trinidad at the time of my capture. He informed me that the piratical schooner Mexican, was afterwards chased by an English government vessel, from Jamaica, which was cruising in search of it. Being hotly pursued, the pirates deserted their vessel, and fled to the mangrove bushes, on an island similar to that on which they had placed me and my crew to die. The English surrounded them, and thus they were cut off from all hopes of escape. They remained there, I think fourteen days, when being almost entirely subdued by famine, eleven surrendered themselves, and were taken. The others probably perished among the mangroves. The few who were taken were carried by the government vessel into Trinidad. Mr. Stewart said that he saw them himself, and such miserable objects, that had life, he never before beheld. They were in a state of starvation; their beards had grown to a frightful length, their bodies, were covered with filth and vermin, and their countenances were hideous. From Trinidad they were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and there hung on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts and on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary would bless him and the other jailors for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called out "*Adonde esta el padre,*" (Where is the holy father).



Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him – he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke the truth – that he was no pirate, no murderer – he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act. Juan Gutierrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose). How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent – they had both been forced. Let none of his friends or relations ever venture to sea – he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the *Whim* stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man – “*Adios viejo, para siempre adios.*” – (Farewell, old man, forever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon. Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. “Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty.” He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth untied it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence. – “*No he robado, no he matado ninguno, muero inocente.*” – (I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Migul prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. – His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.



Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the execution pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately – "*Quita is de mis ojos.*" – (Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Migul, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed "*Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?*" (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause. – Oh, good Christians, protect me. Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land?)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

A piratical station was taken in the Island of Cuba by the U.S. schooners of war, Greyhound and Beagle. They left Thompson's Island June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Key's on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st of July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats, were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided, was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broadcloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have



been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great many of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were supposed to have been killed from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighborhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

In 1823, Commodore Porter commanded the United States squadron in these seas; much good was done in preventing new acts of piracy; but these wretches kept aloof and did not venture to sea as formerly, but some were taken.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823. "I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore Porter's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Moscheto, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it - it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, and continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of 'Allen,' commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force."

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave Allen fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate



1821

1821

schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and other valuable articles on board. The brig Vestal sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.



November 1, Thursday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) arrived in [Pisa](#). (The Gambas had preceded him during August.)

When the Lake Erie Steamboat Company's Great Lakes steamer *Walk-in-the-Water*, 1st steamship to have plied the Great Lakes waterways on a regular schedule, ran aground during a storm in Lake Erie off Buffalo, there were no injuries. Judge Samuel Wilkinson made a deal with a representative of the steamboat company: he would see to it that the boat was freed by May 1st of the following year or forfeit \$150 for each day that deadline was missed, whereas if that deadline was met, the company would commission the building of a new boat in Buffalo.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

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

*5th day 11th M 1st 1821 / Our meeting was very small owing to its being a Stormy day & the Quarterly Meeting that is now Sitting at Swansey. - to me it was a season of wading but by keeping under the exercise & a pretty close watch (for me) I thought the meeting was favord in closing solidly. - It would have been greatful to have been able to go to the Quarterly meeting & from thence to [Providence](#) to meet with the School committee, but So is my way hedged about, in such away that much travelling is not proper for me - may, I however cultivate in my mind a spirit of gratitude for favors vouchsafed & humbly hope for more.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 2, Friday: Carl Friedrich Zelter arrived in Weimar from Berlin along with his daughter and a promising young student named [Felix Mendelssohn](#). He wanted them to make the acquaintance of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#).



November 4, Sunday: In Weimar, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) met [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) for the initial time. In spite of the vast difference in their ages, over the following couple of weeks the two would forge a strong friendship. Felix had brought several songs by his sister Fanny on Goethe texts — the poet was delighted and would in gratitude compose a poem for Fanny. Also present was the Weimar Kapellmeister, [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#).

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

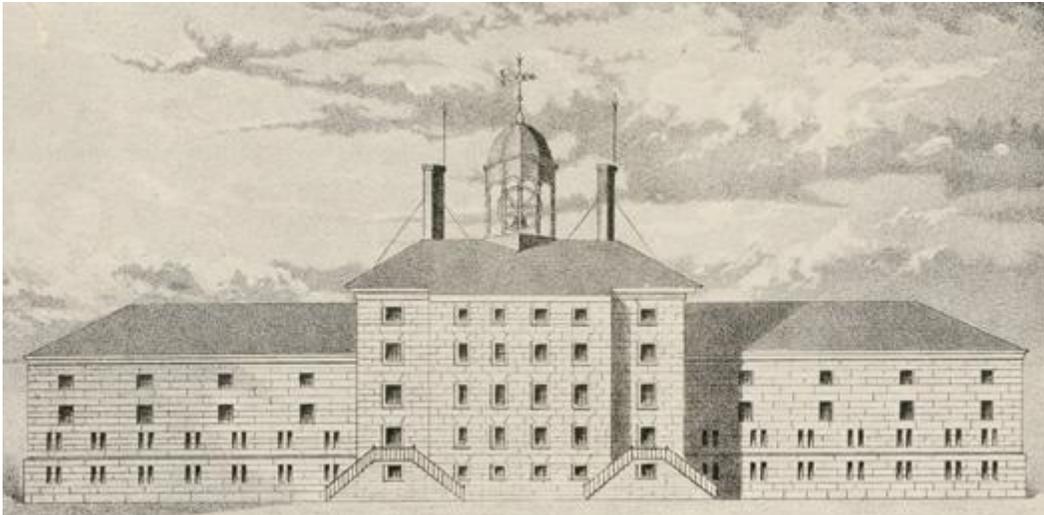
*1st day 4th of 11th M / Our Meetings were both Silent & small, the day being rainy. - to me seasons of wading, but some help experienced, for which I desire to be thankful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1821

1821

→ November 8, Thursday: [Samuel Green](#) attacked Billy Williams, a black convict, with an iron bar in a shop in the yard of the Massachusetts State Prison, causing fatal injuries, and would be [hanged](#) at the gallows on [Boston Neck](#) just outside the town gate and near the burying grounds.<sup>40</sup>



→ November 8, Thursday, evening: Captain Jackson's brig *Cobbesecontee* had sailed that morning from Havana for Boston. He had only proceeded about four miles from Moro Castle when brought to by a vessel with about 30 pirates. Captain Jackson had noticed their sloop at Regla the day before. These Cubans took the personal items of the captain and his mate, stripping them nearly naked. They broke a large broadsword across the captain's back and stabbed him through his thigh so that he almost bled to death. After they beat the mate, he was [hanged](#) under the maintop. From the cargo were obtained three bales of cochineal and six boxes of cigars. Captain Jackson would confirm a report brought by other American sailors who had been brought to grief in Havana, that some of the local whites were openly countenancing these acts of [piracy](#) against US citizens — as a gesture of retaliation against US interference with the Cuban [slave](#) trade.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

*5th day of 11 M / Our Meeting was small - a considerable portion of those who generally attend were absent at David Buffums where Sarah Sherman has lain very ill for some weeks & while the Meeting was sitting today She expired - She was a [-]lid [solid?, words obscured by binding crease] young woman & tho' all the forepart of her illness she was deprived of her mental powers, but a few days previous to her death she came to her understanding & expressed her reconciliation to the Solemn Change -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

40. Another convict, Howard Trask, was also involved in this beating. He also, on September 16th while confined in the old Leverett Street Jail, would attempt to kill cellmates Francis Durgen and John Newman. Considered insane, he would not be executed.

## THE WEST INDIA PIRATES

**CONTAINING ACCOUNTS OF THEIR ATROCITIES, MANNERS OF LIVING, &C., WITH PROCEEDINGS OF THE SQUADRON UNDER COMMODORE PORTER IN THOSE SEAS, THE VICTORY AND DEATH OF LIEUTENANT ALLEN, THE INTERESTING NARRATIVE OF CAPTAIN LINCOLN, &C.<sup>41</sup>**



Those innumerable groups of islands, keys and sandbanks, known as the West-Indies, are peculiarly adapted from their locality and formation, to be a favorite resort for pirates; many of them are composed of coral rocks, on which a few cocoa trees raise their lofty heads; where there is sufficient earth for vegetation between the interstices of the rocks, stunted brushwood grows. But a chief peculiarity of some of the islands, and which renders them suitable to those who frequent them as pirates, are the numerous caves with which the rocks are perforated; some of them are above high-water mark, but the

41. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



majority with the sea water flowing in and out of them, in some cases merely rushing in at high-water filling deep pools, which are detached from each other when the tide recedes, in others with a sufficient depth of water to allow a large boat to float in. It is hardly necessary to observe how convenient the higher and dry caves are as receptacles for articles which are intended to be concealed, until an opportunity occurs to dispose of them. The Bahamas, themselves are a singular group of isles, reefs and quays; consisting of several hundred in number, and were the chief resort of pirates in old times, but now they are all rooted from them; they are low and not elevated, and are more than 600 miles in extent, cut up into numerous intricate passages and channels, full of sunken rocks and coral reefs. They afforded a sure retreat to desperadoes. Other islands are full of mountain fastnesses, where all pursuit can be eluded. Many of the low shores are skirted, and the islands covered by the mangrove, a singular tree, shooting fresh roots as it grows, which, when the tree is at its full age, may be found six or eight feet from the ground, to which the shoots gradually tend in regular succession; the leaf is very thick and stiff and about eight inches long and nine wide, the interval between the roots offer secure hiding places for those who are suddenly pursued. Another circumstance assists the pirate when pursued. – As the islands belong to several different nations, when pursued from one island he can pass to that under the jurisdiction of another power. And as permission must be got by those in pursuit of him, from the authorities of the island to land and take him, he thus gains time to secrete himself. A tropical climate is suited to a roving life, and liquor as well as dissolute women being in great abundance, to gratify him during his hours of relaxation, makes this a congenial region for the lawless.

The crews of pirate vessels in these seas are chiefly composed of Spaniards, Portuguese, French, Mulattoes, Negroes, and a few natives of other countries. The island of Cuba is the great nest of pirates at the present day, and at the Havana, piracy is as much tolerated as any other profession. As the piracies committed in these seas, during a single year, have amounted to more than fifty, we shall give only a few accounts of the most interesting.

In November 1821, the brig Cobbessecontee, Captain Jackson, sailed from Havana, on the morning of the 8th for Boston, and on the evening of the same day, about four miles from the Moro, was brought to by a piratical sloop containing about 30 men. A boat from her, with 10 men, came alongside, and soon after they got on board commenced plundering. They took nearly all the clothing from the captain and mate – all the cooking utensils and spare rigging – unrove part of the running rigging – cut the small cable – broke the compasses – cut the mast's coats to pieces – took from the captain his watch and four boxes cigars – and from the cargo three bales cochineal and six boxes cigars. They beat the mate unmercifully, and hung him up by the neck under the maintop. They also beat the captain severely – broke a large broad sword across his back, and ran a long knife through his thigh, so that he almost bled to death. Captain Jackson saw the sloop at Regla the day before.

Captain Jackson informs us, and we have also been informed by



other persons from the Havana, that this system of piracy is openly countenanced by some of the inhabitants of that place – who say that it is a retaliation on the Americans for interfering against the Slave Trade.

About this time the ship Liverpool Packet, Ricker, of Portsmouth, N.H., was boarded off Cape St. Antonio, Cuba, by two piratical schooners; two barges containing thirty or forty men, robbed the vessel of every thing movable, even of her *flags*, rigging, and a boat which happened to be afloat, having a boy in it, which belonged to the ship. They held a consultation whether they should murder the crew, as they had done before, or not – in the mean time taking the ship into anchoring ground. On bringing her to anchor, the crew saw a brig close alongside, burnt to the water's edge, and three dead bodies floating near her. The pirates said they had burnt the brig the day before, and *murdered all the crew!* – and intended doing the same with them. They said "look at the turtles (meaning the dead bodies) you will soon be the same." They said the vessel was a Baltimore brig, which they had robbed and burnt, and murdered the crew as before stated, of which they had little doubt. Captain Ricker was most shockingly bruised by them. The mate was hung till he was supposed to be dead, but came to, and is now alive. They told the captain that they belonged in Regla, and should kill them all to prevent discovery.

In 1822, the United States had several cruisers among the West-India islands, to keep the pirates in check. Much good was done but still many vessels were robbed and destroyed, together with their crews. This year the brave Lieutenant Allen fell by the hand of pirates; he was in the United States schooner Alligator, and receiving intelligence at Matanzas, that several vessels which had sailed from that port, had been taken by the pirates, and were then in the bay of Lejuapo. He hastened to their assistance. He arrived just in time to save five sail of vessels which he found in possession of a gang of pirates, 300 strong, established in the bay of Lejuapo, about 15 leagues east of this. He fell, pierced by two musket balls, in the van of a division of boats, attacking their principal vessel, a fine schooner of about eighty tons, with a long eighteen pounder on a pivot, and four smaller guns, *with the bloody flag nailed to the mast.* Himself, Captain Freeman of Marines, and twelve men, were in the boat, much in advance of his other boats, and even took possession of the schooner, after a desperate resistance, which nothing but a bravery almost too daring could have overcome. The pirates, all but one, escaped by taking to their boats and jumping overboard, before the Alligator's boat reached them. Two other schooners escaped by the use of their oars, the wind being light.

Captain Allen survived about four hours, during which his conversation evinced a composure and firmness of mind, and correctness of feeling, as honorable to his character, and more consoling to his friends, than even the dauntless bravery he before exhibited.

The surgeon of the Alligator in a letter to a friend, says, "He continued giving orders and conversing with Mr. Dale and the rest of us, until a few minutes before his death, with a degree of cheerfulness that was little to be expected from a man in his



condition. He said he wished his relatives and his country to know that he had fought well, and added that he died in peace and good will towards all the world, and hoped for his reward in the next."

Lieutenant Allen had but few equals in the service. He was ardently devoted to the interest of his country, was brave, intelligent, and accomplished in his profession. He displayed, living and dying, a magnanimity that sheds lustre on his relatives, his friends, and his country.

About this time Captain Lincoln fell into the hands of the pirates, and as his treatment shows the peculiar habits and practices of these wretches, we insert the very interesting narrative of the captain.

The schooner Exertion, Captain Lincoln, sailed from Boston, bound for Trinidad de Cuba, Nov. 13th, 1821, with the following crew; Joshua Bracket, mate; David Warren, cook; and Thomas Young, Francis De Suze, and George Reed, seamen.

