

EVENTS OF 1823

General Events of 1824

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



January	February	March
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July	August	September

EVENTS OF 1825

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John Brown of Concord sold his cotton mill above Derby's Bridge on the Assabet River to Caleb Bellows.

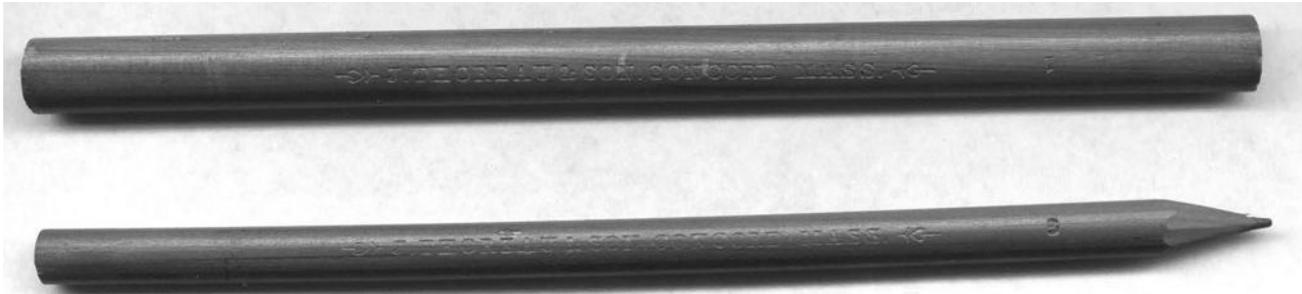


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“John Thoreau & Son” entered upon the manufacture of pencils.



From Thoreau’s later journal, the phrase “father’s mill used to be located” indicates that at one point in time, the Thoreau family pencil business had been large enough to sustain its own little sawmill up in the Esterbrook Country of [Concord](#). It was at the site of a small wooded pond, where there had evidently at that time been a mill and where enough water power to turn a saw was available to prepare the cedar strips for the pencils. By the time Henry would be an adult, going on his walks, [John Thoreau, Senior](#)’s sawmill had become nothing but a ruin. Here is a current photograph and an old photograph:



The Thoreaus were renting a brick house at the corner of Main Street and Walden Street in [Concord](#) (the Parkman “Brick House” is not the one in the center of this photo):



HDT

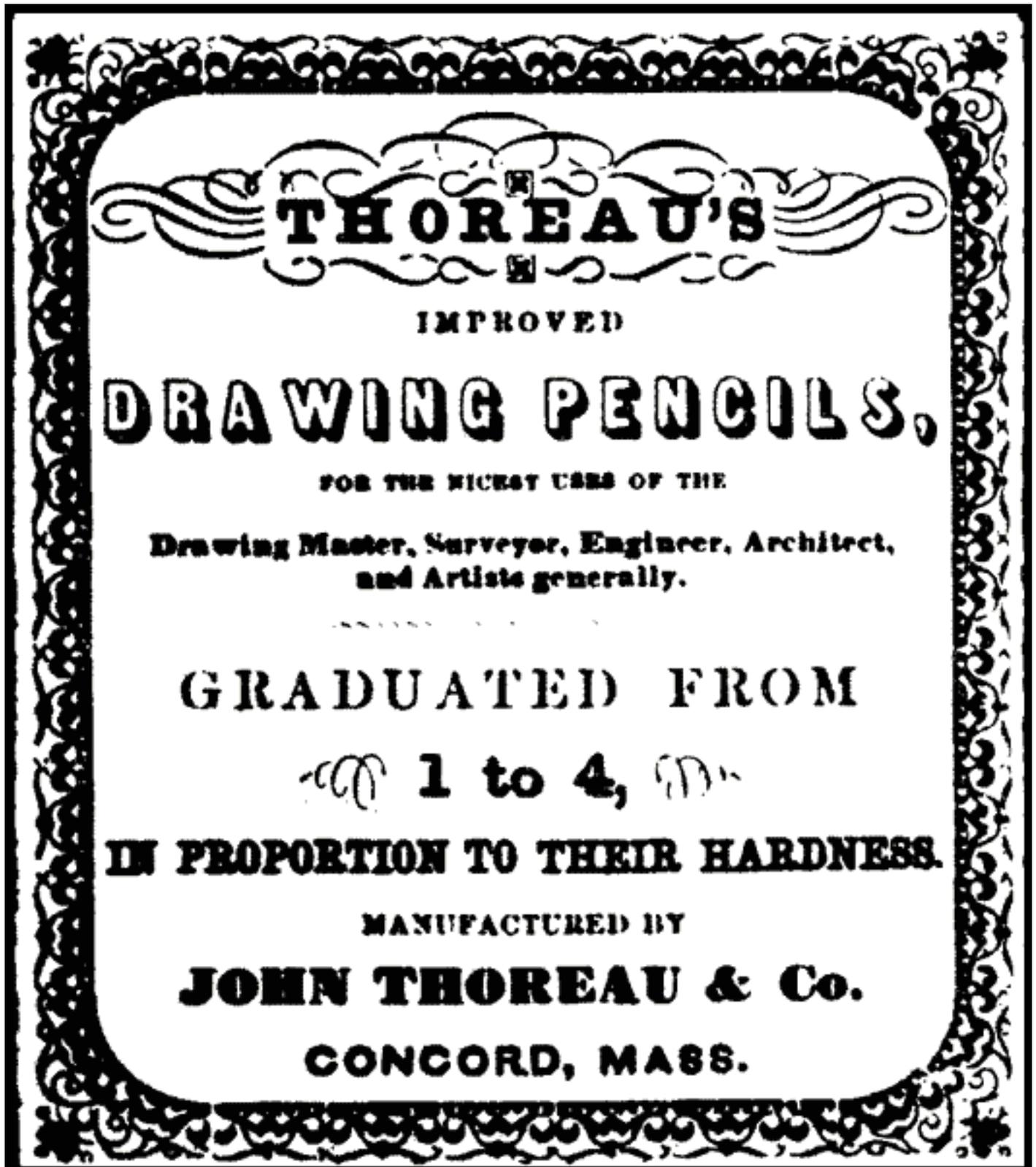
WHAT?

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THOREAU'S

IMPROVED

DRAWING PENCILS,

FOR THE NICEST USES OF THE

**Drawing Master, Surveyor, Engineer, Architect,
and Artists generally.**

GRADUATED FROM

1 **1 to 4,** *4*

IN PROPORTION TO THEIR HARDNESS.

MANUFACTURED BY

JOHN THOREAU & Co.

CONCORD, MASS.

1824

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Publication a new edition of [John Woolman](#)'s A JOURNAL OF THE LIFE, GOSPEL LABOURS, AND CHRISTIAN EXPERIENCES OF THAT FAITHFUL MINISTER OF JESUS CHRIST, JOHN WOOLMAN ... TO WHICH ARE ADDED, HIS WORKS CONTAINING HIS LAST EPISTLE AND OTHER WRITINGS. (London: W. Phillips).



Refer to Phillips P. Moulton's "The Influence of the Writings of John Woolman" in [Quaker History](#), Volume 60, Number 1 for Spring 1971, pages 3-13. This scholar points out that there was also an edition of Woolman's journal in 1840, that Emerson's library contained a copy, that Thoreau heard of Woolman's antislavery efforts in Emerson's address on the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, and that Thoreau had a friend who was a Quaker. From this he infers that the writings of John Woolman must have been influential upon [Henry David Thoreau](#): "Thoreau had learned of Woolman through a Quaker, Daniel Ricketson." And indeed it is true that in his letter introducing himself to Thoreau, Ricketson made reference to Woolman.

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→ [John Bowring](#)'s BATAVIAN ANTHOLOGY, PETER SCHLEMIHL; A GERMAN STORY, and ANCIENT POETRY AND ROMANCES OF SPAIN.



He anonymously published a piece in the London Magazine on “German Epigrams” — that, eventually, [Henry Thoreau](#) would consult.

GERMAN EPIGRAMS

→ A new edition of the REMARKS MADE, ON A SHORT TOUR, BETWEEN HARTFORD AND QUEBEC.... (New Haven CT: Converse) originally published in 1820 by Benjamin Silliman, Sr. (This is a travel report which, eventually, would be accessed by [Henry Thoreau](#).)

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



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[Thomas Carlyle](#)'s English translation of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#)'s WILHELM MEISTER'S APPRENTICESHIP appeared in the [London Magazine](#) and was reviewed there by [Thomas De Quincey](#) (the book edition of this, printed in 3 volumes in Boston in 1828 by James Monroe, would be presented to [Henry Thoreau](#) by [Waldo Emerson](#)).

[Goethe](#)'s 1811-1813 autobiography *AUS MEINEM LEBEN: DICHTUNG UND WAHRHEIT* was presented in English as MEMOIRS OF GOETHE: WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.



During this year [Waldo Emerson](#) mentioned things [Chinese](#) in his journal for the 1st time, by recording the following couplet anent the current Western fascination with things Chinese, and with their supposed great antiquity which supposedly was of great merit:

I laugh at those who, while they gape and gaze,



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The bald antiquity of China praise.

The following misleading message appeared on <http://webteach.ubalt.edu/ECON640ALUMNI>, posted by James V. Kolmansberger <jimk@mcs.vips.com>, evidently at the University of Baltimore:

The March 30th edition of the Baltimore Sun contained a short article that accused Ralph Waldo Emerson of taking many of his writings from the letters and diaries of his aunt, Mary Moody Emerson. The accusations were contained in a book about Mary Moody Emerson, written by professor Phyllis Cole. The level of truth to this story is unknown, but if it is indeed true, the credit may need to go to Aunt Mary for the Self-Reliance theory.

I have no knowledge of what the Baltimore Sun has produced in the way of a book review of this book, but it is an absolutely fine production and in no sense can it be said that such a scholarly monograph would be leveling a straightforward charge of immoral plagiarism against Emerson. It is true that in 1824 Mary Moody Emerson wrote to her nephew a sentence which he copied into his journal and then into his "MME1" notebook which would in 1859 resurface, practically verbatim but without any attribution or quotation marks, in his essay "Culture" for the late book CONDUCT OF LIFE:

Solitude, the safeguard of mediocrity, is, to genius, the stern friend, the cold, obscure shelter where moult the wings which bear it farther than suns and stars.

This 1859 printed Waldo sentence had appeared in 1824 as his aunt's holographic comment:

Solitude, w'h to people, not talented to deviate from the beaten track (w'h is the safe gaurd of mediocrity) without offending, is to learning & talents the only sure labyrinth (tho' sometimes gloomy) to form the eagle wings w'h will bear one farther than suns and stars.

In fact when Miss Mary's biographer Phyllis Cole remarked in her new book upon this evidence, she leveled no charge whatever of plagiarism. The description of this would fall squarely within the realm, instead, of influence scholarship:



One sentence might seem inconsequential, but this one defines his essential stance of solitary, transcendent genius. It echoes across the decades separating this origins [*circa* 1824] from his closing reflections [*circa* 1859]. Even in the proclamation of self-reliance, Waldo never wholly outgrew or left behind this "benefactor."



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[Jean-François Champollion](#)'s *PRÉCIS DU SYSTÈME HIÉROGLYPHIQUE, ETC.* (PRIMER OF THE HIEROGLYPHIC SYSTEM, ETC.).

WALDEN: Thus it seemed that this one hillside illustrated the principle of all the operations of Nature. The Maker of this earth but patented a leaf. What Champollion will decipher this hieroglyphic for us, that we may turn over a new leaf at last? This phenomenon is more exhilarating to me than the luxuriance and fertility of vineyards. True, it is somewhat excrementitious in its character, and there is no end to the heaps of liver lights and bowels, as if the globe were turned wrong side outward; but this suggests at least that Nature has some bowels, and there again is mother of humanity. This is the frost coming out of the ground; this is Spring. It precedes the green and flowery spring, as mythology precedes regular poetry. I know of nothing more purgative of winter fumes and indigestions. It convinces me that Earth is still in her swaddling clothes, and stretches forth baby fingers on every side. Fresh curls springs from the baldest brow. There is nothing inorganic. These foliaceous heaps lie along the bank like the slag of a furnace, showing that Nature is "in full blast" within. The earth is not a mere fragment of dead history, stratum upon stratum like the leaves of a book, to be studied by geologists and antiquaries chiefly, but living poetry like the leaves of a tree, which precede flowers and fruit, -not a fossil earth, but a living earth; compared with whose great central life all animal and vegetable life is merely parasitic. Its throes will heave our exuvia from their graves. You may melt your metals and cast them into the most beautiful moulds you can; they will never excite me like the forms which this molten earth flows out into. And not only it, but the institutions upon it, are plastic like clay in the hands of the potter.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

JEAN-FRANÇOIS CHAMPOLLION

GEOLOGY



This French scholar was able at this point not only to read out the names of ancient pharaohs, from hieroglyphics, but also was to translate entire phrases and sentences of the ancient Egyptian language. A stone that had been inscribed in three scripts, found in Rosetta, Egypt, and other such record stones, had proven to be adequate for this breakthrough in linguistics.¹ This outstanding accomplishment of human intuition thrilled everyone just as much as we were recently thrilled when the mathematician Andrew Wiles mentioned, in an aside at the end of one of his lectures at Cambridge University in June 1993, that one of the things that the demonstration given in his lecture meant, if it were correct, was that Pierre de Fermat’s “Last Theorem” had after three and a half centuries been proven to be true: that there cannot be any positive whole-number powers greater than 2 for which a generalized equation of the form of the Pythagorean Theorem² we all learned about right-angle triangles in trigonometry class in high school, to wit

$$z = \sqrt[n]{(x^n + y^n)}$$

PYTHAGORAS

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1824



With the help of his bride Olivia Buckminster Emerson, Dr. George Barrell Emerson established Boston’s 1st public high school for girls.

PUBLIC EDUCATION

Washington Street in downtown Boston extended at this point all the way southwest to the Rhode Island state line, although the bulk of the road traveled under the rubric “Norfolk and Bristol Turnpike.” This was the only road transiting the narrow point of Boston Neck. A traffic count on this Massachusetts thoroughway indicated that for every mounted horsemen, there were four persons traveling in chaises. The bulk of these travelers must have been city folk, for at the time only about one rural family in seven owned such a conveyance.

A 22 inch square map of Boston first engraved in this year by William B. Annin and George G. Smith would be reissued every few years with additions by Smith, for the City Government’s Municipal Register, and for School Documents. In this year, also, Abel Bowen engraved a 6 1/2 inch by 4 inch map of the

1. Needless to say, I am hoping that this textbase, some 500 Megs of material never before assembled in such an accessible form, will provide the requisite sufficiency for some equivalent breakthrough. I search for this breakthrough every day.
2. What we know as the “Pythagorean Theorem” had been known since ancient times in China as the “Gougu” theorem and in India as the “Bhaskara” theorem. This actually was old news by the *florut* of Pythagoras, since it had been discovered and utilized by Babylonian mathematicians at least 1,500 years before the guy had been so much as a gleam in his daddy’s eye. –Nevertheless, Morris Kline, an American historian of mathematics, has decried the mathematical knowledge of the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians as “the scrawling of children just learning how to write” (it was all Greece to Morris Kline, you see).
3. In the previous year, 1823, Adrien Legendre had proved Fermat’s Last Theorem for exponents of 5:

$$z = \sqrt[5]{(x^5 + y^5)} \text{ is false.}$$

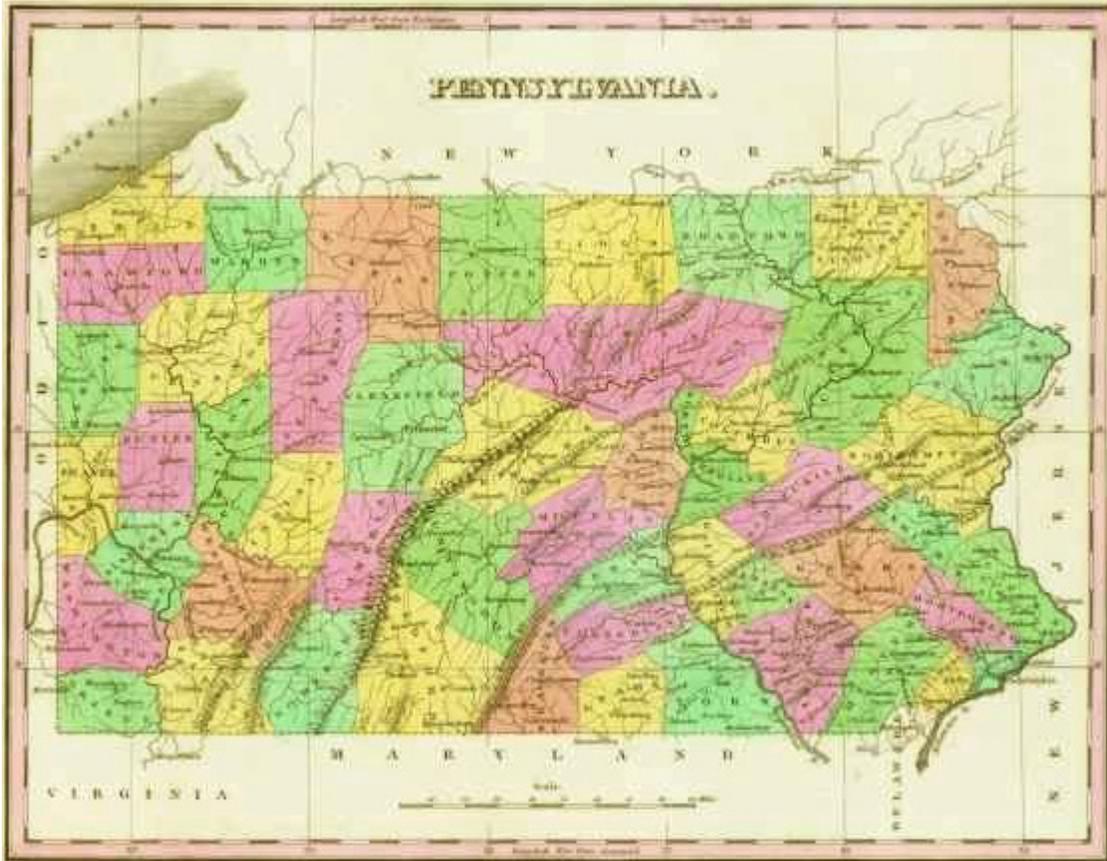
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municipality, for Snow's HISTORY OF BOSTON.

MAPS OF BOSTON

Anthony Finley's and Joseph Perkins's A NEW GENERAL ATLAS: COMPRISING A COMPLETE SET OF MAPS, REPRESENTING THE GRAND DIVISIONS OF THE GLOBE, TOGETHER WITH THE SEVERAL EMPIRES, KINGDOMS AND STATES OF THE WORLD; COMPILED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND CORRECTED BY THE MOST RECENT DISCOVERIES (60 pages). A copy of this would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).



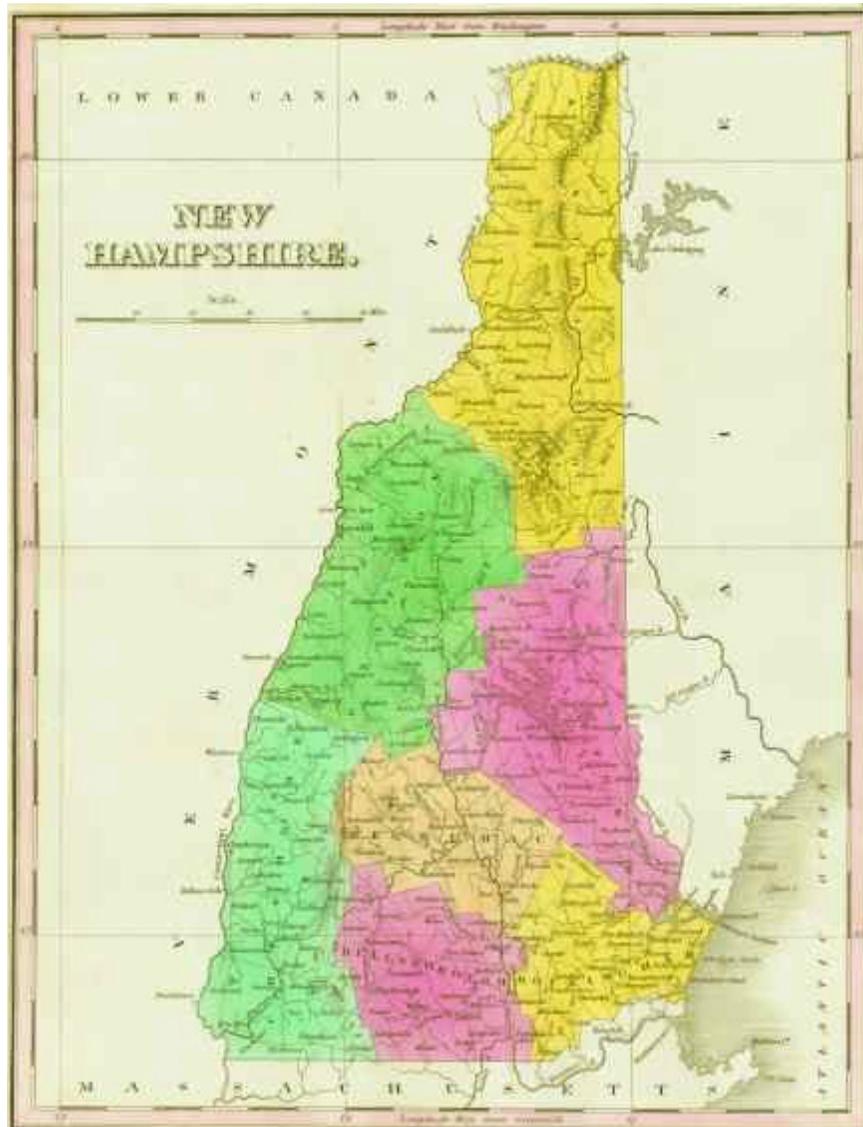
THE FINLEY ATLAS

David Thompson conducted surveys to locate the “most northwest point of the Lake of the Woods.” Under Article Seven of the Treaty of Ghent, the international boundary ran through the Great Lakes to this point, thence due south to the 49th parallel. Thompson decided that this ill-defined point should be either at the present position of Kenora or at the northern point of an inlet now known as Northwest Angle Inlet.

CARTOGRAPHY

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In [Concord](#), the incorporation of the Proprietors of the Concord Social Library. Read yourself to death!

A *Library Company* was formed February 23, 1786. Whether there had previously been a library in town, and if any, how long it continued, and its number of volumes, is not known. A "Charitable Library Society" was formed May 25, 1795, depending chiefly on the voluntary donations of its members for support. Jonathan Fay, Esq., Jonas Minott, Esq., and the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#) were successively presidents of this society. Its members united with others and composed the "Proprietors of the Concord Social Library," and were incorporated in 1824. The presiding officers since have been the Rev. [Ezra Ripley](#), the Hon. Samuel Hoar, the Hon. [John Keyes](#), and the Hon. Abiel Heywood. The library, divided into 50 shares, contains about 900 volumes [1835] and



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constantly increases by the addition of new publications.⁴

4. [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.)



1824

1824

John C. Breed, [Concord](#)'s barber and notorious drunkard, was found dead on the road. He had a son who became a day laborer and likewise became a drunkard, with whom Thoreau would describe an encounter in [WALDEN](#). The cellar hole of his habitation is located just into the Walden Woods off the northern end of what is now the Fairyland Woods parking lot on Walden Street:(Contrary to what some have presumed, the Breeds were not persons of color. They derive from an Allen Breed who had arrived in Lynn in 1630, probably bringing children born in England, and in 1656 married there a 2d time with Elizabeth Knight, also of English ancestry.)

In this year the town of [Concord](#) combined the function of Treasurer and the function of Collector.

In [Concord](#), Jonathan Hildreth continued as a Selectman.

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

[John Keyes](#) of [Concord](#) was a Senator.

The collective maintenance of the town poor at an Alms House and Poor Farm, which had in 1821 cost [Concord](#) \$1,450, in this year was accomplished at a cost of but \$1,200.



WALDEN: Nearer yet to town, you come to Breed's location, on the other side of the way, just on the edge of the wood; ground famous for the pranks of a demon not distinctly named in old mythology, who has acted a prominent and astounding part in our New England life, and deserves, as much as any mythological character, to have his biography written one day; who first comes in the guise of a friend or hired man, and then robs and murders the whole family, -New England Rum. But history must not yet tell the tragedies enacted here; let time intervene in some measure to assuage and lend an azure tint to them. Here the most indistinct and dubious tradition says that once a tavern stood; the well the same, which tempered the traveller's beverage and refreshed his steed. Here then men saluted one another, and heard and told the news, and went their ways again.

Breed's hut was standing only a dozen years ago, though it had long been unoccupied. It was about the size of mine. It was set on fire by mischievous boys, one Election night, if I do not mistake. I lived on the edge of the village then, and had just lost myself over Davenant's Gondibert, that winter that I labored with a lethargy, -which, by the way, I never knew whether to regard as a family complaint, having an uncle who goes to sleep shaving himself, and is obliged to sprout potatoes in a cellar Sundays, in order to keep awake and keep the Sabbath, or as the consequence of my attempt to read Chalmers' collection of English poetry without skipping. It fairly overcame my Nervii. I had just sunk my head on this when the bells rung fire, and in hot haste the engines rolled that way, led by a stragglng troop of men and boys, and I among the foremost, for I had leaped the brook. We thought it was far south over the woods, - we who had run to fires before,- barn, shop, or dwelling-house, or all together. "It's Baker's barn," cried one. "It is the Codman Place," affirmed another. And then fresh sparks went up above the wood, as if the roof fell in, and we all shouted "Concord to the rescue!" Wagons shot past with furious speed and crushing loads, bearing, perchance, among the rest, the agent of the Insurance Company, who was bound to go however far; and ever and anon the engine bell tinkled behind, more slow and sure, and rearmost of all, as it was afterward whispered, came they who set the fire and gave the alarm. Thus we kept on like true idealists, rejecting the evidence of our senses, until at a turn in the road we heard crackling and actually felt the heat of the fire from over the wall, and realized, alas! that we were there. The very nearness of the fire but cooled our ardor. At first we thought to throw a frog-pond on to it; but concluded to let it burn, it was so far gone and so worthless.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

JOHN C. BREED
JOHN CODMAN



WALDEN: So we stood round our engine, jostled one another, expressed our sentiments through speaking trumpets, or in lower tone referred to the great conflagrations which the world has witness, including Bascom's shop, and, between ourselves we thought that, were we there in season with our "tub", and a full frog-pond by, we could turn that threatened last and universal one into another flood. We finally retreated without doing any mischief, -returned to sleep and Gondibert. But as for Gondibert, I would except that passage in the preface about wit being the soul's powder, - "but most of mankind are strangers to wit, as Indians are to powder."

It chanced that I walked that way across the fields the following night, about the same hour, and hearing a low moaning at this spot, I drew near in the dark, and discovered the only survivor of the family that I know, the heir of both its virtues and its vices, who alone was interested in this burning, lying on his stomach and looking over the cellar wall at the still smouldering cinders beneath, muttering to himself, as is his wont. He had been working far off in the river meadows all day, and had improved the first moments that he could call his own to visit the home of his fathers and his youth. He gazed into the cellar from all sides and points of view by turns, always lying down to it, as if there was some treasure, which he remembered, concealed between the stones, where there was absolutely nothing but a heap of bricks and ashes. The house being gone, he looked at what there was left. He was soothed by the sympathy which my mere presence implied, and showed me, as well as the darkness permitted, where the well was covered up; which, thank Heaven, could never be burned; and he groped long about the wall to find the well-sweep which his father had cut and mounted, feeling for the iron hook or staple by which a burden had been fastened to the heavy end, -all that he could now cling to,- to convince me that it was no common "rider." I felt it, and still remark it almost daily in my walks, for by it hangs the history of a family.

Representatives of [Carlisle](#) to the General court of Massachusetts (not represented in 1825):

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

Representatives of Lincoln⁵

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

➔ Deacon [Francis Jarvis](#) turned the bakery in the Wright Tavern of [Concord](#) over to his son [Francis Jarvis, Jr.](#)



➔ The following material is from an 1859 publication by Louis A. Surett, printed in [Concord](#) and entitled BY-LAWS OF CORINTHIAN LODGE, OF ANCIENT, FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS, OF CONCORD, MASS., WITH ... BIOGRAPHIES OF ALL THE PAST MASTERS; AND A HISTORY OF THE LODGE, INCLUDING BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES....:

5. Ibid



In the year 1824, an association was formed called "Bunker Hill Monument Association," to erect monuments in Concord and Bunker Hill. The association deemed it important that the corner stones should be laid on the fiftieth anniversaries of the great events which these monuments were intended to commemorate. Subscription papers were circulated throughout the State, calling upon the citizens to contribute to an object so praise-worthy and patriotic.

On the return of these papers it was found that about seventy thousand dollars had been subscribed, of which sum five hundred dollars were allotted for the erection of a monument at Concord, - about the amount subscribed in this town. Under fair promises that a larger amount would at some future time be appropriated to Concord, the citizens of this town, agreeably to the wishes of the association, took measures to lay the corner stone on the 18th of April, 1825, after which the \$500 were placed in the hands of three trustees, viz.: Samuel Burr, Daniel Shattuck and Josiah Davis, with directions to place the money on interest. On the decease of Samuel Burr, Ephraim Merriam was chosen in his place.

A large number of the citizens of Concord disapproved of the selection of the site for the monument, being (on the square, about five feet east of the liberty pole,) nearly half a mile from the North Bridge, where the "Concord Fight" occurred. In the winter of 1825 and '26, a sham monument about twenty feet high, was erected in the night time -of empty casks and boards- over the foundation of the monument, with the following inscription:

This monument is erected here to commemorate the battle which took place at the North Bridge.

On the following night the structure was burned down, the intense heat injuring the corner stone. The mischief was doubtless intended to express disapprobation of the place selected.

Nothing further was done about a monument until March 1834, when Bro. Rev. Ezra Ripley submitted certain proposals to the town, which were submitted to the trustees. At the town meeting April 7th, 1834, the trustees reported

that they had conferred with Dr. Ripley, who, feeling desirous that the proposed monument should be erected near the spot where the events which it was intended to commemorate took place, had submitted to them the following proposals for the acceptance of the town,

viz.: -

That a monument be erected near the site of the ancient bridge (North Bridge), and Dr. Ripley offers to give for that purpose a piece of land eighty feet wide measuring from the wall southerly, and from a point ninety feet easterly of the great elm tree to the middle of the river, with a passage-way leading to said piece of land from the county road thirty feet wide within the walls, on conditions that the grounds be fenced with a good stone wall, and that a monument be erected within three years from the fourth day of July next....

The place selected for the erection made by one who felt a deep interest in the events of the 19th of April, 1775, and who was an eye-witness of many scenes of the Revolution.



James Buchanan, Esq. (British Consul to the State of New York).⁶ SKETCHES OF THE HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS, OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS WITH A PLAN FOR THEIR MELIORATION (New York: William Borradaile, two volumes in one). This work confessedly had based itself not upon any direct experience of the native American tribes but instead merely upon a reading of Moravian missionary [John Gotlieb Ernestus Heckewelder](#)'s AN ACCOUNT OF THE HISTORY, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS, OF THE INDIAN NATIONS, WHO ONCE INHABITED PENNSYLVANIA AND THE NEIGHBOURING STATES, which although published in 1819 had never been made extensively available (and Heckewelder had died in 1823). Buchanan had been



assisted in its preparation by Samuel Farmar Jarvis. Its material on Indian languages included a chapter by Peter Stephen DuPonceau. [Henry David Thoreau](#) would have a copy of this in his personal library. The [Concord Free Public Library](#) now has, under accession number 14003, a copy from [Bronson Alcott](#)'s library (rebound in green cloth), that was in 1878 presented to the library by [Louisa May Alcott](#) (raising a possibility that Thoreau's volume had been inherited by Alcott in 1862).

FOR THEIR MELIORATION

James Buchanan, H.B.M. Consul, was the long-term Elder of the New-York congregation of Scotch Baptists. The young Henry James, Sr., a follower of the thought of Sandeman, Walker, and Buchanan, had enlisted in this sect. To understand his faith, consult James Buchanan's 1845 THE ORDER TO BE OBSERVED IN A CHURCH OF GOD (London: Jones and Dublin: Carson). Buchanan was a true believer in unrestrained capitalism: market regulation was always mistaken. Here is THE FATHER, by Alfred Habegger:

James's new congregation was headed by James Buchanan – not the future President but rather Her Majesty's consul in New York. For two decades this man had not only represented the mother country in business and diplomatic affairs but also functioned as the crucial link between radical congregational separatists in Britain and America. If the tiny Anglo-American movement to restore the primitive church had a pope, it must have been Buchanan, who was nearing the end of a remarkable life by the time young James came within his reach. Starting out in northern

6. It is clear that there was no close relation between this James Buchanan, Esq., a British official out of Ireland, and the future American president also named James Buchanan. He had been born on February 1, 1772 at Strathroy, Omagh, in County Tyrone of Ireland, had gotten married on December 24, 1798 with Elizabeth Clarke, served as the British Consul in New York from 1816 into 1844, and would die on October 10, 1851. Most of his children settled in Canada. In his will he would mention a "silver dirk, which it is alleged, has been about four hundred years in the family," bequeathing this thingie that had been lying around to his son Robert Buchanan (perhaps so that it would be lying around in the family for yet another four hundred years).



Ireland thirty years earlier, he had established a pioneering breakaway congregation and a large nonsectarian school for both Protestant and Catholic children. In some respects, his vision was similar to that of the early Reformation Anabaptists and Mennonites: he advocated passive obedience of one's king, adult baptism, and a believers' church modeled on the New Testament reports of the earliest Christian gatherings. "I close my labors," he wrote in old age, "by calling on all to come out from every system of worship in which *the authority of Man* in any manner, or way, has place." He opposed all forms of coercion in religion, he favored Catholic emancipation in Britain, and he denounced the "separation of castes" in "the slave-holding states of America." But Buchanan was no leveler: he aligned himself with big-money interests, extolled New York State's liberal banking laws, and argued against every kind of restrictive governmental intervention in the economy. He was a free-market missionary who proclaimed "the principle of free agency and self-dependence," and yet he was a Tory who spoke out against democracy, universal suffrage, education of the lower classes, the weakening of parental authority. Proud of his own virility, he boasted of having fathered seventeen children. He recommended that seduced women be transported to asylums in distant colonies. Self-taught, opinionated, and armed with a remedy for every evil, Her Majesty's consul now took on the additional task of regulating young Henry James. Meeting at 183 Canal Street, Buchanan's congregation sanctioned only those practices that were explicitly ordained by New Testament precedent. Every prayer had to be on those "subjects mentioned by the apostles." Because Christ did not die for those who depend on their own good deeds, there were no rules requiring members "to believe they must abstain from Balls, Theatres, and gross violations of rules of morality" before taking Communion. (The Sandemanians' tolerant view of the stage helps explain why James, breaking with the custom of his class, took his children to numerous plays in the late 1840s and early 1850s.) Every worship service included a collection designed to transfer money from rich to poor members. Instead of a sermon, there was an "exhortation and teaching." Any brother who had a gift to speak was encouraged to do so, always remembering to be plain and simple and avoid "the sermonizing, logic, and display of learning, by which so many [clergymen] get their living." An ordinary municipal guidebook from 1839, *NEW-YORK AS IT IS*, vividly captures the marginality of James's new fellowship. In the long section that lists Manhattan's many churches, the Presbyterians proudly lead off with thirty-four congregation. They are the dominant sect, followed by the Episcopalians, the Methodists, the Baptists, and so forth. Finally, there is a catch-all category, "Miscellaneous," which includes a New Jerusalem Church and a Floating Bethel. At the absolute end of the list of Gotham's houses of worship comes James's church - "Primitive Christians, 183 Canal, Mr. Buchanan." Other congregations were led by a man with a "Rev." in front of his name. The son of William and Catherine James had traveled very far from his childhood moorings.

So, how did this British author recommend that the ascendant white man “meliorate” the lot of the remaining native American tribalists? His grand concept was that the crown should set aside a 4,000,000-acre tract of land in the Lake Huron/Lake Simcoe region as a single massive race-asylum for all redskins regardless of tribal affiliation, and grant to the firm but benign administrators of this Royal Asylum all funding already allocated for all such purposes. The charter of the white men in charge of this asylum was to emphasize that “It is above all things necessary to lead the Indians to a sense of Christianity.” Sarcastically, it would seem to me that if the motto of Auschwitz would be *ARBEIT MACH FREI*, the motto of this woodland concentration camp might parse as BE A CHRISTIAN BUT DON’T TRY TO LEAVE.

 [Professor William Jackson Hooker](#)’s ACCOUNT OF SABINE’S ARCTIC PLANTS.

Publication of an enlarged edition of [Dr. Jacob Bigelow](#)’s 1814 *FLORULA BOSTONIENSIS*, A COLLECTION OF PLANTS OF BOSTON AND ITS VICINITY. (A further enlarged edition of this localized [botanical](#) sourcebook would appear in 1840. [Henry Thoreau](#) would make extensive use of it.)



FLORULA BOSTONIENSIS



May 29: It is evident that the virtues of plants are almost completely unknown to us— And we esteem the few with which we are better acquainted unreasonably above the many which are comparatively unknown to us. Bigelow says —“It is a subject of some curiosity to consider, if the knowledge of the present *Materia Medica* were by any means to be lost, how many of the same articles would again rise into notice and use. Doubtless a variety of new substances would develop unexpected powers, while perhaps the poppy would be shunned as a deleterious plant, and the cinchona might grow unmolested upon the mountains of Quito.” ... He says Ginseng, Spigelia, Snake-root, &c. form considerable articles of exportation.... At one time the Indians above Quebec & Montreal were so taken up with searching for Ginseng that they could not be hired for any other purpose. It is said that both the Chinese & the Indians named this plant from its resemblance to the figure of a man

BIGELOW

GINSENG

1824

1824

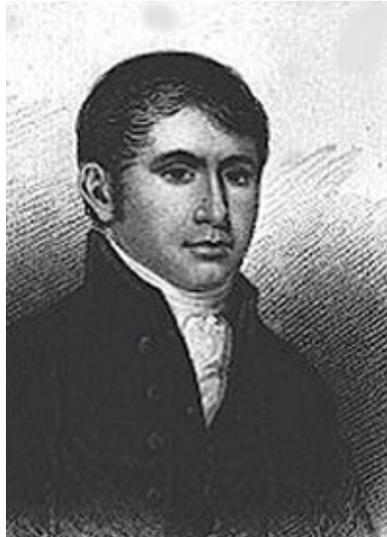
➡ [Georg Heinrich Bode](#)'s *ORPHEUS / POETARUM GRAECORUM ANTIQUISSIMUS. AUCTORE GEORGIO HENRICO BODE COMMENTARIO PRAEMIO ORNATA* (Gottingae: Typis Dieterichianis).

GEORG HEINRICH BODE

(We have reason to believe that [Henry Thoreau](#) would consult this work.)



➡ [Friend Bernard Barton](#)'s *POETIC VIGILS* (London: Baldwin, Cradock, and Joy, Paternoster Row).⁷



“THE QUAKER POET”

7. In about 1841, [Henry Thoreau](#) would copy from this [Quaker](#) poet into his Literary Notebook.



1824

1824

 During this year or the next, [Margaret Fuller](#), age 15, would write to [General Lafayette](#):

*Sir,
the contemplation of a character such as yours
fills the soul with a noble ambition. Should we both live,
and it is possible to a female, to whom the avenues of glory
are seldom accessible, I will recal [sic] my name
to your recollection.*

 In this year a volume of [Harvard College](#) records was published.
As you might imagine, they needed to do it up in Latin:

HARVARD RECORDS

At the [Divinity School](#), some gentlemen commenced their studies:

William Hunt White
Daniel Austin (Dartmouth College)
George Washington Burnap
Caleb Stetson
Christopher Tappan Thayer
William H. White
William Augustus Whitwell

(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 of a position and a salary.)

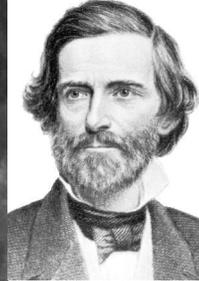
NEW "HARVARD MEN"

1824

1824



[Samuel Gridley Howe](#) graduated from [Harvard Medical School](#) and sailed to participate for six years in the Greek revolution, first as a soldier, then as a surgeon, then as a participant in the postwar reconstruction.



Professors [George Ticknor](#), [Edward Everett](#), and [George Bancroft](#), as high-minded academic emissaries from the backwaters in America, went off to Europe to witness real cultural currents. These three Harvard men (Ticknor the professor of belles lettres; Everett the professor of classics, Bancroft the tutor) would later become important in Massachusetts politics. While in Europe the three scholars would come belatedly in contact with the writings left behind by [Herr Professor Immanuel Kant](#), Johann Gottlieb Fichte, Friedrich von Schelling, as well as with the contemporary writings of [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#). Contact with German metaphysicians would reinforce the conservatism of Ticknor and Everett while developing in Bancroft what has been referred to as “democratic ideals.” Once safely back in Cambridge, the three would serve as catalysts for the new view of the world. Ticknor would advocate a really higher education, such as transforming [Harvard](#) into a university by broadening its curriculum and testing and grading students rather than tolerating advancement through mere seniority. The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) would also be being challenged by these three visitors to real culture, from the 1830s on, to formulate his new Unitarianism.



1824

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Graduates from [Harvard College](#) in this year with the degree of Bachelor of Arts included the 21-year-old Salem heir [Elias Hasket Derby](#) (his "Calculation and Projection of a Lunar Eclipse" is still on file there <<http://oasis.harvard.edu:10080/oasis/deliver/~hua17004>>):

Graduated with Class of 1824	Died
Francis Amory, A.M.	1881
James Winthrop Andrews, A.M.	1842
David Hatch Barlow, A.M.; Div. S. 1829	1864
William Hazzard Wigg Barnwell	1863
Zephaniah Ames Bates	1842
John Francis Bingaman	1828
Edward Blake, A.M.	1873
Duncan Bradford	1887
George Washington Burnap; A.M.; Div. S. 1827; S.T.D. 1849	1859
Charles Henry Carter	1871
Samuel Adams Cooper, A.M.	1840
Phineas Miller Crane, A.M.; M.D.	1828
Benjamin Cutter; A.M.; M.D. 1827, Univ. Pa. 1857	1864
Elias Hasket Derby , A.M.	1880
George Bucknam Dorr, 1866	1876
Robert Brent Drane, 1825; A.M. 1841; S.T.D. Univ. N. C. 1844	1862
John Thomas Philip Dumont; A.M.	1852
Alexander Clarke Dunbar	1852
Stephen Elliott ; A.M.; P.E. Bishop Ga.; Prof. Sacr. Lit. So. Car. Coll.	1866
Edward Bliss Emerson, (I); A.M.	1834
Joseph William Faber; A.M.	1861
Benjamin Franklin Fisk	1832
Richard Fuller; S.T.D. 1853, Columbian (D.C.) 1844	1876
Lewis Glover; A.M. 1828	1839
John Mark Gourgas; A.M.	1862
John Henry Gray; A.M.	1850
John Grenough	1852
Alfred Greenwood, Andover Theol. Sem. 1827	1868



William Horton, Andover Theol. Sem. 1827; S.T.D. Hobart 1858	1863
Lucius Virgil Hubbard	1849
William Pitkin Huntington; M.D. 1835	1885
Asa Farnsworth Lawrence, Principal Groton (now Lawrence) Acad.	1873
Edmund Lewis LeBreton; A.M.	1849
Thomas Lowndes	1833
George Lunt	1885
William Perkins Matchett; A.M.	1834
Artemas Bowers Muzzey; A.M.; Div. S. 1828; S.T.D. Tufts 1890; Overseer	1892
William Newell; A.M.; Div. S. 1829; S.T.D. 1853; Memb. Mass. Hist. Soc.	1881
Joseph Osgood; M.D. 1827	1876
John Cochran Park; A.M.; LL.B. 1827	1889
Samuel Parker	1882
Samuel Parker Parker; S.T.D., Union 1861	1880
William Edward Payne; A.M.	1838
Henry Coit Perkins; M.D. 1827; Fellow Am. Acad.	1873
Edward Pickering	1876
William Pratt; A.M. 1828	1842
Benjamin James Prescott	1838
Samuel Cordes Prioleau; A.M.	1831
Charles Gideon Putnam; A.M.; M.D. 1827; Fellow Am. Acad.	1873
Daniel Clark Relf; A.M.	1876
David Roberts; A.M.	1879
George Thomas Sanders; A.M.	1856
Nathaniel Silsbee; A.M. 1862; Treasurer 1862 - 1876	1881
Calvin Stephen Smith	1838
Joseph Lewis Stackpole; A.M.; LL.B. 1828	1847
William Gordon Stearns; A.M.; LL.B. 1827	1872
Jeremiah Chaplin Stickney, 1825	1869
Caleb Morton Stimson; A.M.; LL.B. 1827	1860



1824

1824

Christopher Toppan Thayer; A.M.; Grad. Div. S. 1827	1880
Augustus Torry; M.D. 1827	1880
Charles Church Chandler Tucker	1836
Henry Samuel Tudor	1864
Stephen Palfrey Webb	1879
George Wheatland, A.M.	1893
William Wilson Wheelwright	1832
George Whitney; A.M.; Grad. Div. S. 1829	1842
William Augustus Whitwell; A.M.; Grad. Div. S. 1827	1865
Samuel Williams	1884

1824

1824

Although a South Carolinian, the [Stephen Elliott](#) above was not the botany professor whose textbook was available to Henry Thoreau, as that botanist had graduated from Yale College. The above Harvard graduate was [Stephen Elliott, Jr.](#), the botanist's son, who would become the Protestant Episcopal Bishop of the Confederate States of America.