The cargo consisted of flour, beef, pork, lard, butter, fish, beans, onions, potatoes, apples, hams, furniture, sugar box shooks, &c., invoiced at about eight thousand dollars. Nothing remarkable occurred during the passage, except much bad weather, until my capture, which was as follows: -

Monday, December 17th, 1821, commenced with fine breezes from the eastward. At daybreak saw some of the islands northward of Cape Cruz, called Keys - stood along northwest; every thing now seemed favorable for a happy termination of our voyage. At 3 o'clock, P.M., saw a sail coming round one of the Keys, into a channel called Boca de Cavolone by the chart, nearly in latitude 20° 55' north, longitude 79° 55' west, she made directly for us with all sails set, sweeps on both sides (the wind being light) and was soon near enough for us to discover about forty men on her deck, armed with muskets, blunderbusses, cutlasses, long knives, dirks, &c., two carronades, one a twelve, the other a six pounder; she was a schooner, wearing the Patriot flag (blue, white and blue) of the Republic of Mexico. I thought it not prudent to resist them, should they be pirates, with a crew of seven men, and only five muskets; accordingly ordered the arms and ammunition to be immediately stowed away in as secret a place as possible, and suffer her to speak us, hoping and believing that a republican flag indicated both honor and friendship from those who wore it, and which we might expect even from Spaniards. But how great was my astonishment, when the schooner having approached very near us, hailed in English, and ordered me to heave my boat out immediately and come on board of her with my papers. - Accordingly my boat was hove out, but filled before I could get into her. - I was then ordered to tack ship and lay by for the pirates' boat to board me; which was done by Bolidar, their first lieutenant, with six or eight Spaniards armed with as many of the before mentioned weapons as they could well sling about their bodies. They drove me into the boat, and two of them rowed me to their privateer (as they called their vessel), where I shook hands with their commander, Captain Jonnia, a Spaniard, who before looking at my papers, ordered Bolidar, his lieutenant, to follow the Mexican in, back of the Key they had left, which was done. At 6 o'clock, P.M., the Exertion was anchored in eleven feet water, near this vessel, and an island,



which they called Twelve League Key (called by the chart Key Largo), about thirty or thirty-five leagues from Trinidad. After this strange conduct they began examining my papers by a Scotchman who went by the name of Nickola, their sailing master. – He spoke good English, had a countenance rather pleasing, although his beard and mustachios had a frightful appearance – his face, apparently full of anxiety, indicated something in my favor; he gave me my papers, saying "take good care of them, for I am afraid you have fallen into bad hands." The pirates' boat was then sent to the Exertion with more men and arms; a part of them left on board her; the rest returning with three of my crew to their vessel; viz., Thomas Young, Thomas Goodall, and George Reed – they treated them with something to drink, and offered them equal shares with themselves, and some money, if they would enlist, but they could not prevail on them. I then requested permission to go on board my vessel which was granted, and further requested Nickola should go with me, but was refused by the captain, who vociferated in a harsh manner, "No, No, No." accompanied with a heavy stamp upon the deck. When I got on board, I was invited below by Bolidar, where I found they had emptied the case of liquors, and broken a cheese into pieces and crumbled it on the table and cabin floor; the pirates, elated with their prize (as they called it), had drank so much as to make them desperately abusive. I was permitted to lie down in my berth; but, reader, if you have ever been awakened by a gang of armed, desperadoes, who have taken possession of your habitation in the midnight hour, you can imagine my feelings. – Sleep was a stranger to me, and anxiety was my guest. Bolidar, however, pretended friendship, and flattered me with the prospect of being soon set at liberty. But I found him, as I suspected, a consummate hypocrite; indeed, his very looks indicated it. He was a stout and well built man, of a dark, swarthy complexion, with keen, ferocious eyes, huge whiskers, and beard under his chin and on his lips, four or five inches long; he was a Portuguese by birth, but had become a naturalized Frenchman – had a wife, if not children (as I was told) in France, and was well known there as commander of a first rate privateer. His appearance was truly terrific; he could talk some English, and had a most lion-like voice.

Tuesday, 18th. – Early this morning the captain of the pirates came on board the Exertion; took a look at the cabin stores, and cargo in the state rooms, and then ordered me back with him to his vessel, where he, with his crew, held a consultation for some time respecting the cargo. After which, the interpreter, Nickola, told me that "the captain had, or pretended to have, a commission under General Traspelascus, commander-in-chief of the republic of Mexico, authorizing him to take all cargoes whatever of provisions, bound to any royalist Spanish port – that my cargo being bound to an enemy's port, must be condemned; but that the vessel should be given up and be put into a fair channel for Trinidad, where I was bound." I requested him to examine the papers thoroughly, and perhaps he would be convinced to the contrary, and told him my cargo was all American property taken in at Boston, and consigned to an



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American gentleman, agent at Trinidad. But the captain would not take the trouble, but ordered both vessels under way immediately, and commenced beating up amongst the Keys through most of the day, the wind being very light. They now sent their boats on board the Exertion for stores, and commenced plundering her of bread, butter, lard, onions, potatoes, fish, beans, &c., took up some sugar box shocks that were on deck, and found the barrels of apples; selected the best of them and threw the rest overboard. They inquired for spirits, wine, cider, &c. and were told "they had already taken all that was on board." But not satisfied they proceeded to search the state rooms and forcastle, ripped up the floor of the later and found some boxes of bottled cider, which they carried to their vessel, gave three cheers, in an exulting manner to me, and then began drinking it with such freedom, that a violent quarrel arose between officers and men, which came very near ending in bloodshed. I was accused of falsehood, for saying they had got all the liquors that were on board, and I thought they had; the truth was, I never had any bill of lading of the cider, and consequently had no recollection of its being on board; yet it served them as an excuse for being insolent. In the evening peace was restored and they sung songs. I was suffered to go below for the night, and they placed a guard over me, stationed at the companion way.

Wednesday, 19th, commenced with moderate easterly winds, beating towards the northeast, the pirate's boats frequently going on board the Exertion for potatoes, fish, beans, butter, &c. which were used with great waste and extravagance. They gave me food and drink, but of bad quality, more particularly the victuals, which was wretchedly cooked. The place assigned me to eat was covered with dirt and vermin. It appeared that their great object was to hurt my feelings with threats and observations, and to make my situation as unpleasant as circumstances would admit. We came to anchor near a Key, called by them Brigantine, where myself and mate were permitted to go on shore, but were guarded by several armed pirates. I soon returned to the Mexican and my mate to the Exertion, with George Reed, one of my crew; the other two being kept on board the Mexican. In the course of this day I had considerable conversation with Nickola, who appeared well disposed towards me. He lamented most deeply his own situation, for he was one of those men, whose early good impressions were not entirely effaced, although confederated with guilt. He told me "those who had taken me were no better than pirates, and their end would be the halter; but," he added, with peculiar emotion, "I will never be hung as a pirate," showing me a bottle of laudanum which he had found in my medicine chest, saying, "If we are taken, that shall cheat the hangman, before we are condemned." I endeavored to get it from him, but did not succeed. I then asked him how he came



to be in such company, as he appeared to be dissatisfied. He stated, that he was at New Orleans last summer, out of employment, and became acquainted with one Captain August Orgamar, a Frenchman, who had bought a small schooner of about fifteen tons, and was going down to the bay of Mexico to get a commission under General Traspelascus, in order to go a privateering under the patriot flag. Capt. Orgamar made him liberal offers respecting shares, and promised him a sailing master's berth, which he accepted and embarked on board the schooner, without sufficiently reflecting on the danger of such an undertaking. Soon after she sailed from Mexico, where they got a commission, and the vessel was called Mexican. They made up a complement of twenty men, and after rendering the General some little service, in transporting his troops to a place called ----- proceeded on a cruise; took some small prizes off Campeachy; afterwards came on the south coast of Cuba, where they took other small prizes, and the one which we were now on board of. By this time the crew were increased to about forty, nearly one half Spaniards, the others Frenchmen and Portuguese. Several of them had sailed out of ports in the United States with American protections; but, I confidently believe, none are natives, especially of the northern states. I was careful in examining the men, being desirous of knowing if any of my countrymen were among this wretched crew; but am satisfied there were none, and my Scotch friend concurred in the opinion. And now, with a new vessel, which was the prize of these plunderers, they sailed up Manganeil bay; previously, however, they fell in with an American schooner, from which they bought four barrels of beef, and paid in tobacco. At the Bay was an English brig belonging to Jamaica, owned by Mr. John Louden of that place. On board of this vessel the Spanish part of the crew commenced their depredations as pirates, although Captain Orgamar and Nickola protested against it, and refused any participation; but they persisted, and like so many ferocious blood-hounds, boarded the brig, plundered the cabin, stores, furniture, captain's trunk, &c., took a hogshead of rum, one twelve pound carronade, some rigging and sails. One of them plundered the chest of a sailor, who made some resistance, so that the Spaniard took his cutlass, and beat and wounded him without mercy. Nickola asked him "why he did it?" the fellow answered, "I will let you know," and took up the cook's axe and gave him a cut on the head, which nearly deprived him of life. Then they ordered Captain Orgamar to leave his vessel, allowing him his trunk and turned him ashore, to seek for himself. Nickola begged them to dismiss him with his captain, but no, no, was the answer; for they had no complete navigator but him. After Captain Orgamar was gone, they put in his stead the present brave (or as I should call him cowardly) Captain Jonnia, who headed them in plundering the before mentioned brig, and made



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Bolidar their first lieutenant, and then proceeded down among those Keys or Islands, where I was captured. This is the amount of what my friend Nickola told me of their history.

Saturday, 22d. - Both vessels under way standing to the eastward, they ran the Exertion aground on a bar, but after throwing overboard most of her deck load of shooks, she floated off; a pilot was sent to her, and she was run into a narrow creek between two keys, where they moored her head and stern along side of the mangrove trees, set down her yards and topmasts, and covered her mast heads and shrouds with bushes to prevent her being seen by vessels which might pass that way. I was then suffered to go on board my own vessel, and found her in a very filthy condition; sails torn, rigging cut to pieces, and every thing in the cabin in waste and confusion. The swarms of moschetoes and sandflies made it impossible to get any sleep or rest. The pirate's large boat was armed and manned under Bolidar, and sent off with letters to a merchant (as they called him) by the name of Dominico, residing in a town called Principe, on the main island of Cuba. I was told by one of them, who could speak English, that Principe was a very large and populous town, situated at the head of St. Maria, which was about twenty miles northeast from where we lay, and the Keys lying around us were called Cotton Keys. - The captain pressed into his service Francis de Suze, one of my crew, saying that he was one of his countrymen. Francis was very reluctant in going, and said to me, with tears in his eyes, "I shall do nothing but what I am obliged to do, and will not aid in the least to hurt you or the vessel; I am very sorry to leave you." He was immediately put on duty and Thomas Goodall sent back to the Exertion.

Sunday, 23d. - Early this morning a large number of the pirates came on board of the Exertion, threw out the long boat, broke open the hatches, and took out considerable of the cargo, in search of rum, gin, &c., still telling me "I had some and they would find it," uttering the most awful profaneness. In the afternoon their boat returned with a perough, having on board the captain, his first lieutenant and seven men of a patriot or piratical vessel that was chased ashore at Cape Cruz by a Spanish armed brig. These seven men made their escape in said boat, and after four days, found our pirates and joined them; the remainder of the crew being killed or taken prisoners.

Monday, 24th. - Their boat was manned and sent to the before-mentioned town. - I was informed by a line from Nickola, that the pirates had a man on board, a native of Principe, who, in the garb of a sailor, was a partner with Dominico, but I could not get sight of him. This lets us a little into the plans by which this atrocious system of piracy has been carried on. Merchants having partners on board of these pirates! thus pirates at sea



and robbers on land are associated to destroy the peaceful trader. The willingness exhibited by the seven above-mentioned men, to join our gang of pirates, seems to look like a general understanding among them; and from there being merchants on shore so base as to encourage the plunder and vend the goods, I am persuaded there has been a systematic confederacy on the part of these unprincipled desperadoes, under cover of the patriot flag; and those on land are no better than those on the sea. If the governments to whom they belong know of the atrocities committed (and I have but little doubt they do) they deserve the execration of all mankind.

Thursday, 27th. – A gang of the pirates came and stripped our masts of the green bushes, saying, “she appeared more like a sail than trees” – took one barrel of bread and one of potatoes, using about one of each every day. I understood they were waiting for boats to take the cargo; for the principal merchant had gone to Trinidad.

Sunday, 30th. – The beginning of trouble! This day, which peculiarly reminds Christians of the high duties of compassion and benevolence, was never observed by these pirates. This, of course, we might expect, as they did not often know when the day came, and if they knew it, it was spent in gambling. The old saying among seamen, “no Sunday off soundings,” was not thought of; and even this poor plea was not theirs, for they were on soundings and often at anchor. – Early this morning, the merchant, as they called him, came with a large boat for the cargo. I was immediately ordered into the boat with my crew, not allowed any breakfast, and carried about three miles to a small island out of sight of the Exertion, and left there by the side of a little pond of thick, muddy water, which proved to be very brackish, with nothing to eat but a few biscuits. One of the boat’s men told us the merchant was afraid of being recognized, and when he had gone the boat would return for us; but we had great reason to apprehend they would deceive us, and therefore passed the day in the utmost anxiety. At night, however, the boats came and took us again on board the Exertion; when, to our surprise and astonishment, we found they had broken open the trunks and chests, and taken all our wearing apparel, not even leaving a shirt or pair of pantaloons, nor sparing a small miniature of my wife which was in my trunk. The little money I and my mate had, with some belonging to the owners, my mate had previously distributed about the cabin in three or four parcels, while I was on board the pirate, for we dare not keep it about us; one parcel in a butter pot they did not discover. – Amidst the hurry with which I was obliged to go to the before-mentioned island, I fortunately snatched by vessel’s papers, and hid them in my bosom, which the reader will find was a happy circumstance for me. My writing desk, with papers, accounts, &c., all Mr. Lord’s letters (the gentlemen to



whom my cargo was consigned) and several others were taken and maliciously destroyed. My medicine chest, which I so much wanted, was kept for their own use. What their motive could be to take my papers I could not imagine, except they had hopes of finding bills of lading for some Spaniards, to clear them from piracy. Mr. Bracket had some notes and papers of consequence to him, which shared the same fate. My quadrant, charts, books and bedding were not yet taken, but I found it impossible to hide them, and they were soon gone from my sight.

Tuesday, January 1st, 1822 – A sad new-year's day to me. Before breakfast orders came for me to cut down the Exertion's railing and bulwarks on one side, for their vessel to heave out by, and clean her bottom. On my hesitating a little they observed with anger, "very well, captain, suppose you no do it quick, we do it for you." Directly afterwards another boat full of armed men came along side; they jumped on deck with swords drawn, and ordered all of us into her immediately; I stepped below, in hopes of getting something which would be of service to us; but the captain hallooed, "Go into the boat directly or I will fire upon you." Thus compelled to obey, we were carried, together with four Spanish prisoners, to a small, low island or key of sand in the shape of a half moon, and partly covered with mangrove trees; which was about one mile from and in sight of my vessel. There they left nine of us, with a little bread, flour, fish, lard, a little coffee and molasses; two or three kegs of water, which was brackish; an old sail for a covering, and a pot and some other articles no way fit to cook in. Leaving us these, which were much less than they appear in the enumeration, they pushed off, saying, "we will come to see you in a day or two." Selecting the best place, we spread the old sail for an awning; but no place was free from flies, moschetoes, snakes, the venomous skinned scorpion, and the more venomous santipee. Sometimes they were found crawling inside of our pantaloons, but fortunately no injury was received. This afternoon the pirates hove their vessel out by the Exertion and cleaned one side, using her paints, oil, &c. for that purpose. To see my vessel in that situation and to think of our prospects was a source of the deepest distress. At night we retired to our tent; but having nothing but the cold damp ground for a bed, and the heavy dew of night penetrating the old canvass – the situation of the island being fifty miles from the usual track of friendly vessels, and one hundred and thirty-five from Trinidad – seeing my owner's property so unjustly and wantonly destroyed – considering my condition, the hands at whose mercy I was, and deprived of all hopes, rendered sleep or rest a stranger to me.

Friday, 4th. – Commenced with light winds and hot sun, saw a boat coming from the Exertion, apparently loaded; she passed between two small Keys to northward, supposed



to be bound for Cuba. At sunset a boat came and inquired if we wanted anything, but instead of adding to our provisions, took away our molasses, and pushed off. We found one of the Exertion's water casks, and several pieces of plank, which we carefully laid up, in hopes of getting enough to make a raft.

Saturday, 5th. – Pirates again in sight, coming from the eastward; they beat up along side their prize, and commenced loading. In the afternoon Nickola came to us, bringing with him two more prisoners, which they had taken in a small sail boat coming from Trinidad to Manganeil, one a Frenchman, the other a Scotchman, with two Spaniards, who remained on board the pirate, and who afterwards joined them. The back of one of these poor fellows was extremely sore, having just suffered a cruel beating from Bolidar, with the broad side of a cutlass. It appeared, that when the officer asked him "where their money was, and how much," he answered, "he was not certain but believed they had only two ounces of gold" – Bolidar furiously swore he said "ten," and not finding any more, gave him the beating. Nickola now related to me a singular fact; which was, that the Spanish part of the crew were determined to shoot him; that they tied him to the mast, and a man was appointed for the purpose; but Lion, a Frenchman, his particular friend, stepped up and told them, if they shot him they must shoot several more; some of the Spaniards sided with him, and he was released. Nickola told me, the reason for such treatment was, that he continually objected to their conduct towards me, and their opinion if he should escape, they would be discovered, as he declared he would take no prize money. While with us he gave me a letter written in great haste, which contains some particulars respecting the cargo; – as follows: –

*January 4th, 1822.*

Sir, – We arrived here this morning, and before we came to anchor, had five canoes alongside ready to take your cargo, part of which we had in; and as I heard you express a wish to know what they took out of her, to this moment, you may depend upon this account of Jamieson for quality and quantity; if I have the same opportunity you will have an account of the whole. The villain who bought your cargo is from the town of Principe, his name is Dominico, as to that it is all that I can learn; they have taken your charts aboard the schooner Mexican, and I suppose mean to keep them, as the other captain has agreed to act the same infamous part in the tragedy of his life. Your clothes are here on board, but do not let me flatter you that you will get them back; it may be so, and it may not. Perhaps in your old age, when you recline with ease in a corner of your cottage, you will have the goodness to drop a tear of pleasure to the memory of him, whose highest ambition should have been to subscribe himself, though devoted to the gallows, your friend,



Excuse haste. NICKOLA MONACRE.

Sunday, 6th. – The pirates were under way at sunrise, with a full load of the Exertion's cargo, going to Principe again to sell a second freight, which was done readily for cash. I afterwards heard that the flour only fetched five dollars per barrel, when it was worth at Trinidad thirteen; so that the villain who bought my cargo at Principe, made very large profits by it.

Tuesday, 8th. – Early this morning the pirates in sight again, with fore top sail and top gallant sail set; beat up along side of the Exertion and commenced loading; having, as I supposed, sold and discharged her last freight among some of the inhabitants of Cuba. They appeared to load in great haste; and the song, "O he oh," which echoed from one vessel to the other, was distinctly heard by us. How wounding was this to me! How different was this sound from what it would have been, had I been permitted to pass unmolested by these lawless plunderers, and been favored with a safe arrival at the port of my destination, where my cargo would have found an excellent sale. Then would the "O he oh," on its discharging, have been a delightful sound to me. In the afternoon she sailed with the perough in tow, both with a full load, having chairs, which was part of the cargo, slung at her quarters.

Monday, 14th. – They again hove in sight, and beat up as usual, along-side their prize. While passing our solitary island, they laughed at our misery, which was almost insupportable – looking upon us as though we had committed some heinous crime, and they had not sufficiently punished us; they hallooed to us, crying out "Captain, Captain," accompanied with obscene motions and words, with which I shall not blacken these pages – yet I heard no check upon such conduct, nor could I expect it among such a gang, who have no idea of subordination on board, except when in chase of vessels, and even then but very little. My resentment was excited at such a malicious outrage, and I felt a disposition to revenge myself, should fortune ever favor me with an opportunity. It was beyond human nature not to feel and express some indignation at such treatment. – Soon after, Bolidar, with five men, well armed, came to us; he having a blunderbuss, cutlass, a long knife and pair of pistols – but for what purpose did he come? He took me by the hand, saying, "Captain, me speak with you, walk this way." I obeyed, and when at some distance from my fellow prisoners, (his men following) he said, "the captain send me for your *wash*" I pretended not to understand what he meant, and replied, "I have no clothes, nor any soap to wash with – you have taken them all," for I had kept my watch about me, hoping they would not discover it. He demanded it again as before; and was answered, "I have nothing to wash;" this raised his anger, and lifting his blunderbuss, he roared out, "what the d – l you call him



that make clock? give it me." I considered it imprudent to contend any longer, and submitted to his unlawful demand. As he was going off, he gave me a small bundle, in which was a pair of linen drawers, sent to me by Nickola, and also the Rev. Mr. Brooks' "Family Prayer Book." This gave me great satisfaction. Soon after, he returned with his captain, who had one arm slung up, yet with as many implements of war, as his diminutive wicked self could conveniently carry; he told me (through an interpreter who was his prisoner.) "that on his cruize he had fallen in with two Spanish privateers, and beat them off; but had three of his men killed, and himself wounded in the arm" - Bolidar turned to me and said, "it is a d - n lie" - which words proved to be correct, for his arm was not wounded, and when I saw him again, which was soon afterwards, he had forgotten to sling it up. He further told me, "after tomorrow you shall go with your vessel, and we will accompany you towards Trinidad." This gave me some new hopes, and why I could not tell. They then left us without rendering any assistance. - This night we got some rest.

Tuesday, 15th. The words "go after tomorrow," were used among our Spanish fellow prisoners, as though that happy tomorrow would never come - in what manner it came will soon be noticed.

Friday, 18th commenced with brighter prospects of liberty than ever. The pirates were employed in setting up our devoted schooner's shrouds, stays, &c. My condition now reminded me of the hungry man, chained in one corner of a room, while at another part was a table loaded with delicious food and fruits, the smell and sight of which he was continually to experience, but alas! his chains were never to be loosed that he might go and partake - at almost the same moment they were thus employed, the axe was applied with the greatest dexterity to both her masts and I saw them fall over the side! Here fell my hopes - I looked at my condition, and then thought of home. - Our Spanish fellow prisoners were so disappointed and alarmed that they recommended hiding ourselves, if possible, among the mangrove trees, believing, as they said, we should now certainly be put to death; or, what was worse, compelled to serve on board the Mexican as pirates. Little else it is true, seemed left for us; however, we kept a bright look out for them during the day, and at night "an anchor watch" as we called it, determined if we discovered their boats coming towards us, to adopt the plan of hiding, although starvation stared us in the face - yet preferred that to instant death. This night was passed in sufficient anxiety - I took the first watch.

Saturday, 19th. - The pirate's largest boat came for us - it being day-light, and supposing they could see us, determined to stand our ground and wait the result. They ordered us all into the boat, but left every thing else; they rowed towards the Exertion - I noticed a dejection



of spirits in one of the pirates, and inquired of him where they were going to carry us? He shook his head and replied, "I do not know." I now had some hopes of visiting my vessel again – but the pirates made sail, ran down, took us in tow and stood out of the harbor. Bolidar afterwards took me, my mate and two of my men on board and gave us some coffee. On examination I found they had several additional light sails, made of the Exertion's. Almost every man, a pair of canvas trousers; and my colors cut up and made into belts to carry their money about them. My jolly boat was on deck, and I was informed, all my rigging was disposed of. Several of the pirates had on some of my clothes, and the captain one of my best shirts, a cleaner one, than I had ever seen him have on before. – He kept at a good distance from me, and forbid my friend Nickola's speaking to me. – I saw from the companion way in the captain's cabin my quadrant, spy glass and other things which belonged to us, and observed by the compass, that the course steered was about west by south, – distance nearly twenty miles, which brought them up with a cluster of islands called by some "Cayman Keys." Here they anchored and caught some fish, (one of which was named *guard fish*) of which we had a taste. I observed that my friend Mr. Bracket was somewhat dejected, and asked him in a low voice, what his opinion was with respects to our fate? He answered, "I cannot tell you, but it appears to me the worst is to come." I told him that I hoped not, but thought they would give us our small boat and liberate the prisoners. But mercy even in this shape was not left-for us. Soon after, saw the captain and officers whispering for some time in private conference. When over, their boat was manned under the command of Bolidar, and went to one of those Islands or Keys before mentioned. On their return, another conference took place – whether it was a jury upon our lives we could not tell. I did not think conscience could be entirely extinguished in the human breast, or that men could become fiends. In the afternoon, while we knew not the doom which had been fixed for us, the captain was engaged with several of his men in gambling, in hopes to get back some of the five hundred dollars, they said, he lost but a few nights before; which had made his unusually fractious. A little before sunset he ordered all the prisoners into the large boat, with a supply of provisions and water, and to be put on shore. While we were getting into her, one of my fellow prisoners, a Spaniard, attempted with tears in his eyes to speak to the captain, but was refused with the answer. "I'll have nothing to say to any prisoner, go into the boat." In the mean time Nickola said to me, "My friend, I will give you your book," (being Mr. Colman's Sermons,) "it is the only thing of yours that is in my possession; I dare not attempt any thing more." But the captain forbid his giving it to me, and I stepped into the boat – at that moment Nickola said in a low voice, "never mind, I



may see you again before I die." The small boat was well armed and manned, and both set off together for the island, where they had agreed to leave us to perish! The scene to us was a funereal scene. There were no arms in the prisoners boat, and, of course, all attempts to relieve ourselves would have been throwing our lives away, as Bolidar was near us, well armed. We were rowed about two miles north-easterly from the pirates, to a small low island, lonely and desolate. We arrived about sunset; and for the support of us eleven prisoners, they only left a ten gallon keg of water, and perhaps a few quarts, in another small vessel, which was very poor; part of a barrel of flour, a small keg of lard, one ham and some salt fish; a small kettle and an old broken pot; an old sail for a covering, and a small mattress and blanket, which was thrown out as the boats hastened away. One of the prisoners happened to have a little coffee in his pocket, and these comprehended all our means of sustaining life, and for what length of time we knew not. We now felt the need of water, and our supply was comparatively nothing. A man may live nearly twice as long without food, as without water. Look at us now, my friends, left benighted on a little spot of sand in the midst of the ocean, far from the usual track of vessels, and every appearance of a violent thunder tempest, and a boisterous night. Judge of my feelings, and the circumstances which our band of sufferers now witnessed. Perhaps you can and have pitied us. I assure you, we were very wretched; and to paint the scene, is not within my power. When the boats were moving from the shore, on recovering myself a little, I asked Bolidar, "If he was going to leave us so?" – he answered, "no, only two days – we go for water and wood, then come back, take you." I requested him to give us bread and other stores, for they had plenty in the boat, and at least one hundred barrels of flour in the Mexican. "No, no, suppose to-morrow morning me come, me give you bread," and hurried off to the vessel. This was the last time I saw him. We then turned our attention upon finding a spot most convenient for our comfort, and soon discovered a little roof supported by stakes driven into the sand; it was thatched with leaves of the cocoa-nut tree, considerable part of which was torn or blown off. After spreading the old sail over this roof, we placed our little stock of provisions under it. Soon after came on a heavy shower of rain which penetrated the canvas, and made it nearly as uncomfortable inside, as it would have been out. We were not prepared to catch water, having nothing to put it in. Our next object was to get fire, and after gathering some of the driest fuel to be found, and having a small piece of cotton wick-yarn, with flint and steel, we kindled a fire, which was never afterwards suffered to be extinguished. The night was very dark, but we found a piece of old rope, which when well lighted served for a candle. On examining the ground under the roof, we found perhaps thousands of



creeping insects, scorpions, lizards, crickets, &c. After scraping them out as well as we could, the most of us having nothing but the damp earth for a bed, laid ourselves down in hopes of some rest; but it being so wet, gave many of us severe colds, and one of the Spaniards was quite sick for several days.

Sunday, 20th. - As soon as day-light came on, we proceeded to take a view of our little island, and found it to measure only one acre, of coarse, white sand; about two feet, and in some spots perhaps three feet above the surface of the ocean. On the highest part were growing some bushes and small mangroves, (the dry part of which was our fuel) and the wild castor oil beans. We were greatly disappointed in not finding the latter suitable food; likewise some of the prickly pear bushes, which gave us only a few pears about the size of our small button pear; the outside has thorns, which if applied to the fingers or lips, will remain there, and cause a severe smarting similar to the nettle; the inside a spongy substance, full of juice and seeds, which are red and a little tartish - had they been there in abundance, we should not have suffered so much for water - but alas! even this substitute was not for us. On the northerly side of the island was a hollow, where the tide penetrated the sand, leaving stagnant water. We presumed, in hurricanes the island was nearly overflowed. According to the best calculations I could make, we were about thirty-five miles from any part of Cuba, one hundred from Trinidad and forty from the usual track of American vessels, or others which might pass that way. No vessel of any considerable size, can safely pass among these Keys (or "Queen's Gardens," as the Spaniards call them) being a large number extending from Cape Cruz to Trinidad, one hundred and fifty miles distance; and many more than the charts have laid down, most of them very low and some covered at high water, which makes it very dangerous for navigators without a skilful pilot. After taking this view of our condition, which was very gloomy, we began to suspect we were left on this desolate island by those merciless plunderers to perish. Of this I am now fully convinced; still we looked anxiously for the pirate's boat to come according to promise with more water and provisions, but looked in vain. We saw them soon after get under way with all sail set and run directly from us until out of our sight, and we never saw them again! One may partially imagine our feelings, but they cannot be put into words. Before they were entirely out of sight of us, we raised the white blanket upon a pole, waving it in the air, in hopes, that at two miles distance they would see it and be moved to pity. But pity in such monsters was not to be found. It was not their interest to save us from the lingering death, which we now saw before us. We tried to compose ourselves, trusting to God, who had witnessed our sufferings, would yet make use of some one, as the instrument of his mercy towards us. Our next care, now,



was to try for water. We dug several holes in the sand and found it, but quite too salt for use. The tide penetrates probably through the island. We now came on short allowances for water. Having no means of securing what we had by lock and key, some one in the night would slyly drink, and it was soon gone. The next was to bake some bread, which we did by mixing flour with salt water and frying it in lard, allowing ourselves eight quite small pancakes to begin with. The ham was reserved for some more important occasion, and the salt fish was lost for want of fresh water. The remainder of this day was passed in the most serious conversation and reflection. At night, I read prayers from the "Prayer Book," before mentioned, which I most carefully concealed while last on board the pirates. This plan was pursued morning and evening, during our stay there. Then retired for rest and sleep, but realized little of either.