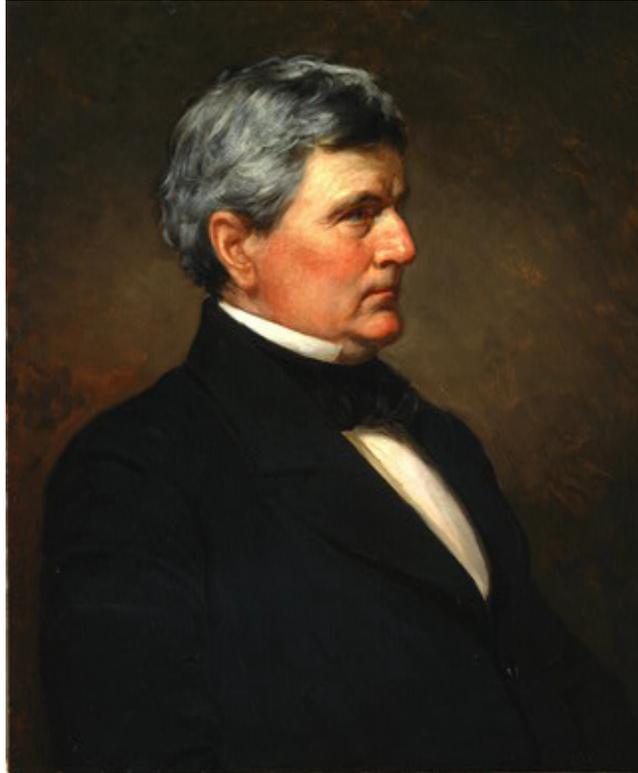


[Dr. John Edwards Holbrook](#) assisted in the organization of The Medical College of South Carolina, and became its Professor of Anatomy (the Professor of Obstetrics and Diseases of Infants was Thomas Grimball Prioleau, Professor of Chemistry was Edmund Ravenel, the Professor of the Institutes and Practice of Physic was Samuel Henry Dickson, the Professor of Botany and Natural History was [Stephen Elliott](#) (the Yale

1824

1824

botanist father, not the Harvard bishop son), and the Professor of Materia Medica was Henry Rutledge Frost).





Per [Walter Roy Harding](#)'s THE DAYS OF [HENRY THOREAU](#): A BIOGRAPHY (NY: Knopf, 1966):

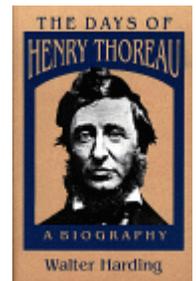
“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

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.



“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

In 1823 uncle [Charles Jones Dunbar](#) discovered [graphite](#) in New Hampshire and invited [John Thoreau](#) to join Dunbar and Stow Pencil Makers back in [Concord](#). Henry’s [Concord](#) youth was “typical of any small town American boy of the 19th century.”

Henry attended Miss Phœbe Wheeler’s private “infants” school, then the public grammar school, where he studied the Bible and English classics such as [William Shakespeare](#), [John Bunyan](#), Dr. Samuel Johnson and the Essayists.

Henry was considered “stupid” and “unsympathetic” by schoolmates he would not join in play, earning the nicknames “Judge” and “the fine scholar with the big nose.” At school he was withdrawn and anti-social but he loved outdoor excursions.

From 1828-1834 Henry attended [Concord Academy](#) (Phineas Allen, preceptor). Allen taught the classics -[Virgil](#), Sallust, [Caesar](#), [Euripides](#), [Homer](#), Xenophon, [Voltaire](#), Molière and Racine in the original languages- and emphasized composition.

Henry also benefitted from the Concord Lyceum and particularly the natural history lectures presented there.



"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

WALTER HARDING'S BIOGRAPHY

Chapter 3 (1833-1837) -Thoreau enters Harvard (president Josiah Quincy), having barely squeezed by his entrance exams and rooming with Charles S. Wheeler

Thoreau's Harvard curriculum: Greek (8 terms under Felton and Dunkin)-composition, grammar, "Greek Antiquities," Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Sophocles, Euripides, Homer. Latin Grammar (8 terms under Beck and McKean)-composition, "Latin Antiquities," Livy, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Juvenal. Mathematics (7 terms under Pierce and Lovering) English (8 terms under ET Channing, Giles, W&G Simmons)-grammar, rhetoric, logic, forensics, criticism, elocution, declamations, themes. Mental Philosophy (under Giles) [Paley](#), Stewart. Natural Philosophy (under Lovering)-astronomy. Intellectual Philosophy (under Bowen) Locke, Say, Story. Theology (2 terms under H Ware)-[Paley](#), Butler, New Testament. Modern Languages (voluntary) Italian (5 terms under Bachi) French (4 terms under Surault) German (4 terms under Bokum) Spanish (2 terms under Sales) Attended voluntary lectures on German and Northern literature (Longfellow), mineralogy (Webster), anatomy (Warren), natural history (Harris).

Thoreau was an above average student who made mixed impressions upon his classmates.

In the spring of '36 Thoreau withdrew due to illness -later taught for a brief period in Canton under the Rev. Orestes A. Brownson, a leading New England intellectual who Harding suggests profoundly influenced Thoreau.

(Robert L. Luce, January-March 1986)



Allen, Gay Wilson. "A New Look at Emerson and Science," pages 58-78 in LITERATURE AND IDEAS IN AMERICA: ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF HARRY HAYDEN CLARK. Robert Falk, ed. Athens OH: Ohio UP, 1975

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Allen examines NATURE and [Waldo Emerson](#)'s attitudes toward science in the light of four of Emerson's early lectures. These lectures, given in 1833-34, were about science, and were titled "The Uses of Natural History," "On the Relation of Man to the Globe," "Water," and "The Naturalist." Allen's 1975 essay furthers the work done by Harry Hayden Clark in his 1931 essay "Emerson and Science;" Clark did not have access to these lectures.

The first lecture, "The Uses of Natural History," was, Allen says, a "preliminary sketch" for NATURE. In this lecture Emerson elaborated on the uses of nature much as he did in NATURE: how nature contributes to human health (beauty, rest); to civilization (with due Emersonian skepticism about technology); to knowledge of truth (here Allen discusses the influence of geology on Emerson: how the age of the earth and the slowness of earth's transformative processes confuted traditional religious doctrine); and to self-understanding (nature as language that God speaks to humanity – nature as image or metaphor of mind) (60-64).

Emerson's second lecture, "On the Relation of Man to the Globe," was also a preliminary sketch for NATURE. In this lecture, Allen says,

Emerson drew heavily on his readings in geology, along with some biology and chemistry, and attempted to demonstrate how marvelously the world is adapted for human life. (64)

Emerson's sources included Laplace, Mitscherlich, Cuvier; his arguments echoed Lamarck (evolution, nature adapted to humans) and [the Reverend William] Paley (argument from design) (64-67).

The third lecture, "Water," was Emerson's "most technical" according to Allen, which is, perhaps, why it is not discussed at any length. It is also not assessed for its scientific accuracy. Allen does say that Emerson "read up on the geological effects of water, the laws of thermodynamics, the hydrostatic press, and related subjects" (67).

Allen says that Emerson's fourth lecture, "The Naturalist," "made a strong plea for a recognition of the importance of science in education" (60). Emerson "emphasized particularly the study of nature to promote esthetic and moral growth" (67). Emerson wanted science for the poet and poetry for the scientist; the fundamental search for the *causa causans* (67-69). He was reading Gray and other technical sources, observing nature, and reading philosophers of science, especially Coleridge and Goethe (68).

Allen says that the value of these lectures is not merely the light they shed on Nature but what they reveal about "his reading and thinking about science before he had fused his ideas thus derived with the Neoplatonic and 'transcendental' ideas of Plotinus, Swedenborg, Wordsworth, Coleridge, Carlyle, and seventeenth-century English Platonists" (69).

“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Allen concludes that [Waldo Emerson](#)’s theory of nature in NATURE is derived far more from Neoplatonism than modern scientific knowledge, but Emerson was not turning his back on science; he wanted instead to spiritualize science, to base science on the theory that the physical world is an emanation of spirit, “the apparition of God” (Chapter 6), or “a projection of God in the unconscious.” (70)

Allen contends that Emerson’s theory anticipates Phenomenology in its emphasis on mind/world interactions and correspondences. Science, Allen says, continued to have a “pervasive influence” on Emerson’s thought even after 1836:

Indeed, the two most basic concepts in his philosophy, which he never doubted, were “compensation” and “polarity,” both derived from scientific “laws,” i.e. for every action there is a reaction, and the phenomena of negative and positive poles in electrodynamics. To these might also be added “circularity,” which translated into poetic metaphors the principle of “conservation of energy.” (75)

One could argue, I think, that these scientific laws were themselves “derived from” philosophical and metaphysical speculations (e.g. Kant); their life-long conceptual importance to Emerson, in other words, does not seem precisely described as scientific.

[Cecily F. Brown, March 1992]

 RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1824. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Brown and Danforth.

RHODE-ISLAND REGISTER AND UNITED STATES CALENDAR FOR 1824. [Providence](#): Brown and Danforth.

 John Beardslee, founder of Beardslee City, [New York](#), died.

Martin Van Buren declined to back Andrew Jackson, causing a split in the Democratic Republican Party.

Evangelist Charles G. Finney began his career, in western [New York](#).

The steamboat Martha Ogden was built at Sackets Harbor, financed in part by Rochester, [New York](#) merchants.

Richard McDaniels settled in Connewango, [New York](#).

Ebenezer Mack, publisher of Ithaca, [New York](#)’s Seneca Republican, took on William Andrus as a partner.

The late land agent Paolo Busti was replaced by John J. Vander Kemp.

The approximate date Alexander Heimup built a house at 200 Main Street in Penn Yan, [New York](#).



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H. G. Spofford's Gazetteer of the State of [New York](#) was published.

When Troy, [New York](#) hardware merchant John Spencer died, his partner Erastus Corning bought out Spencer's heirs to make himself full owner.

Syracuse, [New York](#) was incorporated as a city.

This was approximately the year editor Benjamin Smead turned Bath's Farmers' Advocate and Steuben Advertiser over to his sons.

The 7th Regiment of the [New York State](#) Militia took the title National Guards.

Evangelist Charles G. Finney began his career, in western [New York](#).

Richard McDaniels settled in Connewango, [New York](#).

Ebenezer Mack, publisher of Ithaca, [New York](#)'s Seneca Republican, takes on William Andrus as a partner.

The late land agent Paolo Busti was replaced by John J. Vander Kemp.

Auburn, [New York](#): The Auburn system of prison management was implemented, ending universal solitary confinement.

William Henry Seward got married with Frances Miller, daughter of his senior law partner Judge Elijah Miller. Miller gives them a house.

Canandaigua, [New York](#): The 2d County Court House (later City Hall) was completed.

A.N. Phelps began publishing the Canandaigua Republican. He would soon sell the paper to Thomas B. Barnum who would run it for a short time.

The home of Dr. E. Carr at 50 Gibson Street was completed.

Boston architect Francis Allen's home for Alexander McKechnie was completed.

David E. Evans became a director of the Ontario Bank and the Western Insurance Company.

Chautauqua Lake, [New York](#): A bursting dam destroyed Robert Miles's log canoe, used for freighting on the lake since 1806.

Elisha Allen built a horse-boat scow for the Chautauqua to Maysville passenger run. Powered by two pair of horses alternating hourly, the run required ten hours.

Rochester, [New York](#): The village got its first theater.

A visitor was robbed of \$1,800 at a gambling shop.

St. Luke's Episcopal Church was built.

The wooden Main Street bridge across the Genesee River was replaced by a new wooden one on stone piers,



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at half the cost of the previous, 1812, one.

The aqueduct was completed.

Colonel Nathaniel Rochester's Washington Street home was completed. He was named a subscription manager for the new Bank of Rochester.

Thurlow Reed became editor of the Telegraph.

The First Presbyterian Church was built.

 MISSIONARY JOURNAL AND MEMOIR OF THE [REV. JOSEPH WOLFF](#), WRITTEN BY HIMSELF; REVISED AND EDITED BY JOHN BAYFORD (London: J. Duncan).

 Since in this year a group of members of Kahal Kadosh Beth Elohim formed the Reform Society of Israelites, Beth Elohim in [Charleston, South Carolina](#) is now recognized as the birthplace of Reform [Judaism](#) in the United States.

Founding in [Charleston](#) of the Medical College of [South Carolina](#), initial medical school in the South (today Medical University of South Carolina).

 The Springfield [Republican](#) newspaper was started by Samuel Bowles (eventually he would hire [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) as one of his editors).

 [Jens Esmark](#), paying attention to evidence that glaciers had once been larger and thicker, covering much of Norway and the adjacent sea floor, argued that there might have been a sequence of worldwide ice ages. He proposed that these glaciations might have been caused by changes in climate due to changes in this planet's orbit. The glaciations had produced Norway's deep fjords. Over the following years such ideas would be discussed and taken over in parts by Swedish, Scottish, and German scientists. At the University of Edinburgh, Professor [Robert Jameson](#) seemed relatively open to Esmark's theory — his remarks about ancient glaciers in Scotland seem to have been prompted by Esmark. Another scientist who adopted Esmark's theory was Professor [Albrecht Reinhard Bernhardt](#) of Dreissigacker, Germany, who would propose in 1832 that a *ungeheuere Eismeer* colossal sea of ice had extended from the Polar region to create the erratics and moraines of the Northern European Plain.”

THE SCIENCE OF 1824

OUR MOST RECENT GLACIATION

 [Dr. Samuel George Morton](#) began the practice of medicine at Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. He became a member of the Academy of Natural Sciences.

 An instrument maker in Pottgiessen devised the ring and crescent key for the [flute](#).

This was before the internet. If you had bookish research to do, such as research into many, many old dictionaries in various languages, you needed to go where copies of those books were being store. With no Google Books as yet, these books could not come to you. Therefore, to inspect the contents of the great libraries, such as the Bibliotheque on the Continent, and the libraries of Cambridge and Oxford in England, [Noah Webster](#) needed to leave his family in Connecticut and go off on a multiple-year journey. That's just the way it was in those bad old days.

 After offering concerts in [Milan](#) and [Genoa](#), [Nicolò Paganini](#) traveled with Antonia Bianchi to [Venice](#) and Trieste, where he resided with the Genoese merchant and music connoisseur Agostino Samengo. In Genoa he met Sivori and promised to write music for the enfant-prodiges "Camillino," who was at that time not more than 10 years of age.

 A Brighton brewer, John Vallance, took out two patents for an apparatus which improved to some degree upon the invention of Sir John Leslie of 1804 for absorbent cooling, that is, for the production of artificial ice in all climates.

COOLNESS

 Dr. [John White Webster](#) became an associate editor of the [Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts](#) (until 1826).

 In a news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology, Charles Babbage met with the Chancellor of the British Exchequer, Fred Robinson and –because he had previously sold his soul to the devil in return for the backing of [Arthur Wellesley](#), the [1st Duke of Wellington](#) – was able to secure pledges of government support for his computerization project, pledges which over a period of time he would be able to take to the bank to the tune of over £7,500 in development funding.⁸ This was at the time far greater than the greatest commitment the British government had ever made to the realization of any single invention. The prototype of the Difference Engine, vast and beautiful, now sits in the Kensington Science Museum, a tribute to British handicraft. Although it did not use electricity, which everyone nowadays assumes to be essential to computerization, but instead used cranks and gears and pulleys and shafts, it did work, and not after a fashion, but fully. Had it gone into production, the arguable benefits and traumas of computerization would have come to us a century earlier. Babbage's prototype Analytical Engine never existed except on paper and in demonstration parts, but modern analysis shows that this design, also, would have worked had it been funded and completed. The problem was not in the concept, but was in the lack of the infrastructure which would have been required properly to implement the concept.

8. The [Duke of Wellington](#), who had taken his smart pill, could see how important computers were going to be for the future of warfare: calculating the probable point of arrival of a naval artillery shell on a mapped shoreline, for instance, on the basis of a calculated gunship position obtained by sextant, so as to be able to achieve the surprise of first-round effectiveness. Real progress. The sort of thing Duke Reagan was so easily persuaded of, if you remember, by weapons system experts telling him that we could use our "smart bombs" and "delivery systems" to surprise Khaddafi in Tripoli without running the risk of surprising any of that man's children.



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[William Hypolitus Keating](#) (1799-1844)'s NARRATIVE OF AN EXPEDITION TO THE SOURCE OF ST. PETER'S RIVER, LAKE WINNEPEEK, LAKE OF THE WOODS, &C. &C. PERFORMED IN THE YEAR 1823, BY ORDER OF THE HON. J.C. CALHOUN, SECRETARY OF WAR, UNDER THE COMMAND OF STEPHEN H[ARRIMAN] LONG, MAJOR U.S.T.E. COMPILED FROM THE NOTES OF MAJOR LONG, MESSRS. [THOMAS] SAY, KEATING, AND [JAMES EDWARD] COLHOUN, BY WILLIAM H. KEATING, A.M. &C. PROFESSOR OF MINERALOGY AND CHEMISTRY AS APPLIED TO THE ARTS, IN THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA; GEOLOGIST AND HISTORIOGRAPHER TO THE EXPEDITION (Philadelphia: H.C. Carey & I. Lea — Chesnut Street) supposed that the Hoka or Root River that he crossed at a latitude of 43° 47' 57" North was the one referred to by [Baron Lahontan](#), judging that "it is impossible to read the Baron Lahontan's account of this river, without being convinced that the greater part, if not the whole, of it is a deception. By his own account he must have ascended it upwards of one hundred and eighty leagues; have met on its bank three distinct nations, the Eokoros, the Essanapes, and the Gnacsitares, the names of which are not recorded by any later traveller; have seen a population considerably greater than that which could have existed there: in a word, his description bears such evident marks of fiction, that we can credit no part of it."

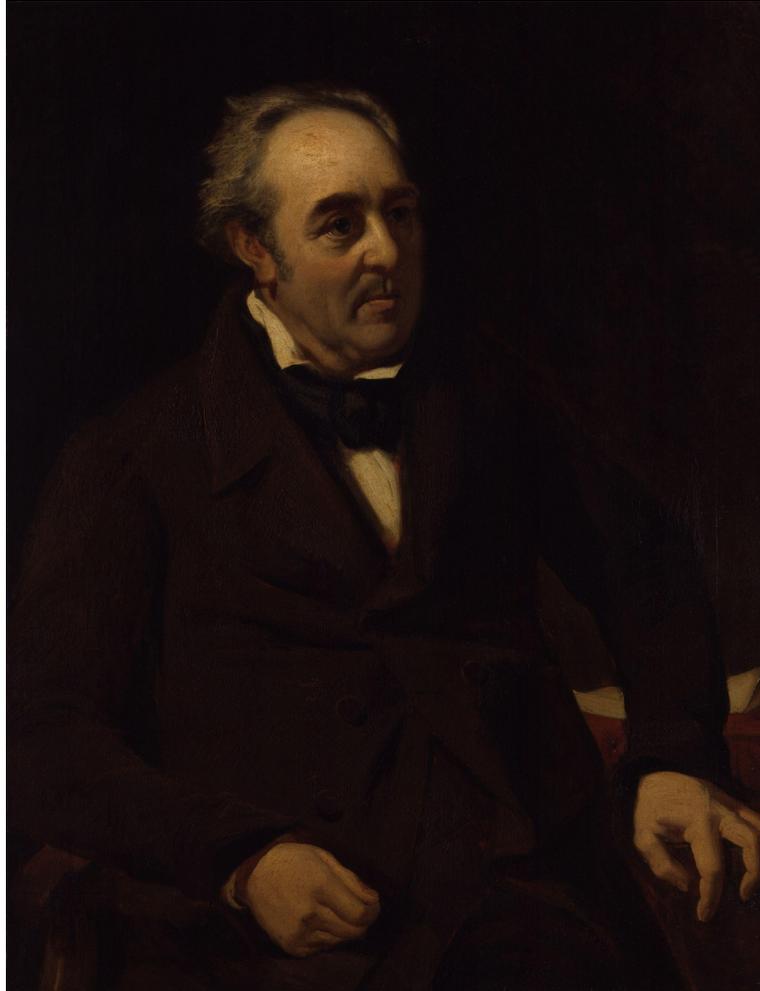
WILLIAM H. KEATING

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 Leopold II was made Grand Duke of [Tuscany](#) (until 1859).

The 1st and 2d volumes of [Walter Savage Landor](#)'s [IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS OF LITERARY MEN AND STATESMEN](#) (London: Taylor and Hessey).



IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS
IMAGINARY CONVERSATIONS



After December 23, 1845: ... {*One-fourth page blank*} [Landor](#)'s works are
 1st A small volume of poems 1793 out of print
 next Poems of "Gebir" "Chrysaor", the "Phocaeans" &c
 The "Gebir" eulogized by Southey & Coleridge
 Wrote verses in Italian & Latin.
 The dramas "Andrea of Hungary" "Giovanna of Naples" and "Fra Rupert."
 "Pericles & Aspasia"
 "Poems from the Arabic & Persian" 1800 pretending to be translations.
 "A Satire upon Satirists, and Admonition to Detractors" printed 1836 not published
 Letters called "High & Low Life in Italy"
 "Imaginary Conversations"
 "Pentameron & Pentalogia"

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR

“Examination of William Shakspeare before Sir Thomas Lucy, Knt., touching Deer-stealing.”
{*One-fourth page blank*} Vide again Richard’s sail in “Rich. 1st & the Abbot”
Phocion’s remarks in conclusion of “Eschines & Phocion”
“Demosthenes & Eubulides”
In Milton & Marvel speaking of the Greek poets –he says
“There is a sort of refreshing odor flying off it perpetually; not enough to oppress or to satiate; nothing is beaten or bruized; nothing smells of the stalk; the flower itself is half-concealed by the Genius of it hovering round.”
Pericles & Sophocles
Marcus Tullius Cicero & his Brother Quinctus in this a sentence on Sleep and Death.
Johnson & Tooke for a criticism on words. {*Three-fifths page blank*} ...

 [Salma Hale](#) was a member of the [New Hampshire](#) Senate. He received an honorary AM degree from the University of Vermont.

At least by this date the practice of leaving a register, in which the climbers could enter their names and dates, had begun at Mount Washington in the White Mountains of [New Hampshire](#), since at the time this was being alleged to be the tallest mountain on the North American continent (and therefore the peak I’m-at-the-top-of-it-all experience of an American’s life).

 [Barnard Hanbury](#) was presented to the congregation of Bury St. Mary in Suffolk as their new vicar, by his relative Osgood Hanbury, Esq.

 [Francis Hall](#)’s (anonymous) LETTERS WRITTEN FROM COLOMBIA DURING A JOURNEY FROM CARACAS TO BOGOTÁ, AND THENCE TO SANTA MARTHA, IN 1823 (London: Printed for G. Cowie & Co. 31, Poultry).

LETTERS FROM COLOMBIA

 [Josiah Clark Nott](#) graduated at South Carolina College.

 The initial volume of [William Godwin](#)’s HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND FROM ITS COMMENCEMENT TO ITS RESTORATION (4 volumes, until 1828; London: H. Colburn). He discontinued his “Juvenile Library.”

 Upon the creation of the Athenæum Club, [George Waddington](#) was one of the initial members.



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

ELLIOTT'S BOTANY, I
ELLIOTT'S BOTANY, II

The botanist had been an early and active campaigner for the establishment of a Medical College of South Carolina, and at this point was able to become its professor of natural history and botany (this would continue until his death in 1830).

The new Mystic, Connecticut, schooner Harriet, carrying a cargo of naval stores from Plymouth, North Carolina, on its maiden voyage, was destroyed by fire in New-York Harbor.

 [Alexander William "Will" Doniphan](#) graduated from Augusta College.

 [Seth Eastman](#) of Maine was 16 when he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York.

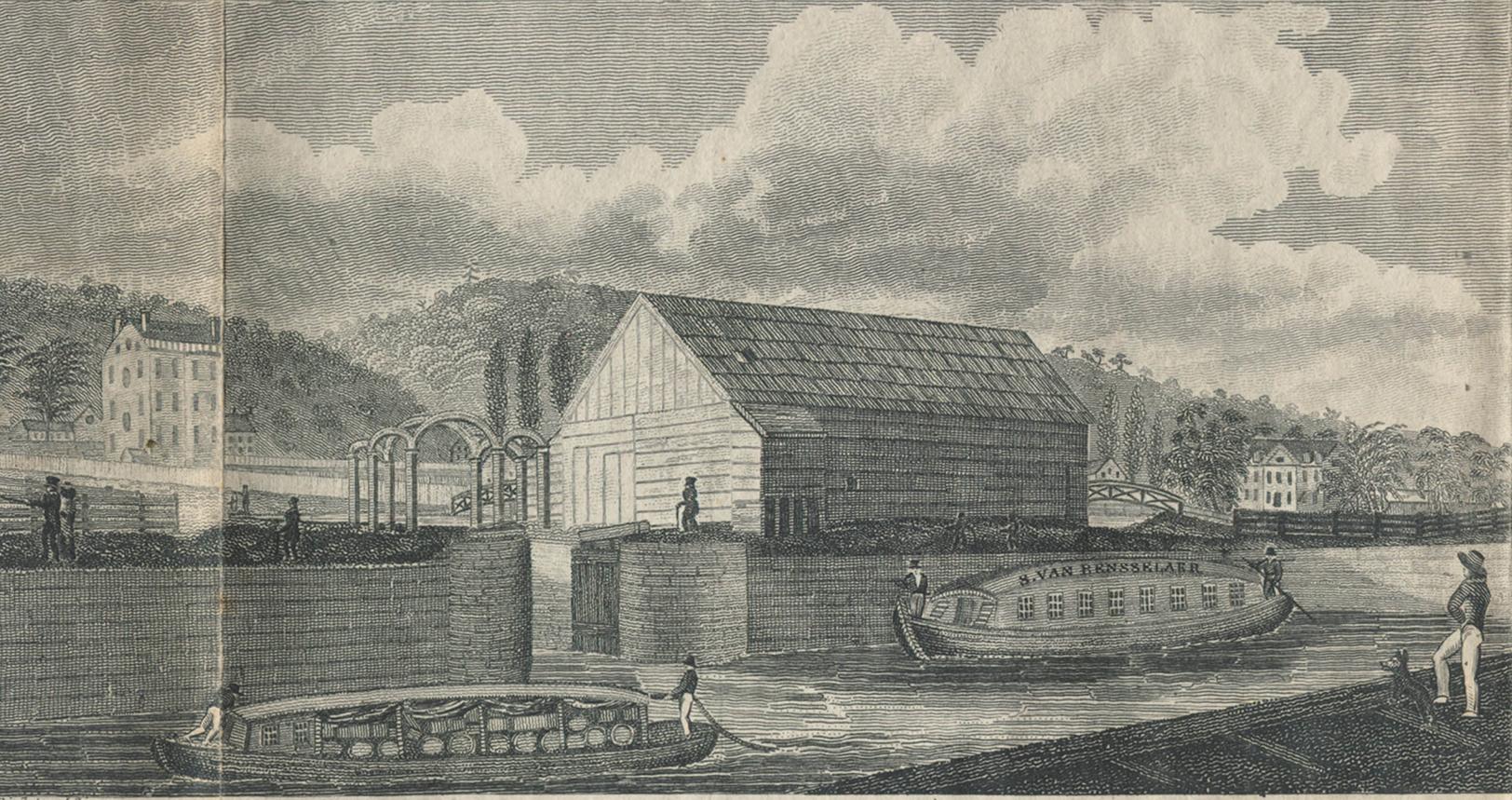
 Dr. [James Ellsworth De Kay](#)'s "A notice of the *Testudo ferox*, Penant" ([Papers on Natural History](#) Volume 1 Number 2:30), and his and James Renwick's "Observations on the structure of *Trilobites* and description of an apparently new genus by J.E. De Kay; with notes on the geology of Trenton Falls, by James Renwick" ([Annals of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York](#) Volume 1 Number 1:174-185).

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[Amos Eaton](#)'s A GEOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SURVEY OF THE DISTRICT ADJOINING THE [ERIE CANAL](#) IN THE STATE OF [NEW YORK](#). TAKEN UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE HON. STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER (Albany: Packard & Van Benthuysen).



ENTRANCE OF THE CANAL INTO THE HUDSON AT ALBANY

The first pier of the new Genesee River aqueduct was carried away by spring floods.

[Erie Canal](#) construction served as Utica's water supply aqueduct.

Professor Eaton's report on the rock formations along the route of the future [Erie Canal](#), commissioned by Stephen Van Rensselaer, is published.

The aqueducts at Crescent and at Rexford were completed, as was the entire [Erie Canal](#) distance between Schenectady and Albany.

The river and guard locks of the [Erie Canal](#) at Tonawanda were completed.

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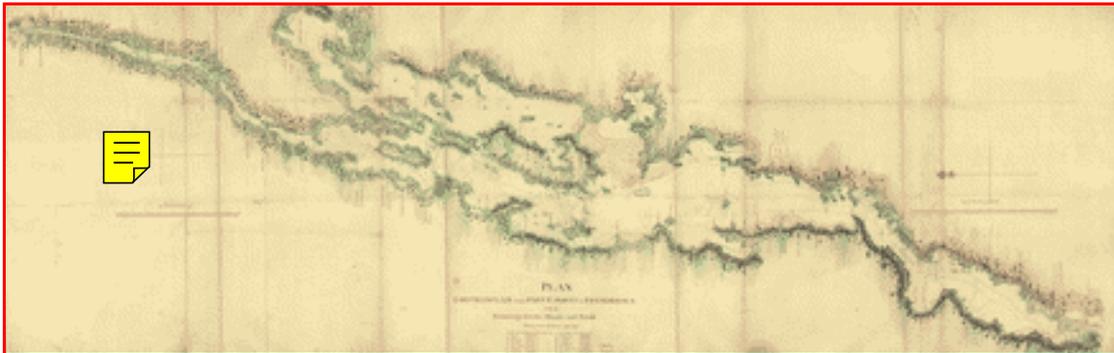
1824

➡ Publication of the initial volume of [Henri Benjamin Constant de Rebecque](#)'s *DE LA RELIGION, CONSIDÉRÉE DANS SA SOURCE, SES FORMES ET SES DÉVELOPPEMENTS* (Paris: Bosange).



DE LA RELIGION, 1

➡ [James Fenimore Cooper](#) accompanied 4 English noblemen (including future prime minister Edward Stanley) on a tour of Saratoga, Ballston, Lake George, Ticonderoga, and Lake Champlain. While in Little Falls, [New York](#) he decided to write LAST OF THE MOHICANS.



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 [John Farmer](#)'s 7-page "Memoir of the Penacook Indians" was published as an Appendix to Moore's ANNALS OF CONCORD.



Volume III of [John Farmer](#)'s and [Jacob Bailey Moore](#)'s COLLECTIONS, HISTORICAL AND MISCELLANEOUS; AND MONTHLY LITERARY JOURNAL: COMPREHENDING HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF INDIAN WARS; AND OF THE SUFFERINGS OF CAPTIVES. CIVIL, POLITICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY. TOPOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES. MEMOIRS AND ANECDOTES OF EMINENT PERSONS. ORIGINAL COMMUNICATIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. MISCELLANEOUS COLLECTIONS FROM AMERICAN JOURNALS. POETRY, ORIGINAL AND SELECTED. ORIGINAL LETTERS; ANECDOTES, AND CURIOUS FRAGMENTS. AGRICULTURAL EXPERIMENTS AND USEFUL INVENTIONS. STATISTICAL TABLES. LITERARY NOTICES. CASUALTIES AND DEATHS. EDITED BY J. FARMER AND J.B. MOORE. Concord [New Hampshire]: Published by J.B. Moore. Of the 3-volume set, the initial volume published in 1822 by Hill & Moore and reprinted in 1831 by H.R. & J.W. Moore, and the 2d volume published



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in 1823 by J.B. Moore, this 3d volume would be in the personal library of Henry Thoreau and would be mentioned at three points in *A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS*, on pages 119-122, 161, and 168.⁹

JOHN FARMER, 1822

JOHN FARMER, 1823

JOHN FARMER, 1824



THE WORKS OF [THOMAS CAREW](#) (Edinburgh: W. & C. Tait).

THOMAS CAREW'S WORKS



[Professor Philip Karl Buttmann](#) was made a knight of the Prussian Red Eagle of the 3d class. Republication in London of [Edward Everett](#)'s English translation of Professor Buttmann's *GRIECHISCHE SCHUL-GRAMMATIK*, titled GREEK GRAMMAR FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS, FROM THE GERMAN OF PHILIP BUTTMANN.¹⁰

9. Thoreau's personal library would also contain a map of Michigan and "Ouisconsin" territories by a John Farmer (1798-1859) and we should bear in mind that this map was an entirely different person from this local New Hampshire historian John Farmer (1789-1838).

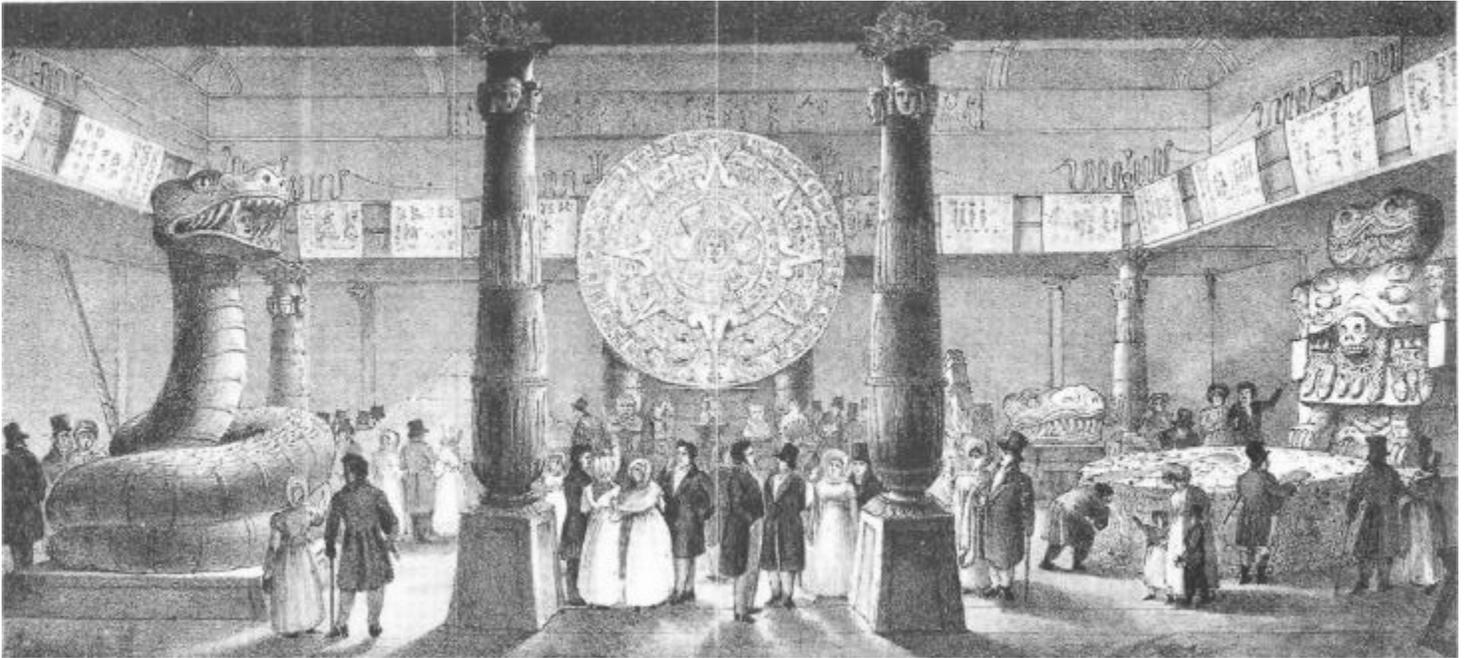
10. During this year Professor Buttmann was issuing his *ERKLÄRUNG DER GRIECHISCHEN BEISCHRIFT AUF EINEM ÄGYPTISCHEN PAPHYRUS*. In this year he suffered his initial attack of apoplexy.

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[William Bullock](#)'s SIX MONTHS' RESIDENCE AND TRAVELS IN MEXICO; CONTAINING REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW SPAIN, ITS NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, STATE OF SOCIETY, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AGRICULTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES, &C. (London: John Murray). Also, his *LE MEXIQUE EN 1823, OU RELATION D'UN VOYAGE DANS LA NOUVELLE-ESPAGNE, CONTENANT DES NOTIONS EXACTES ET PEU CONNUES SUR LA SITUATION PHYSIQUE, MORALE ET POLITIQUE DE CE PAYS* (Paris: Alexis-Eymery).



Once he was back in [London](#), Bullock staged one exhibit on Ancient [Mexico](#) and another exhibit on Modern Mexico at his Egyptian Hall on Piccadilly: A DESCRIPTION OF THE UNIQUE EXHIBITION CALLED ANCIENT MEXICO: COLLECTED ON THE SPOT IN 1823 BY THE ASSISTANCE OF THE MEXICAN GOVERNMENT, AND NOW OPEN FOR PUBLIC INSPECTION AT THE EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY (Printed for the proprietors). Also, his CATALOGUE OF THE EXHIBITION, CALLED MODERN MEXICO: CONTAINING A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE CITY, WITH SPECIMENS OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF NEW SPAIN ... AT THE EGYPTIAN HALL, PICCADILLY (Printed for the proprietor).



The [Russians](#) began to train special sharpshooters who would crawl forward on their bellies to fire from behind cover. (The tactic would be copied by the Germans in 1915 and would become the basis for stormtrooper tactics used during the Ludendorff offensive of March 1918.)¹¹



[Jean-Baptiste Say](#)'s “*Sur la balance des consommations avec les productions,*” *Revue Encyclopédique*.



[William John Broderip](#) edited the 4th edition of R. CALLIS UPON THE STATUTE OF SEWERS. He was elected a member of the Linnean Society, presumably because of his work on conches.

11. Every war they kill you a new way.

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➡ The [Reverend Professor Thomas Warton, D.D.](#)'s THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH POETRY: FROM THE CLOSE OF THE ELEVENTH TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY (Ed. Richard Price. London: T. Tegg, 1824).



- THOMAS WARTON I
- THOMAS WARTON II
- THOMAS WARTON III
- THOMAS WARTON IV

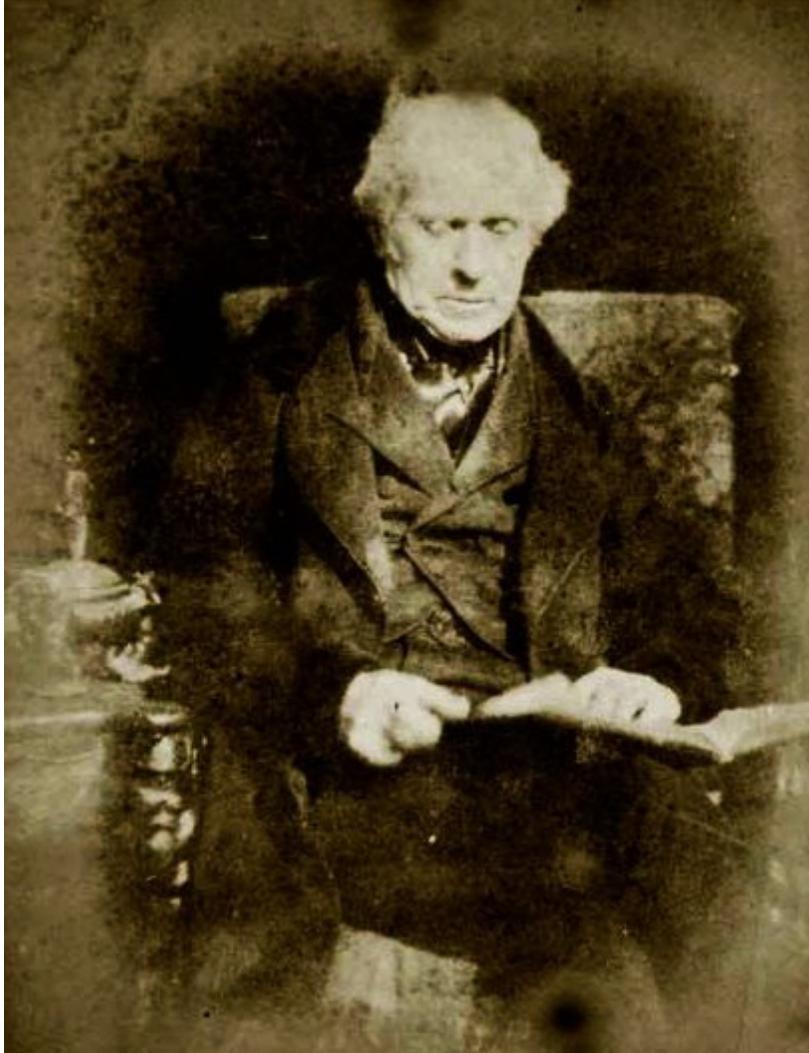
➡ The [Reverend John Josias Conybeare](#) delivered the Bampton lectures for this year at Oxford University. His brother the [Reverend William Daniel Conybeare](#) and and the [Reverend Professor William Buckland, D.D.](#), [E.R.S.](#) published a memoir on the south-western coal district of England.

THE SCIENCE OF 1824

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→ [David Brewster FRS](#) provided notes and an introduction to Carlyle's translation of Legendre's ELEMENTS OF GEOMETRY. Parting company with Robert Jameson, Brewster started the Edinburgh Journal of Science, 16 volumes of which would appear under his editorship during the years 1824-1832.



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 [Charles-Lucien Jules Laurent Bonaparte](#) recommended the then unknown [John James Audubon](#) for membership in this Academy of Natural Sciences — only to run into intransigent opposition from [George Ord](#), who had been the special sidekick of the deceased ornithologist [Alexander Wilson](#) (and would eventually be buried at his side in the cemetery of Gloria Dei Church in Philadelphia.)



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➡ [Baron Joseph-Marie de Gérando](#)'s *DU PERFECTIONNEMENT MORAL, OU DE L'ÉDUCATION DE SOI-MÊME* (Paris).



SELF-EDUCATION; OR ...