Monday, 21st. - In the morning we walked round the beach, in expectation of finding something useful. On our way picked up a paddle about three feet long, very similar to the Indian canoe paddle, except the handle, which was like that of a shovel, the top part being split off; we laid it by for the present. We likewise found some konchs and roasted them; they were pretty good shell fish, though rather tough. We discovered at low water, a bar or spit of sand extending north-easterly from us, about three miles distant, to a cluster of Keys, which were covered with mangrove trees, perhaps as high as our quince tree. My friend Mr. Bracket and George attempted to wade across, being at that time of tide only up to their armpits; but were pursued by a shark, and returned without success. The tide rises about four feet.

Tuesday, 22d. - We found several pieces of the palmetto or cabbage tree, and some pieces of boards, put them together in the form of a raft, and endeavored to cross, but that proved ineffectual. Being disappointed, we set down to reflect upon other means of relief, intending to do all in our power for safety while our strength continued. While setting here, the sun was so powerful and oppressive, reflecting its rays upon the sea, which was then calm, and the white sand which dazzled the eye, was so painful, that we retired under the awning; there the moschetoës and flies were so numerous, that good rest could not be found. We were, however, a little cheered, when, in scraping out the top of the ground to clear out, I may say, thousands of crickets and bugs, we found a hatchet, which was to us peculiarly serviceable. At night the strong north-easterly wind, which prevails there at all seasons, was so cold as to make it equally uncomfortable with the day. Thus day after day, our sufferings and apprehensions multiplying, we were very generally alarmed.

Thursday, 24th. - This morning, after taking a little coffee, made of the water which we thought least salt,



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and two or three of the little cakes, we felt somewhat refreshed, and concluded to make another visit to those Keys, in hopes of finding something more, which might make a raft for us to escape the pirates, and avoid perishing by thirst. Accordingly seven of us set off, waded across the bar and searched all the Keys thereabouts. On one we found a number of sugar-box shooks, two lashing plank and some pieces of old spars, which were a part of the Exertion's deck load, that was thrown overboard when she grounded on the bar, spoken of in the first part of the narrative. It seems they had drifted fifteen miles, and had accidentally lodged on these very Keys within our reach. Had the pirates known this, they would undoubtedly have placed us in another direction. They no doubt thought that they could not place us on a worse place. The wind at this time was blowing so strong on shore, as to prevent rafting our stuff round to our island, and we were obliged to haul it upon the beach for the present; then dug for water in the highest place, but found it as salt as ever, and then returned to our habitation. But hunger and thirst began to prey upon us, and our comforts were as few as our hopes.

Friday, 25th. - Again passed over to those Keys to windward in order to raft our stuff to our island, it being most convenient for building. But the surf on the beach was so very rough, that we were again compelled to postpone it. Our courage, however, did not fail where there was the slightest hopes of life. Returning without it, we found on our way an old top timber of some vessel; it had several spikes on it, which we afterwards found very serviceable. In the hollow of an old tree, we found two guarnas of small size, one male, the other female. Only one was caught. After taking off the skin, we judged it weighed a pound and a half. With some flour and lard, (the only things we had except salt water,) it made us a fine little mess. We thought it a rare dish, though a small one for eleven half starved persons. At the same time a small vessel hove in sight; we made a signal to her with the blanket tied to a pole and placed it on the highest tree - some took off their white clothes and waved them in the air, hoping they would come to us; should they be pirates, they could do no more than kill us, and perhaps would give us some water, for which we began to suffer most excessively; but, notwithstanding all our efforts, she took no notice of us.

Saturday, 26th. - This day commenced with moderate weather and smooth sea; at low tide found some cockles; boiled and eat them, but they were very painful to the stomach. David Warren had a fit of strangling, with swelling of the bowels; but soon recovered, and said, "something like salt rose in his throat and choked him." Most of us then set off for the Keys, where the plank and shooks were put together in a raft, which we with



pieces of boards paddled over to our island; when we consulted the best plan, either to build a raft large enough for us all to go on, or a boat; but the shooks having three or four nails in each, and having a piece of large reed or bamboo, previously found, of which we made pins, we concluded to make a boat.

Sunday, 27 – Commenced our labor, for which I know we need offer no apology. We took the two planks, which were about fourteen feet long, and two and a half wide, and fixed them together for the bottom of the boat; then with moulds made of palmetto bark, cut timber and knees from mangrove trees which spread so much as to make the boat four feet wide at the top, placed them exactly the distance apart of an Havana sugar box. – Her stern was square and the bows tapered to a peak, making her form resemble a flat-iron. We proceeded thus far and returned to rest for the night – but Mr. Bracket was too unwell to get much sleep.

Monday, 28 – Went on with the work as fast as possible. Some of the Spaniards had long knives about them, which proved very useful in fitting timbers, and a gimblet of mine, accidentally found on board the pirate, enabled us to use the wooden pins. And now our spirits began to revive, though *water, water*, was continually in our minds. We now feared the pirates might possibly come, find out our plan and put us to death, (although before we had wished to see them, being so much in want of water.) Our labor was extremely burdensome, and the Spaniards considerably peevish – but they would often say to me “never mind captain, by and by, Americana or Spanyol catch them, me go and see ‘um hung.” We quitted work for the day, cooked some cakes but found it necessary to reduce the quantity again, however small before. We found some herbs on a windward Key, which the Spaniards called Spanish tea. – This when well boiled we found somewhat palatable, although the water was very salt. This herb resembles pennyroyal in look and taste, though not so pungent. In the evening when we were setting round the fire to keep of the moschetoes, I observed David Warren’s eyes shone like glass. The mate said to him – “David I think you will die before morning – I think you are struck with death now.” I thought so too, and told him, “I thought it most likely we should all die here soon; but as some one of us might survive to carry the tidings to our friends, if you have any thing to say respecting your family, now is the time.” – He then said, “I have a mother in Saco where I belong – she is a second time a widow – to-morrow if you can spare a scrap of paper and pencil I will write something.” But no tomorrow came to him. – In the course of the night he had another spell of strangling, and soon after expired, without much pain and without a groan. He was about twenty-six years old. – How solemn was this scene to us! Here we beheld the ravages of death commenced upon us. More than one of us considered



death a happy release. For myself I thought of my wife and children; and wished to live if God should so order it, though extreme thirst, hunger and exhaustion had well nigh prostrated my fondest hopes.

Tuesday, 29th. - Part of us recommenced labor on the boat, while myself and Mr. Bracket went and selected the highest clear spot of sand on the northern side of the island, where we dug Warren's grave, and boxed it up with shooks, thinking it would be the most suitable spot for the rest of us - whose turn would come next, we knew not. At about ten o'clock, A.M. conveyed the corpse to the grave, followed by us survivors - a scene, whose awful solemnity can never be painted. We stood around the grave, and there I read the funeral prayer from the Rev. Mr. Brooks's Family Prayer Book; and committed the body to the earth; covered it with some pieces of board and sand, and returned to our labor. One of the Spaniards, an old man, named Manuel, who was partial to me, and I to him, made a cross and placed it at the head of the grave saying, "Jesus Christ hath him now." Although I did not believe in any mysterious influence of this cross, yet I was perfectly willing it should stand there. The middle part of the day being very warm, our mouths parched with thirst, and our spirits so depressed, that we made but little progress during the remainder of this day, but in the evening were employed in picking oakum out of the bolt rope taken from the old sail.

Wednesday, 30th. - Returned to labor on the boat with as much vigor as our weak and debilitated state would admit, but it was a day of trial to us all; for the Spaniards and we Americans could not well understand each other's plans, and they being naturally petulant, would not work, nor listen with any patience for Joseph, our English fellow prisoner, to explain our views - they would sometimes undo what they had done, and in a few minutes replace it again; however before night we began to caulk her seams, by means of pieces of hard mangrove, made in form of a caulking-iron, and had the satisfaction of seeing her in a form something like a boat.

Thursday, 31st. - Went on with the work, some at caulking, others at battening the seams with strips of canvas, and pieces of pine nailed over, to keep the oakum in. Having found a suitable pole for a mast, the rest went about making a sail from the one we had used for a covering, also fitting oars of short pieces of boards, in form of a paddle, tied on a pole, we having a piece of fishing line brought by one of the prisoners. Thus, at three P.M. the boat was completed and put afloat. - We had all this time confidently hoped, that she would be sufficiently large and strong to carry us all - we made a trial and were disappointed! This was indeed a severe trial, and the emotions it called up were not easy to be suppressed. She proved leaky, for



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we had no carpenter's yard, or smith's shop to go to. – And now the question was, "who should go, and how many?" I found it necessary for six; four to row, one to steer and one to bale. Three of the Spaniards and the Frenchman claimed the right, as being best acquainted with the nearest inhabitants; likewise, they had when taken, two boats left at St. Maria, (about forty miles distant,) which they were confident of finding. They promised to return within two or three days for the rest of us – I thought it best to consent – Mr. Bracket it was agreed should go in my stead, because my papers must accompany me as a necessary protection, and my men apprehended danger if they were lost. Joseph Baxter (I think was his name) they wished should go, because he could speak both languages – leaving Manuel, George, Thomas and myself, to wait their return. Having thus made all arrangements, and putting up a keg of the least salt water, with a few pancakes of salt fish, they set off a little before sunset with our best wishes and prayers for their safety and return to our relief. – To launch off into the wide ocean, with strength almost exhausted, and in such a frail boat as this, you will say was very hazardous, and in truth it was; but what else was left to us? – Their intention was to touch at the Key where the Exertion was and if no boat was to be found there, to proceed to St. Maria, and if none there, to go to Trinidad and send us relief. – But alas! it was the last time I ever saw them! – Our suffering this day was most acute.

Tuesday, 5th. – About ten o'clock, A.M. discovered a boat drifting by on the southeastern side of the island about a mile distant. I deemed it a providential thing to us, and urged Thomas and George trying the raft for her. They reluctantly consented and set off, but it was nearly three P.M. when they came up with her – it was the same boat we had built! Where then was my friend Bracket and those who went with him? Every appearance was unfavorable. – I hoped that a good Providence had yet preserved him. – The two men who went for the boat, found it full of water, without oars, paddle, or sail; being in this condition, and about three miles to the leeward, the men found it impossible to tow her up, so left her, and were until eleven o'clock at night getting back with the raft. They were so exhausted, that had it not been nearly calm, they could never have returned.

Wednesday, 6th. – This morning was indeed the most gloomy I had ever experienced. – There appeared hardly a ray of hope that my friend Bracket could return, seeing the boat was lost. Our provisions nearly gone; our mouths parched extremely with thirst; our strength wasted; our spirits broken, and our hopes imprisoned within the circumference of this desolate island in the midst of an unfrequented ocean; all these things gave to the scene around us the hue of death. In the midst of this dreadful despondence, a sail hove in sight



bearing the white flag! Our hopes were raised, of course – but no sooner raised than darkened, by hearing a gun fired. Here then was another gang of pirates. She soon, however, came near enough to anchor, and her boat pushed off towards us with three men in her. – Thinking it now no worse to die by sword than famine, I walked down immediately to meet them. I knew them not. – A moment before the boat touched the ground, a man leaped from her bows and caught me in his arms! *It was Nickola!* – saying, “Do you now believe Nickola is your friend? yes, said he, *Jamieson* will yet prove himself so.” – No words can express my emotions at this moment. This was a friend indeed. The reason of my not recognizing them before, was that they had cut their beards and whiskers. Turning to my fellow-sufferers, Nickola asked – “Are these all that are left of you? where are the others?” – At this moment seeing David’s grave – “are they dead then? Ah! I suspected it, I know what you were put here for.” As soon as I could recover myself, I gave him an account of Mr. Bracket and the others. – “How unfortunate,” he said, “they must be lost, or some pirates have taken them.” – “But,” he continued, “we have no time to lose; you had better embark immediately with us, and go where you please, we are at your service.” The other two in the boat were Frenchmen, one named Lyon, the other Parrikete. They affectionately embraced each of us; then holding to my mouth the nose of a teakettle, filled with wine, said “Drink plenty, no hurt you.” I drank as much as I judged prudent. They then gave it to my fellow sufferers – I experienced almost immediate relief, not feeling it in my head; they had also brought in the boat for us, a dish of salt beef and potatoes, of which we took a little. Then sent the boat on board for the other two men, being five in all; who came ashore, and rejoiced enough was I to see among them Thomas Young, one of my crew, who was detained on board the Mexican, but had escaped through Nickola’s means; the other a Frenchman, named John Cadedt. I now thought again and again, with troubled emotion, of my dear friend Bracket’s fate. I took the last piece of paper I had, and wrote with pencil a few words, informing him (should he come there) that “I and the rest were safe; that I was not mistaken in the friend in whom I had placed so much confidence, that he had accomplished my highest expectations; and that I should go immediately to Trinidad, and requested him to go there also, and apply to Mr. Isaac W. Lord, my consignee, for assistance.” I put the paper into a junk bottle, previously found on the beach, put in a stopper, and left it, together with what little flour remained, a keg of water brought from Nickola’s vessel, and a few other things which I thought might be of service to him. We then repaired with our friends on board, where we were kindly treated. She was a sloop from Jamaica, of about twelve tons, with a cargo of rum and wine, bound to Trinidad. I asked “which way they intended to go?”



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They said "to Jamaica if agreeable to me." As I preferred Trinidad, I told them, "if they would give me the Exertion's boat which was along-side (beside their own) some water and provisions, we would take chance in her." – "For perhaps," said I, "you will fare better at Jamaica, than at Trinidad." After a few minutes consultation, they said "you are too much exhausted to row the distance of one hundred miles, therefore we will go and carry you – we consider ourselves at your service." I expressed a wish to take a look at the Exertion, possibly we might hear something of Mr. Bracket. Nickola said "very well," so got under way, and run for her, having a light westerly wind. He then related to me the manner of their desertion from the pirates; as nearly as I can recollect his own words, he said, "A few days since, the pirates took four small vessels, I believe Spaniards; they having but two officers for the two first, the third fell to me as prize master, and having an understanding with the three Frenchmen and Thomas, selected them for my crew, and went on board with orders to follow the Mexican; which I obeyed. The fourth, the pirates took out all but one man and bade him also follow their vessel. Now our schooner leaked so bad, that we left her and in her stead agreed to take this little sloop (which we are now in) together with the one man. The night being very dark we all agreed to desert the pirates – altered our course and touched at St. Maria, where we landed the one man – saw no boats there, could hear nothing from you, and agreed one and all at the risk of our lives to come and liberate you if you were alive; knowing, as we did, that you were put on this Key to perish. On our way we boarded the Exertion, thinking possibly you might have been there. On board her we found a sail and paddle. We took one of the pirate's boats which they had left along-side of her, which proves how we came by two boats. My friend, the circumstance I am now about to relate, will somewhat astonish you. When the pirate's boat with Bolidar was sent to the before mentioned Key, on the 19th of January, it was their intention to leave you prisoners there, where was nothing but salt water and mangroves, and no possibility of escape. This was the plan of Baltizar, their abandoned pilot; but Bolidar's heart failed him, and he objected to it; then, after a conference, Captain Jonnia ordered you to be put on the little island from whence we have now taken you. But after this was done, that night the French and Portuguese part of the Mexican's crew protested against it; so that Captain Jonnia to satisfy them, sent his large boat to take you and your fellow prisoners back again, taking care to select his confidential Spaniards for this errand. And you will believe me they set off from the Mexican, and after spending about as much time as would really have taken them to come to you, they returned, and reported they had been to your island, and landed, and that none of you were there, somebody having



taken you off! This, all my companions here know to be true. – I knew it was impossible you could have been liberated, and therefore we determined among ourselves, that should an opportunity occur we would come and save your lives, as we now have." He then expressed, as he hitherto had done (and I believe with sincerity), his disgust with the bad company which he had been in, and looked forward with anxiety to the day when he might return to his native country. I advised him to get on board an American vessel, whenever an opportunity offered, and come to the United States; and on his arrival direct a letter to me; repeating my earnest desire to make some return for the disinterested friendship which he had shown toward me. With the Frenchman I had but little conversation, being unacquainted with the language.

Here ended Nickola's account. "And now" said the Frenchman, "our hearts be easy." Nickola observed he had left all and found us. I gave them my warmest tribute of gratitude, saying I looked upon them under God as the preservers of our lives, and promised them all the assistance which my situation might enable me to afford. – This brings me to,

Thursday evening, 7th, when, at eleven o'clock, we anchored at the creek's mouth, near the Exertion. I was anxious to board her; accordingly took with me Nickola, Thomas, George and two others, well armed, each with a musket and cutlass. I jumped on her deck, saw a fire in the camboose, but no person there: I called aloud Mr. Bracket's name several times, saying "it is Captain Lincoln, don't be afraid, but show yourself," but no answer was given. She had no masts, spars, rigging, furniture, provisions or any thing left, except her bowsprit, and a few barrels of salt provisions of her cargo. Her ceiling had holes cut in it, no doubt in their foolish search for money. I left her with peculiar emotions, such as I hope never again to experience; and returned to the little sloop where we remained till –

Friday, 8th – When I had disposition to visit the island on which we were first imprisoned. – Found nothing there – saw a boat among the mangroves, near the Exertion. Returned, and got under way immediately for Trinidad. In the night while under full sail, run aground on a sunken Key, having rocks above the water, resembling old stumps of trees; we, however, soon got off and anchored. Most of those Keys have similar rocks about them, which navigators must carefully guard against.

Monday, 11th – Got under way – saw a brig at anchor about five miles below the mouth of the harbor; we hoped to avoid her speaking us; but when we opened in sight of her, discovered a boat making towards us, with a number of armed men in her. This alarmed my friends, and as we did not see the brig's ensign hoisted, they declared the boat was a pirate, and looking through the spy-glass, they knew some of them to be the Mexican's men! This



state of things was quite alarming. They said, "we will not be taken alive by them." Immediately the boat fired a musket; the ball passed through our mainsail. My friends insisted on beating them off: I endeavored to dissuade them, believing, as I did, that the brig was a Spanish man-of-war, who had sent her boat to ascertain who we were. I thought we had better heave to. Immediately another shot came. Then they insisted on fighting, and said "if I would not help them, I was no friend." I reluctantly acquiesced, and handed up the guns – commenced firing upon them and they upon us. We received several shot through the sails, but no one was hurt on either side. Our boats had been cast adrift to make us go the faster, and we gained upon them – continued firing until they turned from us, and went for our boats, which they took in tow for the brig. Soon after this, it became calm: then I saw that the brig had us in her power. – She manned and armed two more boats for us. We now concluded, since we had scarcely any ammunition, to surrender; and were towed down alongside the brig on board, and were asked by the captain, who could speak English, "what for you fire on the boat?" I told him "we thought her a pirate, and did not like to be taken by them again, having already suffered too much;" showing my papers. He said, "Captain Americana, never mind, go and take some dinner – which are your men?" I pointed them out to him, and he ordered them the liberty of the decks; but my friend Nickola and his three associates were immediately put in irons. They were, however, afterwards taken out of irons and examined; and I understood the Frenchmen agreed to enlist, as they judged it the surest way to better their condition. Whether Nickola enlisted, I do not know, but think that he did, as I understood that offer was made to him: I however endeavored to explain more distinctly to the captain, the benevolent efforts of these four men by whom my life had been saved, and used every argument in my power to procure their discharge. I also applied to the governor, and exerted myself with peculiar interest, dictated as I trust with heartfelt gratitude – and I ardently hope ere this, that Nickola is on his way to this country, where I may have an opportunity of convincing him that such an act of benevolence will not go unrewarded. Previous to my leaving Trinidad, I made all the arrangements in my power with my influential friends, and doubt not, that their laudable efforts will be accomplished. – The sloop's cargo was then taken on board the brig; after which the captain requested a certificate that I was politely treated by him, saying that his name was Captain Candama, of the privateer brig Prudentee of eighteen guns. This request I complied with. His first lieutenant told me he had sailed out of Boston, as commander for T.C. Amory, Esq. during the last war. In the course of the evening my friends were taken out of irons and examined separately, then put back again. The captain invited me to supper in his

cabin, and a berth for the night, which was truly acceptable. The next morning after breakfast, I with my people were set on shore with the few things we had, with the promise of the Exertion's small boat in a day or two, – but it was never sent me – the reason, let the reader imagine. On landing at the wharf Casildar, we were immediately taken by soldiers to the guard house, which was a very filthy place; thinking I suppose, and even calling us, pirates. Soon some friends came to see me. Mr. Cotton, who resides there brought us in some soup. Mr. Isaac W. Lord, of Boston, my merchant, came with Captain Tate, who sent immediately to the governor; for I would not show my papers to any one else. He came about sunset, and after examining Manuel my Spanish fellow prisoner, and my papers, said to be, giving me the papers, "Captain, you are at liberty." I was kindly invited by Captain Matthew Rice, of schooner Galaxy, of Boston, to go on board his vessel, and live with him during my stay there. This generous offer I accepted, and was treated by him with the greatest hospitality; for I was hungered and he gave me meat, I was athirst and he gave me drink, I was naked and he clothed me, a stranger and he took me in. He likewise took Manuel and my three men for that night. Next day Mr. Lord rendered me all necessary assistance in making my protest. He had heard nothing from me until my arrival. I was greatly disappointed in not finding Mr. Bracket, and requested Mr. Lord to give him all needful aid if he should come there. To Captain Carnes, of the schooner Hannah, of Boston, I would tender my sincere thanks, for his kindness in giving me a passage to Boston, which I gladly accepted. To those gentlemen of Trinidad, and many captains of American vessels, who gave me sea clothing, &c., I offer my cordial gratitude.

I am fully of the opinion that these ferocious pirates are linked in with many inhabitants of Cuba; and the government in many respects appears covertly to encourage them.

It is with heartfelt delight, that, since the above narrative was written, I have learned that Mr. Bracket and his companions are safe; he arrived at Port d'Esprit, about forty leagues east of Trinidad. A letter has been received from him, stating that he should proceed to Trinidad the first opportunity. – It appears that after reaching the wreck, they found a boat from the shore, taking on board some of the Exertion's cargo, in which they proceeded to the above place. Why it was not in his power to come to our relief will no doubt be satisfactorily disclosed when he may be so fortunate as once more to return to his native country and friends.

I felt great anxiety to learn what became of Jamieson, who, my readers will recollect, was detained on board the Spanish brig Prudentee near Trinidad. I heard nothing from him, until I believe eighteen months after I reached home, when I received a letter from him, from Montego Bay, Jamaica, informing me that he was then residing in that island. I immediately wrote to him, and invited him to come on to the United States. He accordingly came on passenger with Captain Wilson of Cohasset, and arrived



in Boston, in August, 1824. Our meeting was very affecting. Trying scenes were brought up before us; scenes gone forever, through which we had passed together, where our acquaintance was formed, and since which time, we had never met. I beheld once more the preserver of my life; the instrument, under Providence, of restoring me to my home, my family, and my friends, and I regarded him with no ordinary emotion. My family were delighted to see him, and cordially united in giving him a warm reception. He told me that after we separated in Trinidad, he remained on board the Spanish brig. The commander asked him and his companions if they would enlist; the Frenchmen replied that they would, but he said nothing, being determined to make his escape, the very first opportunity which should present. The Spanish brig afterwards fell in with a Columbian Patriot, an armed brig of eighteen guns. Being of about equal force, they gave battle, and fought between three and four hours. Both parties were very much injured; and, without any considerable advantage on either side, both drew off to make repairs. The Spanish brig Prudentee, put into St. Jago de Cuba. Jamieson was wounded in the action, by a musket ball, through his arm, and was taken on shore, with the other wounded, and placed in the hospital of St. Jago. Here he remained for a considerable time, until he had nearly recovered, when he found an opportunity of escaping, and embarking for Jamaica. He arrived in safety at Kingston, and from there, travelled barefoot over the mountains, until very much exhausted, he reached Montego Bay, where he had friends, and where one of his brothers possessed some property. From this place, he afterwards wrote to me. He told me that before he came to Massachusetts, he saw the villainous pilot of the Mexican, the infamous Baltizar, with several other pirates, brought into Montego Bay, from whence they were to be conveyed to Kingston to be executed. Whether the others were part of the Mexican's crew, or not, I do not know. Baltizar was an old man, and as Jamieson said, it was a melancholy and heart-rending sight, to see him borne to execution with those gray hairs, which might have been venerable in virtuous old age, now a shame and reproach to this hoary villain, for he was full of years, and old in iniquity. When Jamieson received the letter which I wrote him, he immediately embarked with Captain Wilson, and came to Boston, as I have before observed.

According to his own account he was of a very respectable family in Greenock, Scotland. His father when living was a rich cloth merchant, but both his father and mother had been dead many years. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and being, as he said, of a roving disposition, had always followed the seas. He had received a polite education, and was of a very gentlemanly deportment. He spoke several living languages, and was skilled in drawing and painting. He had travelled extensively in different countries, and acquired in consequence an excellent knowledge of their manners and customs. His varied information (for hardly any subject escaped him) rendered him a very entertaining companion. His observations on the character of different nations were very liberal; marking their various traits, their virtues and vices, with playful humorousness, quite free from bigotry, or narrow prejudice.

I was in trade, between Boston and Philadelphia, at the time he



came to Massachusetts, and he sailed with me several trips as my mate. He afterwards went to Cuba, and was subsequently engaged in the mackerel fishery, out of the port of Hingham, during the warm season, and in the winter frequently employed himself in teaching navigation to young men, for which he was eminently qualified. He remained with us, until his death, which took place in 1829. At this time he had been out at sea two or three days, when he was taken sick, and was carried into Cape Cod, where he died, on the first day of May, 1829, and there his remains lie buried. Peace be to his ashes! They rest in a strange land, far from his kindred and his native country.

Since his death I have met with Mr. Stewart, of Philadelphia, who was Commercial Agent in Trinidad at the time of my capture. He informed me that the piratical schooner Mexican, was afterwards chased by an English government vessel, from Jamaica, which was cruising in search of it. Being hotly pursued, the pirates deserted their vessel, and fled to the mangrove bushes, on an island similar to that on which they had placed me and my crew to die. The English surrounded them, and thus they were cut off from all hopes of escape. They remained there, I think fourteen days, when being almost entirely subdued by famine, eleven surrendered themselves, and were taken. The others probably perished among the mangroves. The few who were taken were carried by the government vessel into Trinidad. Mr. Stewart said that he saw them himself, and such miserable objects, that had life, he never before beheld. They were in a state of starvation; their beards had grown to a frightful length, their bodies, were covered with filth and vermin, and their countenances were hideous. From Trinidad they were taken to Kingston, Jamaica, and there hung on Friday, the 7th of February, 1823.

About a quarter of an hour before day dawn, the wretched culprits were taken from the jail, under a guard of soldiers from the 50th regiment, and the City Guard. On their arrival at the wherry wharf, the military retired, and the prisoners, with the Town Guard were put on board two wherries, in which they proceeded to Port Royal Point, the usual place of execution in similar cases. They were there met by a strong party of military, consisting of 50 men, under command of an officer. They formed themselves into a square round the place of execution, with the sheriff and his officers with the prisoners in the centre. The gallows was of considerable length, and contrived with a drop so as to prevent the unpleasant circumstances which frequently occur.

The unfortunate men had been in continual prayer from the time they were awakened out of a deep sleep till they arrived at that place, where they were to close their existence.

They all expressed their gratitude for the attention they had met with from the sheriff and the inferior officers. Many pressed the hands of the turnkey to their lips, others to their hearts and on their knees, prayed that God, Jesus Christ, and the Virgin Mary would bless him and the other jailors for their goodness. They all then fervently joined in prayer. To the astonishment of all, no clerical character, of any persuasion, was present. They repeatedly called out "*Adonde esta el padre,*" (Where is the holy father).



Juan Hernandez called on all persons present to hear him – he was innocent; what they had said about his confessing himself guilty was untrue. He had admitted himself guilty, because he hoped for pardon; but that now he was to die, he called God, Jesus Christ, the Holy Ghost, the Virgin Mary, and the Saints, to witness that he spoke the truth – that he was no pirate, no murderer – he had been forced. The Lieutenant of the pirates was a wretch, who did not fear God, and had compelled him to act. Juan Gutierrez and Francisco de Sayas were loud in their protestations of innocence.

Manuel Lima said, for himself, he did not care; he felt for the old man (Miguel Jose). How could he be a pirate who could not help himself? If it were a Christian country, they would have pardoned him for his gray hairs. He was innocent – they had both been forced. Let none of his friends or relations ever venture to sea – he hoped his death would be a warning to them, that the innocent might suffer for the guilty. The language of this young man marked him a superior to the generality of his companions in misfortune. The seamen of the *Whim* stated that he was very kind to them when prisoners on board the piratical vessel. Just before he was turned off, he addressed the old man – “*Adios viejo, para siempre adios.*” – (Farewell, old man, forever farewell.)