➡ [James Hogg](#)'s *THE PRIVATE MEMOIRS AND CONFESSIONS OF A JUSTIFIED SINNER* and Sir [Walter Scott](#)'s *REDGAUNTLET* (one notices interesting similarities between these works).

1824'S NEW LITERATURE

➡ The Reverend [John Lauris Blake](#) became the rector of St. Matthew's Church, Boston, and subsequently devoted himself entirely to literary work. He was editor of the "Literary Advertiser" and the "Gospel Advocate," and was an active member of the Boston school committee for several years.

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➡ From this year until 1827, [Asher Benjamin](#) would be designing a home for Colonel John Black¹² at Ellsworth, Maine (now repurposed as the Woodlawn Museum).



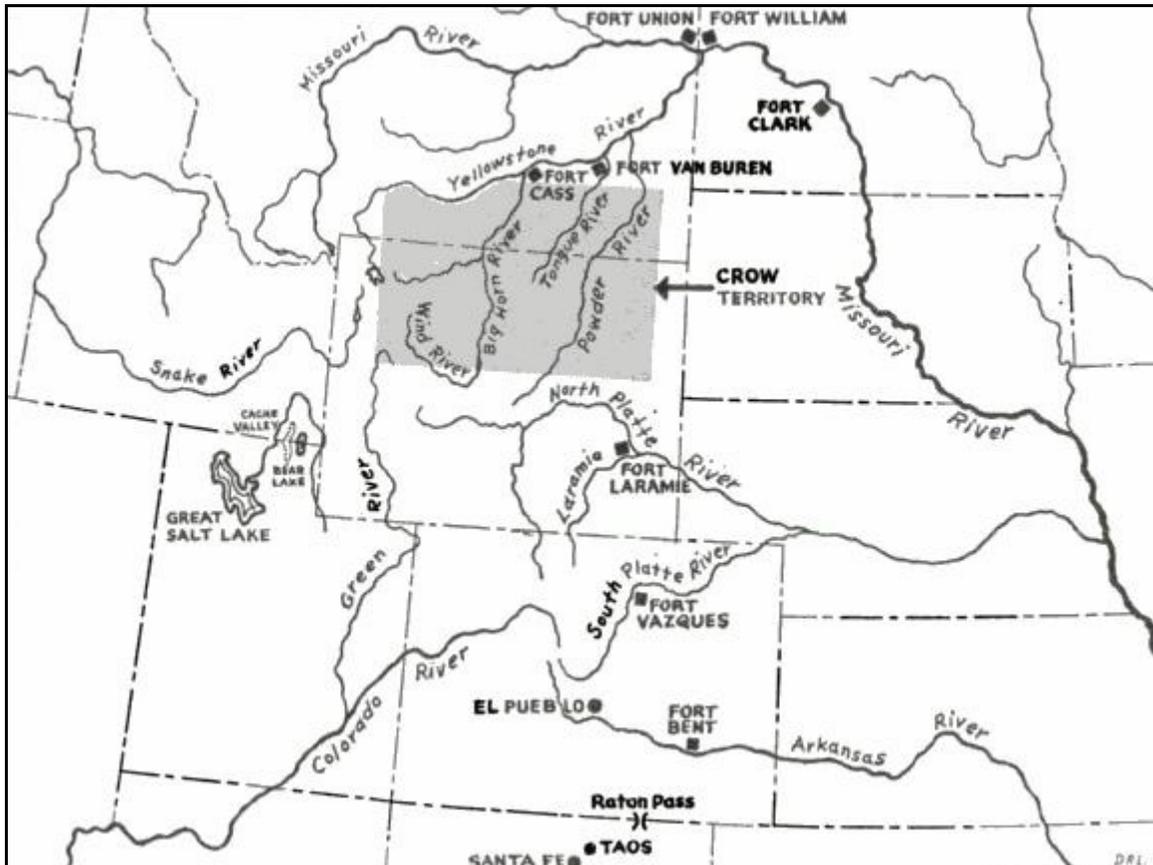
➡ [John Russell Bartlett](#) became a clerk in the dry goods store of an uncle, in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (he would watch the columns being raised for the Arcade). He would later become a bookkeeper and cashier at Cyrus Butler's Bank of North America.

12. Black had a nose for timber speculation.

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➡ [James Pierson Beckwourth](#) joined General William Henry Ashley's Rocky Mountain Fur Company, as a wrangler on its expedition of exploration.



➡ A description of the aged Reverend [Timothy Alden](#) of Yarmouth, Massachusetts in this year would eventually be published in Volume I of Frederick Freeman's THE HISTORY OF CAPE COD (page 231):

We vividly recall the appearance of this aged gentleman, as we saw him last, at the ordination of Mr. Hersey at Barnstable, in 1824. Seated among the clergy and distinguished attendants on the platform, his antique wig conspicuous, in small-clothes, with knee and shoe buckles, and three-cornered hat lying near by – objects of interest to the young, – we regarded his venerable aspect with thoughts running back to antiquity. He sat there, as sometimes stands a solitary, aged oak surrounded by the younger growth of a later period. It was to us the last exhibition of the great wigs and cocked hats; it left also impressions of a bygone age long to be remembered.

➡ Glenlivet Distillery was founded by John Smith. Clearly, “Scotch [whiskey](#)” is nowhere near as old as the demon [rum](#) that was being produced from [sugar cane](#) by the application of [slave](#) labor.



BECKWORTH RESCUES GENERAL ASHLEY FROM AN ENRAGED BUFFALO.

1824

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After decades of battles between the Dutch and English over control of the East Indian [spice](#) trade, a formal treaty gave the Dutch control of the Malay Archipelago, minus North Borneo. The British were settled with North Borneo, the Malay mainland, [India](#), Ceylon, and Singapore.

PLANTS



By the time [Jane C. Webb](#) turned seventeen years of age her father Thomas Webb, Esq. had through speculation become penniless — and then he died. Casting about for a way to support herself as an orphan, she would author “a strange, wild novel, called THE MUMMY, in which I had laid the scene in the twenty-second century,¹³ and attempted to predict the state of improvement to which this country might possibly arrive.” This effort in a strange genre (which would of course need to be published under a male pen name) would come to the attention of [John Claudius Loudon](#).



JANE WEBB LOUDON

13. The term “science fiction” had not yet been coined. It would only be in the late 19th Century that the genre would come to be termed “scientific romance,” and then “futurism” would be toyed with — the abbreviation “sci-fi” is a coinage of the late 1940s and early 1950s.

1824

1824

 Publication of the autobiography of the aged revolutionary soldier Israel Ralph Potter (1744-1826).

ISRAEL RALPH POTTER

 [John Leonard Knapp](#) was elected a Honorary Member of the Bristol Philosophical & Literary Society.

 Following the defeats of the [Emperor Napoléon](#), France began to recover its colonial empire. Between 1824 and 1914 it would be adding close to 3.5 million square miles and some 50 million people. It would begin to take over what became French North Africa (Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco) starting in this year, by means of an expedition against the Algerian pirates. The French would later take over what would become French Indo-China (Laos, Cambodia, and [Vietnam](#)).

In [Vietnam](#), Minh Mang outlawed the teaching of Christianity.

 David Douglas visited [Bartram's Garden](#), and was back in England by January 1824.

BOTANIZING

 John Torrey published [FLORA OF THE NORTHERN AND MIDDLE SECTIONS OF THE UNITED STATES: OR A SYSTEMATIC ARRANGEMENT AND DESCRIPTION OF ALL THE PLANTS HITHER TO DISCOVERED IN THE UNITED STATES NORTH OF VIRGINIA](#) (T. and J. Swords). He led American botanists in the adoption of the natural system of classification developed by Antoine-Laurent de Jussieu and promoted by [Alphonse Louis Pierre Pyramus de Candolle](#).



BOTANIZING

[Professor Augustin Pyramus de Candolle](#) and his son [Alphonse](#) began the *PRODROMUS SYSTEMATIS NATURALIS REGNI VEGETABILIS* (this project would be completed in 1873 with the aid of Alphonse's son Casimir de Candolle).

1824

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➡ Publication at London of [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

STUDY THE 7TH EDITION



On holiday in Brighton [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#) was alarmed by the presence of beggars and sponsored a Brighton District Visiting Society the members of which were to visit the homes of the poor to see what might be done. Soon such visiting societies would be springing up all over Britain.

➡ “Kriegspiel” began, on a map of the French/Belgian border. This board game was to become such an obsession in the Prussian army that game sets would be distributed to each regiment. An extremely complex war simulation, this would come to be highly regarded after the Prussian army somehow achieved numerous military successes (with the defeat of Germany in World War I, it would become apparent that such simulations do not always correspond well with actual boots-on-the-ground warfare).

➡ The [New Jersey](#) legislature passed a resolution in favor of establishing a foreign colony to allow for the “entire [emancipation](#) of the [slaves](#) in our country” (P.L. 1824, page 191).

➡ Jonas Wheeler became President of the Senate of [Maine](#).

➡ Stephen Minott (2) was appointed County Attorney for Essex.

1824

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Friend John [Cadbury](#) returned to Birmingham, England and started a business next to his father's drapers shop in Bull Street, selling [tea](#), [coffee](#), [hops](#), mustard, and drinking [chocolate](#). The emphasis, in this [Quaker](#) establishment, was going to be on the highest quality. The establishment began to produce, as a breakfast beverage, "Cocoa Nibs."



The drummer known as "King Charley" or "Carolus Africanus Rex" or "Charley of the Pinkster Hill," who once presided over [Pinkster](#) Day in [New York](#), died at a reputed age of 125 years.

Negro Election Day would, until 1841, be an annual event in [Rhode Island](#). In the document below, we see that the Rhode Island politician Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior of [Little Rest](#) (now [Kingston](#)), who in 1818 had made an unsuccessful bid for state governor and was at this point serving in the state House of Representatives, involved himself to a degree in this celebration.

This reminisce by Jonathan P. Helme is from the Providence [Journal](#) for October 31, 1874 and is headlined "Recollections of Little Rest (Now Kingston) Hill, and its Surroundings Some Fifty Years Ago":

Among the servants of the late E.R. Potter, was one by the name of John Potter. In those days it was the custom of the colored population of the State to elect each year a governor, and on one occasion John was the elect. The governor was installed in June and the headquarters were at Fulling Mills, as it was then called, now Apponaug. On the occasion of his installation, Mr. Potter told his servant John to take the best horse in his stable, as he had a number, among them a fine span of large bays, for his journey to Apponaug, about twenty miles. He selected one of the span, a noble large horse, and with the assistance of Mr. John T. Nichols [sadler in Little Rest], his horse was beautifully caparisoned. Early on the morning of the day, the governor elect, mounted on his splendid steed, dressed in fine style, viz., blue coat, short waist, swallow tail, with a profusion of guilt [sic] buttons, red sash, black pants, put inside of a pair of boots, with white tops, and a handsome pair



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of silver-mounted spurs, together with a white hat, a large black plume with a red top, completed his regimentals. There were quite a number of our citizens assembled to see the governor elect start for the capital. He was met by a very large delegation of his colored fellow citizens about half way between Greenwich and Apponaug, with a band of music, consisting of three drums and two fifes (in those days the French horns, key bugles, etc..., were not known.) As soon as his appearance was noted, the band struck up "Hail to the Chief;" both sides of the road were lined with spectators, the ladies waving their 'kerchiefs, and the gentlemen their hats, while the governor with hat in hand bowed to the populace, his head nearly touching his horse's head. On his entrance to the village, the band played "Washington's March." If any one had told the governor on this occasion, as a slave once told a heroic Roman general, that with all this pomp and show he "was nothing but a man," he would have spurned him from his sight.

...About this time Mr. E.R. Potter was urgently solicited to accept the nomination for Governor of this State. He declined, stating as one of his reasons, that one Governor in a family was sufficient.

We remember this Elisha Reynolds Potter, Senior of Little Rest, don't we? He was the guy who, some four years earlier, back in about 1820, had made the serious error of having his employee [Cato Pearce](#), a black Rhode Islander, thrown in the local jail merely for going off on a Sunday to preach — an error for which he needed to apologize, and for which he did in fact attempt to apologize. So, what do we have here, in about 1824, when we see this guy helping another of his black employees, John Potter, prepare for the important local Pinkster event?

Was this brass-balled, bull-necked politico still, in 1824, trying to make amends? Was he trying to make himself more racially sensitive? Was he learning to "go along and get along"? (It does warm one's heart, to hear of this sort of thing.)

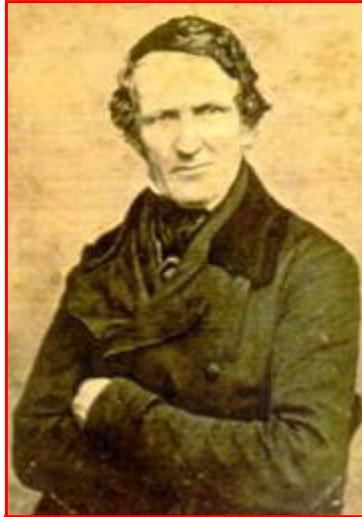


The British government decreed that the distance of one yard should be defined by the period of a pendulum, placed in Greenwich, with a period of one second.

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➡ At the age of 32, [Alvan Fisher](#) was able to sail to Europe for study at art schools in [Paris](#). Soon he would be copying paintings in the galleries of the Louvre.



➡ Two guys ferrying apples and cider went over the [Niagara Falls](#) (miraculously, one of their barrels of cider would be found to have survived the plunge).

➡ In [Rhode Island](#), James Fenner was in charge.

➡ The song “From Greenland’s Icy Mountains.”

➡ Israel Potter, a private at the “Bunker Hill” fight who had become a chair mender in [London](#), dictated his LIFE AND REMARKABLE ADVENTURES OF ISRAEL R. POTTER to the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) printer Henry Trumbull. (Refer to Herman Melville’s ISRAEL POTTER: HIS FIFTY YEARS OF EXILE, dedicated to “His Highness the Bunker-Hill Monument.”)

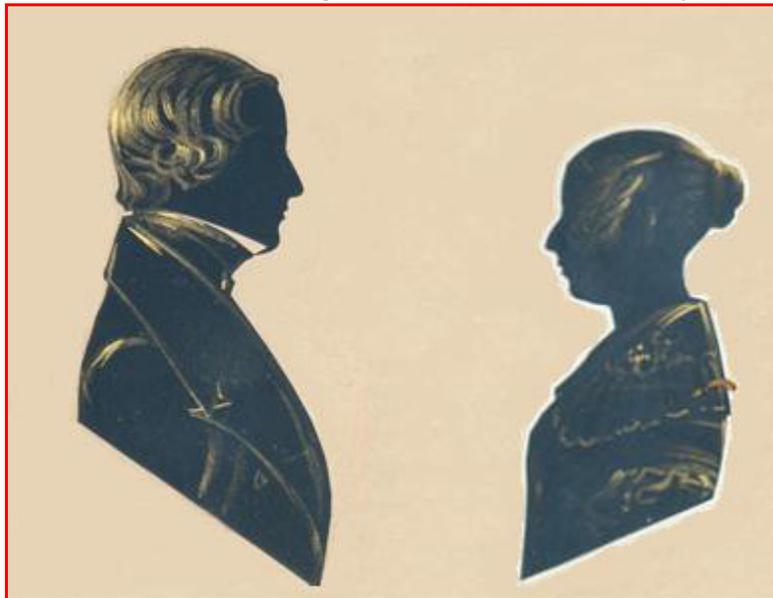
➡ In [Washington DC](#), the South Portico of the [Executive Mansion](#) was constructed following the design of architect Benjamin Latrobe. The park to the north of the residence was named in honor of General [Lafayette](#).

➡ Beginning in about this year and continuing into the following year, [Asa Gray](#) would be studying at the Fairfield Academy for one year of course credit.

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→ **William James Hubard**'s early talent for cutting likenesses had been discovered by a Mr. Smith, who had taken charge of him and had been able to profit by his talent in England, Ireland, and Scotland. In Ireland, his advertisements had referred to him as the "celebrated Master Hubard." Glasgow "admirers of his genius" had presented him with an artist's palette made of silver, despite the fact that his creations were normally uncolored and the only tool he ever employed was a simple pair of scissors (his productions were always cut-and-paste). In this year, Hubard having reached the age of 17, Smith brought the prodigy to the United States and set him up as the "Hubard Gallery" at 24 Coney Street, New-York, where they were able to obtain 50 cents per cutting. Master Hubard did not sign his silhouettes, and they are known by the stencil "Hubard Gallery" on the back or an impressed mark "Hubard" (or "Hubard Gallery" or "Taken At The Hubard Gallery"). Those cut in America were frequently stencilled on the back, in ink, "Cut with scissors by Master Hubard, without drawing or machine; at the Gallery of Cuttings and Panharmonicon Concert Room." Hubard silhouettes are seldom embellished with color and full-length silhouettes are more commonly found than busts.



After three years of **silhouette**-cutting in New-York and Boston, in 1827, Hubard would at the age of 20 break away to take up portrait painting under the tutelage of Gilbert Stuart (Mr. Smith would continue Hubard Gallery until about 1845, employing others to do the cuttings).

→ In this year Nicolas Léonard Sadi Carnot, in the course of thinking about the conversion of heat into mechanical work, made some pregnant observations about the loss of available energy as heat, in *RÉFLEXIONS SUR LA PUISSANCE MOTRICE DU FEU*, realizing that the efficiency of this conversion depended on the difference of temperature between an engine and its environment.

THE SCIENCE OF 1824

(In 1850, recognizing the significance of some work by James Prescott Joule on the conservation of energy, Rudolf Clausius would formulate the 2d Law of Thermodynamics in the initial simple form, that contrary to the caloric theory of heat popular at the time, which considered heat as a liquid, heat does not spontaneously flow from cold to hot bodies. In 1854, Hermann Ludwig von Helmholtz would reason that all temperature differences would eventually average out, over the course of time, into a universally uniform temperature: all flows of heat from here to there would disappear at the "heat death of the universe." All it would take was for the universe to exist long enough, and it was inevitably going asymptotically to approach a state where all energy would be more or less randomized to the point at which there could be no further significant flowing of energy from place to place. From that new awareness Clausius would be able to infer, in 1865, this law that

Carnot had proclaimed, and coin a definition for a newly coined term, “entropy.” Clausius would at that point give the 2d Law of Thermodynamics its definitive present formulation, that this quantity designated as “entropy” tends to increase in any isolated system.

The philosophical problem in this is a problem that has to do with our tendency toward future-worship. It has to do with the consequentialist attitude in ethics. It has to do with our conceit that civilization amounts to “endless more.” This “heat death” thingie which began in this year and proceeded through 1850 and 1854 to 1865 was entirely incompatible with our moral consequentialism, our future-worship, because it pointed up the fact that eventually, inevitably, there won’t be any sort of livable future anymore, and nothing will be morally legitimate or illegitimate, and everything will be as if no human being had ever lived and struggled and hoped and dreamed and thought. The shit would really hit the fan in the popular mind when a 29-year-old would publish his first successful fiction, in 1895. This would be H.G. Wells and his science-fiction fantasy THE TIME MACHINE. The book would be suffused with the sadness of knowing that eventually our sun would be exploding, and then fading away, and that eventually, the entire universe would be reduced to a big dull blah. The only “inconvenient truth” that Al Gore is now adding is an awareness that since human civilization is inevitably subject to the “Law of the Most Limiting Condition,” our demise is bound to come a whole lot sooner than folks had, during the 19th Century, been imagining.)

NEW TECHNOLOGY IN 1824

➡ Joel Roberts Poinsett’s NOTES ON [MEXICO](#).

The courtyard of the Great Temple at Tenochtitlan near Mexico City was being excavated.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1824

➡ First public toilet in Paris.

For the benefit of aristocrats, Michel Casseuse, a self-defense teacher, put out a pamphlet of techniques used by French street-fighters. Such brawlers, he alleged, would use front, round, and side kicks to the knee, shin, and instep. They would keep their hands low to protect the groin. They would launch palm-heel strikes at face and eyes. Foot-fighting would come to be viewed as a possible substitute for dueling, and Michael Pisseux would open a salon teaching Casseuse’s methods, which he termed “savate,” or “the old shoe.”

➡ The [Marquis de Lafayette](#) returned to Albany, [New York](#) to pay a visit to his former revolutionary headquarters on North Pearl Street.

➡ In about this year, Alexander Heimup constructed his house at 200 Main Street in Penn Yan in upstate [New York](#).

➡ Publication of H.G. Spofford’s GAZETTEER OF THE STATE OF [NEW YORK](#).

➡ In this year the first wine was being produced in the Chautauqua region of upstate [New York](#).

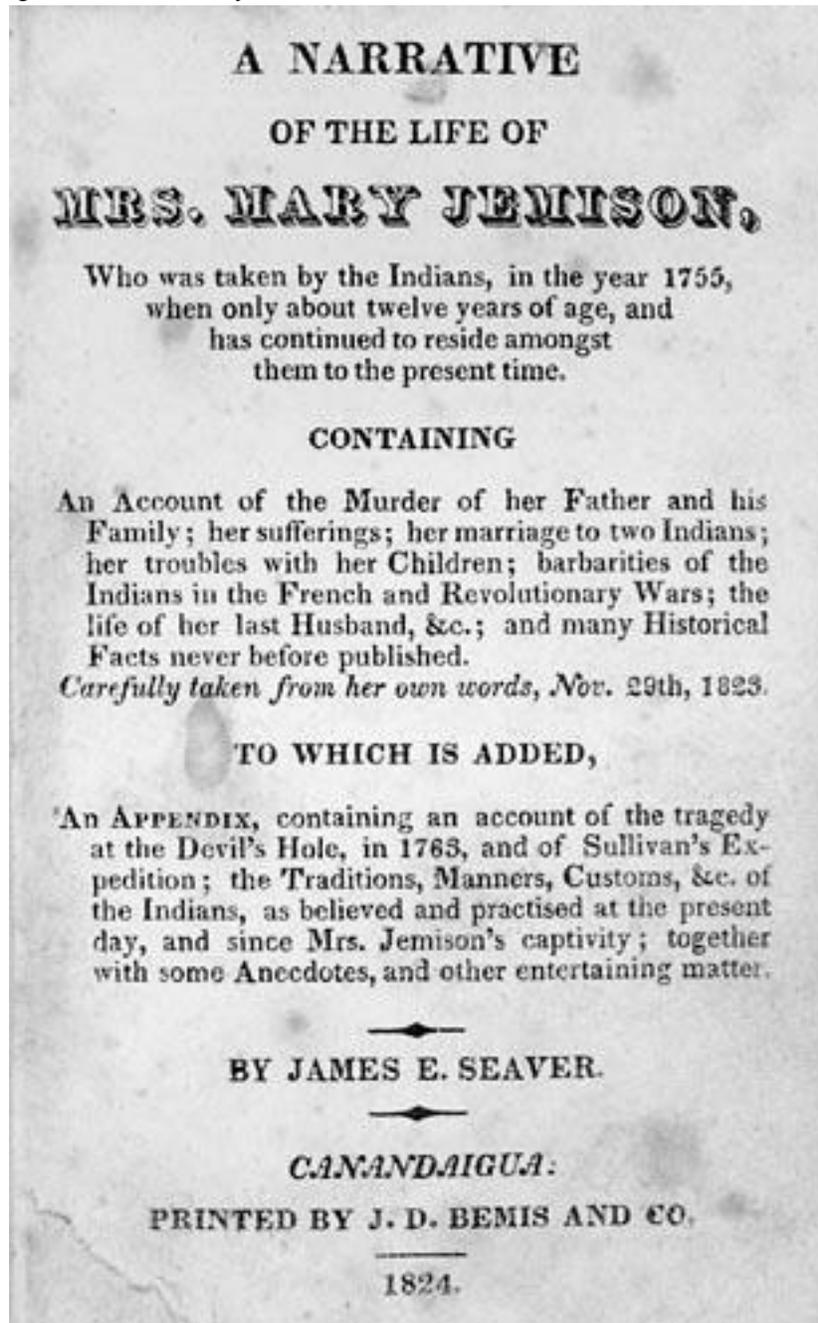


1824

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James E. Seaver, MD's A NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF [MRS. MARY JEMISON](#), WHO WAS TAKEN BY THE INDIANS IN THE YEAR 1755..., FROM HER OWN WORDS, was published in Canandaigua, [New York](#) by J.D. Bemis and Co. (Mary Jemison, also known as Dehgewanus, had been captured by a raiding party of Shawnee and Frenchmen and then adopted by the Seneca. When opportunities had arisen for her to return to Euro-American society, she had declined. Seaver interviewed her in the previous year and here edited her account for publication, giving Dehgewanus an opportunity to defend her life among the Senecas and condemn white prejudices against her community.



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➡ George Combe's ELEMENTS OF PHRENOLOGY.



➡ Harriet Beecher graduated from, and then began to teach at, her sister's Female Seminary in Hartford, Connecticut.

➡ Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich Follen's brother August Adolf Ludwig Follen (1794-1855) had been leading radical student political groups at Giessen and Heidelberg, and after having been imprisoned at Berlin for agitation (1819-1821) had taught in Aarau, Switzerland (1821-1827) and become a member of the Grand Council at Zürich. His politically active brother's works included the song *Freye Stimmen frischer Jugend* (1819), the novel *MALAGYS UND VIVIAN* (1829), the poem *Harfen-Grüsse aus Deutschland und der Schweiz* (1823), and the epic poem *Tristans Eltern* (1857). Karl, when the assassination of Kotzebue placed him and his friend Karl Sand under suspicion in the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had been twice arrested and tried for conspiracy in that murder. He had fled first to France and then to the canton of [Basel](#) in [Switzerland](#), and from there during this year he continued on to New-York, where he chose to be known as [Charles Follen](#). Aided by letters of introduction from [the Marquis de Lafayette](#), he would establish himself in Massachusetts society. He would become headmaster of the Round Hill School in [Northampton](#),

Massachusetts, and would get married with a daughter of one Boston's most prominent families, Eliza Lee Cabot.

While teaching French and miniature painting to the boys at the Round Hill Academy, [Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#) got married with a 24-year-old lady, Caroline Lee Whiting. In this year, publication of his *A MANUAL OF FRENCH PHRASES, AND FRENCH CONVERSATIONS: ADAPTED TO WANOSTROCHT'S GRAMMAR ...* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, J.H.A. Frost, Printer).



In extreme old age, Walt Whitman would reminisce for one last time about this period, and that alleged manly kiss from [Lafayette](#):

“Memoranda”

It must have been in 1822 or '3 that I first came to live in Brooklyn. Lived first in Front street, not far from what was then call'd “the New Ferry,” wending the river from the foot of Catharine (or Main) street to New York City.

I was a little child (was born in 1819,) but tramp'd freely about the neighborhood and town, even then; was often on the aforesaid New Ferry; remember how I was petted and deadheaded by the gatekeepers and deckhands (all such fellows are kind to little children,) and remember the horses that seem'd to me so queer as they trudg'd around in the central houses of the boats, making the water-power. (For it was just on the eve of the steam-engine, which was soon after introduced [Page 1283] on the ferries.) Edward Copeland (afterward Mayor) had a grocery store then at the corner of Front and Catharine streets.

Presently we Whitmans all moved up to Tillary street, near Adams, where my father, who was a carpenter, built a house for himself and us all. It was from here I “assisted” the personal coming of Lafayette in 1824-5 to Brooklyn. He came over the Old Ferry, as the now Fulton Ferry (partly navigated quite up to that day by ‘horse boats,’ though the first steamer had begun to be used hereabouts) was then call'd, and was receiv'd at the foot of Fulton street. It was on that occasion that the corner-stone of the Apprentices' Library, at the corner of Cranberry and Henry streets — since pull'd down — was laid by Lafayette's own hands. Numerous children arrived on the grounds, of whom I was one, and were assisted by several gentlemen to safe spots to view the ceremony. Among others, Lafayette, also helping the children, took me up — I was five years old, press'd me a moment to his breast — gave me a kiss and set me down in a safe spot. Lafayette was at that time between sixty-five and seventy years of age, with a manly figure and a kind face.

 Abraham Lincoln did plowing and planting and work for hire for neighbors. He attended school in the fall and winter, borrowing books and reading whenever possible.

 When the Reverend Abner Kneeland encountered the utopian industrialist Robert Owen, the influence on him of the Unitarian Reverend Hosea Ballou began to wane. The reverend's AMERICAN PRONOUNCING SPELLING BOOK was published. The Kneeland family relocated from Philadelphia to New-York.



 Captain James Weddell explored the Weddell Sea.

Antarctic Explorations

Date	Explorer	Discovery
1738	Jean-Baptise Bouvet (French)	Bouvet Island
1772	Yves-Joseph Kerguelen (French)	Kerguelen Islands
1775	James Cook (British)	South Georgia and South Sandwich Islands
1821	Nathanael Palmer (American)	Antarctic Peninsula
1821	Fabian von Bellingshausen (Russian)	Peter I Island, Alexander Island
1824	James Weddell (British)	Weddell Sea
1840	Dumont d'Urville (French)	Adelie Land
1841	James Clark Ross (British)	Mt. Erebus, Victoria Land, Ross Ice Shelf
1842	Charles Wilkes (American)	Wilkes Land

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➡ In the company of the [Reverend Professor William Buckland, D.D., F.R.S.](#), [Charles Lyell](#) made a geological tour of [Scotland](#).



THE SCIENCE OF 1824

➡ William Grimes's LIFE OF WILLIAM GRIMES, THE RUNAWAY SLAVE, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF was published.

➡ [Susan Edmonstone Ferrier](#)'s THE INHERITANCE.

➡ [Thomas Campbell](#)'s THEODORIC.

➡ [Friend](#) Elizabeth Heyrick's IMMEDIATE, NOT GRADUAL, ABOLITION; OR, AN INQUIRY INTO THE SHORTEST, SAFEST, AND MOST EFFECTUAL MEANS OF GETTING RID OF WEST INDIAN [SLAVERY](#) ([click here](#)).

➡ In England, repeal of the Combination Act allowed limited labor unions.

The interior of the castle at Hastings was being excavated, revealing chapel, chapter house, etc.

ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1824

In the 4th volume of BOXIANA; OR SKETCHES OF ANCIENT AND MODERN PUGILISM; FROM THE DAYS OF BROUGHTON AND SLACK TO THE HEROES OF THE PRESENT MILLING AERA!, [Pierce Egan](#), a self-educated hack journalist from London who adulated "swells" and "heroes" while despising "dandies," termed English pugilism "the Sweet Science of Bruising!" At about this time the practice began of tying gang colors to the ropes.

There was a boxing bout between Ned Hammond of Dublin and George Kensett of Liverpool (this would be repeated in 1826).

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IMMEDIATE,

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ABOLITION;

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AN INQUIRY

INTO THE SHORTEST, SAFEST, AND MOST EFFECTUAL
MEANS OF GETTING RID OF

WEST INDIAN SLAVERY.

*By Miss Elizabeth Heyrick,
of Leicester, England.*

London: Printed 1824.

PHILADELPHIA: RE-PRINTED BY JOSEPH RAKESTRAW,



1824

1824

First issues of James Mill's Westminster Review.

The first major "mill" to be stopped under new anti-prizefight laws was between Ned Neale and Jem Burns.

Work began on a new London Bridge.

Work began on a new London Post Office.

In London, the Athenaeum Club was founded.

In London, the opening of the National Gallery.

The world's 1st animal-rights group, the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, staged its inaugural meeting at Old Slaughter's Coffee House in London (the name of the meetingplace had to do with a 17th-Century proprietor, Thomas Slaughter, rather than to what happens to animals).¹⁴



In the border South, "Freddy," age about 6, was being delivered by his grandmother Bet per her obligation, from Holm Hill Farm where he had been born to Senator Edward Lloyd's plantation on the Wye River, the domicile of Aaron Anthony, his master. It was perhaps in this year that Frederick Douglass witnessed some young slave woman (later to be identified by him at various times before various audiences in various circumstances either as his aunt Hester or as his cousin Hetty or merely as some young apparently unrelated slave woman) being flogged by Anthony, who, in all probability he supposed, was his father, and who was enacting this punishment, in all probability, although he pretended it was due to the fact that she had been "absent when my master desired her presence," for entirely libidinal reasons.¹⁵ Douglass noted that the master "would at times seem to take great pleasure in whipping a slave." He also recorded that such whippings commonly occurred at dawn. In the particular case he described here, however, the first such incident that he

14. Henry Bergh would in 1866 establish a similar Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, in New-York.

15. This material would, at the request of editors, be spared the readers of the English edition.

HANGING

witnessed, the slave woman had been discovered in the company of a male slave from a neighboring plantation, and had been suspended from a joist in the kitchen. Douglass described how his father/master rolled up his sleeves before beginning to lash her. The child ran and hid in a closet not so much out of horror at the sight of the splattering gore, he said, as out of terror of being himself suspended and whipped, for as a child would see such things primally, "I expected it would be my turn next."¹⁶



The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing.

The little boy quickly learned to address this enemy of the defenseless as "Captain" Anthony,¹⁷



a title which, I presume, he acquired by sailing a craft on the Chesapeake Bay.

The boy would be befriended by the 20-year-old Lucretia Anthony Auld, white daughter of Aaron Anthony and thus presumably his half-sister, who would give him food when he could not get enough to eat from the overseer who ran the kitchen, and would be chosen to be personal "companion" to 12-year-old Daniel Lloyd, Senator Edward Lloyd's youngest white son and thus presumably his first cousin.

16. In the some 6,000 extant collected slave narratives by women and men, there are many accounts of savage floggings and there are a number of accounts of more or less subtle seductions and more or less gross propositions, but there is not a single account of the rape of a slave, male or female, by a white person. Not only was the rape of a chattel slave by his or her white owner simply not possible under existing law in any state of the Union — it was not possible in American literature. One's being forced to provide sex was subsumed under the form of consensual sex in the same manner as one's being tortured to death was subsumed under the form of punishment for misconduct. (This is an interesting difference between ancient Roman slavery and American race slavery: in the Roman empire, although the law protected a slavemaster's right to sexually use his slaves, it also permitted him to free and then marry one of his female slaves, but in the American context, although the law protected a slavemaster's right to sexually use a slave, it forbad him to free her without prior permission, and categorically denied him any possibility of ever marrying her. The point here, however, is that consensual sex could not be spoken of, it was neither possible nor plausible to state that a slave had been sexually assaulted. Of course the same silences must certainly have obtained, in spades, in regard to child molestation, which we can imagine —realistically— must have been quite the sport in the American South. (Where did the aphorism "If she's big enough, she's old enough" come from?) Therefore we cannot presume that we are reading here a straightforward account of why the child Frederick ran and hid in the closet, for the adult Frederick would have had no way to communicate this to us, were part of what he was hiding from as a child his own sexual victimization by the white knight errant Aaron Anthony. We may notice that in Frederick Douglass's narrative, the expression "I expected it would be my turn next" might refer to being lashed and might refer to being molested. We may note also in Douglass's various accounts of this incident over the years, a curious shifting in his description of precisely who was the victim of the assault — his sister? his aunt? a relative? a young female slave? Douglass offered different connections at different periods before different audiences.



After having attended village schools, [Friend Elizabeth Buffum Chace](#) (then known of course as [Friend Elizabeth Buffum](#)) boarded for one year at the Quakers' [Yearly Meeting](#) Boarding School, the establishment which is now known as the "[Moses Brown](#)" School on College Hill on the East Side of [Providence, Rhode Island](#). [Friend Abby Kelley](#) was during the same year attending this Friends School.



(There is, however, an apparent discrepancy on the record. Elizabeth Buffum was stated to be eighteen years of age when she attended the Friends school in Providence, which would put her year of attendance as 1824 since she was born in 1806, and yet other documents put her year of attendance as 1822.)

Note that these two Quaker scholars, being girls, would have been in "Girls School," a facility held distinct not only in reports and catalogues but also by means of gender segregation of classrooms, and gender segregation of walks, and gender segregation of groves and playgrounds and dining areas (over and above rigid racial segregation that was making certain that Rhode Island's black and red populations would remain forever entirely in the dark).

In this year superintendents Friends Matthew Purinton and Betsy Purinton of Salem, Massachusetts departed

17. The above footnote presumes that you are in a position to comprehend that, despite historic silences, the problem of child molestation, like the problems of rape and of drug addiction, is not something that sprang *sui generis* into existence as of the 20th Century. The above note also presumes that you are in a position to comprehend, or in a position not to insist on miscomprehending, the fact that the Frederick Douglass narrative is a crafted text by a master of the language. That is, I suppose there to be a certain type of person who will insist on saying "But this Negro had no education, and, although his stuff might be cleaned up by a bunch of anonymous white people with educations, who were determined to make him look as good as a white writer for reasons of their own, there is no way that an ex-slave could have produced a text in which ambiguities signify anything more than incompetence in writing and perhaps in thinking." To this straw-horse person I have imagined, I imagine I would reply "Being a slave was a very demanding and risky business. One could be lashed for the slightest appearance of insolence. To survive required not minimal linguistic skill, but total linguistic skill. One had to be in control of every nuance, never ever use the wrong word, never ever say anything that might conceivably be misconstrued. No ambiguous references!" And the most obvious sort of ambiguous reference would be the indefinite pronoun "it" in the sentence in question, "I expected it would be my turn next." Douglass was trying to embed a message in his text, that his fears as a child were not limited to the obvious things that one was allowed to discuss in public, such as fears of torture, but were, realistically, considerably more broad than could be spoken.

and were replaced by Friends Enoch Breed and Lydia Breed.

1819-1824.	Purinton, Matthew and Betsy.
1824-1835.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1829-1835.	Gould, Stephen Wanton and Gould, Hannah , Asst. Supts.
1835-1836.	Davis, Seth and Mary.
1837.	Breed, Enoch and Lydia.
1838-1839.	Rathbun, Rowland and Alice.
1840-1844.	Wing, Allen and Olive.
1845-1846.	Thompson, Olney and Lydia.
1847.	Congdon, Jarvia and Lydia.
1847-1852.	Cornell, Silas and Sarah M.



When Albert Brown (an older brother of Theophilus Brown) had completed his tailoring apprenticeship in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), he relocated to Worcester and established a tailoring shop, the “Emporium of Fashion.” This was the 1st merchant tailoring business in the town, and initially was located in an annex to the home of Dr. John Green which had formerly been in use as his apothecary, on Main Street opposite Central.

Upon the death of his father [Isaac Bailey](#) at the age of 36, [Jacob Whitman Bailey](#) attempted to begin to support his mother and younger brothers in their need by forsaking his position in the bookstore and lending library in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to accept a position as a manufacturer’s clerk in Massachusetts. He would soon discover, however, that this new job involved the sale of [rum](#), and that this was something which he simply could not bring himself to do — and so he would soon need to root around and obtain other gainful employment, as a high school assistant.

Isaac Babbitt of Taunton, Massachusetts began to manufacture Britannia ware, the 1st produced in the New World (approximately 93% tin, 5% antimony, and 2% copper, the Britannia alloy melts at 491° Fahrenheit and had been in use in Britain since 1769 as an alternative to pewter, which is approximately 91% tin, 7.5% antimony, and 1.5% copper; Academy Award “Oscar” statuettes, unlike Olympic medals that are an alloy of gold plated in 24-carat gold, are manufactured of Britannia alloy plated in gold).

1824

1824

 Pioneers from Virginia and New York founded Ann Arbor, Michigan.

[George Long](#) was chosen professor of ancient languages in the new University of Virginia at Charlottesville, Virginia (until becoming professor of Greek at University College in London in 1828). While in the United States of America, he would be the frequent guest of President [Thomas Jefferson](#), rector of that university.¹⁸

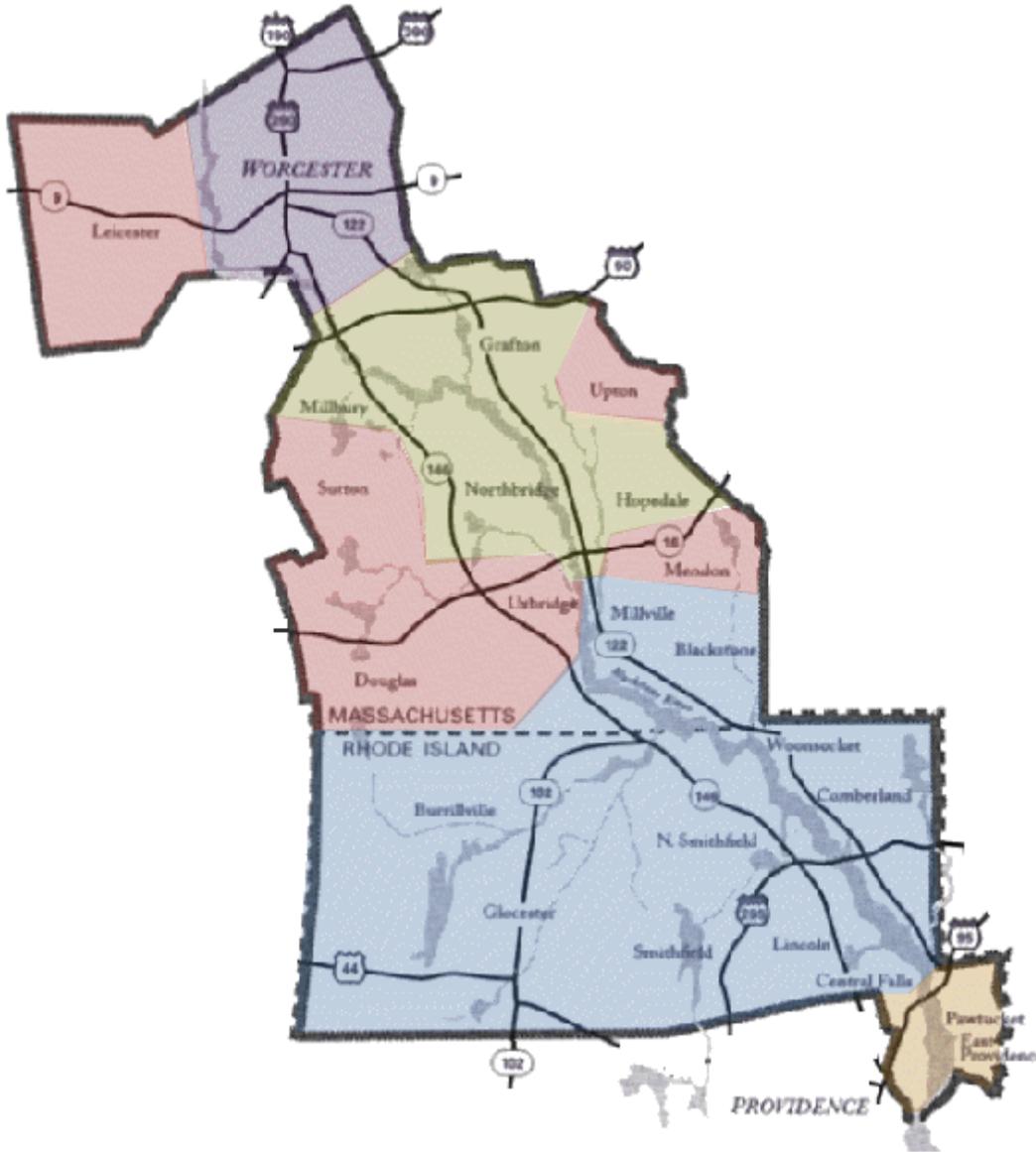
During [Lafayette](#)'s visit to Virginia, James Armistead Lafayette was able to bask once again in a white man's reflected glory. (A recognized veteran of the Revolutionary struggle, and a free man in a free land, we need to bear in mind that still as a black this man was not being considered as or treated as a citizen.)



In Florida, a fourth mulatto child was born to the union of the white planter Zephaniah Kingsley with his black wife Anna Kingsley. Since in 1811 Kingsley had made out [manumission](#) papers in the name of Anna, this fourth child was of course born free. Kingsley also would acknowledge paternity of five children by two other of his enslaved or formerly enslaved mistresses, "Flora Kingsley" and "Sarah Kingsley," and those of these five who had not been born free, he would likewise manumit. Kingsley had been up to, in Florida what [Jefferson](#) had been up to, in Virginia. Eventually the racial situation would harden and Kingsley would need to urge his mulatto heirs to emigrate "to some land of liberty and equal rights, where the conditions of society are governed by some law less absurd than that of color."