Several of the prisoners cried out for mercy, pardon, pardon. Domingo Eucalla, the black man, then addressed them. “Do not look for mercy here, but pray to God; we are all brought here to die. This is not built for nothing; here we must end our lives. You know I am innocent, but I must die the same as you all. There is not any body here who can do us any good, so let us think only of God Almighty. We are not children but men, you know that all must die; and in a few years those who kill us must die too. When I was born, God set the way of my death; I do not blame any body. I was taken by the pirates and they made me help them; they would not let me be idle. I could not show that this was the truth, and therefore they have judged me by the people they have found me with. I am put to death unjustly, but I blame nobody. It was my misfortune. Come, let us pray. If we are innocent, so much the less we have to repent. I do not come here to accuse any one. Death must come one day or other; better to the innocent than guilty.” He then joined in prayer with the others. He seemed to be much revered by his fellow prisoners. He chose those prayers he thought most adapted to the occasion. Hundreds were witnesses to the manly firmness of this negro. Observing a bystander listening attentively to the complaints of one of his fellow wretches, he translated what had been said into English. With a steady pace, and a resolute and resigned countenance, he ascended the fatal scaffold. Observing the executioner unable to untie a knot on the collar of one of the prisoners, he with his teeth untied it. He then prayed most fervently till the drop fell.

Miguel Jose protested his innocence. – “*No he robado, no he matado ninguno, muero inocente.*” – (I have robbed no one, I have killed no one, I die innocent. I am an old man, but my family will feel my disgraceful death.)

Francisco Migul prayed devoutly, but inaudibly. – His soul seemed to have quitted the body before he was executed.



Breti Gullimillit called on all to witness his innocence; it was of no use for him to say an untruth, for he was going before the face of God.

Augustus Hernandez repeatedly declared his innocence, requested that no one would say he had made a confession; he had none to make.

Juan Hernandez was rather obstinate when the execution pulled the cap over his eyes. He said, rather passionately – "*Quita is de mis ojos.*" – (Remove it from my eyes.) He then rubbed it up against one of the posts of the gallows.

Miguel Jose made the same complaint, and drew the covering from his eyes by rubbing his head against a fellow sufferer.

Pedro Nondre was loud in his ejaculations for mercy. He wept bitterly. He was covered with marks of deep wounds.

The whole of the ten included in the death warrant, having been placed on the scaffold, and the ropes suspended, the drop was let down. Nondre being an immense heavy man, broke the rope, and fell to the ground alive. Juan Hernandez struggled long. Lima was much convulsed. The old man Gullimillit, and Migul, were apparently dead before the drop fell. Eucalla (the black man) gave one convulsion, and all was over.

When Nondre recovered from the fall and saw his nine lifeless companions stretched in death, he gave an agonizing shriek; he wrung his hands, screamed "*Favor, favor, me matan sin causa. O! buenos Christianos, me amparen, ampara me, ampara me, no hay Christiano en asta, tiara?*" (Mercy, mercy, they kill me without cause. – Oh, good Christians, protect me. Oh, protect me. Is there no Christian in this land?)

He then lifted his eyes to Heaven, and prayed long and loud. Upon being again suspended, he was for a long period convulsed. He was an immense powerful man, and died hard.

A piratical station was taken in the Island of Cuba by the U.S. schooners of war, Greyhound and Beagle. They left Thompson's Island June 7, 1823, under the command of Lieuts. Kearney and Newton, and cruised within the Key's on the south side of Cuba, as far as Cape Cruz, touching at all the intermediate ports on the island, to intercept pirates. On the 21st of July, they came to anchor off Cape Cruz, and Lieut. Kearney went in his boat to reconnoitre the shore, when he was fired on by a party of pirates who were concealed among the bushes. A fire was also opened from several pieces of cannon erected on a hill a short distance off. The boat returned, and five or six others were manned from the vessels, and pushed off for the shore, but a very heavy cannonade being kept up by the pirates on the heights, as well as from the boats, were compelled to retreat. The two schooners were then warped in, when they discharged several broadsides, and covered the landing of the boats. After a short time the pirates retreated to a hill that was well fortified. A small hamlet, in which the pirates resided, was set fire to and destroyed. Three guns, one a four pounder, and two large swivels, with several pistols, cutlasses, and eight large boats, were captured. A cave, about 150 feet deep, was discovered, near where the houses were, and after considerable difficulty, a party of seamen got to the bottom, where was found an immense quantity of plunder, consisting of broadcloths, dry goods, female dresses, saddlery, &c. Many human bones were also in the cave, supposed to have



been unfortunate persons who were taken and put to death. A great many of the articles were brought away, and the rest destroyed. About forty pirates escaped to the heights, but many were supposed to have been killed from the fire of the schooners, as well as from the men who landed. The bushes were so thick that it was impossible to go after them. Several other caves are in the neighborhood, in which it was conjectured they occasionally take shelter.

In 1823, Commodore Porter commanded the United States squadron in these seas; much good was done in preventing new acts of piracy; but these wretches kept aloof and did not venture to sea as formerly, but some were taken.

Almost every day furnished accounts evincing the activity of Commodore Porter, and the officers and men under his command; but for a long time their industry and zeal was rather shown in the *suppression* of piracy than the *punishment* of it. At length, however, an opportunity offered for inflicting the latter, as detailed in the following letter, dated Matanzas, July 10, 1823. "I have the pleasure of informing you of a brilliant achievement obtained against the pirates on the 5th inst. by two barges attached to Commodore Porter's squadron, the Gallinipper, Lieut. Watson, 18 men, and the Moscheto, Lieut. Inman, 10 men. The barges were returning from a cruise to windward; when they were near Jiguapa Bay, 13 leagues to windward of Matanzas, they entered it - it being a rendezvous for pirates. They immediately discovered a large schooner under way, which they supposed to be a Patriot privateer; and as their stores were nearly exhausted, they hoped to obtain some supplies from her. They therefore made sail in pursuit. When they were within cannon shot distance, she rounded to and fired her long gun, at the same time run up the bloody flag, directing her course towards the shore, and continuing to fire without effect. When she had got within a short distance of the shore, she came to, with springs on her cable, continuing to fire; and when the barges were within 30 yards, they fired their muskets without touching boat or man; our men gave three cheers, and prepared to board; the pirates, discovering their intention, jumped into the water, when the bargemen, calling on the name of 'Allen,' commenced a destructive slaughter, killing them in the water and as they landed. So exasperated were our men, that it was impossible for their officers to restrain them, and many were killed after orders were given to grant quarter. Twenty-seven dead were counted, some sunk, five taken prisoners by the bargemen, and eight taken by a party of Spaniards on shore. The officers calculated that from 30 to 35 were killed. The schooner mounted a long nine pounder on a pivot, and 4 four pounders, with every other necessary armament, and a crew of 50 to 60 men, and ought to have blown the barges to atoms. She was commanded by the notorious Diablero or Little Devil. This statement I have from Lieut. Watson himself, and it is certainly the most decisive operation that has been effected against those murderers, either by the English or American force."

"This affair occurred on the same spot where the brave Allen fell about one year since. The prize was sent to Thompson's Island."

A British sloop of war, about the same time, captured a pirate



1821

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schooner off St. Domingo, with a crew of 60 men. She had 200,000 dollars in specie, and other valuable articles on board. The brig Vestal sent another pirate schooner to New-Providence.

 November 9, Friday: Birth of Charles Baudelaire, poet.

 November 10, Saturday: The constitutional convention of the State of [New York](#) abolished nearly all property qualifications for voting. The remaining restrictions were upon voting by non-adult citizens, by non-male citizens, and it goes without saying, by non-white citizens (but hey, progress is progress).

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [William J. Brown](#) was 7 years old — and so, as a black boy, it was time for him to get out there in the big world and make his own way:

PAGE 26: The colored people called a meeting in 1819 to take measures, to build a meetinghouse, with a basement for a school room. After appointing their Committee to carry out their wishes, they sent a special committee to Mr. [Moses Brown](#), to inform him of their intentions and see what he would do toward aiding them, knowing he belonged to the Society of Friends and was a very benevolent man, besides some of the members of the committee had been in his service. Mr. Brown, after hearing their statements, highly commended their movement, and said, "I always had it in my heart to help the colored people, whenever I saw they were ready to receive. Now go and select you out a lot, suitable for your purpose, and I will pay for it."

PAGE 25: Preparations were being made to open a school in the vestry of our new meeting house, which was just finished. This building was commenced in 1819, but for the want of funds it was not finished until 1821, two years after its commencement. Prior to this time, the people had no place of worship of their own, and were obliged to attend the white people's churches. Some attended the Congregational church, Rev. James Wilson, pastor; some attended the Methodist church; some attended the Episcopal church, Dr. Crocker, pastor; a few attended the Unitarian church, Rev. Mr. Cady, pastor; and a large number attended the First Baptist church, Dr. Gano, pastor. Some were members of each of the above named churches; the largest number, however, were Baptists, and belonged to the First Baptist Church, but many attended no church at all, because they said they were opposed to going to churches and sitting in pigeon holes, as all the churches at that time had some obscure place for the colored people to sit in.<sup>42</sup>

PAGES 86-88: After we had taken the lower tenement of the house, mother said to me one day, that it was my birthday; "that I was born on the 10th of November, and was seven years old, and it was commonly stated that the boy at seven years is old enough to earn his own living, but, I think seven years is too young, but I want you to remember when your birthday comes." And from

42. Note well what Brown indicates clearly, that although "a few attended the Unitarian church," at this point there were zero persons of color who were willing to seat themselves in the "pigeon hole" loft that the Quakers of Providence had provided for the colored in their meetinghouse on Main Street at the foot of Meeting Street. This explains why in 1822 in a renovation of the Quaker meetinghouse, Friend Moses Brown would report that "what was called the Negros Gallery" had been removed. (The Negros Gallery or pigeon loft remains in existence in the meetinghouse in Saylesville, Rhode Island: go and look.)



1821

1821

that day forth I have never forgotten it....

In the Fall I waited anxiously for my birthday to come. I kept run of the months and days until the time came, and had the pleasure of telling mother that that was my birthday. I was eight years old. That was the time mother said a boy was capable of earning his own living, in her opinion. I tired to make myself useful by running errands and doing work around the house that mother wanted done. I frequently went out with brother Joseph, who was four years older than myself. He was a stout, thick-set boy, and often got into trouble with other boys....

Mother had a task to keep brother in his place, as he was twelve years old, and father was away to sea. Soon Mr. Eaton, a gentleman from Framingham, a relative of Judge Staples's wife, wanted a boy, and hearing of brother Joseph, came to see mother about him. He made an agreement to take him a year on trial, for his victuals, clothes and schooling, and he went home with Mr. Eaton on trial for a year. After he left home my services were required doing chores around the house, cutting wood, etc. This was before hard coal was brought in use in Providence, and every one burned wood, which cost four or five dollars a cord....

About this time some ladies opened a free school for colored youth ...I was large enough to go into the lowest class. A semi-circle was painted in front of the teacher's desk. When the class was called each scholar had to toe the circle. It extended across the room and would accommodate some twelve children, who stood front of the teacher to read and spell, the teacher remaining at her desk.... After speaking my piece and making a low bow, I descended from the stand, as I had been instructed to do by Miss Latham. I spoke it to her satisfaction, and the praise and admiration of all present, who declared that I was to be a great man, and if the necessary measures were taken, there was no doubt but that I would be of great use to my people; but that was the winding up of this school. Preparations were being made to open a school in the vestry of our new meeting house, which was just finished....

The house was finished in 1821. The committee lost some time in trying to find a teacher, to instruct the school under the Lancasterian plan. After searching in vain they procured a white gentleman by the name of Mr. Ormsbee, to teach them. The school was opened in the vestry, but not a free school, the price of tuition being \$1.50 per quarter. The colored people sent their children and they soon had the number of 125 scholars... Colored teachers were very rarely to be found, and it was difficult to procure a white teacher, as it was considered a disgraceful employment to be a teacher of colored children and still more disgraceful to have colored children in white schools....

At that time the colored people had little or no protection. It was thought a disgrace to plead a colored man's cause, or aid in getting his rights as a citizen, or to teach their children in schools. The teachers themselves were ashamed to have it known that they taught colored schools.... The feeling against the colored people was very bitter. The colored people themselves were ignorant of the cause, unless it could be attributed to our condition, not having the means to raise themselves in the scale of wealth and affluence, consequently those who were evil disposed would offer abuse whenever they saw



1821

1821

fit, and there was no chance for resentment or redress.... But it was considered such a disgrace for white men to teach colored schools that they would be greatly offended if the colored children bowed or spoke to them on the street. Mr. Anthony, who was at one time teaching the colored school, became very angry because Zebedee Howland met him on the street, spoke to him, raised his hat and bowed. He took no notice of his dark complexioned scholar, but the next Monday morning took poor Zebedee and the whole school to task, saying, "When you meet me on the street, don't look towards me, or speak to me; if you do, I will flog you the first chance I get."....

It was the custom for children on seeing their parish teacher or minister to raise their hats and speak to them, and the girls to make a courtesy. This instruction was taught to them by their parents when small. It was often stated by elderly people that children were to be seen and not heard. When company were in the house they were not to make much noise, and when they came into their own house they must take off their hats and sit down. If they did not know enough to take off their hats they would soon teach them that their heads must be uncovered while in the house. They did not allow their children to be the first at the table; and when called they did not suffer them to help themselves, but to wait until they were helped; when they wanted anything always to ask for it, and when they had finished eating to rise from the table and thank their parents. My parents were so strict that they did not allow us to come to the table until they had finished eating; then they would put victuals on our plates and call us. When we came to the table we had to stand up to eat, not to sit down in chairs. We had to eat just what they put on our plate, and to have our plates cleared before we could have them replenished. When in the street to be respectful to every one, and be very careful not to run against any elderly person. If we did we were liable to feel the weight of their cane; also, to be particular when sent on an errand to a person's house, to knock at the door, and when we enter take off our hats and make a low bow, holding our hats in hand until we went out.

(We can see in the above the reality that lay behind Frederick Douglass's observation that in certain respects people of color in the antebellum northern society had moved from being the slaves of individuals to becoming "slaves of the community.")



November 11, Sunday (October 30th Old Style<sup>43</sup>): [Fyodor Mikhailovich Dostoevski](#) was born at Moscow's hospital for the poor.

At a musical gathering in [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#)'s home in Weimar, visiting musicians played through [Felix Mendelssohn](#)'s Piano Quartet in D, led by his teacher Carl Friedrich Zelter. Goethe, who had heard the 7-year-old [Mozart](#), stated that Mendelssohn's accomplishment at such a young age bordered "on the miraculous."

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

43. Although Russia had moved the start of its year to January 1st as of 1700, it would not switch over from the Julian to the Gregorian calendar until February 14, 1918 (New Style). Hence they refer to the Revolution of 1917 as their October Revolution despite the fact that it did not break out until November 7th New Style (October 25th Old Style).

*1st day 11th of 11th M / Our morning meeting was a solemn favor season - Hannah Dennis first appeared in Supplication -then father Rodman in a lively testimony - then Hannah followed in a communication lively & pertinent & Solemn. & I thought the meeting closed with rather uncommon weight - In the Afternoon we were Silent but it appeared to me there was a good degree Of favor vouchsafed. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 12, Friday: [Barnard Hanbury](#) received the MA degree at [Jesus College of Cambridge University](#).