18. With his 1st wife Harriet Gray of Virginia, widow of Lieutenant-Colonel Joseph Selden, a judge of the Supreme Court of Arkansas, he would produce four sons and a daughter who would die in infancy. (Harriet had brought two daughters with her into her new marriage. She would die in 1841 and George Long would marry two more times.)

 The [Blackstone Canal](#) was being dug by hand. It would be completed in 1828 and would remain in operation until 1843. Sections can still be seen along the foot of Smith Street at Canal Street, and in the northwest corner of the North Burial ground off North Main Street, and alongside Lorraine Mills off Mineral Spring Avenue in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). The best preserved rural section is north of Ashton (Quinnville, Lincoln) to Lonsdale. Only two of the original 49 locks on the original 45 miles of this canal yet remain (not, of course, operational), in Uxbridge and in Millville, Massachusetts.



A charter was issued for the Morris Canal. The Pennsylvania state legislature appointed a [canal](#) commission — the Pennsylvania Society for the Promotion of Internal Improvements in the Commonwealth.

A survey of the proposed Rideau [Canal](#) was carried out by the Royal Engineers.

The Chesapeake and Ohio [Canal](#) Company was formed.

Ohio retained Judge David Stanhope Bates to survey two of Geddes' routes, which will become the Ohio and

Erie [Canal](#) and the Miami and Erie [Canal](#).

Construction began on New Jersey's Morris [Canal](#).

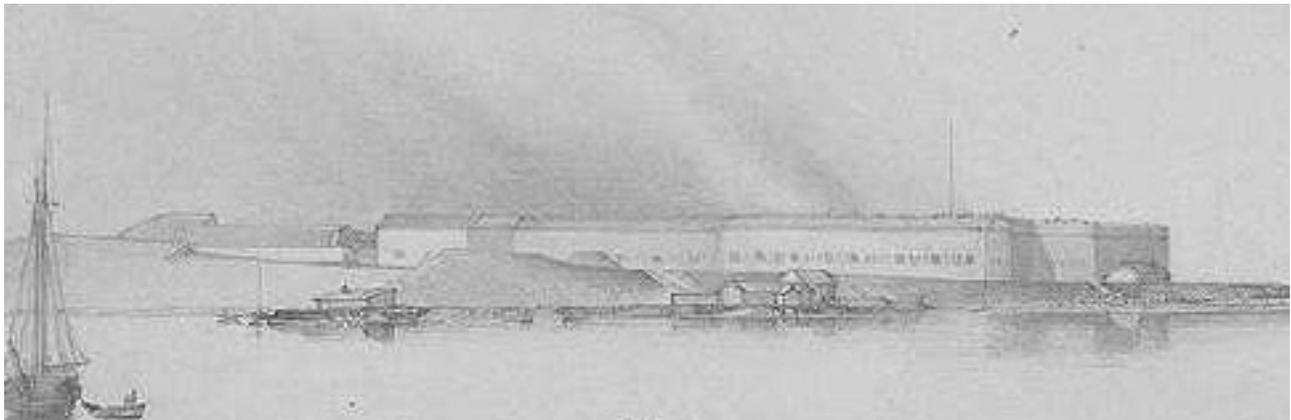
Horatio Allen became a resident engineer on the Chesapeake and Delaware [Canal](#).

Justus Post and Rene Paul recommend five possibilities for a [canal](#) between Lake Michigan and the Illinois River.

The US Supreme Court, in Gibbons v. Ogden, gave the Federal government control of all US rivers — the first of the Rivers and Harbors acts.



Beginning of construction of Fort Adams guarding [Newport Harbor](#), at 60 acres the 2nd largest along our nation's coastline. Of course, cheap desperate [Irish](#) immigrant labor would be utilized to cut and move and position all the stone required.



What's not to like about this [Rhode Island](#) fortress? It might as well be a 60-acre goat pasture with a great stone wall around it to make sure goats don't get out. None of its 468 cannon would ever be fired in anger — they might as well be sticks of wood, "Quaker Cannon":



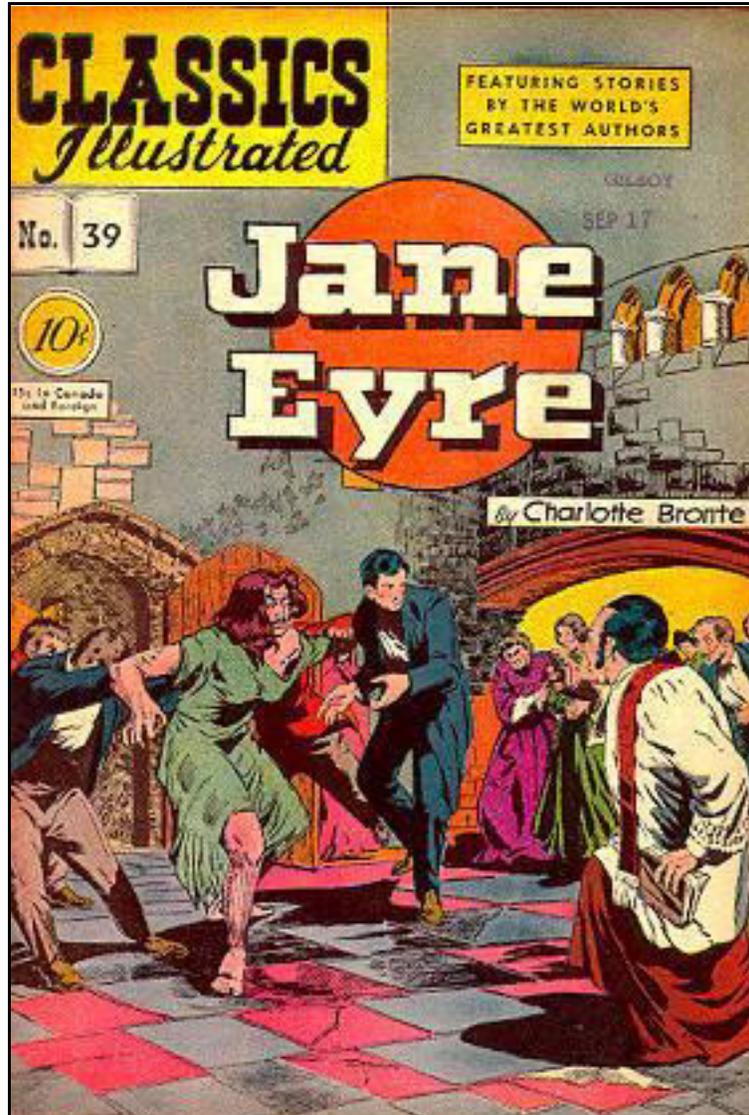
1824

1824

(Meanwhile a whole bunch of [Irish famine](#) kiddies would be getting food shoved into their mouths! —As I commented, what's not to like about this?)



At the age of 8, Charlotte Brontë found herself being trundled off to the Clergy Daughters' School at Cowan's Bridge in Lancashire for ten months of education in the ways of the real world. This would turn out to be, of course, the demeaning, humiliating indoctrination of which she would testify in 1857 in her *JANE EYRE: AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY*. (On the plus side, the abuse at this school wasn't all that expensive. :-)



1824

1824

→ Elizabeth Oakes Smith gave birth to the 1st of her 6 sons, Benjamin Oaksmith.



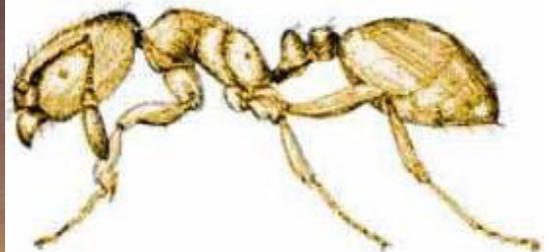
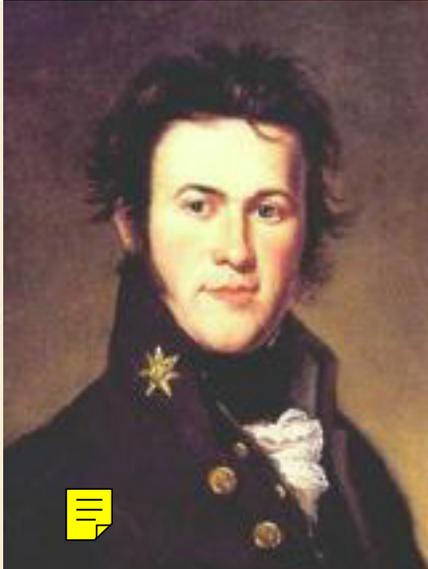
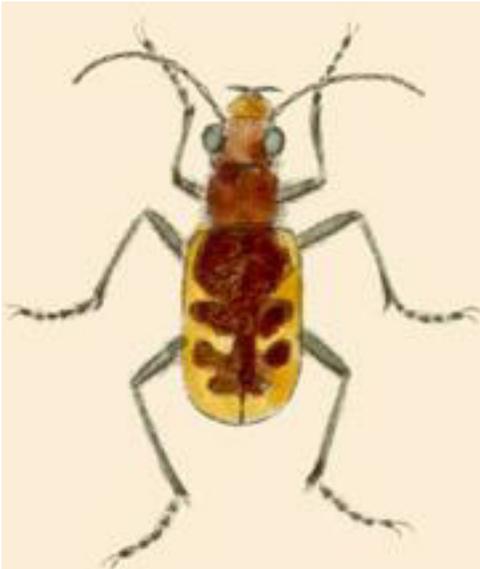
→ Canker-worms came again to Massachusetts as they had in 1665, 1686, 1769, and 1794, but this time the worms did not go away. From this point they would annually increase and spread.



The comparative scarcity of birds is one probable reason why such worms have continued so long.

→ In Ohio, Lorain County was organized with 21 townships within its boundaries.

→ The beginning of publication of the three volumes of [Thomas Say](#)'s AMERICAN ENTOMOLOGY, OR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE INSECTS OF NORTH AMERICA, which would not be complete until 1828. According to Patricia Tyson Stroud, there was a deep connection between the intellectual effort that was put into this project, and a general American desire for us to mark ourselves as distinct from general European intellectual culture.



THE SCIENCE OF 1824

1824

1824

➡ The [Reverend Professor William Buckland, D.D., F.R.S.](#)'s "Notice on the *Megalosaurus*" or "giant lizard" — the 1st such fossil to be described and named (this would be in 1842 the initial genus that Richard Owen would incorporate into the family Dinosauria, although at this point such a term as "dinosaur" was yet to be coined).

The Reverend also announced the discovery of the 1st fossil mammal from the Mesozoic Era.

THE SCIENCE OF 1824

PALEONTOLOGY



1824

1824



William Henry Furness became minister of the 1st [Unitarian](#) Church in Philadelphia. He would be the author of some thirteen Transcendentalist hymns.

Francis W.P. Greenwood was brought in to assist the Reverend [James Freeman](#) at the [Stone Chapel](#) (Greenwood eventually would succeed him).



In Medford, Massachusetts, the [Unitarians](#) situated themselves as the “First Congregational Church” while the Trinitarians situated themselves as the “Second Congregational Church” (the Unitarians purchased, for \$450, an organ).



Franz Cyril Napp (1792-1867) was elected abbot of the Augustinian monastery in Brno (the monastery [Gregor Mendel](#) would enter in 1843). Napp had a strong interest in agriculture and would eventually be named president of the Moravian Agricultural Society.



The market for gift-book/annual cheap anthologies began to be fed in England by [Alaric Alexander Watts](#)’s THE LITERARY SOUVENIR; OR, CABINET OF POETRY AND ROMANCE. This would prove to be a lucrative venue for Hemans and other female writers, as well as for men of sentiment such as [William Wordsworth](#) and Sir Walter Scott.

Wordsworth’s Poems, in Chronological Sequence

- To the Torrent at the Devil’s Bridge, North Wales, 1824
- Composed among the Ruins of a Castle in North Wales
- Elegiac Stanzas. Addressed to Sir G. H. B., upon the death of his sister-in-law, 1824
- Cenotaph
- Epitaph in the Chapel-yard of Langdale, Westmoreland
- The Contrast. The Parrot and the Wren
- To a Sky-lark
- Ere with cold beads of midnight dew



- Ode, composed on May Morning
- To May
- Once I could hail (howe'er serene the sky)
- The massy Ways, carried across these heights
- The Pillar of Trajan
- On seeing a Needlecase in the Form of a Harp. The work of E. M. S.
- Dedication. To _____
- Her only pilot the soft breeze, the boat
- "Why, Minstrel, these untuneful murmurings —
- To S. H.
- Decay of Piety
- Scorn not the Sonnet; Critic, you have frowned
- Fair Prime of life! were it enough to gild
- Retirement
- There is a pleasure in poetic pains
- Recollection of the Portrait of King Henry Eighth, Trinity Lodge, Cambridge
- When Philoctetes in the Lemnian isle
- While Anna's peers and early playmates tread
- To the Cuckoo
- The Infant M _____ M _____
- To Rotha Q _____
- To _____, in her seventieth year
- In my mind's eye a Temple, like a cloud
- Go back to antique ages, if thine eyes
- In the Woods of Rydal
- Conclusion, To _____
- A Morning Exercise
- The Triad
- The Wishing-gate
- The Wishing-gate destroyed
- A Jewish Family
- The Gleaner, suggested by a picture
- On the Power of Sound
- Incident at Bruges
- Gold and Silver Fishes in a Vase
- Liberty (sequel to the above)
- Humanity
- This Lawn, a carpet all alive
- Thought on the Seasons
- A Gravestone upon the Floor in the Cloisters of Worcester Cathedral
- A Tradition of Oker Hill in Darley Dale, Derbyshire
- The Armenian Lady's Love
- The Russian Fugitive
- The Egyptian Maid; or, The Romance of the Water Lily
- The Poet and the Caged Turtledove
- Presentiments
- In these fair vales hath many a Tree
- Elegiac Musings in the grounds of Coleorton Hall
- Chatsworth! thy stately mansion, and the pride
- To the Author's Portrait
- The Primrose of the Rock



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- Yarrow Revisited, and other Poems
- Yarrow Revisited
- On the Departure of Sir Walter Scott from Abbotsford, for Naples
- A Place of Burial in the South of Scotland
- On the Sight of a Manse in the South of Scotland
- Composed in Roslin Chapel during a Storm
- The Trosachs
- The pibroch's note, discountenanced or mute
- Composed in the Glen of Loch Etive
- Eagles. Composed at Dunollie Castle in the Bay of Oban
- In the Sound of Mull
- Suggested at Tyndrum in a Storm
- The Earl of Breadalbane's Ruined Mansion and Family Burial-place, near Killin
- "Rest and be Thankful!" At the Head of Glencroe
- Highland Hut
- The Brownie
- To the Planet Venus, an Evening Star. Composed at Loch Lomond
- Bothwell Castle. (Passed unseen on account of stormy weather)
- Picture of Daniel in the Lions' Den, at Hamilton Palace
- The Avon. A Feeder of the Annan
- Suggested by a View from an Eminence in Inglewood Forest
- Hart's-horn Tree, near Penrith
- Fancy and Tradition
- Countess's Pillar
- Roman Antiquities. (From the Roman Station at Old Penrith)
- Apology for the foregoing Poems
- The Highland Broach
- Devotional Incitements
- Calm is the fragrant air, and loth to lose
- Rural Illusions
- Loving and Liking. Irregular Verses addressed to a Child. (By my Sister)



[Sydney Owenson \(Lady Morgan\)'s THE LIFE AND TIMES OF SALVATOR ROSA.](#)

1824

1824



The peak year for US [ginseng](#) export, with 375 tons leaving our ports. Daniel Boone combined trapping and scouting with ginseng collecting, regularly forwarding his ginseng to a Philadelphia export agent — a 'sang digger of renown!



Silicon was isolated by [Jöns Jacob Berzelius](#) (he had discovered cerium in 1803 and selenium in 1817, and would discover thorium in 1828).



[Mary Russell Mitford](#)'s sketches for The Lady's Magazine of 1819 appeared at this point in book form, as OUR VILLAGE.

1824'S NEW LITERATURE

1824

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 [Professor Richard Harlan](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE GENUS SALAMANDRA (Philadelphia), and textbook on the human brain, ANATOMICAL INVESTIGATIONS.



He would collect crania.

 Having assembled a large body of work, [John James Audubon](#) traveled to Philadelphia to secure publication but was unsuccessful. He published two papers in the Annals of Lyceum of Natural History. Reuniting with his family in Louisiana, he prepared to travel to England to arrange for the publication of his work — he had been advised while in Philadelphia that this was the only chance he had for an undertaking of such enormity.



June 8, Sunday: In F.A. Michaux i.e. the younger Michaux's Voyage A l'ouest des Monts Alléghanys –1802 printed at Paris 1808 ... [Ginseng](#) was then the only “territorial” production of Kentucky which would pay the expense of transportation by land to Philadelphia. They collected it from spring to the first frosts. Even hunters carried for this purpose, beside their guns, a bag & a little “pioche” From 25 to 30 “milliers pesant” were then transported annually & this commerce was on the increase. Some transported it themselves from Kentucky to [China](#) i.e. without selling it the merchants of the seaboard– Traders in Kentucky gave 20 to 24 “sous” the pound for it.



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

1824

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[Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#), who owned Fresh Pond near Cambridge, Massachusetts and had been running the Fresh Pond Hotel, became the manager of [Frederic Tudor](#)'s ice factory there.

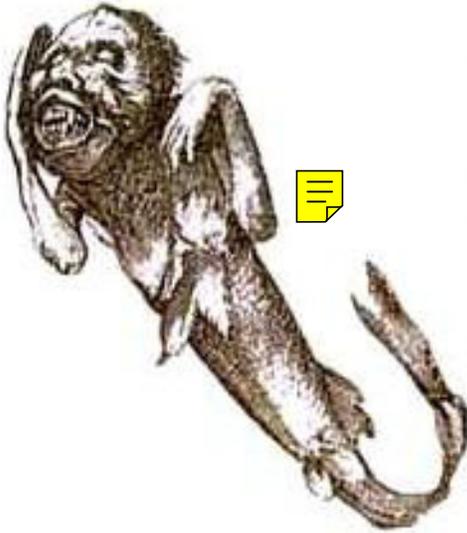


1824

1824



According to Joseph Felt's ANNALS OF SALEM, in this year a mummy from Thebes in [Egypt](#), and an exhibition of a mermaid amounting to "the lower part of a codskin stuffed and neatly connected with the breast and head of a baboon," were touring Massachusetts.



ARCHAEOLOGY IN 1824



[Washington Irving](#)'s "The Devil and Tom Walker," in TALES OF A TRAVELLER.
John Emerson secured his degree in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania.



[John Franklin](#) and [Jane Griffith](#) met. He was the son of a family of the British gentry, and might after significant testing and accomplishment stand a good chance of receiving a knighthood, thus rendering to his spouse the standing of a Lady. She was the daughter of a [silk](#)-weaving Huguenot and would bring with her a classy dowry of some £10,000. This would be a marriage contract drawn up in heaven.



Henry Clay ran unsuccessfully for the presidency and then threw his support to John Quincy Adams, who was elected. Adams's vice-president would be John Caldwell Calhoun. Adams would be bringing with him to the [Executive Mansion](#) an alligator that had been a present from General [Lafayette](#), and would keep it in a privy rooms or bathrooms.

The new first lady Louisa Johnson Adams would also be bringing pets with her to [Washington DC](#): silkworms.



In this year Isabella ([Sojourner Truth](#)) would have been approximately 27 years old.

Two significant improvements were occurring in England during the course of this year, one in stasis and the other in motility:

- Joseph Aspdin, while laying bricks in Wakefield, experimented with mixing ground chalk with clay and heating this to temperatures which would sinter the compound without melting it. This powder, when mixed with water, set up into a concreted stone of great strength, and would come to be known as Portland cement.
- Samuel Brown fitted an engine that burned coal gas onto a carriage and persuaded this vehicle to self-power itself up Shooter’s Hill in Blackheath.

NEW TECHNOLOGY IN 1824

The governor of the state of Georgia (George M. Troup) wrote to the US Secretary of War (John C. Calhoun) to make certain that the federal government adequately understood certain sensitive racial matters of public policy:

[T]he utmost of rights and privileges which public opinion would concede to Indians, would fix them in a middle station, between the negro and the white man; and that, as long as they survive this degradation, without the possibility of attaining the level of the latter, they would gradually sink to the condition of the former – a point of degeneracy below which they could not fall....

CHEROKEE NATION TRAIL OF TEARS

Publication of Catharine Brown’s MEMOIR OF ... A CHRISTIAN INDIAN OF THE **CHEROKEE NATION**, a set of memoirs written down in the third person by Rufus Anderson.

George Merrick Brooks was born, the child of Nathan Brooks and Mary Merrick Brooks.

James Cooper (**James Fenimore Cooper**), Fitz Greene Halleck, Samuel Finley Breese Bryant, James Kent, James Kirke Paulding, Gulian Verplanck and others started a club called Cooper’s Lunch, soon to be called the Bread and Cheese Club, which would be meeting semi-monthly at the Washington Hall in Broadway, now the northern part of the site of the Stewart Building. Among the members were eminent New-York scholars and professional men of the period. In voting on new members, “Bread” was an affirmative vote, “Cheese” a blackball.

During this year he authored his first sea romance, THE PILOT, to demonstrate what Sir Walter Scott’s THE PIRATE might have been like if written by a seaman, and traveled around the United States, creating a publishable journal he denominated “Notions of the Americans, Picked Up by a Travelling Bachelor” (never you mind that Cooper was not a bachelor).

1824’S NEW LITERATURE

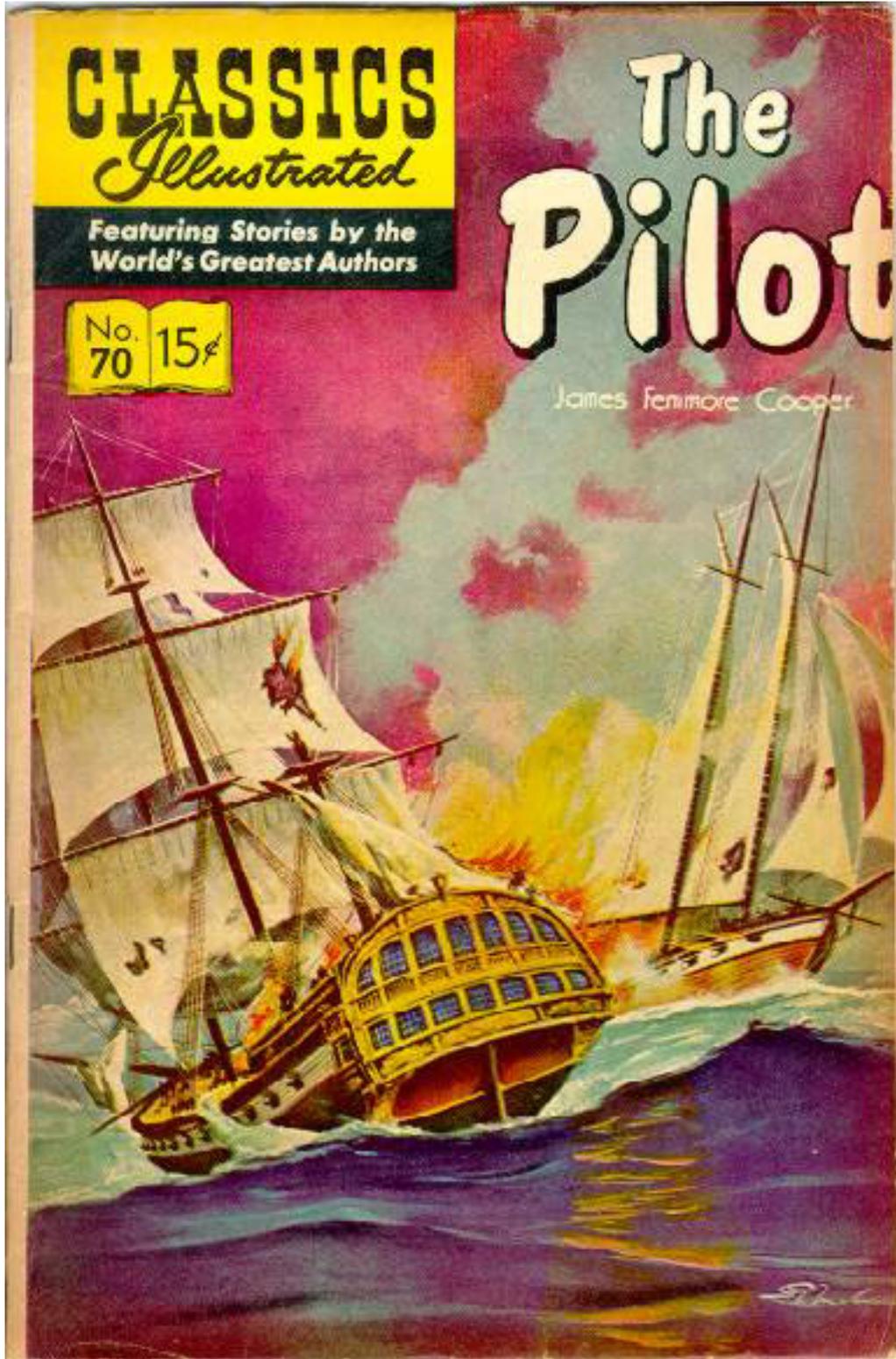
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WHAT?

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Political Parties Then and Now

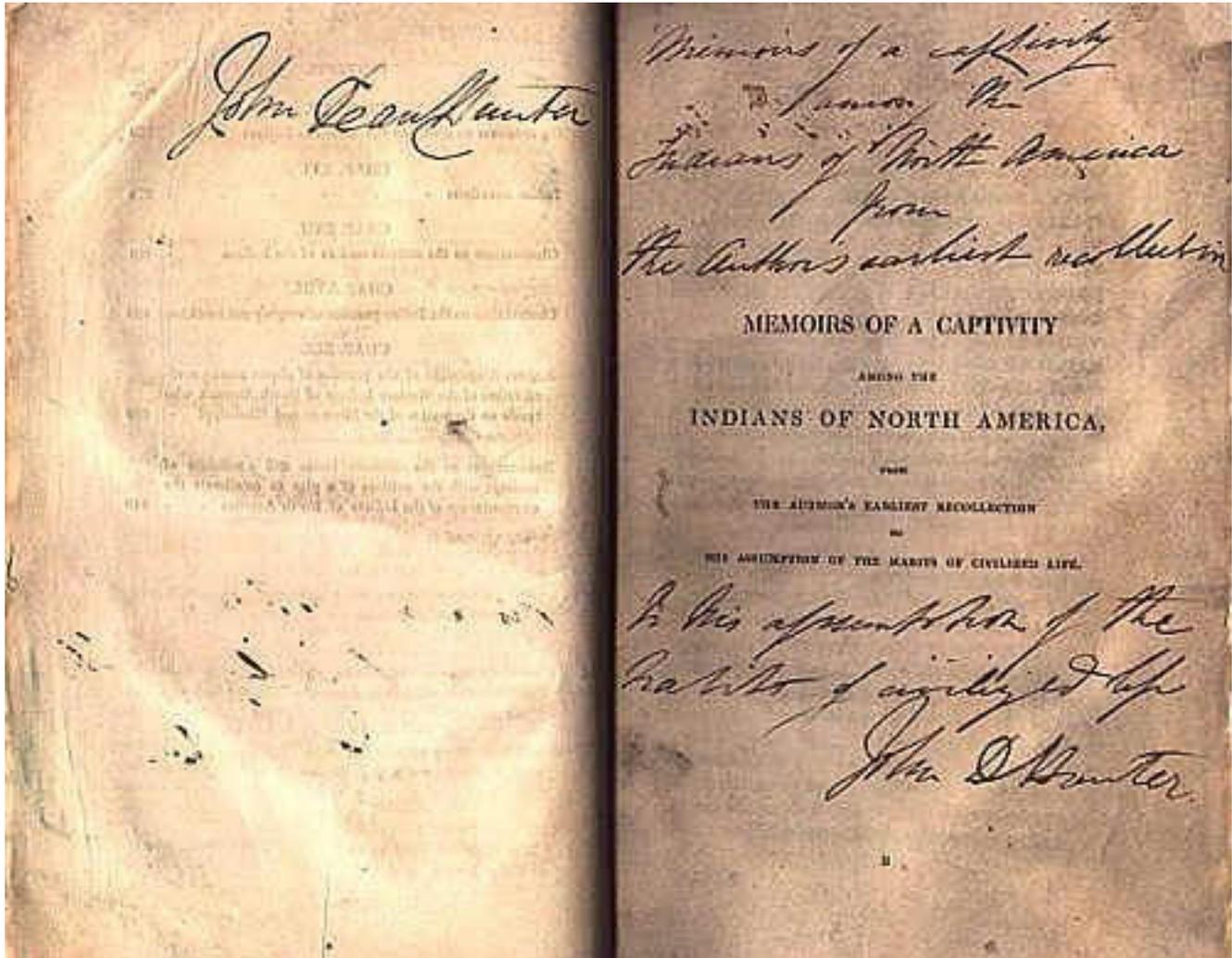
ROUND 1	DEMOCRATIC REPUBLICANS	FEDERALISTS
1792		Alexander Hamilton, John Adams, et al. representing the North and commercial interests
1796	Thomas Jefferson , James Madison , et al. representing the South and landowning interests	
1817-1824	James Monroe's "factionless" era of good feelings, ho ho ho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

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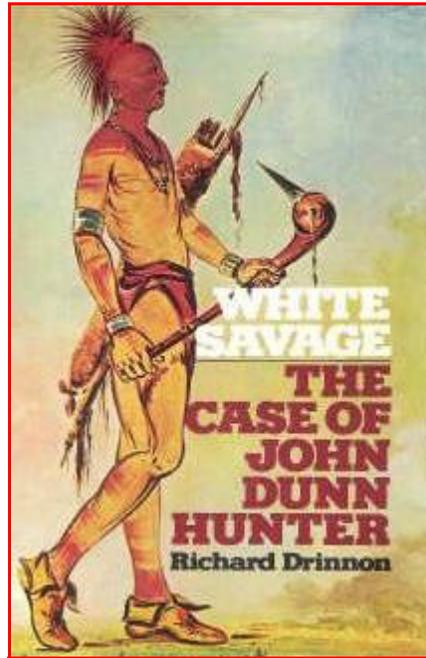
Two new editions of [John Dunn Hunter](#)'s 1823 narrative, MEMOIRS OF A CAPTIVITY AMONG THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA, FROM CHILDHOOD TO THE AGE OF NINETEEN; WITH ANECDOTES DESCRIPTIVE OF THEIR MANNERS AND CUSTOMS.../MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF SEVERAL INDIAN TRIBES LOCATED WEST OF THE MISSISSIPPI, INCLUDING SOME ACCOUNT OF THE SOIL, CLIMATE, AND INDIAN MATERIA MEDICA..., were published, in Philadelphia and in London:



MEMOIRS OF A CAPTIVITY

MANNERS AND CUSTOMS

Consider Richard Drinnon's *WHITE SAVAGE: THE CASE OF JOHN DUNN HUNTER* (NY: Schocken Books, 1972).



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John Quincy Adams had been one of the American commissioners who had negotiated the December 24, 1814 Treaty of Ghent ending the [War of 1812](#), who had committed the United States and Britain “to use their best



endeavors” to end the [international slave trade](#). As secretary of state and as president, however, Adams had had something of greater moment on his mind. He consistently opposed any British search of American vessels, including [negros](#) flying under the American flag, as a violation of the vital principle of freedom of the seas. When asked in 1824 by the British minister to Washington if he could think of a greater evil than the slave trade, he replied that there was indeed a greater evil of which he could think, for to grant that right of search on the high seas would be to “make slaves of ourselves” — and that would be an even greater evil than continuation of the trade in black slaves.¹⁹

LA AMISTAD
SLAVERY

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1839 Pope Gregory XVI. stigmatized

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



the slave-trade "as utterly unworthy of the Christian name;" and at the same time, although proscribed by the laws of every civilized State, the trade was flourishing with pristine vigor. Great advantage was given the traffic by the fact that the United States, for two decades after the abortive attempt of 1824, refused to co-operate with the rest of the civilized world, and allowed her flag to shelter and protect the slave-trade. If a fully equipped slaver sailed from New York, Havana, Rio Janeiro, or Liverpool, she had only to hoist the stars and stripes in order to proceed unmolested on her piratical voyage; for there was seldom a United States cruiser to be met with, and there were, on the other hand, diplomats at Washington so jealous of the honor of the flag that they would prostitute it to crime rather than allow an English or a French cruiser in any way to interfere. Without doubt, the contention of the United States as to England's pretensions to a Right of Visit was technically correct. Nevertheless, it was clear that if the slave-trade was to be suppressed, each nation must either zealously keep her flag from fraudulent use, or, as a labor-saving device, depute to others this duty for limited places and under special circumstances. A failure of any one nation to do one of these two things meant that the efforts of all other nations were to be fruitless. The United States had invited the world to join her in denouncing the slave-trade as piracy; yet, when such a pirate was waylaid by an English vessel, the United States complained or demanded reparation. The only answer which this country for years returned to the long-continued exposures of American slave-traders and of the fraudulent use of the American flag, was a recital of cases where Great Britain had gone beyond her legal powers in her attempt to suppress the slave-trade.²⁰ In the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary, Secretary of State Forsyth declared, in 1840, that the duty of the United States in the matter of the slave-trade "has been faithfully performed, and if the traffic still exists as a disgrace to humanity, it is to be imputed to nations with whom Her Majesty's Government has formed and maintained the most intimate connexions, and to whose Governments Great Britain has paid for the right of active intervention in order to its complete extirpation."²¹ So zealous was Stevenson, our minister to England, in denying the Right of Search, that he boldly informed Palmerston, in 1841, "that there is no shadow of pretence for excusing, much less justifying, the exercise of any such right. That it is wholly immaterial, whether the vessels be equipped for, or actually engaged in slave traffic or not, and consequently the right to search or detain even slave vessels, must be confined to the ships or vessels of those nations with whom it may have treaties on the subject."²² Palmerston courteously replied that he could not think that the United States seriously intended to make its flag a refuge for slave-traders;²³ and Aberdeen pertinently declared: "Now, it can scarcely be maintained by Mr. Stevenson that Great Britain should be bound to permit her own subjects, with British vessels and British capital, to carry on, before the eyes of British

20. Cf. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, from 1836 to 1842.

21. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1839-40, page 940.

22. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress 1st session, No. 34, pages 5-6.

23. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 56.



officers, this detestable traffic in human beings, which the law has declared to be piracy, merely because they had the audacity to commit an additional offence by fraudulently usurping the American flag."²⁴ Thus the dispute, even after the advent of Webster, went on for a time, involving itself in metaphysical subtleties, and apparently leading no nearer to an understanding.²⁵

In 1838 a fourth conference of the powers for the consideration of the slave-trade took place at London. It was attended by representatives of England, France, Russia, Prussia, and Austria. England laid the *projet* of a treaty before them, to which all but France assented. This so-called Quintuple Treaty, signed December 20, 1841, denounced the slave-trade as piracy, and declared that "the High Contracting Parties agree by common consent, that those of their ships of war which shall be provided with special warrants and orders ... may search every merchant-vessel belonging to any one of the High Contracting Parties which shall, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the traffic in slaves." All captured slavers were to be sent to their own countries for trial.²⁶

While the ratification of this treaty was pending, the United States minister to France, [Lewis Cass](#), addressed an official note to Guizot at the French foreign office, protesting against the institution of an international Right of Search, and rather grandiloquently warning the powers against the use of force to accomplish their ends. This extraordinary epistle, issued on the minister's own responsibility, brought a reply denying that the creation of any "new principle of international law, whereby the vessels even of those powers which have not participated in the arrangement should be subjected to the right of search," was ever intended, and affirming that no such extraordinary interpretation could be deduced from the Convention. Moreover, M. Guizot hoped that the United States, by agreeing to this treaty, would "aid, by its most sincere endeavors, in the definitive abolition of the trade."²⁷ Cass's theatrical protest was, consciously or unconsciously, the manifesto of that growing class in the United States who wanted no further measures taken for the suppression of the slave-trade; toward that, as toward the institution of slavery, this party favored a policy of strict *laissez-faire*.



Due to the British protests of the seizure of their free black seaman Henry Elkison in the port of Charleston (crimping, but in reverse), South Carolina amended its law to exempt those free black sailors who were on active duty on a **military** vessel.

CRIMPING

24. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 72.

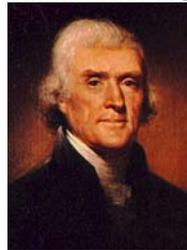
25. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, pages 133-40, etc.

26. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1841-2, page 269 ff.

27. SENATE DOCUMENT, 29th Congress 1st session, VIII. No. 377, page 201.



Our former president [Thomas Jefferson](#) was a guy who really knew how to think with a sharp pencil. For instance, faced with the problem of homosexuality, he saw no reason to go around hanging people: sodomites surely had some sort of sexual malfunction, so we have the opportunity to approach their problem directly — why hang them when we can simply cut their balls off? In that tradition of sharp-pencil thinking, during this year former president Jefferson was doing some simple math and pointing out that since there were at this point all of a million and a half Americans in [slavery](#), it could never become “practicable for us, or expedient for them,” to get them transported out of the country: “Their estimated value as property, in the first place, (for actual property has been lawfully vested in that form, and who can lawfully take it from the possessors?) at an average of two hundred dollars each ... would amount to six hundred millions of dollars which must be paid or lost by somebody. To this add the cost of their transportation by land and sea to Mesurado [the west coast of Liberia], a year’s provision of food and clothes, implements of husbandry and of their trades, which will amount to three hundred millions more ... and it is impossible to look at the question a second time.”



[COMPARE THIS WITH EMERSON’S SPURIOUS CALCULATION]

Conor Cruise O’Brien has commented that:

It is precisely [Thomas Jefferson](#)’s status as the oracle of liberty within the American civil religion that is becoming unsustainable in a postracist America. Consider the implications of the story of Jame Hubbard. Hubbard’s sole offense was to claim liberty for himself and try to win it. For that offense Jefferson had him “severely flogged in the presence of his old companions.” For many Americans today (I would hope for most Americans, and most other people), the hero of liberty in that story is not the famous Thomas Jefferson but the otherwise unknown Jame Hubbard.

In related mathematical news, in this year Neils Henrick Abel (1802-1829) was providing a proof that it is impossible to derive the root of a polynomial of higher than the fourth degree. Abel’s calculations were more complex than Jefferson’s but equivalently conclusive.



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In this year, believing that the colonial agent had allocated town lots and rationed provisions unfairly, a few of the settlers of Liberia armed themselves and forced the society’s representative to flee the colony. The disagreements were resolved temporarily when an American Colonization Society representative came to investigate the colony’s problems and persuaded Ashmun to return. Steps were initiated to spell out a system of local administration and to codify the laws. This would result, a year later, in the Constitution, Government, and Digest of the Laws of Liberia. In this document, sovereign power continued to rest with the American Colonization Society’s agent but the colony was to operate under common law. Slavery and participation in the slave trade were forbidden. The settlement that had been called Christopolis would be renamed Monrovia after the American president, James Monroe, and the colony as a whole would be formally designated Liberia (the free land).

1824

1824

→ International slave trading was declared by the British to be tantamount to [piracy](#).



Until 1837, Englishmen who participated would face the penalty of death.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

→ [Dr. Thaddeus William Harris](#) got married with Catherine Holbrook of Milton, Massachusetts, the daughter of his first medical partner.

→ Jefferson Davis became a cadet at the United States Military Academy at West Point.

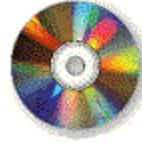
→ During this year and the next, Fanny Wright tacked herself and her sister onto the [Marquis de Lafayette](#)'s



entourage as he made his triumphal return to the USA, and joined with him in discussions of the problem of [slavery](#) with Madison and Jefferson. There was much awkwardness with Lafayette's family, who kept the Wright sisters at arm's length. Both of the American politicians indicated their general agreement with her plan to purchase, educate, and emancipate slaves, and then assist them in the formation of a colony outside the United States. The necessary five years having elapsed since the application of the sisters for citizenship, citizenship was granted despite their having been out of the country most of that time.



"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

➡ When General Lafayette visited the Free African School of New-York, James McCune Smith was chosen to deliver the school's address to its illustrious visitor. He was eleven years of age and a slave (the school's name obviously was intended to imply that it did not charge any fee for instruction, rather than that its students were free black Americans).

➡ The Literary and Historical Society of Québec came into being, with John Charlton Fisher as its first treasurer and corresponding secretary.

Nova Scotia was divided into three districts: eastern, middle, western. Commissioners were appointed to hold Courts of Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions in each district. Cape Breton was divided into three districts: north-eastern, southern, and north-western. The Shubenacadie Canal Company was incorporated by act of legislature. The Township of Kempt, Hants County, was laid out.

CANADA

➡ John Russworm enrolled at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, and would be taking medical courses.



➡ Robert Owen was promoting the abolition of slavery, women's liberation, and free progressive education.

➡ At about 12 years of age, in Maryland, John Thompson became the bodyservant of his owner Mrs. Wagar's grandson John Wagar — who in personal cruelty toward his slaves seemed to have learned much from his father:

When at home from school, he would frequently request his grandmother's permission, to call all the black children from their quarters to the house, to sweep and clear the yard from weeds, &c., in order that he might oversee them. Then, whip in hand, he walked about among them, and sometimes lashed the poor little creatures, who had on nothing but a shirt, and often nothing at all, until the blood streamed down their backs and limbs, apparently for no reason whatever, except to gratify his own cruel fancy.

This was pleasing to his father and grandmother, who, accordingly, considered him a very smart boy indeed! Often, my mother, after being in the field all day, upon returning at night, would find her little children's backs mangled by the lash of John Wagar, or his grandmother; for if any child dared to resist the boy, she would order the cook to lash it with a cowhide, kept for that purpose.

I well remember the tears of my poor mother, as they fell upon my back, while she was bathing and dressing my wounds....

[John Wagar, at about the age of 15] whipped a slave woman to death [on suspicion of having taken a glass of his rum]....

This was about the commencement of John's administration, for after he had finished his education and returned home, his father gave up the management of the plantation to him.

While young and attending school, his uncle gave him a beautiful little pony, saddle and bridle. Then this young gentleman must have a private body servant for himself, and he claimed the honor of making choice of one for himself, from among the slave children. Accordingly he made choice of myself.

Then my business was to wait upon him, attend to his horse, and go with him to and from school; for neglect of which, as he fancied, I often got severe floggings from him. Still, I did not wish my situation changed, for I considered my station a very high one; preferring an occasional licking, to being thrown out of office.

Being a gentleman's body servant, I had nothing more to do with plantation affairs, and, consequently, thought myself much superior to those children who had to sweep the yard. I was about twelve years old when given to John Wagar.

 The Reverend [Beriah Green](#) left off being Professor of Sacred Literature in the Western Reserve College in Ohio and became the President of the Oneida Institute of upstate New York, located alongside the [Erie Canal](#) about 20 miles east of Lake Oneida and 4 miles from Utica.

 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) visited [Hannah Barnard](#) in Hudson, [New York](#).

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 An interesting pro-[Elias Hicks](#) anonymous pamphlet was published:

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1824

1824

**THE CABINET,
OR
WORKS OF DARKNESS
BROUGHT TO LIGHT.**

Being a Retrospect of the Anti-Christian conduct of some of the leading characters in the Society called FRIENDS, towards that eminent and devoted Servant of the Lord, ELIAS HICKS, when on his last visit of Gospel Love to the inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia.

ALSO,

A brief statement of facts, illustrative of the treatment of that faithful Messenger of the Gospel, PRISCILLA HUNT, at a meeting for worship, held in Pine-street Meeting House, - together, with part of a discourse, delivered by her, at Green-street Meeting House.

“Whatsoever ye have spoken in darkness, shall be heard in the light; and that which ye have spoken in the ear in closets, shall be proclaimed upon the house tops.”

**PHILADELPHIA;
PRINTED FOR THE COMPILER.
1824.**



1824

1824

PREFACE.

The following authentic documents are offered to the public with a view to shew to what stretch of power, men, clothed with ecclesiastic authority, would extend their influence, were they not restrained by the Constitution of these United States, which guarantees to every citizen the rights of conscience and freedom of sentiment; and any infringement on these sacred privileges, by men, let them be ever so dignified, they will (in this enlightened age) meet with opposition from the intelligent and liberal minded part of every association over whom these pretended Spiritual Guides sit as Censors, and with an imperious sway judge down all that venture to dissent from them in matters of opinion; however the Lord's faithful Servants and Handmaidens have been rejected and persecuted from city to city, as the following facts evidently demonstrate.

N.B. The above remarks were not intended to apply to the religious society called Friends, generally, but only to a few, who would, if they only had power vested in them, lord it over the whole heritage of God: however, their machinations are unveiled, and the worthy characters against whom they combined, were cordially and sentimentally received by the generality of Friends, both in this city and adjacent country; and thousands assembled to hear the Gospel preached in its primitive purity and simplicity, and with power and demonstration.

Philadelphia, 4th month 14th, 1824.

**DARK DESIGNS MANIFESTED.**

In the Ninth Month, 1822, previous to Elias Hicks coming to this City, at a meeting for Suffering, several of the members were privately requested to stop, at the rise of the Meeting; accordingly, on the adjournment, Jonathan Evans, Ellis Yarnall, Samuel Bettle, Samuel P. Griffitts, Richard Jordan, Joseph Whitehall, and several others, remained in the Meeting house till the rest had gone - when Jonathan Evans rose and spoke to the following import, viz.: I expect you have heard that Elias Hicks has obtained from his Monthly Meeting a certificate to visit Friends in this city, and as it is well known that he holds doctrines that are not doctrines of Friends, it is necessary some steps should be taken to prevent him from disseminating them among us; he is full of words, and it will answer no purpose to argue with him. Richard Jordan and Joseph Whitehall, are present, and can state to you what they heard from himself. Then, the above named persons, one after the other, rose and stated what they said were the doctrines held by Elias Hicks; after some desultory conversation, several persons were appointed to wait upon him as soon as he might reach this city; among the number thus nominated, were Ellis Yarnall and Samuel P. Griffitts, who called upon him very early after his arrival. - Query. Was not this unconstitutional, and contrary to good order, and most certainly a conspiracy against the peace and harmony of Society. And from this proceeding, all the confusion which subsequently ensued arose; but, providentially, all their machinations proved abortive, and recoiled with confusion upon the heads of their projectors; and this may be justly attributed to the independence of the Society: and one would have reasonably supposed, it would have taught the Pharisaical spirit with whom they originated, a useful lesson, by the which, he might have profited more than it appears he has done. - O ye modern Nimrod's - ye "mighty hunters before the Lord!" erect a tribunal in your own breasts, before you are called to the tribunal of Him whose prerogative you have wantonly assumed: judge yourselves by the Golden Rule, for by this you must be judged. Institute a just comparison, I pray you, between the tokens of Divine approbation (as the seals to his embassy) bestowed on the Gospel labours of this venerable servant of the Lord, and your own, and if you are not void of sensibility, it will give a chill to your ambition, rebuke your imperious spirit, and change the voice of vituperation into humble confession, and self-reproach. I have made the above remarks for the man of sensibility and candour who may deign to read, ponder, and be wise while time and opportunity is afforded. As for the bigot, blind with prejudice and made with intolerance, I must leave him in his sins and in his blood, to hug his ever beloved prejudices, and to roll the precious manna of asps under his tongue, which will prove corrosive poison to the heart in the end. - May the Lord alarm and unmask the hypocrite, and grant him light, life, and salvation.

Letter from Thomas Eddy to John Warder.

NEW YORK, 10th Month 18th, 1822.

My dear friend, - I send the annexed to thee in hopes it may be



useful for such Friends as thee thinks proper to offer it, for their perusal; if approved by thee it may be handed to any other Friends.

Please see W. Evans, show it to him, and if he or any others wish to copy it, permit them: if it would be more extensively useful, I have no objection that 10 copies be printed. It was done in a hurry, and might have been improved, if I had time to copy it, however, it can be corrected with you. It may be of more use if it should not be know to be written by me, or that it came from New York.

Elias gave large notice to have a public meeting at Newark, but the people knew his sentiments and would not attend, except about a dozen of the lower class. Please see Wm. Evans or Thomas Evans soon - I wish thee to write me soon. Thy son Benjamin will perhaps copy the annexed, so as it may not be read in my hand writing. - Letters addressed to me as usual, at New York, will be handed me next day. Thy affectionate friend,
THOMAS EDDY.

Facts and observations illustrative of the present state of society in New York.

If we take a view of the general state of our religious society from the days of G. Fox, it will be found, that there has seldom been divisions amongst them on account of the introduction of new doctrines. It is true, an opposition to order and discipline appeared at different periods, but this at no time was of long continuance. The annual epistles of the yearly meeting of London, and various other documents that may be met with in the writings of Friends, serve to shew that the Society in Europe and America, were uniformly preserved in a wonderful manner, in love and amity. This happy state of things lasted till the time of Hannah Barnard's going to Eng. in the year _____. During her visit to Ireland, she introduced in her public comments, and occasionally in her intercourse with the families of Friends, sentiments of unbelief as to some parts of the Holy Scriptures - on the weak ground that we are not obliged to believe what we cannot understand or comprehend; and finding a disposition in many to join with her, she very soon manifested that she did not unite with the society respecting a belief in the divinity of Christ and other matters relating to the fundamental doctrines of the children religion. These sentiments very soon spread, and particularly in the North of Ireland a number of all ranks in society became infected with her speculative notions, and in consequence of this, a confused state of things occurred, that had never before taken place in Society. - Great pains were taken by these deluded people to lessen the divine authority of the Scriptures, and thus, considering them no longer a test by which doctrines might be tried and in which our early Friends on all occasions declared their willingness to appeal - many disorders occurred and strange notions were taken up in different places. The religious observance of set-day was deemed a mark of superstition, and to testify their disapprobation, the females employed themselves on that day at their needlework, and in some places the men worked at their usual occupations. Every species of church government or discipline was by them dispensed with -



all was to be done by revelation, either to peruse the Scriptures, go to Meeting, or the performance of any other religious duty. These baneful principles were so widely spread, that some eminent ministers, distinguished elders and others who had been foremost in society, sent to their respective Monthly meetings their resignations as members in Society; after some time those of the younger class, and others who had not before been considered as active members, came forward and put in force the discipline by disowning such of the delinquents as had not already resigned their right of membership - those separately not uniting among themselves soon dwindled, and at the present day are scarcely known; indeed, many of them were favored with the light of their own folly and made suitable acknowledgements, by which means, they were restored to the unity of their friends. Hannah Barnard, who appeared to be the ostensible author and promoter of these disorders, was silenced in England as a minister of the Monthly meeting of Devonshire and Quarterly meeting of London; which judgment was afterwards confirmed on her appealing to the Yearly Meeting of London: and on her return to America, she was disowned by the Monthly Meeting of Hudson. In England there were very few that advocated the sentiments and conduct of Hannah Barnard and the separatists in Ireland, among the few were William Rathbone and Thomas Foster, both men of education and possessed of considerable literary talents, each of them published a book taking part with Hannah Barnard, and advocating Unitarian doctrines, on which account they were both disowned. The circumstances attending the case of Thomas Foster were very singular, and as regarded society, were highly important; he had united himself with the Unitarian Books Society, which was formed for the express purpose of spreading books favorable to the Unitarian doctrine, and in 1810 or 11, he published a tract containing a review of the London Yearly meeting Epistle, in which he endeavored to prove that the sentiments therein expressed were opposite to those held by the society and particularly by our early Friends, who he insisted held Unitarian doctrines and esteemed Christ only as a man and a great prophet, &c. On this account he was disowned by Radcliffe Monthly meeting, on which he appealed to the London Quarterly meeting, which appointed 16 of the most eminent Friends in the society as a committee, who sat 6 days in order to give him a full hearing. He introduced before the committee a new version of the New Testament, in order to prove wrong translations, and divers interpolations in the version in common use; and he also urged many extracts he had made from Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken," on which he laid great stress every day of the sitting of the committee; he made lengthy speeches and very dogmatically urged his arguments. It is worthy of remark that all the Unitarian people of whom we have any knowledge are full of words and wonderful reasoners, which may properly be attributed to their principles being bottomed on speculation and the efforts of mere human reason. Now, it is hard, and perhaps impracticable, by dint of reason to convince even rational man of things which are above reason, which are supernatural; they must be conceived by supernatural means, even by the effort of that power which they deny. The committee reported their opinion that the judgment of Radcliffe Monthly Meeting ought to be



confirmed. The report was signed by all the committee. When this report was read in the Quarterly meeting, Tho. Foster made a long speech, and as he said he had not finished, the meeting adjourned to the next day in order to hear him further; and when he left the meeting, it was concluded to accept and adopt the report. He then appealed to the Yearly Meeting of 1814, after being very fully heard by the Committee of the Yearly meeting appointed to hear him, and the respondents appointed by the Quarterly meeting, the committee unanimously reported that the judgment of the Quarterly meeting ought to be confirmed. When this report was read in the Yearly meeting, Tho. Foster, as is usual in that meeting, was allowed to be present, he was again heard and replied to by Josiah Foster one of the respondents. A young man was employed by T. Foster to take down in short hand the whole that was said by himself, the respondents, and every Friend that spoke on the subject before the Meeting. He afterwards published it, and it is allowed to be a tolerable candid and accurate statement of the whole proceedings; the appellant had before him a number of Friends' books, and the Unitarian version of the New Testament, and made such quotations as he conceived would answer his purpose; he again laid much stress on William Penn's "Sandy Foundation Shaken;" to this the respondents particularly replied, and stated that W. Penn very fully cleared himself of the charges made against him, of his having in that tract advanced sentiments favorable to the Unitarian doctrine, and in his "Innocency with her open face," expressly declared he never thought or wrote in support of what they charged him with; the object of his writing the "Sandy Foundation Shaken," being only intended to show the great impropriety of using unscriptural terms of distinct and separate persons. The respondents then quoted "Penn's Guide mistaken," published by him sometime before he wrote his "Sandy foundation Shaken," in which he asserts the divinity of Christ in the most clear and unequivocal terms; they then read many parts of "Innocency with her open face," and many other parts of Penn's writings; among others, was an extract from the Journal of Thomas Ellwood, in which he states, that being in company with W. Penn, and a number of opponents of Friends being present, one of them observed that no Englishman or Quaker, was ever known to offer prayers to Christ; to which W. Penn replied, I am an Englishman and a Quaker, and I have oft times prayed to Christ, unto him who was crucified at Jerusalem. The respondents also read extracts from Fox, Barclay, Penn, Penington, Claridge and many others of our early Friends to prove that they clearly and uniformly advanced doctrines entirely opposed to those which Thomas Foster had stated to be held by them. After T. Foster and the respondents were heard, Thomas withdrew, and the clerk, Jno. Wilkinson, said that he hoped Friends would confine themselves to the simple question before the Meeting - on the doctrines and principles advanced by Thomas Foster, and the doctrines and principles of the Society of Friends or not. The case being now fairly before the meeting, 75 friends separately and deliberately declared their opinions in favor of confirming the Monthly Meeting of Ratcliffe and the Quarterly Meeting of London - Indeed this may very truly be said to have been the unanimous sense of this meeting, excepting only Thomas Compton, father-



in-law to T. Foster; both of them had been closely and intimately concerned with Hannah Barnard. This short account of the Separatists in Ireland, has been introduced with the case of Thomas Foster, in order to show how decidedly the society have shewn their abhorrence of the doctrines advanced by them; and also, the conduct of those deluded people and may be compared with the present state of Society within the limits of the Quarterly Meeting of Westbury; by which it will be seen, that there, as in Ireland, the same cause has produced the same effects, namely, lessening the Divine authority of the Scriptures, and advancing that we are not bound to believe what our reason cannot comprehend, which in both places caused a great disposition for speculation, and naturally produced an intolerant spirit towards their fellow members who could not unite with them in a disregard of the Scriptures, the religious observance of the first day of the week, &c., all which for a time they openly avowed till at length they boldly denied the divinity of Christ and openly declared that his death and sufferings were not to be considered as a propitiatory offering for the sins of mankind, &c. &c. It may be truly said that within the Yearly Meeting of New York, as well as the adjacent Yearly Meetings, Friends were remarkably preserved in love and unity until ELIAS HICKS disturbed that harmony.

FIRST. By lessening the Divine authenticity of the Holy Scriptures, and then, when he supposed he had sufficiently prepared the minds of the people, he came out with his Unitarian principles or doctrine, and showed a wonderful fondness for speculation and reasoning, frequently asserted that he was not obliged to believe what our reason could not comprehend. The multitude being always fond of something new, run after him wherever it was known he was to be at Meeting, as they were confident he could not be silent owing to his having a remarkably acute memory, and by nature the advantage of a great flow of words and ready utterance, and his fondness for reasoning and advancing his sentiments in the most positive and dogmatical manner, and moreover, having the advantage of addressing himself to numbers who had little opportunity of acquiring a full knowledge of the doctrines held by our early Friends, he acquired great popularity, and in a little time his influence became so extensive that he dictated and completely directed all the business of the Yearly Meeting; and every other meeting of discipline he attended, he never failed to speak to almost every subject, and to carry his point would speak to one subject 15 or 20 times. His gaining an unbounded influence and his fondness for reasoning have worked upon his imagination and leading him into a course of speculation that at length brought him to embrace his present doctrine tending to destroy the whole system of the christian religion. It will seem to exhibit this man's character with great clearness, when it is considered how artfully he avoided coming out with his Unitarian doctrine until he thought he had prepared the people's minds to receive it, which he knew would be hazardous to attempt without previously lessening the divine authority of the Scriptures, and to accomplish this he was all-concerned. He then began by speaking of Christ as a great Prophet who had suffered martyrdom for his principles as other prophets had done before his time: at this



period his principles were discovered by a number of Friends, but there were many that were so closely attached to him, that any person who passed censure on him was seen to incur the frowns of his supporters: some valuable Friends now regret that he was not checked at that period, but they are fearful it is now too late. It is much to be lamented that this step was not timely adopted, as it would no doubt have saved society from being misrepresented as to its doctrines and principles, and moreover, would have prevented the present unhappy divisions in New York and other places. He went on for a considerable time in the manner already mentioned, printing and speaking of Christ as a mere man, and lessening the Scriptures on every occasion, which of course produced in him a great dislike to Bible Societies - against them he would vent himself in the most violent and abusive language. Having declared his disbelief in the most essential doctrines of the christian religion, that could alone have preserved him in the humble and meek spirit of the gospel, he would in the most abusive manner, with his mind wonderfully heated, disclaim against the doctrines of other denominations and speak of their ministers with the most supercilious contempt; and in the same manner and in the same bitter spirit, he would utter the most severe epithets against all who differed from him in the use of articles manufactured by slaves; such he would say were bloody minded men, and the highwaymen would fare better in the next world than they. Occasionally (always accompanied with the same severe tone) he would vent himself against Banks, East India trade, civil government, agricultural societies, chemistry (which he called the "Black Art,") the Grand Canal, which he called a wicked plan to deceive and impose on people; all who should unite in any kind of charitable societies, were declared to be actuated by a spirit of pride, merely to get a name; all who united in any of these things, were spoken of, and abused in a haughty dogmatical and domineering manner, and called wicked unprincipled men. At length he ventured more openly to speak against the Divinity of Christ, by stating, first, that he might have fallen as Adam did; and at another time after repeating over the same words, he added, the Devil knew this or he was a fool to try; and in a public communication at Pearl street Meeting, he said that if an innocent man should suffer death for the sins of others it was an absurdity, and no rational man would believe it - similar sentiments he has expressed in a letter to Wm. B. Irish. - After this it is impossible for any man of common understanding, except indeed he is wilfully blinded, to say that this man is sound in the faith once delivered to the Saints. But it is said by those who are determined to excuse him, that he does sometimes deliver what is good and every way unexceptionable, but it may be seriously asked of such, would the apostles or our early Friends listen to what might be delivered by any man under pretence of preaching the Gospel, although true in the abstract, if spoken by a person who would repeatedly lessen the Divine truth of the Scriptures, lessen the character of Christ, and deny that mankind has derived any benefit by his death, &c.

June, 1696, Geo. Whitehead published a book under this title, "The Divinity of Christ and the Unity of the Three that bear



record in heaven, with the blessed ends and effects of Christ's appearance, coming in the flesh, suffering sacrifice for sinners, confessed and vindicated by his followers called Quakers," Sewell's History p. 638. The estimation in which such a man ought to be held is stated by the beloved Apostles, read 2. John 9, 10 and 11. It may be proper to mention that E. Hicks' manner of treating the Scriptures and his harsh style when speaking against those of other societies, have been mentioned and advice given him by some worthy Friends of New York Yearly Meeting - some of them as well as those of other Yearly Meetings, and from Europe, have stated to him his sentiments relative to the divinity of Christ, which went to the destruction of the Christian religion, and to produce divisions in Society. But owing to his inordinate fondness for reasoning (and in this talent he has the weakness to conceit no one equal to himself) he has acquired a degree of obstinacy in which he is scarce equalled by any other man - It is owing to this that no advice that has been given to him has been of any use. Although many Friends in the City of New York, as well as some on Long Island, are convinced of his being unsound in the christian faith, yet most of them are secretly afraid of him; this appeared clearly to be the case at the Quarterly Meeting where he applied for a certificate to attend the Baltimore Yearly Meeting, and to visit families in Philadelphia; those were then present whose sentiments it is well known were entirely adverse to those which they acknowledged to be held by Elias Hicks, and of course did not unite with his having a certificate, yet they were afraid to oppose it, indeed, unaccountable as it may seem, two of this description expressed some words giving countenance to the application. - When mankind is viewed as race of beings made but little lower than angels, how wonderful it is that there are minds so perverted, and whose conduct should be so extremely inconsistent.

It is indeed a most deplorable state of society when it is considered that a Quarterly Meeting should sanction a man to go abroad to visit other Yearly Meetings, who has been for some time propagating principles which tend to destroy the christian religion. If however the sentiments of each individual could have been known and declared, there would have been exhibited such a formidable opposition, that such a certificate would never have been granted him; it was obtained in consequence of his adherents on Long Island immediately getting up one after another expressing approbation, so that those who otherwise might have said something to discountenance the measure, were deterred from expressing their sentiments, besides it so happened that very few were present from New York, except those who were so blindly prejudiced in his favor that they cannot persuade themselves he can do or say any thing wrong. It is said that only two Friends showed any disapprobation and one of them stated he thought it would be very incorrect to retain in the certificate as it was read by the Clerk, the words "fully united with;" a particular adherent of Elias Hicks, remarked, that as so many had united he thought it would be very proper to retain those words; the Friends again urged for them to be left out. The Meeting then directed they should be omitted; yet



notwithstanding this conclusion of the Meeting, the Clerk has furnished a certificate in which those words are inserted!²⁸ In short if we believe the words of Christ that the house divided against itself is brought to desolation, then we may tremble when we find such a man countenanced in advancing doctrines that go to destroy the direct foundation of our society, and lay waste its first principles, and that he should be permitted to go to other places to produce the same divisions that he has already produced at New York. The injury that society has already received through the conduct of this man has been very great. Highly respectable persons of other denominations, charge our Society with being Unitarians; when they are told this charge is untrue they reply they have heard E. Hicks openly and publicly avow this doctrine, and as he is an acknowledged minister in the Society of Friends, and as they allow him to go about the country to hold meetings, of course the doctrines delivered by him must be considered as held by the society. It is very humiliating to observe there are ministers among us who so much admire E. Hicks as to imitate and copy after him at least in the unchristian and violent manner in which he abuses the clergy - Indeed they try if possible to exceed him in this respect; Elias Hicks, at a public meeting at Long Island, at a place where no Friends reside, and in company with his cousin Elias, in the course of a long communication, disclaimed in a most severe manner against the Clergy, their Common Prayer Book, and many of the religious observances of the Church of England, one of their ministers was present; he told them you might search the kennels of any great city, and take soldiers, sailors, and the very worst of mankind, and they would be more likely to enter into the kingdom of Heaven than the hireling priest. Another preacher, Dr. Carey of Saratoga, speaking in the same spirit against ministers of other denominations, at a public meeting at which a number were present, not members of our Society, burst out with these expressions: I insist upon it that one hireling is worse than ten old devils; and at another public meeting he said, "I will tell you how they make a hireling - they first send a young man to an academy for a few years, they then send him to Eliphalet Nott to finish him, and then the young devil is sent abroad into the world to do all the mischief he can." In this way those people, instead of being under the calm influence of the Gospel, which would preserve them in a meek, humble, quiet spirit, present the phantoms of their own wayward, foolish imaginations, and presume with daring impiety to bar the gates of Heaven against all whom from their influence of early education adopt a different mode of offering worship to the Almighty. If all who differ from us in religious opinions are to be doomed to destruction in the next world, it might be asked these deluded people, what has been the lot of many of our Friends who were

28. We are assured by a Friend who was present at the Quarterly Meeting of Westbury, that no such opposition as stated above took place. The circumstances as they occurred were simply these, — after a very general expression of unity, one single Friend observed, that he thought the word "full" might be spared; a pause, as is common in such cases, ensued, and no other expressing his approbation of the proposition, the word was retained, and that without any observation on the part of the Clerk: so that the assertion that the Clerk inserted words in the endorsement, which had been agreed to be omitted by the Meeting, is altogether unfounded and false.



ministers, that a few years ago bought and sold their fellow creatures as slaves? surely no considerate man will pretend to say, that hireling ministers are worse for being such than slaveholders. But the conduct of these men defeats their own views by giving way to their violent dispositions, as it is a solemn truth that the very valuable and essential testimony that Friends have to bear in favor of a free ministry, can only be spread in the world by the spirit of love, and in this spirit the principles founded on the Gospel of Jesus Christ, can only be preached with any effect.

After what has been said respecting the unsound doctrines held by E. Hicks, it may be well to enquire, how are we to account for the circumstance of so many of the members of his quarterly meeting being so blind as not to discover the unsoundness of his principles? we have no hesitation in saying, that the leading cause is the want of a proper or suitable education; the writings of early Friends (except some Journals) are scarce and little read, all kinds of school learning, except reading, writing, and the first rules of arithmetic, are discouraged, as well as general History, and books written by persons who are not members. To read the Scriptures daily or at fixed hours, is declared to be mere formality, in many families they are very little read. It is therefore not so very extraordinary as might at first appear, that a great proportion of the people so educated and so instructed, should submit to be led, and be so entirely influenced by such a man as Elias Hicks. If Friends in Philadelphia should allow this man to visit families, and in this way spread his poisonous principles, divisions among them will assuredly be the consequence.

The following was addressed by Isaac Pennington to a person holding similar doctrines to Elias Hicks, and may be now read as if addressed immediately to him - Gurney's Memoirs of Isaac Pennington, page 150. "O shallow man, when wilt thou cease measuring God by the eye of thy reason; wilt thou say it must be thus and thus, because thou canst not see how it can be otherwise, a proper query for the great reasoners of this age? O man, behold thy Saviour, know thy life, do not despise eternity, because of its appearing, and acting through mortality. This is he that came to redeem thee, to be a propitiatory sacrifice for thee, and a pattern for thee, art thou able to measure God in any work of his through the Creation? Thou knowest thou art not. Then why dost thou measure him so confidently in his greatest work through his Christ: even the work of Redemption, and so apparently contradict him in it? Very deep and weighty was the answer of Christ to Philip when Philip said, "show us the Father and it sufficeth." "Hast thou not seen me, Philip?" said Christ; "How is it that thou sayest show me the Father? he that has seen me has seen the Father also." Are they not one nature, one wisdom, one pure eternal Being? Can the one be possibly seen and not the other, though they may be distinct in manifestation, in the heart where they are received is it possible they should be divided one from the other, and separate? They that thus apprehend, plainly manifest that they have never received the knowledge of the Father and Son, but



have only notions and apprehensions of man's wisdom concerning them.

During George Withy's being in New York, many of those who have uniformly appeared as zealous supporters of Elias Hicks showed themselves highly displeased with George, and addressed to him several anonymous letters, in which they charged him with preaching wrong doctrines, &c. A few days before he embarked for England, they (sixteen of them) had prepared a letter of several sheets to be signed by two or three of them in behalf of the whole, which they intended to deliver to him. They seemed to be in much trouble cause the doctrine preached by him was so directly opposed to that held by Elias Hicks, and were exceedingly disturbed that George should have told Elias that his sentiments went to destroy the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion. In order to support Elias they published one thousand copies of William Penn's "Sandy foundation Shaken," for the purpose, as they said, to show that the Unitarian doctrine held by Elias Hicks agreed with what was advanced by Penn - They were also urged to print Penn's Trace called "Innocency with her Open Face," as they were told that that was afterwards published by him in order to prevent any wrong constructions that might take place in the minds of those who should read "Sandy foundation Shaken," but this of course they refused to print.

FINIS.

The above letter from Thomas Eddy of New York to a Friend in this city, and the accompanying remarks, are taken from the original in the hand-writing of the author. It was very desirable that a few friends should be furnished with a copy, in order that the baneful and invidious effects intended to be produced by it might be counteracted, and it was thought best to have a few copies printed, being less liable to error than in transcribing, and its length would make this process tedious; bad, indeed, must be the cause that calls for such means to support it, and how any man can talk of tale-bearing and backbiting, &c. and be instrumental in handing about this letter, as true, is really astonishing; such conduct is in itself a direct conspiracy against the peace and harmony of society - agreeably to the request of the author the essay appears to have been corrected in this city - but it was thought best to print it in its original form.

**Letter from Ten Elders of the Society called “Friends,” to Elias Hicks.**

To ELIAS HICKS,
FRIENDS in Philadelphia having for a considerable time past heard of thy holding and promulgating doctrines different from, and repugnant to those held by our religious society, it was cause of uneasiness and deep concern to them, as their sincere regard and engagement for the promotion of the cause of truth, made it very desirable that all the members of our religious Society should move in true harmony, under the leading and direction of our Blessed Redeemer, upon being informed of thy sentiments expressed by Joseph Whithall. That Jesus Christ was not the Son of God, until after the Baptism of John; and the descent of the Holy Ghost, and that he was no more than a man; that the same power that made Christ a Christian must make us Christians; and that the same power that saved him must save us; many Friends were much affected therewith, and sometime afterwards, several Friends being together in the city on subjects relating to our religious Society, they received an account from Ezra Comfort, of some of thy expressions in the public general meeting immediately succeeding the Southern Quarterly meeting lately held in the State of Delaware, which was also confirmed by his companion Isaiah Bell; That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the Gospel dispensation, the Jews being under the outward and ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary that there should be some outward miracle, as the healing of the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the Gospel dispensations, he had no more power given him than man, for he was no more than man, he had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only, Elisha had the same power to raise the dead; that man, being obedient to the Spirit of God in him could arrive at as great, or greater, degree of righteousness, than Jesus Christ. That Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God, neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God; then endeavoured to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands, or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God, saying, for that stone in man was the entire God. On hearing which, it appeared to Friends a subject of such great importance, and of such deep interest to the welfare of our religious Society, as to require an early extension of care, in order, that if any incorrect statement had been made, it should as soon as possible be rectified, or if true, thou might be possessed of the painful concern of Friends, and their sense and judgment thereon. Two of the Elders accordingly waited on thee on the evening of the day of thy arriving in the city, and although thou denied the statement, yet, thou declined to meet these two Elders in company with those who made it, left the mind of Friends without relief: one of the Elders who had called on thee, repeated his visit on the next day but one, and again requested thee to see the two Elders and the Friends who made the above statements, which thou again declined. The Elders from the different monthly meetings in the city were then convened, and requested a private opportunity with thee, which thou also refused, yet the next day consented to meet them at a time and



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place of thy own fixing; but when assembled, a mixed company being collected, the Elders could not in this manner enter into a business which they considered of a nature not to be investigated in any other way than in a select private opportunity, they therefore considered that meeting a clear indication of thy continuing to decline to meet the Elders, as by them proposed. Under these circumstances it appearing that thou art not willing to hear and disprove the charges brought against thee, we feel it a duty to declare, that we cannot have religious unity with thy conduct, nor with the doctrines thou art charged with promulgating.

Signed, 12th month, 19th, 1822.

Caleb Pierce,
Leonard Snowden,
Joseph Scattergood,
Samuel P. Griffitts,
T. Stewardson,
Edward Randolph,
Israel Maul,
Ellis Yarnall,
Richard Humphries,
Thomas Wistar.



Elias Hicks's Letter to the foregoing Ten Elders.

To Caleb Pierce and the other Friends,
Having been charged by you of unsoundness of principle and doctrine, founded on reports spread among the people in an unfriendly manner, and contrary to the order of our discipline, by Joseph Whitehall, as stated in the letter from you dated the 19th instant; and as these are charges not literally true, being founded on his own forced and improper construction of my words, I deny them; and as I do not consider myself amendable to him, or any other, for crimes laid to my charge as being committed in the course of the sitting of our last yearly meeting, as not any of my fellow members of that meeting discovered or noticed any such things, which I presume not to be the case, as not an individual has mentioned any such thing to me, but contrary thereto, many of our valuable Friends (who had heard some of these foul reports promulgated by an individual of our city) acknowledge the great satisfaction they had with my services and exercises in the course of that meeting, and were fully convinced, that all those foul reports were false, and this view is fully confirmed by a certificate granted me by the monthly and quarterly meetings of which I am a member, in which they express their full unity with me, and which meetings were held a considerable time after our yearly meeting, in the course of which Joseph Whitehall has presumed to charge me with unsoundness, contrary to the sense of the yearly, quarterly and monthly meetings of which I am a member, and to whom only I hold myself amenable for all conduct transacted within their limits. The other charges against me made by Ezra Comfort, as expressed in your letter, are in the general incorrect, as is proved by the annexed certificate, and moreover as E. Comfort has departed from gospel order in not mentioning his uneasiness to me when present with me, and when I could have appealed to Friends of that meeting to have justified me, therefore I consider E. Comfort to have acted disorderly and contrary to discipline; and these are the reasons that induced me to refuse a compliance with your requisitions, as considering them arbitrary and contrary to the established order of our Society.

(Signed) E. Hicks

Philadelphia, 12 mo. 21, 1822.

Letter from Three Members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting, concerning Elias Hicks.

We the undersigned being occasionally in the city of Philadelphia, when a letter was produced and handed us, signed by ten of its citizens, Elders of the Society of Friends, and directed to Elias Hicks; after perusing and deliberately considering the charges therein against him, for holding and propagating doctrines inconsistent with our religious testimonies, and more especially those said by Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, to be held forth at a meeting immediately succeeding the late Southern Quarterly Meeting, and we being members of the Southern quarter, and present at the said meeting, we are free to state, for the satisfaction of the first-mentioned Friends, and all others whom it may concern, that we apprehend the charges exhibited by the two Friends named, are



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without substantial foundation; and in order to vie a clear view, we think it best and proper here to transcribe the said charges exhibited, and our own understanding of the several, viz. "That Jesus Christ was the first man that introduced the Gospel Dispensation, the Jews being under the outward and ceremonial law or dispensation, it was necessary there should be some outward miracles, as healing the outward infirmities of the flesh, and raising the outward dead bodies, in order to introduce the gospel dispensation;" this in substance is correct. "That he had no more power given him than man," this sentence is incorrect; and also, "That he had nothing to do with the healing of the soul, for that belongs to God only" is likewise incorrect; and the next sentence "That Elisha also had the same power to raise the dead" should be transposed thus to give Elias's expressions. "By the same power it was that Elisha raised the dead." "That man being obedient to the spirit of God in him could arrive at as great or greater degree of righteousness than Jesus Christ" this is incorrect, "That Jesus Christ thought it not robbery to be equal with God", with annexing the other part of the paragraph mentioned by the holy apostle would be correct. "Neither do I think it robbery for man to be equal with God," is incorrect. "Then endeavouring to show that by attending to that stone cut out of the mountain without hands or the seed in man, it would make man equal with God" is incorrect; the sentence for that stone in man should stand thus. "That this stone or seed in man had all the attributes of the divine nature that was in Christ and God." This statement and a few necessary remarks we made without comment, save only that we were then of opinion and still are, that the sentiments and doctrines held forth by our said friend Elias Hicks, are agreeable to the opinions and doctrines held by George Fox and other worthy friends of his time.

12 mo. 21, 1822.
(Signed) Robert Moore,
Joseph Turner,
Joseph G. Rowland.



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A Memorandum of circumstances which took place in Philadelphia, shortly after the arrival of Elias Hicks from the southward, where he had been in the prosecution of a religious visit.

On 7th day, the 7th of the 12th mo. 1822, Elias Hicks arrived in Philadelphia, and on that evening he was waited upon by Ellis Yarnal and Dr. S.P. Griffitts, two elders of the city, who desired an interview with him on account of some doctrine he, the said E. Hicks, was said to hold. At first Elias denied their authority to question him, but upon their telling him they came in love as brethren, he said he was willing to answer them; and after an interview of about fifty minutes, they went away apparently well satisfied: but on the next day (1st day the 8th) there was a meeting of the elders of the city, as I was informed, or at least a majority of them, and a deputation from that meeting waited on Elias on second day, and requested him to meet the elders of the city on 4th day the 11th, at the Arch street House, at 3 o'clock. Elias declined meeting them, saying, that he did not acknowledge their authority to call him before them; but afterwards at the request of Dr. Robt. Moore of Easton, Maryland, who thought it might be most satisfactory to Friends generally, Elias consented to meet them at the Green street House, on 5th day the 12th inst. at 3 o'clock P.M. accordingly Elias met them at the time and place appointed, and expressed his willingness that some of his friends should accompany him, which they did, and I was one of the number. At this meeting there was Elias Hicks and his companions. John Comly, Dr. Robert Moore of Easton, Dr. John Moore, John Hunt an elder from Darby, Evan Davis from Wilmington, and perhaps 12 or 15 of the members of Green street Monthly Meeting. I believe all the elders of the city were present except Jonathan Evans who was indisposed, and John Townsend, senr. who declined meeting with them, and Charles Stowe, who became uneasy in mind after he had started to go, and returned back. After sitting some time in silence, Thomas Wistar got up and said that a serious concern had arisen among the elders of the city, and they had requested a select opportunity with Elias Hicks and his companion; but instead of the opportunity desired, he thought it very extraordinary that so many Friends should be present, who in the present stage of the business had no concern in the case, and concluded by observing, that if those Friends thought proper to keep their seats, that they (the elders) had better withdraw: Elias Hicks then rose and observed, that he thought it a very extraordinary proceeding that they should summon him before them, to answer or give an account of himself, in reply to flying reports against him, and not be willing to have those friends present who were to be witnesses that those reports were false. He then mentioned the circumstances of the first interview as above stated, and that in reply to a charge that was reported against him, he had told the Friends it was not true; he then stated he thought he had been cruelly treated since he came to the city; that Friends had listened to reports, and judged him upon those reports; he recapitulated the circumstances of a Friend having attended the Southern Quarterly Meeting, who had reported something as having been said by him which he had told Friends was not true. After he sat down, a hint was again given that the elders might as



well withdraw if other Friends chose to stay. Caleb Pierce said, Friends had better keep to the one point, whether Elias would give them the private opportunity they desired - and after some few remarks transiently made, Elias said, he was not free to meet them alone. Thomas Wistar said, are we to understand this to be the answer? Elias replied, Yes. Then, rejoined Thomas Wistar, we are to understand if the opportunity desired is not granted that the charges are admitted? Elias said, No. His companion immediately said, no charges have been made by you; Elias said, here we are, ready to hear any charge you have to bring in the presence of these Friends.

There was now some confusion, and evident irritation on the part of some of the elders, several of them rising to go out; and while on his feet in the act of moving towards the door Thomas Stewardson said, "the ministers are answerable to the elders," in a tone of voice evincing some excitement; Elias mildly said, as he sat on his seat, I am answerable to my Friends at home, I have their certificate, God makes ministers, but man elders; and some few more words I did not distinctly hear owing to the noise. Edward Randolph, as he rose and went out at this time, said, with some impatience, "It is a very strange procedure indeed." The elders now all left the house except Isaac Lloyd, a member of Pine street Meeting, and Samuel Noble, a member of Green street: Isaac Lloyd had, while all were together, expressed his disapprobation of the whole proceeding, in thus calling Elias before the elders, and said he did not understand what authority or right they had to act thus. After the others retired there was a short pause, when Elias got up and said, that if those Friends who had just retired, were to have the whole rule and government of ministers and others, and others were to be bound to submit to them in all things, it was time for Friends to take care of their rights, and not suffer themselves to be imposed upon. This was done in a mild and calm tone of voice; there was then an expression of great unity and sympathy with Elias Hicks as a Gospel minister, and a desire also prevailed that he might be encouraged in his exercises. Friends also were concerned that no resentment or hardness might be suffered to get in towards those Friends who had retired. Abram Lower thought it might be a satisfaction for Friends to hear, what was said to be charged upon Elias Hicks, and to hear it explained by Dr. Robert Moore of Easton, who was at the Southern quarter, where it was said Elias had used some unsound expressions. Elias then said, that Ezra Comfort, who attended the Southern quarter, had charged him with having said that Jesus Christ was nothing but a mere man, and that any other man, by attending to the light within, might attain to equal if not greater perfection than he did! Dr. Moore then said that he attended said quarterly meeting, and that Elias's services and gospel labours were very acceptable, and that Friends had great unity with him both at that quarter and also at Baltimore yearly meeting, and that he heard no such expressions, and he did not believe they had been used by him. After some time Elias said, that this friend Comfort appeared to have a friendship and unity with him, and shewed nothing either in word or action that implied any thing like disapprobation though he had opportunity, but that he came away



from them and reported a thing of him which he never said nor thought, and repeated his opinion that he had been cruelly used since he came to this city. After some further remarks by Friends, a few minutes of silent sympathy was proposed before separating, and there was a solemn covering attended this silence, which seemed like pouring the oil upon Aaron's head, which extended to the skirts of his garments, and I thought I never had been in a meeting of any kind which seemed more evidently owned by the Divine presence. Before a separation took place, Elias Hicks observed, in a very feeling manner, that he felt thankful in saying that he felt as much love for those Friends who had left us as he ever had done, and that if they had been actuated by any improper motives (which however he did not charge them with) his prayer for them was, that they might be forgiven. Letter from Ten Elders of the Society called "Friends," to Elias Hicks. Philadelphia, 1 mo. 4, 1823.

To Elias Hicks.

On the perusal of thy letter of the 21st of last month, it was not a little affecting to observe the same disposition still prevalent that avoided a select meeting with the Elders, which meeting consistently with the station we are placed in and with the sense of duty impressive upon us, we were engaged to propose and urge to thee as a means wherein the cause of uneasiness might have been investigated, the Friends who exhibited the complaint fully examined, and the whole business placed in a clear point of view.

On a subject of such importance the most explicit candour and ingenuousness, with a readiness to hear and give complete satisfaction ought ever to be maintained; this the Gospel teaches, and the nature of the case imperiously demanded it. As to the Certificate which accompanied thy letter, made several weeks after the circumstances occurred, it is in several respects, not only vague and ambiguous, but in others (though in different terms) it corroborates the statement at first made. When we take a view of the whole subject, the doctrines and sentiments which have been promulgated by thee, though under some caution while in this city; and the opinions which thou expressed in an interview between Ezra Comfort and thee, on the 19th ult. we are fully and sorrowfully confirmed in the conclusion, that thou holds and art disseminating principles very different from those which are held and maintained by our religious Society.

As thou hast on thy part, closed the door against the brotherly care and endeavours of the elders here for thy benefit, and for the clearing our religious profession, this matter appears of such serious magnitude, so interesting to the peace, harmony, and well being of society, that we think it ought to claim the weighty attention of thy Friends at home.

(Signed) Ellis Yarnall,
Thomas Wistar,
Leonard Snowdon,
Joseph Scattergood,
Caleb Peirce,
Samuel P. Griffitts,



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Thomas Stewardson,
Edward Randolph,
Israel Maul.

Being present when the foregoing Letter was concluded on, I unite with the concern and care of my brethren the Elders of this city, that our religious Society might not be under the imputation of holding doctrines which do not accord with the testimony of the Holy Scriptures.
Jonathan Evans.



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**Letter from Twenty-two Members of the Southern Quarterly Meeting,
concerning Elias Hicks.**

We the subscribers, being informed that certain reports have been circulated by Ezra Comfort and Isaiah Bell, that Elias Hicks had propagated unsound doctrine, at our general meeting on the day succeeding our quarterly meeting in the 11th month last, and a Certificate signed by Robert Moore, Joseph Turner, and Joseph G. Roland, being read, contradicting said reports, the subject has claimed our weighty and deliberate attention, and it is our united judgment, that the Doctrines preached by our said Friend on the day alluded to, were the Truths of the Gospel; and that his labours of love amongst us at our particular meetings, as well as at our said quarterly meeting, were united with by all our members, for aught that appears.

And we believe that the Certificate signed by the three Friends above named, is in substance a correct statement of facts.

Elisha Dawson,
William Dolby,
Walter Mifflin,
Daniel Bowers,
William Levick,
Elias Janell,
Jacob Pennington,
Jonathan Twibond,
Henry Swiggitt,
Michael Offley,
James Brown,
George Messeck,
William W. Moore,
John Cougill,
Samuel Price,
Robert Kemp,
John Turner,
Hartfield Wright,
David Wilson,
Michael Lowber,
Jacob Liventon,
John Cowgill, junr.
Little Creek, 2 mo. 26th, 1823.

I hereby Certify, that I was at the Southern Quarterly Meeting in the 11th month last, but owing to indisposition, I did not attend the general meeting on the day succeeding, and having been present at several meetings with Elias Hicks, as well as at the Quarterly Meeting aforesaid, I can testify my entire unity with the doctrines I have heard him deliver.
Anthony Whitely.



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The following Communication appeared in several Gazettes of this City.

Arrived in this city on the 7th instant, Elias Hicks, a distinguished Minister of the Gospel, the Benign Doctrines of which he as a faithful Ambassador, has for many years past practically endeavoured (both by precept and example) to promulgate in its primeval beauty and simplicity, without money and without price. Those who are Friends to plain truth, and Evangelical preaching, that have heretofore been edified and comforted under his ministry, will doubtless be pleased to learn of his arrival, and avail themselves of the present opportunity of attending such appointments as he, under the direction of Divine influence, may see proper to make in this tour of Gospel Love, to the inhabitants of this city and its vicinity.

A CITIZEN.

Philadelphia, Dec. 9th, 1822.



Reception of P.H. at Philadelphia, the city of Penn.