➡ November 15, Thursday: Billy Williams died of the beating he had received with an iron bar at the hands of fellow convict [Samuel Green](#) on November 8th.

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

*5th day 15 of 11 M 1821 / Silent meeting, but a season of Some favor to me - for which I desire to be thankful*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ November 16, Friday: [Hector Berlioz](#) enrolled at the Faculte de Medecine of the Adademie de Paris of the Universite Royale de France.

➡ November 18, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 18 of 11 M / Last evening rode out to Uncle Stantons & Lodged - This morning rode to Meeting with Aunt Patty, which to me was a Season of uncommon favor to me - soon After I took my*



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*seat my mind became centered in solid reflection & life rose in which I was made sensible that, the same power which did in the days of Israel of old, exalt itself in the mountains, could also be exalted in the valleys, now as in those days, & much encouragement rose in my mind for which I desire to be thankful Anne Dennis & Abigail Sherman bore short testimonies & Hannah Dennis was much favored in testimony – After Meeting I went to see my cousin Elizabeth Chase which is the first time I have seen her since Her mother died – After tea I walked home. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Franz Schubert's song "[Der Wanderer](#)" to words of Georg Philipp Schmidt von Lübeck was performed for the initial time, in the Gasthof "zum Römischen Kaiser" of Vienna.

Ich komme vom Gebirge her,  
Es dampft das Tal, es braust das Meer,  
Ich wandle still, bin wenig froh,  
Und immer fragt der Seufzer, wo?

Die Sonne dünkt mich hier so kalt,  
Die Blüte welk, das Leben alt,  
Und was sie reden, leerer Schall,  
Ich bin ein Fremdling überall.

Wo bist du, mein geliebtes Land,  
Gesucht, geahnt, und nie gekannt?  
Das Land, das Land so hoffnungsgrün,  
Das Land, wo meine Rosen blühn;

Wo meine Freunde wandelnd gehen,  
Wo meine Toten auferstehen,  
Das Land, das meine Sprache spricht,  
Das teure Land — hier ist es nicht. —

Ich wandle still, bin wenig froh,  
Und immer fragt der Seufzer, wo?  
Im Geisterhauch tö'nt's mir zurück,  
"Dort, wo du nicht bist, ist das Glück."



November 24, Saturday: [Henry Thomas Buckle](#) was born at Lee in Kent, a son of the wealthy London merchant and shipowner [Thomas Henry Buckle](#). Delicate health would prevent him from obtaining much in the way of formal education. However, at an early age he would win renown as a chess player. By the time he was 20 he would be regarded as one of the best in the world.

According to one record, on this day [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#) of [Concord](#) got married with [Martha Tilden Bradford](#) of Waltham (according to another record, the wedding took place on January 22, 1822 at the home of the Reverend Ripley).



November 27, Tuesday: Three songs of Franz Schubert were published by Cappi and Diabelli, Vienna as his op.7: "Die abgebluhte Linde" and "Der Flug der Zeit" to words of Szechenyi, and "Der Tod und das Madchen" to words of Claudius.

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

*3rd day 27th of 11 M / Yesterday I recd from my friend Thos Thompson a Packet containing a number of printed pamphlets & Manuscripts which were very acceptable. he also inclosed a small engraved likeness of George Fox with two lines of his hand*

*writing pasted on the bottom of it - Also a view of Swarthmore hall the residence of Judge Fell & after his Marriage with his widow the residence of George Fox. - These views occasioned much serious reflection & feeling - For tho' we know "the Spirit of a man is not in the Picture of a man" nor is the picture of his house when he is Dead, - yet so striking a likeness of so great a man, in the best sense of the word great - can but call to our recollection his great services in his masters cause while on earth, & excite in our hearts fervant desires that we may so live as to be invested with the same spirit, with which he was - bound to the Same great & holy cause, in all humility & fear - in looking on the view of his residence as it stood in the year 1818 at which time it was deliniated in the presence of Thos Thompson My mind could but go back & trace some of the deep trials & sufferings that he with perhaps many of his brethren passed thro' at that place, also the many prescious & heavenly seasons of Divine favor & power which they enjoyed*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 28, Wednesday: Panama was declared independent of Spain.

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

*5th day 29th of 11th M 1821 / Our Monthly Meeting this day held in Town was pretty large. There was a considerable Shew of young friends whose company is always pleasant & I have no doubt adds to the weight of the meeting - In the first, to [two] females young in the ministry offered a few words - In the last we had considerable buisness, which I thought was conducted with good order, & some encouragement, tho' in my own particular in neither Meeting, life rose to that height, that I have sometimes experienced. - B Freeborn Sarah Fowler Anne Anthony Wait Lawton & Adam Anthony Dined with us After Meeting recd a letter from my Venerable friend [Moses Brown](#)*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

## WINTER 1821/1822

### DECEMBER



December: The [negrero Antelope](#) was sold for \$750 and the proceeds were split among the attorneys representing Spain and Portugal.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

 December: In the case of Hall v Mullin, the Supreme Court of [Maryland](#) reasoned that a [slave](#), being property, could not conceivably himself or herself own property: property doesn't own, it is owned. It therefore construed that in the case of a will's bequest of property to a slave, the intention of the deceased, to have been coherent and plausible, must have been to [manumit](#). Good thinking, guys, you let slaves own property — and pretty soon they'll be owning their own slaves. Best keep your distance from **that** can of worms.

 December: Vincent Benavides, the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion, Chile, having been judged guilty of multiple acts of fierce [piracy](#), was dragged from the Topocalma prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule and [hanged](#) in the great square of this municipality on the west coast of South America, after which his head and hands were placed on display atop high poles:

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## THE BLOODY CAREER AND EXECUTION OF VINCENT BENAVIDES A PIRATE ON THE WEST COAST OF SOUTH AMERICA<sup>44</sup>



Vincent Benavides was the son of the gaoler of Quirihue in the district of Concepcion. He was a man of ferocious manners, and had been guilty of several murders. Upon the breaking out of the revolutionary war, he entered the patriot army as a private soldier; and was a serjeant of grenadiers at the time of the first Chilian revolution. He, however, deserted to the Spaniards, and was taken prisoner in their service, when they sustained, on the plains of Maypo, on the 5th of April, 1818, that defeat which decided their fortunes in that part of America, and secured the independence of Chili. Benavides, his brother, and some other traitors to the Chilian cause, were sentenced to death, and brought forth in the Plaza, or public square of Santiago, in order to be shot. Benavides, though terribly wounded by the discharge, was not killed; but he had the presence of mind to counterfeit death in so perfect a manner, that the imposture was not suspected. The bodies of the traitors were not buried, but dragged away to a distance, and there left to be devoured by the gallinazos or vultures. The serjeant who

44. THE PIRATES OWN BOOK, OR AUTHENTIC NARRATIVES OF THE LIVES, EXPLOITS, AND EXECUTIONS OF THE MOST CELEBRATED SEA ROBBERS, by Charles Ellms (Portland: Published by Sanborn & Carter; Philadelphia: Thomas, Comperthwait, & Co., 1837. This would be republished in 1842 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York & Philadelphia, and in 1844 in Portland by Sanborn & Carter, and in 1855 by A. and C.B. Edwards of New-York, and in 1924 by Marine res. of Massachusetts, and in 1996 by Random House of New York.)



had the superintendence of this part of the ceremony, had a personal hatred to Benavides, on account of that person having murdered some of his relations; and, to gratify his revenge, he drew his sword, and gave the dead body, (as he thought,) a severe gash in the side, as they were dragging it along. The resolute Benavides had fortitude to bear this also, without flinching or even showing the least indication of life; and one cannot help regretting that so determined a power of endurance had not been turned to a better purpose.

Benavides lay like a dead man, in the heap of carcasses, until it became dark; and then, pierced with shot, and gashed by the sword as he was, he crawled to a neighboring cottage, the inhabitants of which received him with the greatest kindness, and attended him with the greatest care.

The daring ruffian, who knew the value of his own talents and courage, being aware that General San Martin was planning the expedition to Peru, a service in which there would be much of desperation and danger, sent word to the General that he was alive, and invited him to a secret conference at midnight, in the same Plaza in which it was believed Benavides had been shot. The signal agreed upon, was, that they should strike fire three times with their flints, as that was not likely to be answered by any but the proper party, and yet was not calculated to awaken suspicion.

San Martin, alone, and provided with a brace of pistols, met the desperado; and after a long conference, it was agreed that Benavides should, in the mean time, go out against the Araucan Indians; but that he should hold himself in readiness to proceed to Peru, when the expedition suited.

Having procured the requisite passports, he proceeded to Chili, where, having again diverted the Chilians, he succeeded in persuading the commander of the Spanish troops, that he had force sufficient to carry on the war against Chili; and the commander in consequence retired to Valdivia, and left Benavides commander of the whole frontier on the Biobio.

Having thus cleared the coast of the Spanish commander, he went over to the Araucans, or rather, he formed a band of armed robbers, who committed every cruelty, and were guilty of every perfidy in the south of Chili. Wherever Benavides came, his footsteps were marked with blood, and the old men, the women, and the children, were butchered lest they should give notice of his motions.

When he had rendered himself formidable by land, he resolved to be equally powerful upon the sea. He equipped a corsair, with instructions to capture the vessels of all nations; and as Araucan is directly opposite the island of Santa Maria, where vessels put in for refreshment, after having doubled Cape Horn, his situation was well adapted for his purpose. He was but too successful. The first of his prizes was the American ship Hero, which he took by surprise in the night; the second, was the Herculia, a brig belonging to the same country. While the unconscious crew were proceeding, as usual, to catch seals on this island, lying about three leagues from the main land of Arauca, an armed body of men rushed from the woods, and overpowering them, tied their hands behind them, and left them under a guard on the beach. These were no other than the [pirates](#),



who now took the Herculia's own boats, and going on board, surprised the captain and four of his crew, who had remained to take care of the brig; and having brought off the prisoners from the beach, threw them all into the hold, closing the hatches over them. They then tripped the vessel's anchor, and sailing over in triumph to Arauca, were received by Benavides, with a salute of musketry fired under the Spanish flag, which it was their chief's pleasure to hoist on that day. In the course of the next night, Benavides ordered the captain and his crew to be removed to a house on shore, at some distance from the town; then taking them out, one by one, he stripped and pillaged them of all they possessed, threatening them the whole time with drawn swords and loaded muskets. Next morning he paid the prisoners a visit and ordered them to the capital, called together the principal people of the town, and desired each to select one as a servant. The captain and four others not happening to please the fancy of any one, Benavides, after saying he would himself take charge of the captain, gave directions, on pain of instant death, that some one should hold themselves responsible for the other prisoners. Some days after this they were called together, and required to serve as soldiers in the pirates army; an order to which they consented, knowing well by what they had already seen, that the consequence of refusal would be fatal.

Benavides, though unquestionably a ferocious savage, was, nevertheless, a man of resource, full of activity, and of considerable energy of character. He converted the whale spears and harpoons into lances for his cavalry, and halberts for his sergeants; and out of the sails he made trowsers for half of his army; the carpenters he set to work making baggage carts and repairing his boats; the armourers he kept perpetually at work, mending muskets, and making pikes; managing in this way, to turn the skill of every one of his prisoners to some useful account. He treated the officers, too, not unkindly, allowed them to live in his house, and was very anxious on all occasions, to have their advice respecting the equipment of his troops.

Upon one occasion, when walking with the captain of the Herculia, he remarked, that his army was now almost complete in every respect, except in one essential particular, and it cut him, he said to the soul, to think of such a deficiency; he had no trumpets for his cavalry, and added, that it was utterly impossible to make the fellows believe themselves dragoons, unless they heard a blast in their ears at every turn; and neither men nor horses would ever do their duty properly, if not roused to it by the sound of a trumpet; in short he declared, some device must be hit upon to supply this equipment. The captain, willing to ingratiate himself with the pirate, after a little reflection, suggested to him, that trumpets might easily be made of copper sheets on the bottoms of the vessels he had taken. "Very true," cried the delighted chief, "how came I not to think of that before?" Instantly all hands were employed in ripping off the copper, and the armourers being set to work under his personal superintendence, the whole camp, before night, resounded with the warlike blasts of the cavalry.

The captain of the ship, who had given him the brilliant idea of the copper trumpets, had by these means, so far won upon his



good will and confidence, as to be allowed a considerable range to walk on. He of course, was always looking out for some plan of escape, and at length an opportunity occurring, he, with the mate of the Ocean, and nine of his crew, seized two whale boats, imprudently left on the banks of the river, and rowed off. Before quitting the shore, they took the precaution of staving all the other boats, to prevent pursuit, and accordingly, though their escape was immediately discovered, they succeeded in getting so much the start of the people whom Benavides sent in pursuit of them, that they reached St. Mary's Island in safety. Here they caught several seals upon which they subsisted very miserably till they reached Valparaiso. It was in consequence of their report of Benavides proceedings made to Sir Thomas Hardy, the commander-in-chief, that he deemed it proper to send a ship to rescue if possible, the remaining unfortunate captives at Arauca.

Benavides having manned the Herculia, it suited the mate, (the captain and crew being detained as hostages,) to sail with the brig to Chili, and seek aid from the Spanish governor. The Herculia returned with a twenty-four pounder, two field-pieces, eleven Spanish officers, and twenty soldiers, together with the most flattering letters and congratulations to the worthy ally of his Most Catholic Majesty. Soon after this he captured the Perseverance, English whaler, and the American brig Ocean, bound for Lima, with several thousand stand of arms on board. The captain of the Herculia, with the mate of the Ocean, and several men, after suffering great hardships, landed at Valparaiso, and gave notice of the proceedings of Benavides; and in consequence, Sir Thomas Hardy directed Captain Hall to proceed to Arauca with the convoy, to set the captives free, if possible.

It was for the accomplishment of this service that Capt. Hall sailed from Valparaiso; and he called at Conception on his way, in order to glean information respecting the pirate. Here the Captain ascertained that Benavides was between two considerable bodies of Chilian force, on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and one of those bodies between him and the river.

Having to wait two days at Conception for information, Captain Hall occupied them in observing the place; the country he describes as green and fertile, and having none of the dry and desert character of the environs of Valparaiso. Abundance of vegetables, wood, and also coals, are found on the shores of the bay.

On the 12th of October, the captain heard of the defeat of Benavides, and his flight, alone, across the Biobio into the Araucan country; and also that two of the Americans whom he had taken with him had made their escape, and were on board the Chacabuco. As these were the only persons who could give Captain Hall information respecting the prisoners of whom he was in quest, he set out in search of the vessel, and after two days' search, found her at anchor near the island of Mocha. From thence he learned that the captain of the Ocean, with several English and American seamen had been left at Arauca, when Benavides went on his expedition, and he sailed for that place immediately.

He was too late, however; the Chilian forces had already made a successful attack, and the Indians had fled, setting fire to the town and the ships. The Indians, who were in league with the



Chilians, were every way as wild as those who arrayed themselves under Benavides. Capt. Hall, upon his return to Concepcion, though dissuaded from it by the governor, visited the Indian encampment.

When the captain and his associates entered the courtyard, they observed a party seated on the ground, round a great tub of wine, who hailed their entrance with loud shouts, or rather yells, and boisterously demanded their business; to all appearance very little pleased with the interruption. The interpreter became alarmed, and wished them to retire; but this the captain thought imprudent, as each man had his long spear close at hand, resting against the eaves of the house. Had they attempted to escape they must have been taken, and possibly sacrificed, by these drunken savages. As their best chance seemed to lie in treating them without any show of distrust, they advanced to the circle with a good humored confidence, which appeased them considerably. One of the party rose and embraced them in the Indian fashion, which they had learned from the gentlemen who had been prisoners with Benavides. After this ceremony they roared out to them to sit down on the ground, and with the most boisterous hospitality, insisted on their drinking with them; a request which they cheerfully complied with. Their anger soon vanished, and was succeeded by mirth and satisfaction, which speedily became as outrageous as their displeasure had been at first. Seizing a favorable opportunity, Captain Hall stated his wish to have an interview with their chief, upon which a message was sent to him; but he did not think fit to show himself for a considerable time, during which they remained with the party round the tub, who continued swilling their wine like so many hogs. Their heads soon became affected, and their obstreperous mirth increasing every minute, the situation of the strangers became by no means agreeable.

At length Peneleo's door opened, and the chief made his appearance; he did not condescend, however, to cross the threshold, but leaned against the door post to prevent falling, being by some degrees more drunk than any of his people. A more finished picture of a savage cannot be conceived. He was a tall, broad shouldered man; with a prodigiously large head, and a square-shaped bloated face, from which peeped out two very small eyes, partly hid by an immense superfluity of black, coarse, oily, straight hair, covering his cheeks, hanging over his shoulders, and rendering his head somewhat the shape and size of a bee-hive. Over his shoulders was thrown a poncho of coarse blanket stuff. He received them very gruffly, and appeared irritated and sulky at having been disturbed; he was still more offended when he learned that they wished to see his captive. They in vain endeavored to explain their real views; but he grunted out his answer in a tone and manner which showed them plainly that he neither did, nor wished to understand them.

Whilst in conversation with Peneleo, they stole an occasional glance at his apartment. By the side of the fire burning in the middle of the floor, was seated a young Indian woman, with long black hair reaching to the ground; this, they conceived, could be no other than one of the unfortunate persons they were in search of; and they were somewhat disappointed to observe, that the lady was neither in tears, nor apparently very miserable;



they therefore came away impressed with the unsentimental idea, that the amiable Peneleo had already made some impression on her young heart.

Two Indians, who were not so drunk as the rest, followed them to the outside of the court, and told them that several foreigners had been taken by the Chilians in the battle near Chilian, and were now safe. The interpreter hinted to them that this was probably invented by these cunning people, on hearing their questions in the court; but he advised them, as a matter of policy, to give them each a piece of money, and to get away as far as they could.

Captain Hall returned to Concepcion on the 23d of October, reached Valparaiso on the 26th, and in two weeks thereafter, the men of whom he was in search, made their appearance.

The bloody career of Benavides now drew near to a close. The defeat on the Chilian side of the Biobio, and the burning of Arauca with the loss of his vessels, he never recovered. At length, in the end of December 1821, discovering the miserable state to which he was reduced, he entreated the Intendant of Concepcion, that he might be received on giving himself up along with his partisans. This generous chief accepted his offer, and informed the supreme government; but in the meantime Benavides embarked in a launch, at the mouth of the river Lebo, and fled, with the intention of joining a division of the enemy's army, which he supposed to be at some one of the ports on the south coast of Peru. It was indeed absurd to expect any good faith from such an intriguer; for in his letters at this time, he offered his services to Chili and promised fidelity, while his real intention was still to follow the enemy. He finally left the unhappy province of Concepcion, the theatre of so many miserable scenes, overwhelmed with the misery which he had caused, without ever recollecting that it was in that province that he had first drawn his breath.

His despair in the boat made his conduct insupportable to those who accompanied him, and they rejoiced when they were obliged to put into the harbor of Topocalma in search of water of which they had run short. He was now arrested by some patriotic individuals. From the notorious nature of his crimes, alone, even the most impartial stranger would have condemned him to the last punishment; but the supreme government wished to hear what he had to say for himself, and ordered him to be tried according to the laws. It appearing on his trial that he had placed himself beyond the laws of society, such punishment was awarded him as any one of his crimes deserved. As a pirate, he merited death, and as a destroyer of whole towns, it became necessary to put him to death in such a manner as might satisfy outraged humanity, and terrify others who should dare to imitate him. In pursuance of the sentence passed upon him, he was dragged from the prison in a pannier tied to the tail of a mule, and was hanged in the great square; his head and hands were afterwards cut off, in order to their being placed upon high poles, to point out the places of his horrid crimes, Santa Juona, Tarpellanca and Arauca.



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 December 1, Saturday: The Republic of San Domingo was established independent of Spain and nominally part of Gran Colombia.

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

*1st day 2nd of 12 M 1821 / Our Meeting was Silent & favour'd this Morning - Father Rodman & Abigail Sherman were concerned in short but suitable testimonys - As to my own particular [I was?] favoured to desire good & a little was vouchsafed, but Oh [of la-?]te how have I been in the barren desert, with little more [priv] iledge than to see the goodly land - May I yet live [to] pass over Jordan & partake of the promise - this I find is the State of many & may I not give out by the Way*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 3, Monday: The 17th US Congress convened, with 44 Democratic-Republicans and 4 Federalists in the Senate and with 158 Democratic-Republicans and 25 Federalists in the House of Representatives. President James Monroe again reported to the Congress.

"Like success has attended our efforts to suppress the slave trade. Under the flag of the United States, and the sanction of their papers, the trade may be considered as entirely suppressed; and, if any of our citizens are engaged in it, under the flag and papers of other powers, it is only from a respect to the rights of those powers, that these offenders are not seized and brought home, to receive the punishment which the laws inflict. If every other power should adopt the same policy, and pursue the same vigorous means for carrying it into effect, the trade could no longer exist." HOUSE JOURNAL, 17th Congress, 1st session, page 22.

 December 6, Thursday: The South Orkney Islands were claimed for Great Britain.

Incidental music to von Kleist's play Prinz Friedrich von Homburg by Heinrich August Marschner was performed for the initial time, in Dresden.

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

*5th day 6th of 12th M 1821 / A short communication from H Dennis, & to me a Season of some favor at Meeting -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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December 7, Friday: [The Christian Register](#) devoted eight columns to the work of Rammohan Roy.



December 8, Saturday: “[Der Blumen Schmerz](#),” a song by Franz Peeter Schubert to words of Count Johann Graf Majláth, was published in the [Zeitschrift für Kunst](#), Vienna.

Wie ist es mir so schaurig  
Des Lenzes erstes Weh'n,  
Wie dünkt es mir so traurig,  
Daß Blumen auferstehn.

In ihrer Mutter Armen  
Da ruhten sie so still  
Nun müße, seh, die Armen  
Herauf in's Weltgewühl.

Die zarten Kinder heben  
Die Häupter scheu empor:  
Wer rufet uns ins Leben  
Aus stiller Nacht hervor?

Der Lenz mit Zauberworten,  
Mit Hauchen süßer Lust,  
Lockt aus den dunkeln Pforten  
Sie von der Mutter Brust.

In bräutlich heller Feier  
Erscheint der Blumen Pracht,  
Doch fern ist schon der Freier,  
Wild glüht der Sonne Macht.

Nun künden ihre Düfte,  
Daß sie voll Sehnsucht sind;  
Was labend würzt die Lüfte,  
Es ist der Schmerzen Kind.

Die Kelche sinken nieder,  
Sie schauen erdenwärts:  
O Mutter, nimm uns wieder,  
Das Leben gibt nur Schmerz.

Die welken Blätter fallen,  
mild deckt der Schnee sie zu;  
ach Gott, so geht's mit allen,  
im Grabe nur ist Ruh.

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 December 9, Sunday: William Brisbane, who owned a rice and cotton plantation called Milton Lodge on the Ashley River near Charleston, South Carolina, having no son who might inherit, had adopted [William Henry Brisbane](#), a son of his alcoholic brother Adam Fowler Brisbane (the family was calling William Henry by his middle name, Henry, to distinguish him from an elder brother also adopted and also named William). On this day when William Brisbane died, his adopted son William Henry Brisbane inherited a large number of slaves.

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

*1st day 9 of 12 M / Morning Meeting full & favord with solid quick & lively testimony from D Buffum & the London Epistle was read - Afternoon, Solid & quiet & tho' I labord was unable to feel the circulating of that life in my own mind, which crowns our Assemblies -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 12, Thursday: Gustave Flaubert was born.

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

*5th day 12 of 12 M / A pretty good meeting & pretty well attended tho' a stormy Day A few words from J Dennis-*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 15, Saturday: US Navy officers forced the local king to sell Cape Mesurado (near present Monrovia, Liberia) to the American Colonization Society. The society would found a colony for freed slaves on the site.

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

*1st day 16th of 12 M / Our Meeting was a very solid good one, soon after taking my seat on centering the mind inward, I found life to spring up to no small degree of Consolation - Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively & good testimony - After the meeting broke, spoke to a young man to relieve my mind of an exercise which I felt towards him - my message appeared to be received with tenderness & apparant conviction of the justness of my remarks - which afforded hope to my mind that he may yet be rightly restored to society. - In the Afternoon the Meeting was silent & to me a good one - Took John & went out to D Buffums & took tea & set the evening. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 18, Tuesday: A charter was granted for a University of Alabama at Tuscaloosa, which would not open for instruction until 1831.

 December 19, Wednesday: [William Jackman](#) was born in Dittisham, Dartmouth, Devonshire.

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 December 20, Thursday: Michael Martin, who had robbed Major John Bray in Medford, was [hanged](#) at [Boston](#)'s and Cambridge's Lechmere Point. (An accomplice known as "Captain Lightfoot" had been able to escape, and would reside for many years incognito in Brattleboro, Vermont, not dying until 1835.)

[H. Heine](#) (the "H" at this point still stood for "Harry" rather than "Heinrich") made his debut as a poet with *GEDICHTE VON H. HEINE* (Berlin: in der Maurerfchen Buchhandlung, 1822; this included one of his most famous poems "Zwei Grenadiere" which reflected his admiration for [Napoléon Bonaparte](#)).

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

*5th day 20th of 12th M / Our Meeting was a pretty solid one & silent - life seemed rather low in my own particular, but being favor'd with an evidence that favour was not withheld I desire to be thankful. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 21, Friday: Having returned from Massachusetts to Connecticut, William Apess had met a Mary Wood of Salem, Connecticut, and on this day they were wed. The newlyweds would make their residence in southeastern Connecticut while William traveled to wherever he could find temporary work. Between 1821 and 1824 a son would be born, and possibly also a couple of daughters.



The 1st state mental hospital in South Carolina was authorized by an act of the state legislature. The mental hospital would be located on 4 acres of land in Columbia, South Carolina and would admit its 1st patient during December 1828. On December 19, 1848, the legislature would desegregate the institution by passing a bill to "admit, as subjects of the lunatic asylum, persons of color, being idiots, lunatics, or epileptics."<sup>45</sup>

PSYCHOLOGY

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

*1st day 23rd of 12 M / Our Morning Meeting was large & I dont know but it may be called a favor'd time - D Buffum & Father Rodman were engaged in testimony & Hannah Dennis in Supplication -  
In the Afternoon, Father had a few words to communicate. & the Meeting was pretty well attended -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

45. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN [PSYCHOLOGY](#). Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994



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 December 25, Tuesday, [Christmas](#): Clarissa H. Barton was born in North [Oxford](#), Massachusetts. (The Clara Barton Birthplace and Museum is now at 68 Clara Barton Road. The grave of the founder of the American Red Cross is a couple miles away, in North Cemetery in Oxford.)

 December 27, Thursday: At a benefit for Gioachino Rossini in the Teatro San Carlo, [Naples](#), attended by the king, royal family, ministers, and many members of the nobility, the composer's cantata La riconoscenza to words of Genoino was performed for the initial time.

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

*5th day 27 of 12 M 1821 / Last evening rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Uncle Stanton, lodged at his House & found my Mother in pretty good health - This morning walked to meeting - the first was Silent & tho' I believe generally a pretty dull time yet my mind was in some good degree favour'd, at least with some feelings of a right kind - In the last (Monthly) our buisness went on pretty well. - among the concerns that came before us was the pleasant & encouraging circumstance of a request for membership from Eliza P Burrington wife of John Burrington of [Portsmouth](#). - Dined at Uncle Saml Thurstons & Walked home -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day 12th M 30th 1821 / I am this day forty Years of Age -It has been to me a rather hard day - when I first awoke in the morning I endeavoured to center my mind & get it fixed on good but turn which way I would it seemed hard & the tempter near - Was favoured to labor in the Meeting which was silent yet unable to deel the predominance of that which I desired - In the Afternoon Hannah Dennis was engaged in a lively & favourd testimony which suited my State & in the evening the clouds seemed da little to break away Times & seasons are not at our command, indeed I find by experience They are not at mine, but may I labor more ardently -my life is fast spending, & my desire is to be prepared for the great Change -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Secretary of State John Quincy Adams proposed to Canning of Great Britain that the fleets of the two powers might usefully co-operate off the coast of Africa in the suppression of the [international slave trade](#). The government of Great Britain would promptly accept.

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 dead-lock 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.<sup>46</sup> After the war, however, her courts disavowed such action,<sup>47</sup> 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.<sup>48</sup> 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. Negotiations were then transferred to Washington; and the new British minister, Mr. Stratford Canning, approached Adams with full instructions in December 1820.<sup>49</sup>

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,<sup>50</sup> and a Senate motion to the same effect had caused long debate.<sup>51</sup> 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.<sup>52</sup> 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.<sup>53</sup> 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

46. For cases, see *1 Acton*, 240, the "Amedie," and *1 Dodson*, 81, the "Fortuna;" quoted in U.S. Reports, *10 Wheaton*, 66.

47. Cf. the case of the French ship "Le Louis": *2 Dodson*, 238; and also the case of the "San Juan Nepomuceno": *1 Haggard*, 267.

48. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1819-20, pages 375-9; also pages 220-2.

49. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1820-21, pages 395-6.

50. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 14th Congress 2d session, II. No. 77.

51. 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.

52. 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.

53. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1820-21, pages 397-400.



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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.
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.<sup>54</sup>



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

*2nd day 12 M 31 / The Old Year runs out & with it many [you] th  
[?] come to a conclusion of my particular acquaintance  
May it be a warning. May it be a fresh incitement to greater  
dedication*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

54. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1822-23, pages 94-110.



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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 30, 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.



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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 1821

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 1822**