For some time past it has been understood, that P.H. of Indiana, widow of a son of that valuable Friend Nathan Hunt, of North Carolina, was expected to pay a visit to this city in a religious capacity. Some Friends having previously learned that she entertained sentiments in many respects congenial with those of our worthy friend Elias Hicks, were inclined to prevent her from coming, and it is confidently said, took steps accordingly; with intimations thus given, it is believed, she would willingly have complied, had she consulted only her own natural inclination, but an impression was fixed, deeply fixed in her mind, that as her intended visit was of the Lord's requiring, however repugnant it might be to the feelings of nature; she was enjoined to obey - accordingly her first public appearance was on a first-day morning at Pine Street Meeting, of the state of which it was clearly seen that she was favoured with a true sense, when she was lead to speak of strife, and contention as being inimical to the true Spirit of the Christian Religion, which could not, (she said) exist where there was such a state of mind. Speaking of the Star in the East, (she said) "What was this Star? I fear not to say it was Reason; and understand me my friends, I do not believe that attention to reason alone in man, would any more lead to God, than that star which appeared to those wise men, would have lead them to God." As nearly as can be recollected, these were the words spoken. As soon as this sensible and interesting female had sat down, a young man, by far the youngest in the Minister's Gallery, William Evans by name, arose, and with a confidence of manner and tone, evincing an uncharitable and prejudging frame of mind, spoke as follows: "These are not the doctrines of our religious Society, we never professed to the world that reason leads to Christ." The meeting was astonished at the forwardness of this young man, and the more so, because he seemed by implication, to construe the words that were uttered, into a sense that the words themselves would not bear; the Friend did not say that Reason alone would lead to Christ, as the forward young man would seem to intimate, but her meaning evidently was, that reason combined with revelation, as in the figure of the star in the East, would direct us; she also disclaimed any meaning, that would raise Reason above Revelation. To return to the narrative, as soon as the indecorous intruder had done speaking, the female, without taking the least notice of his unfeeling attack, kneeled in supplication; the meeting spontaneously arose, with the exception of this self-important young man, his father Jonathan Evans (an elder), and one or two others, not being able further to resist, after a short hesitation arose, and joined apparently in supplication, in which the dark veil which now appeared to cover some minds, was petitioned to be rent asunder, and the meeting then broke up in a state of agitation difficult to describe; such was the reception of a virtuous female stranger, travelling on God's errand to Philadelphia, the city of brotherly love. I have stated the occurrence with as much accuracy as my recollection permits, and if I am under any misapprehension, numbers can correct me: all I can say is, that I have endeavoured to keep within the strict bounds of Truth.



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It may be right, however, to add, that the young man, who was the sorrowful cause of so much agitation, professes to be sensible, in part, of his indecorous behaviour, for the manner in which he spoke, but not for the matter, and it is thought by many that not only the manner, but the matter needs an apology, and that in as public way as the indecorum was committed, but that he should also farther apologize, for having broke the solemnity of the meeting in a way contrary to the good order of Friends - but as he still persists in dividing his offence into justifiable and unjustifiable parts, it is evident his compunction of mind does not lead to abasement and contrition of Spirit.

2 mo. 19th, 1823.



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Philadelphia, 2 mo. 20, 1823.

Part of a Discourse delivered by P. Hunt, at Green Street Meeting.

I left my home and came to see you with nothing in my hand but a staff of love. It is my support - it is my shield. And this I have to declare unto the inhabitants of the earth, and I have had to declare in every part of the earth where I have been, "That there is no other guide to Heaven but the light of Christ within." And this all may clearly see that will attend to the light of reason; for it is that part of man that is susceptible of light, and by this light operating on the mental faculty which I term reason, that which raises the man above the brute, we are enabled to see and come unto the light of Christ within the hope of glory. It shows us that he is the way, the truth, and the life: and this gentle monitor it is, that is to guide us to Heaven. Now beloved, do I say reason is the light that leads to heaven? No, I put no more dependence on reason than is due; for reason alone cannot guide a man in the way that is right. He undoubtedly was endued with reason, for a man that is void of reason cannot know Christ, neither will he be led by his light within, for he disregards it. His mind is not capable of coming to it, therefore he cannot dwell in the light without reason. Here, beloveds, as we attend unto the monitor in the breast, the light of Christ, we are led unto God the fountain of light, we come to the knowledge of ourselves; it unfolds to the view of man what he really is; and there is nothing else but this that can guide a man to peace but that which has power to open to the view of his mind what he really is. For until a man do see and know himself, he cannot come to the knowledge of God. Where is there any other power that can guide man into the depth of nature but this eternal Word. For by diving into the depth of nature, we behold nature's God. Him we see in all his works. We behold him above all, and filling all. And this light of Christ within, is the Lion of the tribe of Judah that is prepared to open the book and loose the seven seals.



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**EXTRACTS
FROM THE
WRITINGS OF PRIMITIVE FRIENDS,
CONCERNING
THE DIVINITY
OF
OUR LORD AND SAVIOUR
JESUS CHRIST.**

Published by direction of the Meeting for Sufferings held in
Philadelphia.

**SOLOMON W. CONRAD, PRINTER.
1823.**

**RE-PRINTED FOR THE COMPILER.
1824.**



PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

The following rare product of human invention, was generated at a Select Council, commonly called a "Meeting for Suffering," which speaking in the vernacular tongue, I call the Standing Committee of the Yearly Meeting, and I am fixed in the unshaken belief, that their secret Cabinet and Councils are oft polluted with the spirit of error, which causes them to stray in vision, and err in judgment, and this engenders bigotry, superstition, and ecclesiastical tyranny, and this has brought forth many noxious plants that will not bud, blossom and thrive among the trees of Gospel liberty in this American soil - hence arose this new fangled triangular Creed; which no doubt, was introduced as a manade to bind down the liberal minded, and stop the current of free investigation, which that bold, independent and faithful servant of the Lord, Elias Hicks, has been an instrument in promoting among us, particularly the juvenile part of society, who have been more generally induced to search the Sacred Volume, and the writings of their forefathers, than ever was before known in the Society called FRIENDS - and this excitement to free enquiry has justled the lees of that old leaven, which the Son of God cautioned his Disciples to beware of, which must be purged out, before the pure seed of the Kingdom will take root and flourish in the hearts of the children of men. O! that this fermentation may purge out the old leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees, and cause the vitality of pure and undefiled religion to circulate, like the illustrious blood through the left ventricle of the heart, which circulates through the whole body and gives vitality. The following singular CREED was rejected in the yearly meeting, by an overwhelming majority of its members, and we are at no loss to account for the noble decision, when we consider the independence that has always characterized the Society, and I trust it has taught many a useful lesson, to those rigid Sectarians, who were looking up to these man-made Elders, as a superior race of beings, guided by the spirit of truth in all their movements; but alas, will any rational being presume to say, these men were dictated by the unerring spirit of truth, when they were endeavoring to frame a Creed that would have disgraced the days of the flight of Mahomet, much more the 19TH CENTURY in which we live? - Marvel not then that this stretch of power was curtailed, and the fetters broken before they were firmly rivetted - May this human effort stimulate us to redoubled vigilance in guarding our Religious rights, prizing our privileges, and appreciating the manifold blessings that are bountifully strewed upon us by an Overruling Supreme Intelligence. N.B. This Pamphlet was honorably rejected by the Annual Assembly, and ordered not to be published, still it was not expunged from the minutes of said meeting, and some orthodox ones entertain a belief that it will one day come forth and be sanctioned by the yearly meeting of Philadelphia, but I must beg leave to differ from them in opinion. - It may possibly meet the approbation of some of the loyal orthodox tribes on the other side the Atlantic, as I am credibly informed a number of printed copies have been transported across the ocean - however, time will demonstrate all things, and bring all hidden works of darkness to light -



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EXTRACTS
CONCERNING
THE DIVINITY
OF OUR
LORD AND SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST.

At a Meeting for Sufferings, held in Philadelphia, the 17th of the First month, 1823.

An Essay containing a few brief extracts from the writings of our primitive Friends on several of the doctrines of the Christian Religion, which have been always held, and are most surely believed by us, being produced and read; on solid consideration, they appeared so likely to be productive of benefit, if a publication thereof was made, and spread among our members generally, that the committee appointed on the printing and distribution of religious books, are directed to have a sufficient number of them struck off, and distributed accordingly; being as follows:

We have always believed that the Holy Scriptures were written by divine inspiration, that they are able to make wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus; for, as holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, they are therefore profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works. But they are not, or cannot be subjected to the fallen corrupt reason of man. We have always asserted our willingness that all our doctrines be tried by them; and admit it as a positive maxim, that whatsoever any do (pretending to the spirit) which is contrary to the scriptures, be accounted and judged a delusion of the Devil.

We receive and believe in the testimony of the Scriptures, simply as it stands in the text, "There are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father the Word and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one." We believe in the only wise, omnipotent and everlasting God; the Creator of all things in Heaven and earth, and the preserver of all that he hath made, who is God over all, blessed forever.

The infinite and most wise God, who is the foundation, root and spring of all operations, hath wrought all things by his eternal word and Son. This is that word that was in the beginning with God, and was God; by whom all things were made and without whom was not any thing made that was made.

Jesus Christ is the beloved and only begotten Son of God, who,



in the fullness of time, through the Holy Ghost, was conceived and born of the Virgin Mary - in him we have redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of sins. We believe that he was made a sacrifice for sin, who knew no sin; that he was crucified for us in the flesh, was buried and rose again the third day by the power of his Father for our justification, ascended up into Heaven and now sitteth at the right hand of God.

As then that infinite and incomprehensible fountain of life and motion operateth in the creatures by his own eternal word and power, so no creature has access again unto him but in and by the Son, according to his own blessed declaration, "No man knoweth the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son will reveal him." Again "I am the way the truth and the life, no man cometh unto the Father but by me." Hence he is the only mediator between God and man, for having been with God from all eternity, being himself God, and also in time partaking of the nature of man; through him is the goodness and love of God conveyed to mankind, and by him again man receiveth and partaketh of these mercies.

We acknowledge that of ourselves we are not able to do any thing that is good; neither can we procure remission of sin or justification by any act of our own; but acknowledge all to be of and from his love which is the original and fundamental cause of our acceptance, "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life."

We firmly believe it was necessary that Christ should come, that by his death and sufferings, he might offer up himself a sacrifice to God for our sins, who his own self bare our sins in his own body on the tree; so we believe, that the remission of sins which any partake of, is only in and by virtue of that most satisfactory sacrifice, and no otherwise; for it is by the obedience of that one, that the free gift is come upon all to justification. Thus Christ by his death and sufferings, hath reconciled us to God, even while we are enemies; that is, he offers reconciliation to us; and we are thereby put into a capacity of being reconciled. God is willing to be reconciled unto us and ready to remit the sins that are past, if we repent.

Jesus Christ is the intercessor and advocate with the Father in Heaven, appearing in the presence of God for us, being touched with a feeling of our infirmities, sufferings and sorrows; and also by his spirit in our hearts, he maketh intercession according to the will of God, crying abba Father. He tasted death for every man, shed his blood for all men, and is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world. He alone is our Redeemer and Saviour, the Captain of our salvation, the promised seed, who bruises the serpent's head; the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last.

He is our wisdom, righteousness, justification and redemption; neither is there salvation in any other; for there is no other



name under Heaven, given among men, whereby we may be saved.

As he ascended far above all Heavens, that he might fill all things, his fullness cannot be comprehended or contained in any finite creature, but in some measure known and experienced in us, as we are prepared to receive the same; as of his fullness we have received, grace for grace. He is both the word of faith and a quickening Spirit in us, whereby he is the immediate cause, author, object and strength of our living faith in his name and power, and of the work of our Salvation from sin and bondage of corruption.

The Son of God cannot be divided from the least or lowest appearance of his own divine light or life in us, no more than the Sun from its own light, nor is the suffering of his light within, set up or mentioned in opposition to him, or to his fullness considered as in himself or without us; nor can any measure or degree of light received from Christ, be properly called the fullness of Christ, or Christ as in fullness, nor exclude him from being our complete Saviour. And where the least degree or measure of this light and life of Christ within, is sincerely waited in, followed and obeyed, there is a blessed increase of light and grace known and felt; as the path of the just, it shines more and more until the perfect day, and thereby a growing in grace, and in the knowledge of God, and of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, hath been and is truly experienced.

Whereof we say, that whatever Christ then did, both living and dying, was of great benefit to the salvation of all that have believed, and now do, and that hereafter shall believe in him unto justification and acceptance with God: but the way to come to that faith, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his divine Light and grace in the conscience, which leads men to believe, and not to disown or undervalue Christ, as the common sacrifice and mediator. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy light in the conscience, and to turn our minds and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the readiest, nay the only right way, to have true, living, and sanctifying faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh; and to discern the Lord's body, coming, and sufferings aright, and to receive any real benefit by him as our only sacrifice and mediator, according to the beloved disciple's emphatical testimony, "If we walk in the light, as he (God) is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his son cleanseth us from all sin."

By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ without us, we, truly repenting and believing, are, through the mercy of God, justified from the imputation of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed: and by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, nature, and habits of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,



DOCTRINE OF PRIMITIVE QUAKERISM.

All the primitive writings on the Doctrine of the Gospel, which were wrote by Fox, Barclay, and Penn, and other worthies of their day, go to establish that there is but one God, the sole Creator, Former, Supporter and Governor of the Universe, the only Supreme object of religious worship, ad adoration; and there is one mediator between God and men, the man Christ Jesus, who gave himself a ransom for all, to be testified in due time; who was approved of God, by miracles, signs, and wonders; that he was put to death by wicked hands, yet declared to be the Son of God with power according to the Spirit of Holiness, by the Resurrection of the Dead. That he was the Son and sent of God, the only begotten of the Father and the true Messiah, the following texts of Scripture corroborate, Mark 12th chapter. 28th to the 34th verse. - Acts 17th chap. 22d to 31st verse. - 1st Cor. 8th chap. 5th and 6th verses. - 1st Tim. 2d chap. 1st and 5th verses. - 2d Tim. 1st chapter, 1st, 2d, 7th and 10th verses. - I have searched the Scriptures, and the writings of Primitive Friends, and I cannot find that they any where speak of Christ's Eternal Divinity and Omnipotence. - Query, has the Society of Quakers, (so called,) changed its principles, or is it become less tolerant, than formerly? (perhaps both.) Since an open profession of the primitive Doctrines, as held forth by our ancient forefathers, now incurs censure and even disownment, both in England and America. I do not learn that any of the ancient Friends held to the Athanasian Creed, i.e. Three Co-equal and Co-eternal Gods - Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; hence I cannot learn how an Athanasian Creed could be extracted from the writings of Primitive Friends. Letter to an Elder, by a Juvenile Member. I have no desire to spy out the nakedness of the land, nor to dig up the iniquities of the people. My feelings are such as would rather retire from the view that is given me, adopting the language of Simeon - "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes hath seen thy salvation." My spirit has been carried, as in the Lord's day, to see and to feel the highest degree of iniquity, and most secret abominations, that the seven-headed beast has yet brought upon the land; the mystery of Spiritual Babylon, clothed in scarlet, of high profession, the beast that ascendeth out of the bottomless pit, that was not and yet is. This mystery of Babylon, with many of her abominations, has been searched out, and detected in many of her forms and appearances, by different reformers, glorious sons of the morning, who have stood as lights in the world, and who, though dead, yet livingly speak, and prove, that in the darkest ages, "God hath not left himself without a witness" of his life-giving power; without a valiant to wield the sword of his spirit against the desolating effects of spiritual wickedness in high places, a putting on the form of godliness with all secret unrighteousness. And these have endeavoured, as faithful servants, to lay the foundation of a city, wherein she, Mystery Babylon, should not find her out an habitation. They have walled it about, and set watchmen thereon to prevent her entrance. But while they have been looking at her abroad, and endeavouring to secure themselves against her from without, she hath risen up in the midst of them, entered the



sanctuary, seated herself in the highest places, taken the holy things in her hand, of which she maketh them drunk, while they think they dwell in safety. She takes the richest vestments from the treasury to clothe herself with, and the jewels of God for her most excellent ornaments. She puts the crown of religious sanction upon her head, and sits as queen in high profession; and as she speaks the language of the church, she sits in all her former power and authority, and is not once suspected.

There is much building upon the excellency of our principles, our order and peculiar favours as a society. We hold forth our principles as a light to the nations, as having been favoured of God with a more extensive display of his will in the spirituality with which they are fraught. But how have I been made to feel and see that very same alienation, superstition, and hardness of heart, which we see in the formal professors of those many societies over which we claim pre-eminence. And I believe I may say, that the mystery of iniquity was never more subtle in Popes, Bishops, or Priests, than in some of the high professors of spirituality among us; nor more hard, by reason of the purity of their profession, to dig out. We have orders and degrees in the advancement of our members; and the same spirit, the same prudence and human calculation have crept into the appointment, support, and government of these, as are to be found in the government of Popish and Protestant Churches; against which our forefathers had to declaim, as idolatry, mockery, tyranny, and oppression. The same authority, human prudence, and calculation are exercised with us, to support the spirituality of our principles, or the Truth as we call it, as are exercised with others to support the systems and ordinances. We would not be found contending for ceremonies; our principles will not allow of that; but we take precautions, we have appointments for certain services (which have dwindled into mere human appointments) to promote our principles and order, under the character of "Truth;" to repel all invasions and waylay all encroachments, that the church may be preserved without spot or blemish before God.

So much care must be extended and labour bestowed, or the beautiful outside will be laid waste, and its corruptions exposed to the view of others, to the dishonour of our Society, or what we call the "Truth." Here creeps in great deception, under the specious pretext of care and concern for the truth. What is more subtle, what is harder to reach than this legal, this superstitious, this false exercise for the truth; this holding the truth in unrighteousness? Our Society has established rules and precepts for Church government, conduct, example, and conversation, more enlightened, and nearer what would be the fruits of Christ's spirit, were that in dominion, than any society whatever: and herein is our greater danger of deception, and of the intrigues of satan in his various transformations. The laws are strict, appointments must be made for such and such services; and then follows the injunction of their being performed in the authority of Truth. But our discipline makes no exemption for the want of that authority.



Now we believe (in the light that is given us) that many who go forth in the service, and by the appointment of the Church, have not the same authority and power in the truth, as was witnessed by our forefathers, the founders of our discipline; and which they expected would be preserved as an unction, a putter forth, leader, and director, through future generations. But unhappily, in common with other sects, we have dwindled. We have, in great measure, left our first love, this holy unction of spirit, which was so manifest in the beginning; and have slidden imperceptibly from the power into the lifeless form; which, as a form, will do no more for us, and is no better to us, than that of other sects is to them. And a sufficiency of this life and power, to give a zest and spring of action to all our movements in the Church, and to support that testimony which is so expressly enjoined in the letter of our law, being wanting, in a greater or less degree, every where among us, recourse must be had to human strength, or the walls of the letter will fall, and our corruptions be exposed to the view of the heathen; so that they might exultingly say, "Where is your God?" But unwilling that this should be the case, that our reproach should come upon us; and with a high veneration for George Fox and others of his day, as favoured with the revelation of the Father, and for the many sufferings which they underwent, to procure our privileges and establish the peaceable government of our principles, as a separate people; and perhaps seeing, as on "Mount Pisgah," the excellency of the principle, as experimental, and the beauty of the outward order; we want that it should be supported, that such a light should not be totally extinguished. We cannot bear the idea, that this temple, which was so many years in building, and composed of such excellent materials, should be suffered to fall to the ground, for want of repairs. And thus we set ourselves to work, as enjoined by the letter of the law, to repair its waste places, and supply its vacancies. And not waiting for the first principle of action, (the light and power of truth) to rise over all in ourselves, and go to before us as a devouring fire; we fix upon the outward support of the testimony, which was given forth in that spirit and power. And though we may be sincere, according to our measure of light, yet in our hands, this testimony, however excellent in itself, becomes a dead letter, which only killeth. There is no life, there is no spirit in it; and it can produce nothing but that which is of its own nature, a spurious offspring, miserable darkness, death and corruption; even thick darkness to be felt by the true seed. And thus have we become, with all the light and superior favours we assume, an abomination unto God, a stinking savour before him.

We take the same words into our mouths, which were given with power in the beginning. We hold forth the same things, make the same profession of being governed by the "Light within," of the operation of God as a spirit upon the soul, of spiritual baptism, sanctification, and redemption; but know them not livingly wrought and brought forth; though we may experience something, that we try to clothe with that name, of which we have made an image; and when we feel the burthens and troubles of our own earthly nature, we call it spiritual baptism; we feel weak and



poor, as not having access to the springs of life; we feel the frailty of human nature, and call it humility, wherein there is no true self-abasement before God. We feel emptiness and want; and instead of letting those feelings go on to do their work, to lead us to and sink us into God, as the great all in all, we sit down under them, giving them the name of that poverty of spirit of which is the Kingdom of Heaven. We have mournful feelings; we experience a kind of melancholy, which is the effect of the absence of the vivifying power of Grace; feeling the perishing state of earthly comforts, and not knowing the resurrection of that life which is above and beyond them; and here we rest again, as entitled to the promise of Christ to those that mourn, of being "comforted," perhaps in another world if not in this. We mourn that the law and the testimony are not better supported, and here we think ourselves the true "mourners in Zion." We now and then feel a glance of the beams of light and the sunshine of love upon us; and we lay hold of this as an evidence of Divine approbation and of the acceptance of our states; and thus we lose its use in the designs of God, as a means to draw us from ourselves, from our dark states into himself, that we may travel from the mere profession, into the fullness of that life and light of which he dispenses this ray.

These feelings which we call religious exercises, and which are, in the beginning, the effect of the light discovering to us the darkness of our states, would, if rightly improved, lead us out of them, into God, the resurrection, power and life. But as we sit down under them, giving them these excellent names, we build upon a sandy foundation, which though it has Christ in profession, and the revelation of the Father, must and will be shaken by God, when he arises in his power, "to shake not only the earth but the heavens also;" these false heavens of theory, upon which the visible Churches are so much building.

The highest and last mystery of iniquity has gotten her place in the chief seats of the assemblies amongst us, in a more refined and subtle working, than has ever before appeared in Christendom; as being deeper rooted and more hidden, from the view of reformation-light; I mean that light that has been committed to our understandings by the many reformations, from Papacy down to our society; consisting, as to us, in a mere change of views, which finds and leaves us in the same darkness that they were in. Thus when she is discovered in one form of religion, she passes into another, as that becomes established in a body capacity; whereby a power and dominion are the same, though she changes her name and appearance.

This mystery of iniquity has become so exceedingly crafty, has attained to such a refined height of dissimulation, in its presentations to the soul, that it deceives and builds up those in whom it dwells, in such a manner, that it is almost impossible to make them sensible of their states. There are none so hard to reach by the power, though high in belief and profession of the power; none in whom the power is so likely to be rejected, if it come not according to their ideas; while they think themselves deeply exercised and concerned for the truth and its



prosperity. And by blending this spurious exercise with a sanctity, a solemnity, that feels so much for the state of the church and the honour of truth, it has great power to deceive itself and others; whereby it produces a numerous offspring, a progeny that cannot be numbered.

The operation of the spirit of truth, as renovating and redeeming from the spirit and temper of the world, and leading out of all forms, types, shadows, and ceremonies, is their great "Diana." You cannot reach them nor raise on spark of life, in speaking of all the excellent things contained in our principles. They will own them to be just, and own you in them. They are agreeable to the orthodoxy of the Fathers, and it is what they have long believed in, and agreeable to what they have experienced. Here there is no reaching them. All is Unity; all goes on well; there are no schisms or difficulties among us, all in that respect is answered clear. But if one should speak of any thing a little different; if he should vary in particular points, or carry any thing a little beyond what has been received through the Fathers as "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," however in the life and power, they are touched in a tender point; the great Diana of our profession is struck at; encroachments are made upon its dominions, and it is likely to be lowered in estimation, after so much pains, which we, as well as our forefathers, have taken to exalt it. Care must be taken to secure it from harm, and to prevent all violation of its sacred prerogative. The letter of the law is resorted to in this for direction; and what is the result? "We have a law, and by our law he ought to die."

But much being expressed in the Discipline against a hasty manner of acting, exhorting to dwell low in meekness, patience and forbearance, waiting for the pure feeling, in all these things; that which would naturally come out in a hasty manner of acting, is turned by the letter of the law and its received expositions, into the more secret workings of the will, which produces a wonderful exercise in the church, and all in that which is seeking to save its own life: an exercise which we can create ourselves, and which is in reality and essence, only the effect of the will being disturbed in its own righteousness, traditions and religious Babel-building; of one passion warring against another, and trying to subdue another. It is oppressed and bowed down like a bulrush; and thinks itself under the true exercise, as it knows no other. Here this working will, which has gotten into the Church, though it puts on the most precious jewels of God for its ornaments, lives in its greatest strength and alienation from God.

People in every society may think they are doing right, in attempting to secure and propagate their own peculiar tenets, forms and ordinances, against all infringements. But this is the nature of false zeal and self-will when they get into religion. These would see where they stood, if they could not place the sanction of duty upon their movements.

We think that our society will bear no comparison with others;



for that they, in their church government, support errors, while we support the "Truth;" and that our manner is so far superior to theirs, so much more enlightened and spiritual, that it precludes the same room for superstition and formality, which we see in others, in their adherence to and support of ordinances. But in this very place, in which superstition and formality seem to be shut out, they come in and live in greater subtlety. We may reason against the use of reason and not perceive we have one particle of its nature in us: So we may hold up a testimony against superstition, ceremony and imposed duties, in the very same spirit, in which they are performed and supported.

We may hold up the spirituality of our principles, and the renovating power of truth in the heart, in the same idolatrous and self-righteous spirit, which would make others reject and condemn them; persons whom we should consider deistical and profane.

We are enamoured with the beauty and excellency of the many virtues, recommended amongst us. We say, "What people are like this people, what laws and statutes like ours?" and seeing this beauty and order, we wish to be conformed thereunto; and not getting down in spirit, to dwell with God alone, leaving every thing else; we want to procure unto ourselves these virtues; and so we go to work, endeavouring to conform ourselves to every identical rule and regulation, of one of the finest buildings that ever was erected; having Christ's spirit, in profession, for its basis, the authority of God for its foundation, through the revelation of his will to the instrumental founders, George Fox and others of his day: Like the Jewish Temple worshippers, who had for their foundation stone, "that God built the Temple, through the instrumentality of his servant Solomon, to worship him in," and appointed its rules and regulations: whose stubborn hearts and perverse wills, proved an occasion of drawing from the lip of Truth, (the true Christ) the most severe reproofs and woful denunciations, that ever flowed therefrom. To Publicans and Harlots he spoke in language soft as oil, compared therewith. And these Temple worshippers were they, who most rejected him and finally put him to death; though they believed in him traditionally as one that should come.

But to return to the strict observers of the rules and precepts of our society. They have so high an idea of the spiritual graces it recommends, that they would not, on any account, be found deviating therefrom.

They would feel the same reproach of conscience, for their neglect, that others would feel, in neglecting to approach the Sacramental table, which they consider a duty and an ordinance of God. And they become such perfect scholars, by application, that they learn to regulate themselves agreeably to their ideas of right and wrong, in all things, according to the creeds of the Church. They walk as by a line drawn before them; which presents to the eye of beholders, a seemingly perfect model of Christianity; and not one particle of that unction of spirit,



that brokenness and humility before God, which he owns by his presence. If justice, mercy, meekness, patience, humility, forbearance, and all the fruits of the spirit, had been considered, by the Scribes and Pharisees, of as great consequence, as they are with us, they would no doubt have been punctual, in observing these outward acts, as a duty. I believe that the genuine fruits of self abasement before God, are as much wanting among us, as in any society of religious professors. But they are so much called for and demanded, that a substitute, a likeness is necessary, to get along with a lulled conscience, and escape censure. And though we may not feel that we have any design to act hypocritically; that, our profession and views would condemn at once; yet the serpent acts in greater subtlety than he would in downright hypocrisy, finding he can work best, when he has duty for his engine. We have imbibed an idea that it would be wrong, to act in a spirit, that would appear like self-will, in conducting the affairs of the Church. We know pretty well how that looks, and how the fruits of Christ's spirit look. We therefore endeavour, with great exactness, to keep down and suppress every action or movement, that could have this stamp put upon it. One part of our nature is taken to subdue, or rather suppress, another; and as one appears so much more religious and agreeable than the other, it easily succeeds, as the will or self-love turns it. "Condescension one unto another," is a very important thing with us. That must be observed, or all will go to ruin. And all these things are observed, conformed unto, worshipped and revered, in the same spirit, the same sincerity, and the same alienation from God, in which the Catholics go to mass, implore saints, and receive the body and blood of Christ in bread and wine. There are amongst us, those who look through all unto God, regarding nothing but as it is found in him, however sanctioned by others; doing nothing but by the dictates of the spirit of truth. So there are among them, those whom God owns by his presence, and who are sealed, in the midst of heathenish darkness, with the light of his spirit. And it is as easy for us to take our principles, rules, and regulations, however excellent in themselves, into the golden cup of man's own will and selfish nature, and convert them into abominations, to become drunk with them, to become idol-worshippers of them, as it is for those who literally worship idols, made with men's hands. We want to be religious, we feel that something is necessary, that something is lacking; and if we do not cease from acting entirely, in thought, word and deed, so that God's spirit can rise into dominion within us, we are instantly set about doing something in ourselves, according to what we have been taught, as required of us. We are much more willing when we want to be religious, to perform great actions, to enter into laborious exercises of body and mind, than to stand still and let God work in us, and through us, according to his own good pleasure. Instead of this, our own judgment, with the judgment of others, whose experience we venerate, has assumed the prerogative of God; has gotten the place of God, and sits as God. It looks at consequences; it measures and limits according to human prudence; it takes upon it the power to restrain and set bounds to the spirit; to give directions, to set up and to pull down; it has become counsellor,



judge, and lawgiver, under the excellent name of the guidance of truth, as revealed to our predecessors, and proved to be the right way by the worthies of many generations: And as it was given by God, through them, so it must always remain, as the emporium of the secrets of his wisdom and knowledge, a guide to succeeding generations. What is more calculated to build up man's own will and every subtle transformation of his nature, than such conclusions as these? Self is very sagacious to save its own life; and if it can get into religion, and clothe itself with its pure garments, it attains to the summit of its glory; it spreads like an infection, because it is both beautiful and easy of access; and through the great deceivableness of unrighteousness, it professes to be crucified with Christ, while it knows nothing of that crucifying and regenerating power through which only, as little children, we can enter the kingdom of heaven.

I am aware that a full sight and sense of all these abominations, is no security against the intrusion of the same spirit; but that even here, with the greatest degree of divine illumination, it may arise and be still more dangerous. But in the childlike simplicity of the heart before God, these many difficulties and dangers, with which we are surrounded, are removed or lose their influence over us. All cares and fears subside; all anxiety and watching, with regard to particulars, cease; and in this guardian power, the soul feels itself preserved untouched, unhurt by all that surrounds it, and kept in the liberty of the children of God, which nothing can bring into bondage. And here religion, as it thus becomes experimental, in the renunciation of the will and simple obedience, is at once stripped of its mysteries and perplexities, its argumentative defences and systematical rules, and reduced to the simplicity of the present moment. And as all the graces of the spirit are comprised in this, we need not labour to acquire particular virtues; for God being all in all, and the creature nothing, he is not wanting in furnishing the soul with every thing that can satisfy; for in that the will becomes his will, there is no void; and thus, having nothing, we possess all things.

L.P.



CHAPTER 27

NEW PARTIES AND NEW POLICIES, 1824-1829²⁹

- End of Monroe's administrations. 284. End of the Era of Good Feeling. — The Era of Good Feeling came to a sudden ending in 1824. Monroe's second term as President would end in 1825. He refused to be a candidate for reelection. In thus following the example set by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, Monroe confirmed the custom of limiting the presidential term to eight years. There was no lack of candidates to succeed him in his high office.
- J.Q. Adams 285. John Quincy Adams. — First and foremost was John Quincy Adams of Massachusetts. He was Monroe's Secretary of State, and this office had been a kind of stepping-stone to the presidency. Monroe had been Madison's Secretary of State; Madison had been Jefferson's Secretary of State; and Jefferson had been Washington's Secretary of State, although he was Vice-President when he was chosen to the first place. John Quincy Adams was a statesman of great experience and of ability. He was a man of the highest honor and intelligence. He was nominated by the legislatures of Massachusetts and of the other New England states.
- John C. Calhoun.
W.H. Crawford.
Tenure of Office Act.
The Crawford machine. 286. William H. Crawford. — Besides Adams, two other members of Monroe's cabinet wished to succeed their chief. These were John C. Calhoun and William H. Crawford. Calhoun soon withdrew from the contest to accept the nomination of all the factions to the place of Vice-President. Crawford was from Georgia and was Secretary of the Treasury. As the head of that great department, he controlled more appointments than all the other members of the cabinet put together. The habit of using public offices to reward political friends had begun in Pennsylvania. Washington, in his second term, Adams, and Jefferson had appointed to office only members of their own party. Jefferson had also removed from office a few political opponents (p. 187). But there were great difficulties in the way of making removals. Crawford hit upon the plan of appointing officers for four years only. Congress at once fell in with the idea and passed the Tenure of Office Act, limiting appointments to four years. Crawford promptly used this new power to build up a strong political machine in the Treasury Department, devoted to his personal advancement. He was nominated for the presidency by a Congressional caucus and became the "regular" candidate.
- Henry Clay.
Andrew Jackson. 287. Clay and Jackson. — Two men outside of the cabinet were also put forward for Monroe's high office. These were Andrew Jackson of Tennessee and Henry Clay of Kentucky. Clay and Calhoun had entered politics at about the same time. They had then believed in the same policy. Calhoun had abandoned his early ideas. But Clay held fast to the policy of

29. A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOL USE by Edward Channing, Professor of History in Harvard University, Author of A STUDENTS' HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, etc, with maps and illustrations, 1908



"nationalization." He still favored internal improvements at the national expense. He still favored the protective system. He was the great "peacemaker" and tried by means of compromises to unite all parts of the Union (p. 222). He loved his country and had unbounded faith in the American people. The legislatures of Kentucky and other states nominated him for the presidency. The strongest man of all the candidates was Andrew Jackson, the "Hero of New Orleans." He had never been prominent in politics. But his warlike deeds had made his name and his strength familiar to the voters, especially to those of the West. He was a man of the people, as none of his rivals were. He stood for democracy and the Union. The legislatures of Tennessee and other states nominated Jackson for the presidency.

The election of 1824.
It goes to the House of Representatives.
The House chooses Adams.

288. Adams chosen President, 1824. — The election was held. The presidential electors met in their several states and cast their votes for President and Vice-President. The ballots were brought to Washington and were counted. No candidate for the presidency had received a majority of all the votes cast. Jackson had more votes than any other candidate, next came Adams, then Crawford, and last of all Clay. The House of Representatives, voting by states, must choose one of the first three President. Clay, therefore, was out of the race. Clay and his friends believed in the same things that Adams and his friends believed in, and had slight sympathy with the views of Jackson or of Crawford. So they joined the Adams men and chose Adams President. The Jackson men were furious. They declared that the Representatives had defeated the "will of the people."

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.
Adams appoints Clay Secretary of State.
Charges of a bargain.
Weakness of Adams's administration.

289. Misfortunes of Adams's Administration. — Adams's first mistake was the appointment of Clay as Secretary of State. It was a mistake, because it gave the Jackson men a chance to assert that there had been a "deal" between Adams and Clay. They called Clay the "Judas of the West." They said that the "will of the people" had been defeated by a "corrupt bargain." These charges were repeated over and over again until many people really began to think that there must be some reason for them. The Jackson men also most unjustly accused Adams of stealing the nation's money. The British government seized the opportunity of Adams's weak administration to close the West India ports to American shipping.

Early tariff laws.
The tariff of 1816.
Tariff of 1824.

290. Early Tariffs. — Ever since 1789 manufactures had been protected (p. 155). The first tariff rates were very low. But the Embargo Act, the non-intercourse law, and the War of 1812 put an end to the importation of foreign goods. Capitalists invested large amounts of money in cotton mills, woolen mills, and iron mills. With the return of peace in 1815, British merchants flooded the American markets with cheap goods (p. 220). The manufacturers appealed to Congress for more protection, and Congress promptly passed a new tariff act (1816). This increased the duties over the earlier laws. But it did not give the manufacturers all the protection that they desired. In 1824 another law was drawn up. It raised the duties still higher. The Southerners opposed the passage of this last law. For they clearly saw that protection did them no good. But



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the Northerners and the Westerners were heartily in favor of the increased duties, and the law was passed.

Agitation for more protection, 1828.

Scheme of the Jackson men.

Tariff of 1828.

291. The Tariff of Abominations, 1828. — In 1828 another presidential election was to be held. The manufacturers thought that this would be a good time to ask for even higher protective duties, because the politicians would not dare to oppose the passage of the law for fear of losing votes. The Jackson men hit upon a plan by which they would seem to favor higher duties while at the same time they were really opposing them. They therefore proposed high duties on manufactured goods. This would please the Northern manufacturers. They proposed high duties on raw materials. This would please the Western producers. But they thought that the manufacturers would oppose the final passage of the bill because the high duties on raw materials would injure them very much. The bill would fail to pass, and this would please the Southern cotton growers. It was a very shrewd little plan. But it did not work. The manufacturers thought that it would be well at all events to have the high duties on manufactured goods — perhaps they might before long secure the repeal of the duties on raw materials. The Northern members of Congress voted for the bill, and it passed.

Election of 1828.

Jackson elected President.

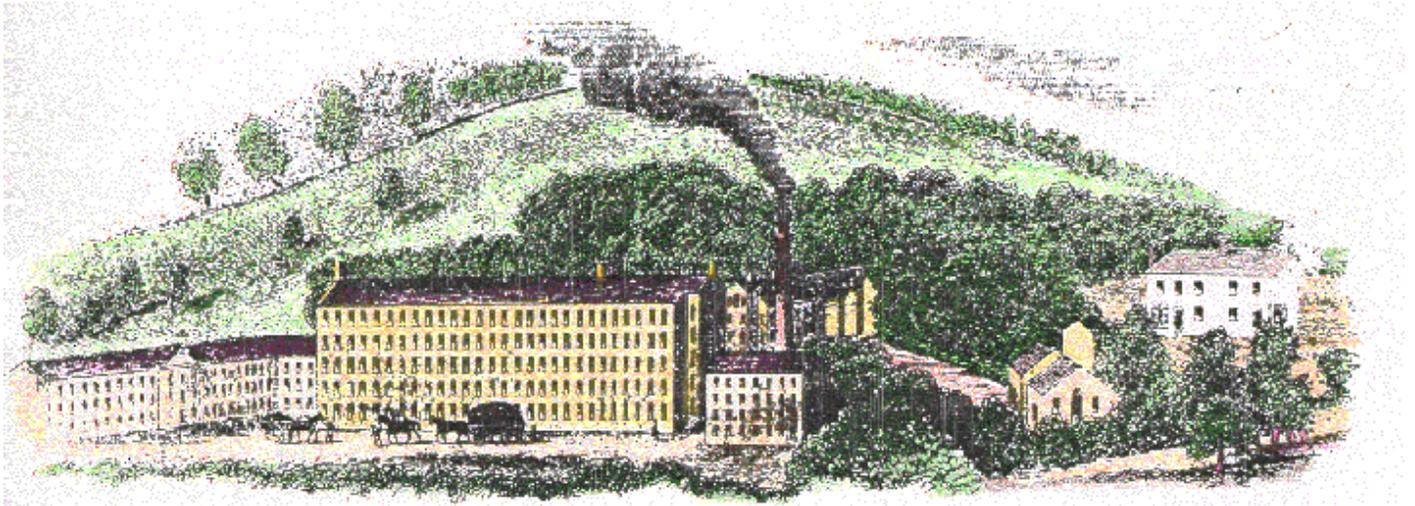
McMaster's SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES (NY: American Book Co.), 301.

292. Jackson elected President, 1828. — In the midst of all this discouragement as to foreign affairs and this contest over the tariff, the presidential campaign of 1828 was held. Adams and Jackson were the only two candidates. Jackson was elected by a large majority of electoral votes. But Adams received only one vote less than he had received in 1824. The contest was very close in the two large states of Pennsylvania and New York. Had a few thousand more voters in those states cast their votes for Adams, the electoral votes of those states would have been given to him, and he would have been elected. It was fortunate that Jackson was chosen. For a great contest between the states and the national government was coming on. It was well that a man of Jackson's commanding strength and great popularity should be at the head of the government.

JANUARY

➡ January: For a mill (boxing bout) between Tom Spring and Jack Langan at the Worchester, England race track, grandstand seats were provided. This was a first, since in earlier bouts, the spectators had simply stood on the ground or perched in trees. The grandstand collapsed twice, killing one spectator and injuring scores, but the boxers were able to net more from ticket sales than from the winner's boxing prize.

➡ January: In the month following the birth of their son [Robert Collyer](#), Samuel and Harriet Collyer returned to work at the West House Mill of Messrs. Colbeck and Ellis in the parish of Fewston in Yorkshire, where they would occupy a nearby cottage made up of two rooms, open to the rafters, with a platform loft. Initially Robert Collyer would attend the nearby school of Dame Horsman at Scaife House, Blubberhouses, then for a brief period he would attend a "Master" school half a mile away, and finally he would attend the school of schoolmaster Willy Hardy near the church at Fewston. On Sundays he would attend Sunday School at the Salem Chapel, a Congregational church for which William Gill was teacher and deacon. Robert Collyer became friends with Robinson Gill, who would emigrate to the United States.



➡ January 1, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1st of 1st M 1824 / Our Meeting today was as well attended as usual for this season of the Year — it was a very quiet & even solemn opportunity. I do not recollect when I have observed more of the precious covering in which my mind was favoured to partake for which I desire to be thankful — Hannah Dennis was engaged in a very lively & pertinent testimony —

this appears to me to be a good beginning for the New Year. —³⁰

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



➡ January 2, Friday: The South Place Chapel opened its doors in Finsbury, near where now stands the Liverpool Street Station. This chapel began as a venue for Universalist (not crediting Hell) and Unitarian (not crediting the Trinity) teachings, although eventually it would go Humanist. Among the attenders there would be Thomas Campbell, John Forster, [William Hazlitt](#), [James Henry Leigh Hunt](#), John Stuart Mill, Crabb Robinson, Thomas Noon Talfourd, and Harriet Taylor. Its initial minister was the Reverend William Johnson Fox, who was described at the time as follows:

There is a Mr Fox, a dissenting minister, as fluent a speaker, with a sweeter voice and a more animated and beneficent countenance than Mr Irving, who is the darling of his congregation; but he is no more, because he is diminutive in person. His head is not seen above the crowd the length of a street off. He is the Duke of Sussex in miniature; but the Duke of Sussex does not go to hear him preach, as he attends Mr Irving, who rises up against him like a martello tower.

(Eventually the minister at this facility would be the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#).)

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

The entertainment at Monsieur Pascault's was of the greatest elegance. Father was much pleased and I noticed his astonishment at the fine plate, also the quantities of family portraits, &c. &c. I fear there is going to be delay with regard to our marriage. Josephine is a Catholic, and that is one thing father is adamant about. He will not allow (if we have any children) that they should be brought up in that religion.

➡ January 3, Saturday: [Canal](#) engineers Canvass White and Benjamin Wright presented differing city water supply proposals to New-York's water committee.

30. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1823-1829: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 8 Folder 13: October 2, 1823-March 6, 1829; also on microfilm, see Series 7.



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January 4, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 4th of 1 M / Our Morning Meeting was large & solid, after a few expressions from Anne Dennis - D Buffum rose & delivered a bright lively & sound testimony of greater length than usual for him of late, he observed He had not found it his place often to enter in Polemic divinity in a public way, nor did he now apprehend he had much to say upon it, but as his mind had been drawn to view as certain doctrine which was much inculcated, & contrast it with what he considered substantial Truth, he could but cite the minds of those present to one leading feature of the Doctrine which was "that the Almighty had created a certain portion of Mankind to endless misery without any possible remedy" he hoped none present believed it, & then went on to illustrate the truth & encouraged all to walk in its paths. - In the Afternoon we were silent & tho' the meeting was larger than usual was a season of but little life tho' a quiet setting & I thought a little favour extended.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 5, Monday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) arrived at Missolonghi.

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

Father was forced by his party, but much against his will, to accept the candidature for the Vice-Presidency. Mr. Crawford's stroke of paralysis required another candidate. All this is most annoying. Father does not wish to enter into public life again. When he left America seven years ago, I believe he vowed never to return. He has given the best part of his life and all his energies to his adopted country; no one knows better than himself that he is disliked, but that they still want to pick his brains and make use of him. He goes to Washington to-night.



January 7, Wednesday: The 1st issue of the [Berliner allgemeine musikalische Zeitung](#) went on sale.

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→ January 8, Thursday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) sent a conciliatory letter to his sister-in-law Johanna van Beethoven, offering financial assistance.

There had been considerable controversy but when the Royal Society put the matter to a vote, there was only one vote cast against accepting [Michael Faraday](#) as a new member.



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

5th day 8th of 1st M 1824 / Favoured this morning with the precious arisings of life in my mind, for which I desire to be thankful – Silent Meeting & a good time, being favoured to feel –various subjects of an exercising nature were presented to view.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ January 10?: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Aristocracy is a good sign. Aristocracy has been the hue & cry in every community where there has been anything good, any society worth associating with, since men met in cities. It must be every where. 'Twere the greatest calamity to have it abolished.... Envy is the tax which all distinction must pay.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, likely Waldo Emerson's, written on a yellow background.

→ January 11, Sunday: Franz Liszt improvised at the piano at a meeting of the Societe Academique des Enfants d'Apollon in Paris. They made him an honorary member.

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

1st day 11th of 1 M / The weather was very unpleasant, rain & wet walking – Meetings Small & Silent – In the forenoon a low time to me – was a little more favoured in the Afternoon for which I desire to be thankful, for a little help in the needful time. –The Charge of the Meeting falling on me – Henry Gould taking his seat with me.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 January 12, Monday: In Paris, [Hector Berlioz](#) passed the oral examination at the Faculty of Sciences. The degree of Bachelier es sciences physiques qualifying him for advanced study in medicine would be awarded on the following day.

 January 15, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 15th of 1st M 1824 / In the Public meeting, J Dennis had a few words to deliver - it was a meeting of exercise to me, & I hope not an unprofitable one -
In the last, which was our Select Meeting - we had some exercise, & not as much life as I have felt on some such occasions.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1 day 18th of 1st M / Both Meetings silent & solid & I trust to me were in good measure profitable seasons. -

 January 19, Monday: [Daniel Webster](#) spoke before the US House of Representatives on the topic of the revolution in Greece:³¹

[The rise and progress of the revolution in Greece attracted great attention in the United States. Many obvious causes contributed to this effect, and their influence was seconded by the direct appeal made to the people of America, by the first political body organized in Greece after the breaking out of the revolution, viz. "The Messenian Senate of Calamata." A formal address was made by that body to the people of the United States, and forwarded by their committee (of which the celebrated Koray was chairman), to a friend and correspondent in this country. This address was translated and widely circulated; but it was not to be expected that any great degree of confidence should be at once generally felt in a movement undertaken against such formidable odds.

The progress of events, however, in 1822 and 1823, was such as to create an impression that the revolution in Greece had a substantial foundation in the state of affairs, in the awakened spirit of that country, and in the condition of public opinion throughout Christendom. The interest felt in the struggle rapidly increased in the United States. Local committees were formed, animated appeals were made, and funds collected, with a view to the relief of the victims of the war.

On the assembling of Congress, in December, 1823, President Monroe made the revolution in Greece the subject of a paragraph in his annual message, and on the 8th of December Mr. Webster moved the following resolution in the House of Representatives:

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"Resolved, That provision ought to be made, by law, for defraying the expense incident to the appointment of an Agent or Commissioner to Greece, whenever the President shall deem it expedient to make such appointment."

31. 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).



These, it is believed, are the first official expressions favorable to the independence of Greece uttered by any of the governments of Christendom, and no doubt contributed powerfully towards the creation of that feeling throughout the civilized world which eventually led to the battle of Navarino, and the liberation of a portion of Greece from the Turkish yoke. The House of Representatives having, on the 19th of January, resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and this resolution being taken into consideration, Mr. Webster spoke to the following effect.]

I am afraid, Mr. Chairman, that, so far as my part in this discussion is concerned, those expectations which the public excitement existing on the subject, and certain associations easily suggested by it, have conspired to raise, may be disappointed. An occasion which calls the attention to a spot so distinguished, so connected with interesting recollections, as Greece, may naturally create something of warmth and enthusiasm. In a grave, political discussion, however, it is necessary that those feelings should be chastised. I shall endeavor properly to repress them, although it is impossible that they should be altogether extinguished. We must, indeed, fly beyond the civilized world; we must pass the dominion of law and the boundaries of knowledge; we must, more especially, withdraw ourselves from this place, and the scenes and objects which here surround us, — if we would separate ourselves entirely from the influence of all those memorials of herself which ancient Greece has transmitted for the admiration and the benefit of mankind. This free form of government, this popular assembly, the common council held for the common good, — where have we contemplated its earliest models? This practice of free debate and public discussion, the contest of mind with mind, and that popular eloquence, which, if it were now here, on a subject like this, would move the stones of the Capitol, — whose was the language in which all these were first exhibited? Even the edifice in which we assemble, these proportioned columns, this ornamented architecture, all remind us that Greece has existed, and that we, like the rest of mankind, are greatly her debtors.³² But I have not introduced this motion in the vain hope of discharging any thing of this accumulated debt of centuries. I have not acted upon the expectation, that we who have inherited this obligation from our ancestors should now attempt to pay it to those who may seem to have inherited from **their** ancestors a right to receive payment. My object is nearer and more immediate. I wish to take occasion of the struggle of an interesting and gallant people, in the cause of liberty and Christianity, to draw the attention of the House to the circumstances which have accompanied that struggle, and to the principles which appear to have governed the conduct of the great states of Europe in regard to it; and to the effects and consequences of these principles upon the independence of nations, and especially upon the institutions of free governments. What I have to say of Greece, therefore, concerns the modern, not the ancient; the living, and not the dead. It regards her, not as she exists in history, triumphant over time, and tyranny, and ignorance; but as she now is, contending,

32. The interior of the hall of the House of Representatives is surrounded by a magnificent colonnade of the composite order. [1824.]



against fearful odds, for being, and for the common privileges of human nature.

As it is never difficult to recite commonplace remarks and trite aphorisms, so it may be easy, I am aware, on this occasion, to remind me of the wisdom which dictates to men a care of their own affairs, and admonishes them, instead of searching for adventures abroad, to leave other men's concerns in their own hands. It may be easy to call this resolution **Quixotic**, the emanation of a crusading or propagandist spirit. All this, and more, may be readily said; but all this, and more, will not be allowed to fix a character upon this proceeding, until that is proved which it takes for granted. Let it first be shown, that in this question there is nothing which can affect the interest, the character, or the duty of this country. Let it be proved, that we are not called upon, by either of these considerations, to express an opinion on the subject to which the resolution relates. Let this be proved, and then it will indeed be made out, that neither ought this resolution to pass, nor ought the subject of it to have been mentioned in the communication of the President to us. But, in my opinion, this cannot be shown. In my judgment, the subject is interesting to the people and the government of this country, and we are called upon, by considerations of great weight and moment, to express our opinions upon it. These considerations, I think, spring from a sense of our own duty, our character, and our own interest. I wish to treat the subject on such grounds, exclusively, as are truly **American**; but then, in considering it as an American question, I cannot forget the age in which we live, the prevailing spirit of the age, the interesting questions which agitate it, and our own peculiar relation in regard to these interesting questions. Let this be, then, and as far as I am concerned I hope it will be, purely an American discussion; but let it embrace, nevertheless, every thing that fairly concerns America. Let it comprehend, not merely her present advantage, but her permanent interest, her elevated character as one of the free states of the world, and her duty towards those great principles which have hitherto maintained the relative independence of nations, and which have, more especially, made her what she is.

At the commencement of the session, the President, in the discharge of the high duties of his office, called our attention to the subject to which this resolution refers. "A strong hope," says that communication, "has been long entertained, founded on the heroic struggle of the Greeks, that they would succeed in their contest, and resume their equal station among the nations of the earth. It is believed that the whole civilized world takes a deep interest in their welfare. Although no power has declared in their favor, yet none, according to our information, has taken part against them. Their cause and their name have protected them from dangers which might ere this have overwhelmed any other people. The ordinary calculations of interest, and of acquisition with a view to aggrandizement, which mingle so much in the transactions of nations, seem to have had no effect in regard to them. From the facts which have come to our knowledge, there is good cause to believe that their enemy has lost for ever all dominion over them; that Greece will



become again an independent nation."

It has appeared to me that the House should adopt some resolution reciprocating these sentiments, so far as it shall approve them. More than twenty years have elapsed since Congress first ceased to receive such a communication from the President as could properly be made the subject of a general answer. I do not mean to find fault with this relinquishment of a former and an ancient practice. It may have been attended with inconveniences which justified its abolition. But, certainly, there was one advantage belonging to it; and that is, that it furnished a fit opportunity for the expression of the opinion of the Houses of Congress upon those topics in the executive communication which were not expected to be made the immediate subjects of direct legislation. Since, therefore, the President's message does not now receive a general answer, it has seemed to me to be proper that, in some mode, agreeable to our own usual form of proceeding, we should express our sentiments upon the important and interesting topics on which it treats.

If the sentiments of the message in respect to Greece be proper, it is equally proper that this House should reciprocate those sentiments. The present resolution is designed to have that extent, and no more. If it pass, it will leave any future proceeding where it now is, in the discretion of the executive government. It is but an expression, under those forms in which the House is accustomed to act, of the satisfaction of the House with the general sentiments expressed in regard to this subject in the message, and of its readiness to defray the expense incident to any inquiry for the purpose of further information, or any other agency which the President, in his discretion, shall see fit, in whatever manner and at whatever time, to institute. The whole matter is still left in his judgment, and this resolution can in no way restrain its unlimited exercise. I might well, Mr. Chairman, avoid the responsibility of this measure, if it had, in my judgment, any tendency to change the policy of the country. With the general course of that policy I am quite satisfied. The nation is prosperous, peaceful, and happy; and I should very reluctantly put its peace, prosperity, or happiness at risk. It appears to me, however, that this resolution is strictly conformable to our general policy, and not only consistent with our interests, but even demanded by a large and liberal view of those interests.

It is certainly true that the just policy of this country is, in the first place, a peaceful policy. No nation ever had less to expect from forcible aggrandizement. The mighty agents which are working out our greatness are time, industry, and the arts. Our augmentation is by growth, not by acquisition; by internal development, not by external accession. No schemes can be suggested to us so magnificent as the prospects which a sober contemplation of our own condition, unaided by projects, uninfluenced by ambition, fairly spreads before us. A country of such vast extent, with such varieties of soil and climate, with so much public spirit and private enterprise, with a population increasing so much beyond former example, with capacities of improvement not only unapplied or unexhausted, but even, in a great measure, as yet unexplored, — so free in its institutions, so mild in its laws, so secure in the title it



confers on every man to his own acquisitions, – needs nothing but time and peace to carry it forward to almost any point of advancement.

In the next place, I take it for granted that the policy of this country, springing from the nature of our government and the spirit of all our institutions, is, so far as it respects the interesting questions which agitate the present age, on the side of liberal and enlightened sentiments. The age is extraordinary; the spirit that actuates it is peculiar and marked; and our own relation to the times we live in, and to the questions which interest them, is equally marked and peculiar. We are placed, by our good fortune and the wisdom and valor of our ancestors, in a condition in which we **can** act no obscure part. Be it for honor, or be it for dishonor, whatever we do is sure to attract the observation of the world. As one of the free states among the nations, as a great and rapidly rising republic, it would be impossible for us, if we were so disposed, to prevent our principles, our sentiments, and our example from producing some effect upon the opinions and hopes of society throughout the civilized world. It rests probably with ourselves to determine whether the influence of these shall be salutary or pernicious. It cannot be denied that the great political question of this age is that between absolute and regulated governments. The substance of the controversy is whether society shall have any part in its own government. Whether the form of government shall be that of limited monarchy, with more or less mixture of hereditary power, or wholly elective or representative, may perhaps be considered as subordinate. The main controversy is between that absolute rule, which, while it promises to govern well, means, nevertheless, to govern without control, and that constitutional system which restrains sovereign discretion, and asserts that society may claim as matter of right some effective power in the establishment of the laws which are to regulate it. The spirit of the times sets with a most powerful current in favor of these last-mentioned opinions. It is opposed, however, whenever and wherever it shows itself, by certain of the great potentates of Europe; and it is opposed on grounds as applicable in one civilized nation as in another, and which would justify such opposition in relation to the United States, as well as in relation to any other state or nation, if time and circumstances should render such opposition expedient.

What part it becomes this country to take on a question of this sort, so far as it is called upon to take any part, cannot be doubtful. Our side of this question is settled for us, even without our own volition. Our history, our situation, our character, necessarily decide our position and our course, before we have even time to ask whether we have an option. Our place is on the side of free institutions. From the earliest settlement of these States, their inhabitants were accustomed, in a greater or less degree, to the enjoyment of the powers of self-government; and for the last half-century they have sustained systems of government entirely representative, yielding to themselves the greatest possible prosperity, and not leaving them without distinction and respect among the nations of the earth. This system we are not likely to abandon; and while we shall no farther recommend its adoption to other nations, in



whole or in part, than it may recommend itself by its visible influence on our own growth and prosperity, we are, nevertheless, interested to resist the establishment of doctrines which deny the legality of its foundations. We stand as an equal among nations, claiming the full benefit of the established international law; and it is our duty to oppose, from the earliest to the latest moment, any innovations upon that code which shall bring into doubt or question our own equal and independent rights.

I will now, Mr. Chairman, advert to those pretensions put forth by the allied sovereigns of Continental Europe, which seem to me calculated, if unresisted, to bring into disrepute the principles of our government, and, indeed, to be wholly incompatible with any degree of national independence. I do not introduce these considerations for the sake of topics. I am not about to declaim against crowned heads, nor to quarrel with any country for preferring a form of government different from our own. The right of choice that we exercise for ourselves, I am quite willing to leave also to others. But it appears to me that the pretensions to which I have alluded are wholly inconsistent with the independence of nations generally, without regard to the question whether their governments be absolute, monarchical and limited, or purely popular and representative. I have a most deep and thorough conviction, that a new era has arisen in the world, that new and dangerous combinations are taking place, promulgating doctrines and fraught with consequences wholly subversive in their tendency of the public law of nations and of the general liberties of mankind. Whether this be so, or not, is the question which I now propose to examine, upon such grounds of information as are afforded by the common and public means of knowledge.

Everybody knows that, since the final restoration of the Bourbons to the throne of France, the Continental powers have entered into sundry alliances, which have been made public, and have held several meetings or congresses, at which the principles of their political conduct have been declared. These things must necessarily have an effect upon the international law of the states of the world. If that effect be good, and according to the principles of that law, they deserve to be applauded. If, on the contrary, their effect and tendency be most dangerous, their principles wholly inadmissible, their pretensions such as would abolish every degree of national independence, then they are to be resisted.

I begin, Mr. Chairman, by drawing your attention to the treaty concluded at Paris in September, 1815, between Russia, Prussia, and Austria, commonly called the Holy Alliance. This singular alliance appears to have originated with the Emperor of Russia; for we are informed that a draft of it was exhibited by him, personally, to a plenipotentiary of one of the great powers of Europe, before it was presented to the other sovereigns who ultimately signed it.³³ This instrument professes nothing, certainly, which is not extremely commendable and praiseworthy. It promises only that the contracting parties, both in relation to other states, and in regard to their own subjects, will

33. See Lord Castlereagh's speech in the House of Commons, February 3, 1816. *Debates in Parliament*, Vol. XXXVI. p. 355; where also the treaty may be found at length.



observe the rules of justice and Christianity. In confirmation of these promises, it makes the most solemn and devout religious invocations. Now, although such an alliance is a novelty in European history, the world seems to have received this treaty, upon its first promulgation, with general charity. It was commonly understood as little or nothing more than an expression of thanks for the successful termination of the momentous contest in which those sovereigns had been engaged. It still seems somewhat unaccountable, however, that these good resolutions should require to be confirmed by treaty. Who doubted that these august sovereigns would treat each other with justice, and rule their own subjects in mercy? And what necessity was there for a solemn stipulation by treaty, to insure the performance of that which is no more than the ordinary duty of every government? It would hardly be admitted by these sovereigns, that by this compact they consider themselves bound to introduce an entire change, or any change in the course of their own conduct. Nothing substantially new, certainly, can be supposed to have been intended. What principle, or what practice, therefore, called for this solemn declaration of the intention of the parties to observe the rules of religion and justice?

It is not a little remarkable, that a writer of reputation upon the Public Law, described, many years ago, not inaccurately, the character of this alliance. I allude to Puffendorf. "It seems useless," says he, "to frame any pacts or leagues, barely for the defence and support of universal peace; for by such a league nothing is superadded to the obligation of natural law, and no agreement is made for the performance of any thing which the parties were not previously bound to perform; nor is the original obligation rendered firmer or stronger by such an addition. Men of any tolerable culture and civilization might well be ashamed of entering into any such compact, the conditions of which imply only that the parties concerned shall not offend in any clear point of duty. Besides, we should be guilty of great irreverence towards God, should we suppose that his injunctions had not already laid a sufficient obligation upon us to act justly, unless we ourselves voluntarily consented to the same engagement; as if our obligation to obey his will depended upon our own pleasure.

"If one engage to serve another, he does not set it down expressly and particularly among the terms and conditions of the bargain, that he will not betray nor murder him, nor pillage nor burn his house. For the same reason, that would be a dishonorable engagement in which men should bind themselves to act properly and decently, and not break the peace."³⁴

Such were the sentiments of that eminent writer. How nearly he had anticipated the case of the Holy Alliance will appear from the preamble to that alliance. After stating that the allied sovereigns had become persuaded, by the events of the last three years, that "their relations with each other ought to be regulated exclusively by the sublime truths taught by the eternal religion of God the Saviour," they solemnly declare their fixed resolution "to adopt as the sole rule of their conduct, both in the administration of their respective states,

34. Law of Nature and Nations, Book II. cap. 2, § 11.



and in their political relations with every other government, the precepts of that holy religion, namely, the precepts of justice, charity, and peace, which, far from being applicable to private life alone, ought, on the contrary, to have a direct influence upon the counsels of princes, and guide all their steps, as being the only means of consolidating human institutions, and remedying their imperfections."³⁵

This measure, however, appears principally important, as it was the first of a series, and was followed afterwards by others of a more marked and practical nature. These measures, taken together, profess to establish two principles, which the Allied Powers would introduce as a part of the law of the civilized world; and the establishment of which is to be enforced by a million and a half of bayonets.

The first of these principles is, that all popular or constitutional rights are held no otherwise than as grants from the crown. Society, upon this principle, has no rights of its own; it takes good government, when it gets it, as a boon and a concession, but can demand nothing. It is to live by that favor which emanates from royal authority, and if it have the misfortune to lose that favor, there is nothing to protect it against any degree of injustice and oppression. It can rightfully make no endeavor for a change, by itself; its whole privilege is to receive the favors that may be dispensed by the sovereign power, and all its duty is described in the single word **submission**. This is the plain result of the principal Continental state papers; indeed, it is nearly the identical text of some of them.

The circular despatch addressed by the sovereigns assembled at Laybach, in the spring of 1821, to their ministers at foreign courts, alleges, "that useful and necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states ought only to emanate from the free will and intelligent and well-weighed conviction of those whom God has rendered responsible for power. All that deviates from this line necessarily leads to disorder, commotions, and evils far more insufferable than those which they pretend to remedy."³⁶ Now, Sir, this principle would carry Europe back again, at once, into the middle of the Dark Ages. It is the old doctrine of the Divine right of kings, advanced now by new advocates, and sustained by a formidable array of power. That the people hold their fundamental privileges as matter of concession or indulgence from the sovereign power, is a sentiment not easy to be diffused in this age, any farther than it is enforced by the direct operation of military means. It is true, certainly, that some six centuries ago the early founders of English liberty called the instrument which secured their rights a **charter**. It was, indeed, a concession; they had obtained it sword in hand from the king; and in many other cases, whatever was obtained, favorable to human rights, from the tyranny and despotism of the feudal sovereigns, was called by the names of **privileges** and **liberties**, as being matter of special favor. Though we retain this language at the present time, the principle itself belongs to ages that have long passed by us. The civilized world has done with "the enormous faith,

35. Martens, Recueil des Traités, Tome XIII. p. 656.

36. Annual Register for 1821, p. 601.



of many made for one." Society asserts its own rights, and alleges them to be original, sacred, and unalienable. It is not satisfied with having kind masters; it demands a participation in its own government; and in states much advanced in civilization, it urges this demand with a constancy and an energy that cannot well nor long be resisted. There are, happily, enough of regulated governments in the world, and those among the most distinguished, to operate as constant examples, and to keep alive an unceasing panting in the bosoms of men for the enjoyment of similar free institutions.

When the English Revolution of 1688 took place, the English people did not content themselves with the example of Runnymede; they did not build their hopes upon royal charters; they did not, like the authors of the Laybach circular, suppose that all useful changes in constitutions and laws must proceed from those only whom God has rendered responsible for power. They were somewhat better instructed in the principles of civil liberty, or at least they were better lovers of those principles than the sovereigns of Laybach. Instead of petitioning for charters, they declared their rights, and while they offered to the Prince of Orange the crown with one hand, they held in the other an enumeration of those privileges which they did not profess to hold as favors, but which they demanded and insisted upon as their undoubted rights.

I need not stop to observe, Mr. Chairman, how totally hostile are these doctrines of Laybach to the fundamental principles of our government. They are in direct contradiction; the principles of good and evil are hardly more opposite. If these principles of the sovereigns be true, we are but in a state of rebellion or of anarchy, and are only tolerated among civilized states because it has not yet been convenient to reduce us to the true standard.

But the second, and, if possible, the still more objectionable principle, avowed in these papers, is the right of forcible interference in the affairs of other states. A right to control nations in their desire to change their own government, wherever it maybe conjectured, or pretended, that such change might furnish an example to the subjects of other states, is plainly and distinctly asserted. The same Congress that made the declaration at Laybach had declared, before its removal from Troppau, "that the powers have an undoubted right to take a hostile attitude in regard to those states in which the overthrow of the government may operate as an example."

There cannot, as I think, be conceived a more flagrant violation of public law, or national independence, than is contained in this short declaration.

No matter what be the character of the government resisted; no matter with what weight the foot of the oppressor bears on the neck of the oppressed; if he struggle, or if he complain, he sets a dangerous example of resistance, — and from that moment he becomes an object of hostility to the most powerful potentates of the earth. I want words to express my abhorrence of this abominable principle. I trust every enlightened man throughout the world will oppose it, and that, especially, those who, like ourselves, are fortunately out of the reach of the bayonets that enforce it, will proclaim their detestation of it,



in a tone both loud and decisive. The avowed object of such declarations is to preserve the peace of the world. But by what means is it proposed to preserve this peace? Simply, by bringing the power of all governments to bear against all subjects. Here is to be established a sort of double, or treble, or quadruple, or, for aught I know, quintuple allegiance. An offence against one king is to be an offence against all kings, and the power of all is to be put forth for the punishment of the offender. A right to interfere in extreme cases, in the case of contiguous states, and where imminent danger is threatened to one by what is occurring in another, is not without precedent in modern times, upon what has been called the law of vicinage; and when confined to extreme cases, and limited to a certain extent, it may perhaps be defended upon principles of necessity and self-defence. But to maintain that sovereigns may go to war upon the subjects of another state to repress an example, is monstrous indeed. What is to be the limit to such a principle, or to the practice growing out of it? What, in any case, but sovereign pleasure, is to decide whether the example be good or bad? And what, under the operation of such a rule, may be thought of our example? Why are we not as fair objects for the operation of the new principle, as any of those who may attempt a reform of government on the other side of the Atlantic?

The ultimate effect of this alliance of sovereigns, for objects personal to themselves, or respecting only the permanence of their own power, must be the destruction of all just feeling, and all natural sympathy, between those who exercise the power of government and those who are subject to it. The old channels of mutual regard and confidence are to be dried up, or cut off. Obedience can now be expected no longer than it is enforced. Instead of relying on the affections of the governed, sovereigns are to rely on the affections and friendship of other sovereigns. There are, in short, no longer to be nations. Princes and people are no longer to unite for interests common to them both. There is to be an end of all patriotism, as a distinct national feeling. Society is to be divided horizontally; all sovereigns above, and all subjects below; the former coalescing for their own security, and for the more certain subjection of the undistinguished multitude beneath. This, Sir, is no picture drawn by imagination. I have hardly used language stronger than that in which the authors of this new system have commented on their own work. M. de Chateaubriand, in his speech in the French Chamber of Deputies, in February last, declared, that he had a conference with the Emperor of Russia at Verona, in which that august sovereign uttered sentiments which appeared to him so precious, that he immediately hastened home, and wrote them down while yet fresh in his recollection. "The Emperor declared," said he, "that there can no longer be such a thing as an English, French, Russian, Prussian, or Austrian policy; there is henceforth but one policy, which, for the safety of all, should be adopted both by people and kings. It was for me first to show myself convinced of the principles upon which I founded the alliance; an occasion offered itself, — the rising in Greece. Nothing certainly could occur more for my interests, for the interests of my people, nothing more acceptable to my country, than a religious war in



Turkey. But I have thought I perceived in the troubles of the Morea the sign of revolution, and I have held back. Providence has not put under my command eight hundred thousand soldiers to satisfy my ambition, but to protect religion, morality, and justice, and to secure the prevalence of those principles of order on which human society rests. It may well be permitted, that kings may have public alliances to defend themselves against secret enemies."

These, Sir, are the words which the French minister thought so important that they deserved to be recorded; and I, too, Sir, am of the same opinion. But if it be true that there is hereafter to be neither a Russian policy, nor a Prussian policy, nor an Austrian policy, nor a French policy, nor even, which yet I will not believe, an English policy, there will be, I trust in God, an American policy. If the authority of all these governments be hereafter to be mixed and blended, and to flow in one augmented current of prerogative over the face of Europe, sweeping away all resistance in its course, it will yet remain for us to secure our own happiness by the preservation of our own principles; which I hope we shall have the manliness to express on all proper occasions, and the spirit to defend in every extremity. The end and scope of this amalgamated policy are neither more nor less than this: to interfere, by force, for any government against any people who may resist it. Be the state of the people what it may, they shall not rise; be the government what it will, it shall not be opposed.

The practical commentary has corresponded with the plain language of the text. Look at Spain, and at Greece. If men may not resist the Spanish Inquisition, and the Turkish cimeter, what is there to which humanity must not submit? Stronger cases can never arise. Is it not proper for us, at all times, is it not our duty, at this time, to come forth, and deny, and condemn, these monstrous principles? Where, but here, and in one other place, are they likely to be resisted? They are advanced with equal coolness and boldness; and they are supported by immense power. The timid will shrink and give way, and many of the brave may be compelled to yield to force. Human liberty may yet, perhaps, be obliged to repose its principal hopes on the intelligence and the vigor of the Saxon race. As far as depends on us, at least, I trust those hopes will not be disappointed; and that, to the extent which may consist with our own settled, pacific policy, our opinions and sentiments may be brought to act on the right side, and to the right end, on an occasion which is, in truth, nothing less than a momentous question between an intelligent age, full of knowledge, thirsting for improvement, and quickened by a thousand impulses, on one side, and the most arbitrary pretensions, sustained by unprecedented power, on the other.

This asserted right of forcible intervention in the affairs of other nations is in open violation of the public law of the world. Who has authorized these learned doctors of Troppau to establish new articles in this code? Whence are their diplomas? Is the whole world expected to acquiesce in principles which entirely subvert the independence of nations? On the basis of this independence has been reared the beautiful fabric of international law. On the principle of this independence, Europe



has seen a family of nations flourishing within its limits, the small among the large, protected not always by power, but by a principle above power, by a sense of propriety and justice. On this principle, the great commonwealth of civilized states has been hitherto upheld. There have been occasional departures or violations, and always disastrous, as in the case of Poland; but, in general, the harmony of the system has been wonderfully preserved. In the production and preservation of this sense of justice, this predominating principle, the Christian religion has acted a main part. Christianity and civilization have labored together; it seems, indeed, to be a law of our human condition, that they can live and flourish only together. From their blended influence has arisen that delightful spectacle of the prevalence of reason and principle over power and interest, so well described by one who was an honor to the age; -

“And sovereign Law, the state’s collected will,
O’er thrones and globes elate,
Sits empress, - crowning good, repressing ill:
Smit by her sacred frown,
The fiend, Discretion, like a vapor, sinks,
And e’en the all-dazzling crown
Hides his faint rays, and at her bidding shrinks.”

But this vision is past. While the teachers of Laybach give the rule, there will be no law but the law of the strongest.

It may now be required of me to show what interest **we** have in resisting this new system. What is it to **us**, it may be asked, upon what principles, or what pretences, the European governments assert a right of interfering in the affairs of their neighbors? The thunder, it may be said, rolls at a distance. The wide Atlantic is between us and danger; and, however others may suffer, **we** shall remain safe.

I think it is a sufficient answer to this to say, that we are one of the nations of the earth; that we have an interest, therefore, in the preservation of that system of national law and national intercourse which has heretofore subsisted, so beneficially for all. Our system of government, it should also be remembered, is, throughout, founded on principles utterly hostile to the new code; and if we remain undisturbed by its operation, we shall owe our security either to our situation or our spirit. The enterprising character of the age, our own active, commercial spirit, the great increase which has taken place in the intercourse among civilized and commercial states, have necessarily connected us with other nations, and given us a high concern in the preservation of those salutary principles upon which that intercourse is founded. We have as clear an interest in international law, as individuals have in the laws of society.

But apart from the soundness of the policy, on the ground of direct interest, we have, Sir, a duty connected with this subject, which I trust we are willing to perform. What do **we** not owe to the cause of civil and religious liberty? to the principle of lawful resistance? to the principle that society has a right to partake in its own government? As the leading republic of the world, living and breathing in these principles, and advanced, by their operation, with unequalled rapidity in our career, shall we give **our** consent to bring them into disrepute and



disgrace? It is neither ostentation nor boasting to say, that there lies before this country, in immediate prospect, a great extent and height of power. We are borne along towards this without effort, and not always even with a full knowledge of the rapidity of our own motion. Circumstances which never combined before have co-operated in our favor, and a mighty current is setting us forward which we could not resist even if we would, and which, while we would stop to make an observation, and take the sun, has set us, at the end of the operation, far in advance of the place where we commenced it. Does it not become us, then, is it not a duty imposed on us, to give our weight to the side of liberty and justice, to let mankind know that we are not tired of our own institutions, and to protest against the asserted power of altering at pleasure the law of the civilized world? But whatever we do in this respect, it becomes us to do upon clear and consistent principles. There is an important topic in the message to which I have yet hardly alluded. I mean the rumored combination of the European Continental sovereigns against the newly established free states of South America. Whatever position this government may take on that subject, I trust it will be one which can be defended on known and acknowledged grounds of right. The near approach or the remote distance of danger may affect policy, but cannot change principle. The same reason that would authorize us to protest against unwarrantable combinations to interfere between Spain and her former colonies, would authorize us equally to protest if the same combination were directed against the smallest state in Europe, although our duty to ourselves, our policy, and wisdom, might indicate very different courses as fit to be pursued by us in the two cases. We shall not, I trust, act upon the notion of dividing the world with the Holy Alliance, and complain of nothing done by them in their hemisphere if they will not interfere with ours. At least this would not be such a course of policy as I could recommend or support. We have not offended, and I hope we do not intend to offend, in regard to South America, against any principle of national independence or of public law. We have done nothing, we shall do nothing, that we need to hush up or to compromise by forbearing to express our sympathy for the cause of the Greeks, or our opinion of the course which other governments have adopted in regard to them. It may, in the next place, be asked, perhaps, Supposing all this to be true, what can **we** do? Are we to go to war? Are we to interfere in the Greek cause, or any other European cause? Are we to endanger our pacific relations? No, certainly not. What, then, the question recurs, remains for us? If we will not endanger our own peace, if we will neither furnish armies nor navies to the cause which we think the just one, what is there within our power?

Sir, this reasoning mistakes the age. The time has been, indeed, when fleets, and armies, and subsidies, were the principal reliances even in the best cause. But, happily for mankind, a great change has taken place in this respect. Moral causes come into consideration, in proportion as the progress of knowledge is advanced; and the public opinion of the civilized world is rapidly gaining an ascendancy over mere brutal force. It is already able to oppose the most formidable obstruction to the



progress of injustice and oppression; and as it grows more intelligent and more intense, it will be more and more formidable. It may be silenced by military power, but it cannot be conquered. It is elastic, irrepressible, and invulnerable to the weapons of ordinary warfare. It is that impassible, inextinguishable enemy of mere violence and arbitrary rule, which, like Milton's angels,

"Vital in every part, ...
Cannot, but by annihilating, die."

Until this be propitiated or satisfied, it is vain for power to talk either of triumphs or of repose. No matter what fields are desolated, what fortresses surrendered, what armies subdued, or what provinces overrun. In the history of the year that has passed by us, and in the instance of unhappy Spain, we have seen the vanity of all triumphs in a cause which violates the general sense of justice of the civilized world. It is nothing that the troops of France have passed from the Pyrenees to Cadiz; it is nothing that an unhappy and prostrate nation has fallen before them; it is nothing that arrests, and confiscation, and execution, sweep away the little remnant of national resistance. There is an enemy that still exists to check the glory of these triumphs. It follows the conqueror back to the very scene of his ovations; it calls upon him to take notice that Europe, though silent, is yet indignant; it shows him that the sceptre of his victory is a barren sceptre; that it shall confer neither joy nor honor, but shall moulder to dry ashes in his grasp. In the midst of his exultation, it pierces his ear with the cry of injured justice; it denounces against him the indignation of an enlightened and civilized age; it turns to bitterness the cup of his rejoicing, and wounds him with the sting which belongs to the consciousness of having outraged the opinion of mankind. In my opinion, Sir, the Spanish nation is now nearer, not only in point of time, but in point of circumstance, to the acquisition of a regulated government, than at the moment of the French invasion. Nations must, no doubt, undergo these trials in their progress to the establishment of free institutions. The very trials benefit them, and render them more capable both of obtaining and of enjoying the object which they seek.

I shall not detain the committee, Sir, by laying before it any statistical, geographical, or commercial account of Greece. I have no knowledge on these subjects which is not common to all. It is universally admitted, that, within the last thirty or forty years, the condition of Greece has been greatly improved. Her marine is at present respectable, containing the best sailors in the Mediterranean, better even, in that sea, than our own, as more accustomed to the long quarantines and other regulations which prevail in its ports. The number of her seamen has been estimated as high as 50,000, but I suppose that estimate must be much too large. She has, probably, 150,000 tons of shipping. It is not easy to ascertain the amount of the Greek population. The Turkish government does not trouble itself with any of the calculations of political economy, and there has never been such a thing as an accurate census, probably, in any part of the Turkish empire. In the absence of all official information, private opinions widely differ. By the tables which



have been communicated, it would seem that there are 2,400,000 Greeks in Greece proper and the islands; an amount, as I am inclined to think, somewhat overrated. There are, probably, in the whole of European Turkey, 5,000,000 Greeks, and 2,000,000 more in the Asiatic dominions of that power.

The moral and intellectual progress of this numerous population, under the horrible oppression which crushes it, has been such as may well excite regard. Slaves, under barbarous masters, the Greeks have still aspired after the blessings of knowledge and civilization. Before the breaking out of the present revolution, they had established schools, and colleges, and libraries, and the press. Wherever, as in Scio, owing to particular circumstances, the weight of oppression was mitigated, the natural vivacity of the Greeks, and their aptitude for the arts, were evinced. Though certainly not on an equality with the civilized and Christian states of Europe, – and how is it possible, under such oppression as they endured, that they should be? – they yet furnished a striking contrast with their Tartar masters. It has been well said, that it is not easy to form a just conception of the nature of the despotism exercised over them. Conquest and subjugation, as known among European states, are inadequate modes of expression by which to denote the dominion of the Turks. A conquest in the civilized world is generally no more than an acquisition of a new dominion to the conquering country. It does not imply a never-ending bondage imposed upon the conquered, a perpetual mark, – an opprobrious distinction between them and their masters; a bitter and unending persecution of their religion; an habitual violation of their rights of person and property, and the unrestrained indulgence towards them of every passion which belongs to the character of a barbarous soldiery. Yet such is the state of Greece. The Ottoman power over them, obtained originally by the sword, is constantly preserved by the same means. Wherever it exists, it is a mere military power. The religious and civil code of the state being both fixed in the Koran, and equally the object of an ignorant and furious faith, have been found equally incapable of change. "The Turk," it has been said, "has been **encamped** in Europe for four centuries." He has hardly any more participation in European manners, knowledge, and arts, than when he crossed the Bosphorus. But this is not the worst. The power of the empire is fallen into anarchy, and as the principle which belongs to the head belongs also to the parts, there are as many despots as there are pachas, beys, and viziers. Wars are almost perpetual between the Sultan and some rebellious governor of a province; and in the conflict of these despotisms, the people are necessarily ground between the upper and the nether millstone. In short, the Christian subjects of the Sublime Porte feel daily all the miseries which flow from despotism, from anarchy, from slavery, and from religious persecution. If any thing yet remains to heighten such a picture, let it be added, that every office in the government is not only actually, but professedly, venal, – the pachalics, the vizierates, the cadiships, and whatsoever other denomination may denote the depository of power. In the whole world, Sir, there is no such oppression felt as by the Christian Greeks. In various parts of India, to be sure, the government is bad enough; but then it is



the government of barbarians over barbarians, and the feeling of oppression is, of course, not so keen. There the oppressed are perhaps not better than their oppressors; but in the case of Greece, there are millions of Christian men, not without knowledge, not without refinement, not without a strong thirst for all the pleasures of civilized life, trampled into the very earth, century after century, by a pillaging, savage, relentless soldiery. Sir, the case is unique. There exists, and has existed, nothing like it. The world has no such misery to show; there is no case in which Christian communities can be called upon with such emphasis of appeal.

But I have said enough, Mr. Chairman, indeed I need have said nothing to satisfy the House, that it must be some new combination of circumstances, or new views of policy in the cabinets of Europe, which have caused this interesting struggle not merely to be regarded with indifference, but to be marked with opprobrium. The very statement of the case, as a contest between the Turks and Greeks, sufficiently indicates what must be the feeling of every individual, and every government, that is not biassed by a particular interest, or a particular feeling, to disregard the dictates of justice and humanity.

And now, Sir, what has been the conduct pursued by the Allied Powers in regard to this contest? When the revolution broke out, the sovereigns were assembled in congress at Laybach; and the papers of that assembly sufficiently manifest their sentiments. They proclaim their abhorrence of those "criminal combinations which had been formed in the eastern parts of Europe"; and, although it is possible that this denunciation was aimed, more particularly, at the disturbances in the provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia, yet no exception is made, from its general terms, in favor of those events in Greece which were properly the commencement of her revolution, and which could not but be well known at Laybach, before the date of these declarations. Now it must be remembered, that Russia was a leading party in this denunciation of the efforts of the Greeks to achieve their liberation; and it cannot but be expected by Russia, that the world should also remember what part she herself has heretofore acted in the same concern. It is notorious, that within the last half-century she has again and again excited the Greeks to rebellion against the Porte, and that she has constantly kept alive in them the hope that she would, one day, by her own great power, break the yoke of their oppressor. Indeed, the earnest attention with which Russia has regarded Greece goes much farther back than to the time I have mentioned. Ivan the Third, in 1482, having espoused a Grecian princess, heiress of the last Greek Emperor, discarded St. George from the Russian arms, and adopted the Greek two-headed black eagle, which has continued in the Russian arms to the present day. In virtue of the same marriage, the Russian princes claim the Greek throne as their inheritance.

Under Peter the Great, the policy of Russia developed itself more fully. In 1696, he rendered himself master of Azof, and, in 1698, obtained the right to pass the Dardanelles, and to maintain, by that route, commercial intercourse with the Mediterranean. He had emissaries throughout Greece, and particularly applied himself to gain the clergy. He adopted the



Labarum of Constantine, "In hoc signo vinces"; and medals were struck, with the inscription, "Petrus I. Russo-Graecorum Imperator." In whatever new direction the principles of the Holy Alliance may now lead the politics of Russia, or whatever course she may suppose Christianity now prescribes to her, in regard to the Greek cause, the time has been when she professed to be contending for that cause, as identified with Christianity. The white banner under which the soldiers of Peter the First usually fought, bore, as its inscription, "In the name of the Prince, and for our country." Relying on the aid of the Greeks, in his war with the Porte, he changed the white flag to red, and displayed on it the words, "In the name of God, and for Christianity." The unfortunate issue of this war is well known. Though Anne and Elizabeth, the successors of Peter, did not possess his active character, they kept up a constant communication with Greece, and held out hopes of restoring the Greek empire. Catharine the Second, as is well known, excited a general revolt in 1769. A Russian fleet appeared in the Mediterranean, and a Russian army was landed in the Morea. The Greeks in the end were disgusted at being expected to take an oath of allegiance to Russia, and the Empress was disgusted because they refused to take it. In 1774, peace was signed between Russia and the Porte, and the Greeks of the Morea were left to their fate. By this treaty the Porte acknowledged the independence of the Khan of the Crimea; a preliminary step to the acquisition of that country by Russia. It is not unworthy of remark, as a circumstance which distinguished this from most other diplomatic transactions, that it conceded to the cabinet of St. Petersburg the right of intervention in the interior affairs of Turkey, in regard to whatever concerned the religion of the Greeks. The cruelties and massacres that happened to the Greeks after the peace between Russia and the Porte, notwithstanding the general pardon which had been stipulated for them, need not now be recited. Instead of retracing the deplorable picture, it is enough to say, that in this respect the past is justly reflected in the present. The Empress soon after invaded and conquered the Crimea, and on one of the gates of Kerson, its capital, caused to be inscribed, "The road to Byzantium." The present Emperor, on his accession to the throne, manifested an intention to adopt the policy of Catharine the Second as his own, and the world has not been right in all its suspicions, if a project for the partition of Turkey did not form a part of the negotiations of Napoleon and Alexander at Tilsit.

All this course of policy seems suddenly to be changed. Turkey is no longer regarded, it would appear, as an object of partition or acquisition, and Greek revolts have all at once become, according to the declaration of Laybach, "criminal combinations." The recent congress at Verona exceeded its predecessor at Laybach in its denunciations of the Greek struggle. In the circular of the 14th of December, 1822, it declared the Grecian resistance to the Turkish power to be rash and culpable, and lamented that "the firebrand of rebellion had been thrown into the Ottoman empire." This rebuke and crimination we know to have proceeded on those settled principles of conduct which the Continental powers had



prescribed for themselves. The sovereigns saw, as well as others, the real condition of the Greeks; they knew as well as others that it was most natural and most justifiable, that they should endeavor, at whatever hazard, to change that condition. They knew that they themselves, or at least one of them, had more than once urged the Greeks to similar efforts; that they themselves had thrown the same firebrand into the midst of the Ottoman empire. And yet, so much does it seem to be their fixed object to discountenance whatsoever threatens to disturb the actual government of any country, that, Christians as they were, and allied, as they professed to be, for purposes most important to human happiness and religion, they have not hesitated to declare to the world that they have wholly forborne to exercise any compassion to the Greeks, simply because they thought that they saw, in the struggles of the Morea, the sign of revolution. This, then, is coming to a plain, practical result. The Grecian revolution has been discouraged, discountenanced, and denounced, solely because it **is** a revolution. Independent of all inquiry into the reasonableness of its causes or the enormity of the oppression which produced it; regardless of the peculiar claims which Greece possesses upon the civilized world; and regardless of what has been their own conduct towards her for a century; regardless of the interest of the Christian religion, — the sovereigns at Verona seized upon the case of the Greek revolution as one above all others calculated to illustrate the fixed principles of their policy. The abominable rule of the Porte on one side, the value and the sufferings of the Christian Greeks on the other, furnished a case likely to convince even an incredulous world of the sincerity of the professions of the Allied Powers. They embraced the occasion with apparent ardor: and the world, I trust, is satisfied.

We see here, Mr. Chairman, the direct and actual application of that system which I have attempted to describe. We see it in the very case of Greece. We learn, authentically and indisputably, that the Allied Powers, holding that all changes in legislation and administration ought to proceed from kings alone, were wholly inexorable to the sufferings of the Greeks, and entirely hostile to their success. Now it is upon this practical result of the principle of the Continental powers that I wish this House to intimate its opinion. The great question is a question of principle. Greece is only the signal instance of the application of that principle. If the principle be right, if we esteem it conformable to the law of nations, if we have nothing to say against it, or if we deem ourselves unfit to express an opinion on the subject, then, of course, no resolution ought to pass. If, on the other hand, we see in the declarations of the Allied Powers principles, not only utterly hostile to our own free institutions, but hostile also to the independence of all nations, and altogether opposed to the improvement of the condition of human nature; if, in the instance before us, we see a most striking exposition and application of those principles, and if we deem our opinions to be entitled to any weight in the estimation of mankind, — then I think it is our duty to adopt some such measure as the proposed resolution.

It is worthy of observation, Sir, that as early as July, 1821, Baron Strogonoff, the Russian minister at Constantinople,



represented to the Porte, that, if the undistinguished massacres of the Greeks, both of such as were in open resistance and of those who remained patient in their submission were continued, and should become a settled habit, they would give just cause of war against the Porte to all Christian states. This was in 1821.³⁷ It was followed, early in the next year, by that indescribable enormity, that appalling monument of barbarian cruelty, the destruction of Scio; a scene I shall not attempt to describe; a scene from which human nature shrinks shuddering away; a scene having hardly a parallel in the history of fallen man. This scene, too, was quickly followed by the massacres in Cyprus; and all these things were perfectly known to the Christian powers assembled at Verona. Yet these powers, instead of acting upon the case supposed by Baron Strogonoff, and which one would think had been then fully made out, – instead of being moved by any compassion for the sufferings of the Greeks, – these powers, these Christian powers, rebuke their gallantry and insult their sufferings by accusing them of “throwing a firebrand into the Ottoman empire.” Such, Sir, appear to me to be the principles on which the Continental powers of Europe have agreed hereafter to act; and this, an eminent instance of the application of those principles.

I shall not detain the committee, Mr. Chairman, by any attempt to recite the events of the Greek struggle up to the present time. Its origin may be found, doubtless, in that improved state of knowledge which, for some years, has been gradually taking place in that country. The emancipation of the Greeks has been a subject frequently discussed in modern times. They themselves are represented as having a vivid remembrance of the distinction of their ancestors, not unmixed with an indignant feeling that civilized and Christian Europe should not ere now have aided them in breaking their intolerable fetters.

In 1816 a society was founded in Vienna for the encouragement of Grecian literature. It was connected with a similar institution at Athens, and another in Thessaly, called the “Gymnasium of Mount Pelion.” The treasury and general office of the institution were established at Munich. No political object was avowed by these institutions, probably none contemplated. Still, however, they had their effect, no doubt, in hastening that condition of things in which the Greeks felt competent to the establishment of their independence. Many young men have been for years annually sent to the universities in the western states of Europe for their education; and, after the general pacification of Europe, many military men, discharged from other employment, were ready to enter even into so unpromising a service as that of the revolutionary Greeks.

In 1820, war commenced between the Porte and Ali, the well-known Pacha of Albania. Differences existed also with Persia and with Russia. In this state of things, at the beginning of 1821, an insurrection broke out in Moldavia, under the direction of Alexander Ypsilanti, a well-educated soldier, who had been major-general in the Russian service. From his character, and the number of those who seemed inclined to join him, he was supposed to be countenanced by the court of St. Petersburg. This, however, was a great mistake, which the Emperor, then at

37. Annual Register for 1821, p. 251.



Laybach, took an early opportunity to rectify. The Turkish government was alarmed at these occurrences in the northern provinces of European Turkey, and caused search to be made of all vessels entering the Black Sea, lest arms or other military means should be sent in that manner to the insurgents. This proved inconvenient to the commerce of Russia, and caused some unsatisfactory correspondence between the two powers. It may be worthy of remark, as an exhibition of national character, that, agitated by these appearances of intestine commotion, the Sultan issued a proclamation, calling on all true Mussulmans to renounce the pleasures of social life, to prepare arms and horses, and to return to the manner of their ancestors, the life of the plains. The Turk seems to have thought that he had, at last, caught something of the dangerous contagion of European civilization, and that it was necessary to reform his habits, by recurring to the original manners of military roving barbarians.

It was about this time, that is to say, at the commencement of 1821, that the revolution burst out in various parts of Greece and the isles. Circumstances, certainly, were not unfavorable to the movement, as one portion of the Turkish army was employed in the war against Ali Pacha in Albania, and another part in the provinces north of the Danube. The Greeks soon possessed themselves of the open country of the Morea, and drove their enemy into the fortresses. Of these, that of Tripolitza, with the city, fell into their hands, in the course of the summer. Having after these first movements obtained time to breathe, it became, of course, an early object to establish a government. For this purpose delegates of the people assembled, under that name which describes the assembly in which we ourselves sit, that name which "freed the Atlantic," a **Congress**. A writer, who undertakes to render to the civilized world that service which was once performed by Edmund Burke, I mean the compiler of the English Annual Register, asks, by what authority this assembly could call itself a Congress. Simply, Sir, by the same authority by which the people of the United States have given the same name to their own legislature. We, at least, should be naturally inclined to think, not only as far as names, but things also, are concerned, that the Greeks could hardly have begun their revolution under better auspices; since they have endeavored to render applicable to themselves the general principles of our form of government, as well as its name. This constitution went into operation at the commencement of the next year. In the mean time, the war with Ali Pacha was ended, he having surrendered, and being afterwards assassinated, by an instance of treachery and perfidy, which, if it had happened elsewhere than under the government of the Turks, would have deserved notice. The negotiation with Russia, too, took a turn unfavorable to the Greeks. The great point upon which Russia insisted, beside the abandonment of the measure of searching vessels bound to the Black Sea, was, that the Porte should withdraw its armies from the neighborhood of the Russian frontiers; and the immediate consequence of this, when effected, was to add so much more to the disposable force ready to be employed against the Greeks. These events seemed to have left the whole force of the Ottoman empire, at the commencement of 1822, in a condition to be



employed against the Greek rebellion; and, accordingly, very many anticipated the immediate destruction of the cause. The event, however, was ordered otherwise. Where the greatest effort was made, it was met and defeated. Entering the Morea with an army which seemed capable of bearing down all resistance, the Turks were nevertheless defeated and driven back, and pursued beyond the isthmus, within which, as far as it appears, from that time to the present, they have not been able to set their foot.

It was in April of this year that the destruction of Scio took place. That island, a sort of appanage of the Sultana mother, enjoyed many privileges peculiar to itself. In a population of 130,000 or 140,000, it had no more than 2,000 or 3,000 Turks; indeed, by some accounts, not near as many. The absence of these ruffian masters had in some degree allowed opportunity for the promotion of knowledge, the accumulation of wealth, and the general cultivation of society. Here was the seat of modern Greek literature; here were libraries, printing-presses, and other establishments, which indicate some advancement in refinement and knowledge. Certain of the inhabitants of Samos, it would seem, envious of this comparative happiness of Scio, landed upon the island in an irregular multitude, for the purpose of compelling its inhabitants to make common cause with their countrymen against their oppressors. These, being joined by the peasantry, marched to the city and drove the Turks into the castle. The Turkish fleet, lately reinforced from Egypt, happened to be in the neighboring seas, and, learning these events, landed a force on the island of fifteen thousand men. There was nothing to resist such an army. These troops immediately entered the city and began an indiscriminate massacre. The city was fired; and in four days the fire and sword of the Turk rendered the beautiful Scio a clotted mass of blood and ashes. The details are too shocking to be recited. Forty thousand women and children, unhappily saved from the general destruction, were afterwards sold in the market of Smyrna, and sent off into distant and hopeless servitude. Even on the wharves of our own cities, it has been said, have been sold the utensils of those hearths which now exist no longer. Of the whole population which I have mentioned, not above nine hundred persons were left living upon the island. I will only repeat, Sir, that these tragical scenes were as fully known at the Congress of Verona, as they are now known to us; and it is not too much to call on the powers that constituted that congress, in the name of conscience and in the name of humanity, to tell us if there be nothing even in these unparalleled excesses of Turkish barbarity to excite a sentiment of compassion; nothing which they regard as so objectionable as even the very idea of popular resistance to power.

The events of the year which has just passed by, as far as they have become known to us, have been even more favorable to the Greeks than those of the year preceding. I omit all details, as being as well known to others as to myself. Suffice it to say, that with no other enemy to contend with, and no diversion of his force to other objects, the Porte has not been able to carry the war into the Morea; and that, by the last accounts, its armies were acting defensively in Thessaly. I pass over, also,



the naval engagements of the Greeks, although that is a mode of warfare in which they are calculated to excel, and in which they have already performed actions of such distinguished skill and bravery, as would draw applause upon the best mariners in the world. The present state of the war would seem to be, that the Greeks possess the whole of the Morea with the exception of the three fortresses of Patras, Coron, and Modon; all Candia, but one fortress; and most of the other islands. They possess the citadel of Athens, Missolonghi, and several other places in Livadia. They have been able to act on the offensive, and to carry the war beyond the isthmus. There is no reason to believe their marine is weakened; more probably, it is strengthened. But, what is most important of all, they have obtained time and experience. They have awakened a sympathy throughout Europe and throughout America; and they have formed a government which seems suited to the emergency of their condition.

Sir, they have done much. It would be great injustice to compare their achievements with our own. We began our Revolution, already possessed of government, and, comparatively, of civil liberty. Our ancestors had from the first been accustomed in a great measure to govern themselves. They were familiar with popular elections and legislative assemblies, and well acquainted with the general principles and practice of free governments. They had little else to do than to throw off the paramount authority of the parent state. Enough was still left, both of law and of organization, to conduct society in its accustomed course, and to unite men together for a common object. The Greeks, of course, could act with little concert at the beginning; they were unaccustomed to the exercise of power, without experience, with limited knowledge, without aid, and surrounded by nations which, whatever claims the Greeks might seem to have upon them, have afforded them nothing but discouragement and reproach. They have held out, however, for three campaigns; and that, at least, is something. Constantinople and the northern provinces have sent forth thousands of troops; – they have been defeated. Tripoli, and Algiers, and Egypt, have contributed their marine contingents; – they have not kept the ocean. Hordes of Tartars have crossed the Bosphorus; – they have died where the Persians died. The powerful monarchies in the neighborhood have denounced their cause, and admonished them to abandon it and submit to their fate. They have answered them, that, although two hundred thousand of their countrymen have offered up their lives, there yet remain lives to offer; and that it is the determination of **all**, “yes, of ALL,” to persevere until they shall have established their liberty, or until the power of their oppressors shall have relieved them from the burden of existence.

It may now be asked, perhaps, whether the expression of our own sympathy, and that of the country, may do them good? I hope it may. It may give them courage and spirit, it may assure them of public regard, teach them that they are not wholly forgotten by the civilized world, and inspire them with constancy in the pursuit of their great end. At any rate, Sir, it appears to me that the measure which I have proposed is due to our own character, and called for by our own duty. When we shall have



discharged that duty, we may leave the rest to the disposition of Providence.

I do not see how it can be doubted that this measure is entirely **pacific**. I profess my inability to perceive that it has any possible tendency to involve our neutral relations. If the resolution pass, it is not of necessity to be immediately acted on. It will not be acted on at all, unless, in the opinion of the President, a proper and safe occasion for acting upon it shall arise. If we adopt the resolution to-day, our relations with every foreign state will be to-morrow precisely what they now are. The resolution will be sufficient to express our sentiments on the subjects to which I have adverted. Useful for that purpose, it can be mischievous for no purpose. If the topic were properly introduced into the message, it cannot be improperly introduced into discussion in this House. If it were proper, which no one doubts, for the President to express his opinions upon it, it cannot, I think, be improper for us to express ours. The only certain effect of this resolution is to signify, in a form usual in bodies constituted like this, our approbation of the general sentiment of the message. Do we wish to withhold that approbation? The resolution confers on the President no new power, nor does it enjoin on him the exercise of any new duty; nor does it hasten him in the discharge of any existing duty.

I cannot imagine that this resolution can add any thing to those excitements which it has been supposed, I think very causelessly, might possibly provoke the Turkish government to acts of hostility. There is already the message, expressing the hope of success to the Greeks and disaster to the Turks, in a much stronger manner than is to be implied from the terms of this resolution. There is the correspondence between the Secretary of State and the Greek Agent in London, already made public, in which similar wishes are expressed, and a continuance of the correspondence apparently invited. I might add to this, the unexampled burst of feeling which this cause has called forth from all classes of society, and the notorious fact of pecuniary contributions made throughout the country for its aid and advancement. After all this, whoever can see cause of danger to our pacific relations from the adoption of this resolution has a keener vision than I can pretend to. Sir, there is no augmented danger; there is no danger. The question comes at last to this, whether, on a subject of this sort, this House holds an opinion which is worthy to be expressed.

Even suppose, Sir, an agent or commissioner were to be immediately sent, — a measure which I myself believe to be the proper one, — there is no breach of neutrality, nor any just cause of offence. Such an agent, of course, would not be accredited; he would not be a public minister. The object would be inquiry and information; inquiry which we have a right to make, information which we are interested to possess. If a dismemberment of the Turkish empire be taking place, or has already taken place; if a new state be rising, or be already risen, in the Mediterranean, — who can doubt, that, without any breach of neutrality, we may inform ourselves of these events for the government of our own concerns? The Greeks have declared the Turkish coasts in a state of blockade; may we not inform



ourselves whether this blockade be **nominal** or **real**? and, of course, whether it shall be regarded or disregarded? The greater our trade may happen to be with Smyrna, a consideration which seems to have alarmed some gentlemen, the greater is the reason, in my opinion, why we should seek to be accurately informed of those events which may affect its safety. It seems to me impossible, therefore, for any reasonable man to imagine that this resolution can expose us to the resentment of the Sublime Porte.

As little reason is there for fearing its consequences upon the conduct of the Allied Powers. They may, very naturally, dislike our sentiments upon the subject of the Greek revolution; but what those sentiments are they will much more explicitly learn in the President's message than in this resolution. They might, indeed, prefer that we should express no dissent from the doctrines which they have avowed, and the application which they have made of those doctrines to the case of Greece. But I trust we are not disposed to leave them in any doubt as to our sentiments upon these important subjects. They have expressed their opinions, and do not call that expression of opinion an interference; in which respect they are right, as the expression of opinion in such cases is not such an interference as would justify the Greeks in considering the powers at war with them. For the same reason, any expression which we may make of different principles and different sympathies is no interference. No one would call the President's message an interference; and yet it is much stronger in that respect than this resolution. If either of them could be construed to be an interference, no doubt it would be improper, at least it would be so according to my view of the subject; for the very thing which I have attempted to resist in the course of these observations is the right of foreign interference. But neither the message nor the resolution has that character. There is not a power in Europe which can suppose, that, in expressing our opinions on this occasion, we are governed by any desire of aggrandizing ourselves or of injuring others. We do no more than to maintain those established principles in which we have an interest in common with other nations, and to resist the introduction of new principles and new rules, calculated to destroy the relative independence of states, and particularly hostile to the whole fabric of our government.

I close, then, Sir, with repeating, that the object of this resolution is to avail ourselves of the interesting occasion of the Greek revolution to make our protest against the doctrines of the Allied Powers, both as they are laid down in principle and as they are applied in practice. I think it right, too, Sir, not to be unseasonable in the expression of our regard, and, as far as that goes, in a manifestation of our sympathy with a long oppressed and now struggling people. I am not of those who would, in the hour of utmost peril, withhold such encouragement as might be properly and lawfully given, and, when the crisis should be past, overwhelm the rescued sufferer with kindness and caresses. The Greeks address the civilized world with a pathos not easy to be resisted. They invoke our favor by more moving considerations than can well belong to the condition of any other people. They stretch out their arms to the Christian

communities of the earth, beseeching them, by a generous recollection of their ancestors, by the consideration of their desolated and ruined cities and villages, by their wives and children sold into an accursed slavery, by their blood, which they seem willing to pour out like water, by the common faith, and in the name, which unites all Christians, that they would extend to them at least some token of compassionate regard.

 January 20, Tuesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 20th of 1st M / Heard this Afternoon of the Decease of our old friend & neighbour Samuel Towle at Nazareth in Pennsylvania on the 1st day of this M aged 66 Years 1 M & 5 days having survived his wife only twenty two Days - he was a man of a remarkably Meek & quiet spirit, in whose company I have enjoyed many precious feelings, & many instructive hours - I had an intimate acquaintance with him & his wife during most of the time of their residence in this Town, which was about 14 Years & tho not one in profession of Religion, yet our feelings were often united in the best sense. I remember he several times remarked to me, that "The first time he saw me I got on his books & he found he could not easily get me off."

This evening Hannah Robinson called to see us, who is now living in the family of Wm Hunter, she is a woman of colour & member of Society, belonging to S Kingston Moy [Monthly] Meeting - her spirit seemd solid & very weighty, & savoured of much sweetness. I know not when I have been in company with any one with whom my spirit felt more united.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 21, Wednesday: On this day and the following one, a British force led by the Governor of Sierra Leone, Sir Charles MacCarthy, was being virtually wiped out by the Ashanti at Accra in the Gold Coast (Ghana). Sir Charles would not survive the battle.

 January 22, Thursday: On [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s birthday he authored some "Lines on Completing My Thirty-Sixth Year."

NEW POETRY OF 1824

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

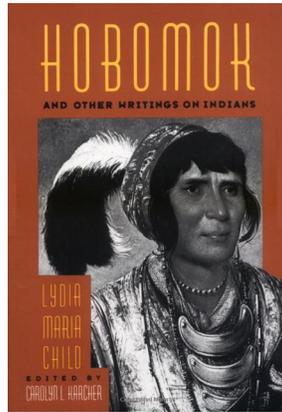
5th day 22 of 1 M / Our Meeting was a season of favour to some, I have no doubt, but as to myself I was very poor - Hannah Dennis was much favoured in a stimulating testimony to faithful labour, seldom have I heard her more acceptably - In the Preparative Meeting which followed - we answered the Queries & proposed Overseers of the Poor to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting Sister Mary & Hannah Lawton set the eveng.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

1824

→ Early in the year: Early in the year, in Watertown, Massachusetts, within the span of six weeks [Lydia Maria Francis](#) ([Lydia Maria Child](#)) wrote *HOBOMOK*: A TALE OF EARLY TIMES.



1824'S NEW LITERATURE

This was a novel about the noble sacrifice made in colonial times by a Native American man with a white wife, when his wife's English husband, thought to have been lost at sea, unexpectedly reappears. Despite the fact that she has given birth to a halfbreed boy, Hobomok steps aside. The English husband adopts Hobomok's son. This can serve as a reminder for us all that what may be construed in one era to be non-racism may well be denounceable in a following era as a continuation of racism. By the way, this was the 1st New England

literary production in the genre we now denominate “the historical novel.”



HOBOMOK



January 24, Saturday: During an Ontario [Canal](#) Company meeting at Canandaigua’s Mead’s Hotel, nine directors were elected (the canal would never be dug).

The 1st issue of the [Westminster Review](#) was published.

Gioachino Rossini conducted Zelmira in London, for the initial time, at the King’s Theater.

An act incorporated a “Society of Middlesex Husbandmen and Manufacturers” to stage annual agricultural exhibitions at [Concord](#).

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



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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*.³⁸

 January 25, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25th of 1st M 1824 / Silent Meeting, none of the Most lively to my feelings, tho' there was a good degree of Solemnity -Took tea & spent part of the evening at D Buffums. -

38. [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.)

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[Richard Brothers](#) died, long forgotten by almost everyone. His last words, to his loyal follower John Finlayson, were “Are your hammer and sword ready?” The body would be interred in a pauper’s grave in St. John’s churchyard, a grave which at present lies beneath a play yard for children.

MILLENNIALISM

En route between Hawaii and Tahiti, a year into the Pacific voyage of the [Martha’s Vineyard](#) whaler *Globe* (renown for having been the 1st ship to take 2,000 barrels of oil), late at night there was a mutiny.



One of the ship’s boatsteerers, [Samuel B. Comstock](#), was the birthright [Quaker](#) first child of a birthright Quaker father from Burrillville, [Rhode Island](#), Friend Nathan Comstock, and a Quaker mother, Friend Elizabeth Emmet Comstock, living on [Nantucket Island](#) and then in New-York. This young scion of a privileged and responsible and religious family, having been given the benefit of a guarded Quaker education at Nine Partners, having the world at his feet, had determined that none of this was enough to satisfy himself with his life. He wanted all this plus adequate carousing and swiving. He had therefore equipped himself with the sorts of things he supposed he would need in order to recreate himself as a libertine chieftain on a South Seas atoll — things such as garden seeds.

He persuaded four companions and on this night, with a hatchet, Friend Samuel laid open the head of the sleeping captain, Thomas Worth, with an ax. Silas Payne, one of the new men who had signed aboard in Hawaii, was attempting to use a knife on the ship’s 1st Mate, William Beetle, and was doing such an inadequate job of it that Friend Samuel needed to join in with his ax. The other two Comstock brothers took no part in the mutiny. (This would be written up by William Lay in conjunction with Friend Cyrus Hussey, Jr., a Nantucket [Quaker](#) who survived the mutiny, but in general the incident would become another forbidden topic in the community.)



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DEMON OF THE WATERS.

THE TRUE STORY OF THE MUTINY ON THE WHALESHIP *GLOBE*.

BY GREGORY GIBSON.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY ERIK RONNBERG AND GARY TONKIN.

BOSTON: LITTLE, BROWN AND COMPANY, 2002

Reviewed by Rob Rulon-Miller

In a world where death is as certain as the setting sun, and is as perniciously random as the scattering of galaxies, it's no wonder that death -tragic and unexpected death- is the lifeblood of so much literature and history. I note in passing today's Sunday New York Times cover story on the horrific final minutes of those top-floor employees in the World Trade Towers as recorded in their desperate calls from cell phones or email messages - calls not so much for help as calls already from the afterlife. I also note but will not elaborate on Mr. Gibson's own life-altering foray into the nether world and back: his struggle to cope with the tragic death of his son Galen, who was murdered by a fellow student in a random act of violence at Simon's Rock College in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, in 1992, a journey Mr. Gibson brilliantly recounted in his critically acclaimed *GONE BOY: A WALKABOUT* (Kondansha International, 1999).

In *DEMON OF THE WATERS*, Gibson revisits death, examining the murderous and most bloody mutiny that occurred 175 years ago on board the whaleship *Globe*, where the loved sons of mothers and fathers were savagely mauled and killed. Successive generations have been captivated by the gruesome event, and it remains, arguably, the most disturbing case in the annals of American maritime history. The *Globe* mutiny has been well-documented and often recounted in maritime anthologies as well as in contemporaneous accounts, including two by the brother of the perpetrator, William Comstock (one in manuscript, one published), and another by two of the survivors, William Lay and Cyrus Hussey. The story falls into Mr. Gibson's lap with the discovery, in Indiana of all places, of a previously unlocated journal recounting the subsequent rescue of the stranded crew on the Marshall Islands in the western Pacific.

The antagonist of the story, Samuel Comstock, is a young man - a mere teenager when we first meet him- at sixes and sevens with



his Quaker upbringing on Nantucket, nothing but a burden for his family and an annoyance to any friends he might have had. When his family moved to Manhattan from Nantucket, Samuel fell in with a street gang named the Downtowners, "who passed their time battling the rival Corlears Hookers. In the manner of many troubled youths, Samuel kept his own hours and often came home late at night, bloody and bruised." To keep Samuel from straying further, his father found him a berth on a merchant ship bound for Liverpool. Four months later Samuel was home again, and to his repertoire of extracurricular activities he now added the chasing of women. The strict Quaker school he was sent to in Poughkeepsie did little more than harden him against authority. Whoring and street fighting were in his blood, and it seems there was little to do with him. Before finally shipping on the *Globe*, Comstock filled out his teenage years by sailing on the *Beaver* with a shipment of arms for rebels in Chile and then on the Nantucket whaler *George* after having spent "some months ... languishing in a Chilean jail" for gunrunning.

The captain of the *Globe* was Thomas Worth, and at age 29, it was his first command. The ship was manned by a crew of twenty, not one of them older than 26 and half of them teenagers. Samuel Comstock at the time was a mere twenty years old, although already well beyond his years. Departing Martha's Vineyard in December 1822, the *Globe* followed a usual course to the Pacific, which meant sailing east towards the Azores and the Cape Verdes, where ships would pick up the northeast trade winds that would blow them south and west towards Cape Horn. Ordinarily ships would stop in the Azores or the Cape Verdes for supplies, but because Captain Worth was delayed in leaving and anxious to get to the Pacific whaling grounds in season, he chose not to put in at either group and continued sailing towards the Horn.

In the south Atlantic the *Globe* captured its first whale, and it is here we learn from Samuel's younger brother, William, who was also on board, that "contact with the whale oil caused Samuel great distress, 'filling him with biles and inflaming his flesh.'" By March of 1823, the *Globe* rounded the Horn and headed up the South American coast towards Valparaiso, a usual stopping point for provisioning and relaxation after the arduous passage. But again, Captain Worth chose not to stop, and instead continued to head towards the rich whaling fields off the coast of Japan. By May, after five continuous months at sea, the *Globe* arrived at Hawaii; nor did she stop here. Nonetheless, provisions -including women- were brought from shore. Captain Worth forbade the women to spend the night, but Samuel Comstock disobeyed the order, and the next morning, according to William, "Lady Comstock made her appearance, emerging from steerage, with an air of great dignity, dressed in a new Scotch bonnet...." Captain Worth made no remark, and it was apparent to the rest of the crew that Samuel was becoming a favorite of the captain. "However," writes Gibson, "by allowing Samuel to openly flout his authority, Worth weakened his credibility and risked disrupting his relations" with the rest of the crew, and "alienated Samuel, a recipient of special privileges, from the mates."

By summer the *Globe* had reached the hallowed cruising grounds off Japan. Here, they spent nearly five months chasing whales,



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but it was not a very successful hunt. "During these months of hard work and unspectacular results, the situation on board the *Globe* began to deteriorate. Samuel Comstock did his best to rock the boat." A wrestling match ensued between Comstock and the third mate, Nathaniel Fisher, which Comstock lost, a humiliating defeat he did not readily forget. On another occasion, one of the crew was put in irons, and on another, the cook was struck by the captain, both incidences on account of Comstock. There were complaints all around by the crew about the meager rations; even so, the crew complained that they didn't have enough time in which to eat them. So, after not having set foot on land for nearly a year, after being confined for that long to ninety feet of boat with twenty other men, the crew of the *Globe* returned from the Japan grounds and put in at last at Hawaii. Gibson writes, "All the ingredients for insurrection were there ... indifferent success, bad food, capricious exercise of authority by an inexperienced captain, bullying and physical beatings from the officers, long confinement aboard the ship with no liberty, and the concerted, pernicious influence of a malcontent." On Hawaii six of the crew -it's amazing the number was as small as it was- deserted, and the replacements Captain Worth found ashore -"a rough set of cruel beings" in the words of George Comstock- "seemed so spectacularly ill chosen that one has to wonder about Thomas Worth's grasp of human nature." Of the seven replacements, five were eventually involved in the mutiny. On December 9, 1823, the *Globe* departed Hawaii to hunt whales along the Equator. The captain was edgy and the crew tense. There was a flogging by Captain Worth of Joseph Thomas, who had signed on in Hawaii. Comstock took the side of Thomas, and -this being the last straw- with four other conspirators, in the very early morning hours of January 26, 1824, went down into Captain Worth's cabin and, in the sentence we've been waiting for, brought down an axe, "with such force that it nearly severed the top of the captain's head from his body." Silas Payne, who had also shipped in Hawaii, went after the first mate, William Beetle, with a knife, but he botched the job. Comstock was left to finish it by placing the axe in the mate's skull. Beetle was left "gurgling in his own blood and brains." Nor was this all. Samuel Comstock, the putative captain now, in the next twelve hours managed to shoot, bayonet, stab, disembowel, and throw overboard a total of five men, including the three mates and a black man, William Humphries, who for good measure was hanged from the foreyard for attempting to aid those who has been brutalized.

The mutineers and the rest of the stunned and stupefied crew then sailed west to what is now Mili Atoll at the southern end of the Marshall Islands. Comstock, in what at this point in the story seems like a workaday chore, was murdered by his co-conspirator, Silas Payne, for bribing the natives with precious provisions from the ship. Less than a week later, six of the innocent crew serendipitously escaped in the *Globe* and managed to sail some 7000 miles across the Pacific to Valparaiso and safety.

Fast forward to Vevay, Indiana, where in 1978 a local book scout, Jay Small, and his younger partner, John Mullins, unearthed a handwritten account dated 1825 by a sailor on board the *Dolphin*,



a United States naval vessel. The *Dolphin* had been ordered to sail to the Marshall Islands, at the insistence of no less than Presidents James Monroe and John Quincy Adams, to capture the mutineers and learn of their fate. This journal found its way into the hands of ABAA dealer Owen Kubik, who in turn sold it to Gibson. (It is now at the Kendall Whaling Museum.) It contains an eyewitness account by one Augustus Strong, midshipman, of the rescue of the only two survivors on Mili Atoll, Cyrus Hussey and William Lay, and recounts the story they told on their voyage back to civilization. Gibson's book brings the Augustus Strong account to the public for the first time, and for this reason alone the book will stand as one of the most important scholarly works on the terrible event. But, in fact, this journal occupies a minor part of the story as published, much of the recounting of its surfacing having ended up on the editor's floor. As these two expunged chapters may be of interest to our readers, they will run in concurrent issues of this Newsletter.

Gibson is becoming a seasoned, if not a flashy writer. His sentences move at an even pace, and his style is more that of a four-wheel drive Land Rover than a turbo-charged Ferrari. On the surface the facts of this story are practically unbelievable, but Gibson is very adept at making all the bizarreness and surreality of this debacle of a voyage seem possible – even plausible. He teaches us the ways of the sea and the sailor. The passion and intensity that suffuses *GONE BOY* is not so apparent here, but death on the *Globe* could never be so close and personal. Nonetheless, the recounting of the mutiny itself is gripping, and Gibson fixes it firmly in the historical context of American interests in the Pacific in the first quarter of the nineteenth century. The thirty-odd pages of Notes at the back are helpful and informative, and the extensive bibliography attests to Gibson's penchant for meticulous research. If there is a flaw in the book, it may be that it was over-researched. Some of the early chapters, especially those on Quaker mores and the building of the *Globe*, seem a little ponderous, as does the chapter on the management of whaleships and the business of whaling. But my tastes notwithstanding, these arcanæ must be addressed for the mutiny to be understood in full, and Gibson is successful in getting all the essential information on the page with only minor irritation. The illustrations by Erik Ronnberg and Gary Tonkin are appealing, if not striking, and I would have liked to have seen more illustrations from contemporary sources.



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 January 26, Monday: The southernmost of two routes was chosen for the Chesapeake and Delaware [Canal](#).

Aboard the *Globe* out of [Martha's Vineyard](#), after the previous night's slaughter of officers in their cots by the fun-loving [Samuel B. Comstock](#) and his accomplices, the killing was continuing. By about noon or so the three remaining mates and two others had been shot, bayoneted, stabbed or disemboweled, including William Humphries (presumably this was the ship's cook, since he was a black man). As people were being killed their bodies were being discarded overboard. Finally there was no challenge to the mutineers being in total control, and the surviving crewmembers turned to sail west toward the gorgeous tropical Marshall Islands. When they made landfall, Friend Samuel attempted to barter some ship supplies with the natives, and for some reason this irritated another of the mutineers, Silas Payne, enough to inspire him to discharge his musket and send birthright [Friend](#) Samuel to his reward.

Be careful in your choice of companions, boys and girls!

 January 26, Monday: Theodore Gericault died in Paris at the age of 32.

The Reverend [Andrew Bigelow](#) got married with Amelia Sargent Stanwood.

Robert Blum Woodward was born in [Providence, Rhode Island](#). (In 1852 he would open a hotel, the "What Cheer House" at the corner of Sacramento and Leidesdorff Streets in San Francisco, and in due course, after years of taking care of business, he would retire in California rather more wealthy than not.)

 January 28, Wednesday: Report of the trial of fourteen negroes: at the Court-House, Montego-Bay, January 28, 1824, and the two following days, on a charge of rebellious conspiracy: with the arguments of the advocates, and the speeches of the judges (Printed at Montego-Bay, Jamaica).

 January 29, Thursday: [William Kneass](#) became the 2d chief engraver for the US mint (until 1840) at an annual salary of \$2,000.

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

*5th day 29th of 1st M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held in [Newport](#) was large, the weather being very pleasant [Portsmouth](#) Friends pretty well came in. - In the first meeting Anne Dennis, Hannah Dennis & Ruth Freeborn bore acceptable testimonys, but nevertheless, I thought life was low generally over the Meeting -
In the last we had much buisness & some of it of a trying nature, but it appeard to me things were pretty well managed & so ended -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 30, Friday: Albert Lortzing got married with Rosina Regina Ahles, a singer and actress.

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

7th day 31st of 1st M / Attended the funeral of Mary Nichols daughter of the late Walter Nichols - The sitting was unusually solemn & quiet in which D Buffum bore a testimony Savory & very acceptable to friends & the family of the deceased - The family



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tho' not Members are dilligent attenders of our Meeting on first Days -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 End of January: At the plantation of St. James Parish outside New Orleans, [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) completed his account of his adventures.

FEBRUARY

 February: Former New York mayor Stephen Allen declined a directorship in the troubled [New York and Sharon Canal Company](#).

 February Term: “This was an appeal from the Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors of the State of New York. Aaron Ogden filed his bill in the Court of Chancery of that State, against Thomas Gibbons, setting forth the several acts of the legislature thereof, enacted for the purpose of securing to Robert R. Livingston and Robert Fulton the exclusive navigation of all the waters within the jurisdiction of that State, with boats moved by fire or steam, for a term of years which had not then expired; and authorizing the Chancellor to award an injunction, restraining any person whatever from navigating those waters with boats of that description. The bill stated an assignment from Livingston and Fulton to one John R. Livingston, and from him to the complainant, Ogden, of the right to navigate the waters between Elizabethtown, and other places in [New Jersey](#), and the city of New-York; and that Gibbons, the defendant below, was in possession of two steamboats, called the Stoudinger and the Bellona, which were actually employed in running between New York and Elizabethtown, in violation of the exclusive privilege conferred on the complainant, and praying an injunction to restrain the said Gibbons from using the said boats, or any other propelled by fire or steam, in navigating the waters within the territory of New York.

The injunction having been awarded, the answer of Gibbons was filed, in which he stated, that the boats employed by him were duly enrolled and licensed to be employed in carrying on the coasting trade, under the act of Congress, passed the 18th of February, 1793, ch. 8, entitled, “An Act for enrolling and licensing ships and vessels to be employed in the coasting trade and fisheries, and for regulating the same.” And the defendant insisted on his right, in virtue of such licenses, to navigate the waters between Elizabethtown and the city of New York, the said acts of the legislature of the State of New York to the contrary notwithstanding. At the hearing, the Chancellor perpetuated the injunction, being of the opinion that the said acts were not repugnant to the Constitution and laws of the United States, and were valid. This decree was affirmed in the Court for the Trial of Impeachments and Correction of Errors, which is the highest court of law and equity in the State of New York before which the cause could be carried, and it was thereupon carried up to the Supreme Court of the United States by appeal.

The following argument was made by Mr. [Webster](#), for the plaintiff in error³⁹:

It is admitted, that there is a very respectable weight of authority in favor of the decision which is sought to be reversed. The laws in question, I am aware, have been deliberately re-enacted by the legislature of New York; and they have also received the sanction, at different times, of all her judicial tribunals, than which there are few, if any, in the country, more justly entitled to respect and deference. The disposition of the court will be, undoubtedly, to support, if

39. 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).



it can, laws so passed and so sanctioned. I admit, therefore, that it is justly expected of us that we should make out a clear case; and unless we do so, we cannot hope for a reversal. It should be remembered, however, that the whole of this branch of power, as exercised by this court, is a power of revision. The question must be decided by the State courts, and decided in a particular manner, before it can be brought here at all. Such decisions alone give this court jurisdiction; and therefore, while they are to be respected as the judgments of learned judges, they are yet in the condition of all decisions from which the law allows an appeal.

It will not be a waste of time to advert to the existing state of the facts connected with the subject of this litigation. The use of steamboats on the coasts and in the bays and rivers of the country, has become very general. The intercourse of its different parts essentially depends upon this mode of conveyance and transportation. Rivers and bays, in many cases, form the divisions between States; and thence it is obvious, that, if the States should make regulations for the navigation of these waters, and such regulations should be repugnant and hostile, embarrassment would necessarily be caused to the general intercourse of the community. Such events have actually occurred, and have created the existing state of things.

By the law of New York, no one can navigate the bay of New York, the North River, the Sound, the lakes, or any of the waters of that State, by steam-vessels, without a license from the grantees of New York, under penalty of forfeiture of the vessel. By the law of the neighboring State of Connecticut, no one can enter her waters with a steam-vessel having such license.

By the law of New Jersey, if any citizen of that State shall be restrained, under the New York law, from using steamboats between the ancient shores of New Jersey and New York, he shall be entitled to an action for damages, in New Jersey, with treble costs against the party who thus restrains or impedes him under the law of New York! This act of New Jersey is called an act of retaliation against the illegal and oppressive legislation of New York; and seems to be defended on those grounds of public law which justify reprisals between independent States.

It will hardly be contended, that all these acts are consistent with the laws and Constitution of the United States. If there is no power in the general government to control this extreme belligerent legislation of the States, the powers of the government are essentially deficient in a most important and interesting particular. The present controversy respects the earliest of these State laws, those of New York. On these, this court is now to pronounce; and if they should be declared to be valid and operative, I hope somebody will point out where the State right stops, and on what grounds the acts of other States are to be held inoperative and void.

It will be necessary to advert more particularly to the laws of New York, as they are stated in the record. The first was passed March 19th, 1787. By this act, a sole and exclusive right was granted to John Fitch, of making and using every kind of boat or vessel impelled by steam, in all creeks, rivers, bays, and waters within the territory and jurisdiction of New York for fourteen years.



On the 27th of March, 1798, an act was passed, on the suggestion that Fitch was dead, or had withdrawn from the State without having made any attempt to use his privilege, repealing the grant to him, and conferring similar privileges on Robert R. Livingston, for the term of twenty years, on a suggestion, made by him, that he was possessor of a mode of applying the steam-engine to propel a boat, on new and advantageous principles. On the 5th of April, 1803, another act was passed, by which it was declared, that the rights and privileges granted to Robert R. Livingston by the last act should be extended to him and Robert Fulton, for twenty years from the passing of the act. Then there is the act of April 11, 1808, purporting to extend the monopoly, in point of time, five years for every additional boat, the whole duration, however, not to exceed thirty years; and forbidding any and all persons to navigate the waters of the State with any steam boat or vessel, without the license of Livingston and Fulton, under penalty of forfeiture of the boat or vessel. And lastly comes the act of April 9, 1811, for enforcing the provisions of the last-mentioned act, and declaring, that the forfeiture of the boat or vessel found navigating against the provisions of the previous acts shall be deemed to accrue on the day on which such boat or vessel should navigate the waters of the State; and that Livingston and Fulton might immediately have an action for such boat or vessel, in like manner as if they themselves had been dispossessed thereof by force; and that, on bringing any such suit, the defendant therein should be prohibited, by injunction, from removing the boat or vessel out of the State, or using it within the State. There are one or two other acts mentioned in the pleadings, which principally respect the time allowed for complying with the condition of the grant, and are not material to the discussion of the case.

By these acts, then, an exclusive right is given to Livingston and Fulton to use steam navigation on all the waters of New York, for thirty years from 1808.

It is not necessary to recite the several conveyances and agreements, stated in the record, by which Ogden, the plaintiff below, derives title under Livingston and Fulton to the exclusive use of part of these waters for steam navigation.

The appellant being owner of a steamboat, and being found navigating the waters between New Jersey and the city of New York, over which waters Ogden, the plaintiff below, claims an exclusive right, under Livingston and Fulton, this bill was filed against him by Ogden, in October, 1818, and an injunction granted, restraining him from such use of his boat. This injunction was made perpetual, on the final hearing of the cause, in the Court of Chancery; and the decree of the Chancellor has been duly affirmed in the Court of Errors. The right, therefore, which the plaintiff below asserts, to have and maintain his injunction, depends obviously on the general validity of the New York laws, and especially on their force and operation as against the right set up by the defendant. This right he states in his answer to be, that he is a citizen of New Jersey, and owner of the steamboat in question; that the boat is a vessel of more than twenty tons burden, duly enrolled and licensed for carrying on the coasting trade, and intended to be employed by him in that trade, between Elizabethtown, in New



Jersey, and the city of New York; and that it was actually employed in navigating between those places at the time of, and until notice of, the injunction from the Court of Chancery was served on him.

On these pleadings the substantial question is raised, Are these laws such as the legislature of New York has a right to pass? If so, do they, secondly, in their operation, interfere with any right enjoyed under the Constitution and laws of the United States, and are they therefore void, as far as such interference extends?

It may be well to state again their general purport and effect, and the purport and effect of the other State laws which have been enacted by way of retaliation.

A steam-vessel, of any description, going to New York, is forfeited to the representatives of Livingston and Fulton, unless she have their license. Going from New York or elsewhere to Connecticut, she is prohibited from entering the waters of that State if she have such license.

If the representatives of Livingston and Fulton in New York carry into effect, by judicial process, the provision of the New York laws, against any citizen of New Jersey, they expose themselves to a statute action in New Jersey for all damages, and treble costs.

The New York laws extend to all steam-vessels; to steam frigates, steam ferry-boats, and all intermediate classes. They extend to public as well as private ships; and to vessels employed in foreign commerce, as well as to those employed in the coasting trade.

The remedy is as summary as the grant itself is ample; for immediate confiscation, without seizure, trial, or judgment, is the penalty of infringement.

In regard to these acts, I shall contend, in the first place, that they exceed the power of the legislature; and, secondly, that, if they could be considered valid for any purpose, they are void still, as against any right enjoyed under the laws of the United States with which they come in collision; and that in this case they are found interfering with such rights.

I shall contend that the power of Congress to regulate commerce is complete and entire, and, to a certain extent, necessarily exclusive; that the acts in question are regulations of commerce, in a most important particular, affecting it in those respects in which it is under the exclusive authority of Congress. I state this first proposition guardedly. I do not mean to say, that all regulations which may, in their operation, affect commerce, are exclusively in the power of Congress; but that such power as has been exercised in this case does not remain with the States. Nothing is more complex than commerce; and in such an age as this, no words embrace a wider field than **commercial regulation**. Almost all the business and intercourse of life may be connected incidentally, more or less, with commercial regulations. But it is only necessary to apply to this part of the Constitution the well-settled rules of construction. Some powers are held to be exclusive in Congress, from the use of exclusive words in the grant; others, from the prohibitions on the States to exercise similar powers; and others, again, from the nature of the powers themselves. It has



been by this mode of reasoning that the court has adjudicated many important questions; and the same mode is proper here. And, as some powers have been held to be exclusive, and others not so, under the same form of expression, from the nature of the different powers respectively; so where the power, on any one subject, is given in general words, like the power to regulate commerce, the true method of construction will be to consider of what parts the grant is composed, and which of those, from the nature of the thing, ought to be considered exclusive. The right set up in this case, under the laws of New York, is a monopoly. Now I think it very reasonable to say, that the Constitution never intended to leave with the States the power of granting monopolies either of trade or of navigation; and therefore, that, as to this, the commercial power is exclusive in Congress.

It is in vain to look for a precise and exact **definition** of the powers of Congress on several subjects. The Constitution does not undertake the task of making such exact definitions. In conferring powers, it proceeds by the way of **enumeration**, stating the powers conferred, one after another, in few words and where the power is general or complex in its nature, the extent of the grant must necessarily be judged of, and limited, by its object, and by the nature of the power.

Few things are better known than the immediate causes which led to the adoption of the present Constitution; and there is nothing, as I think, clearer, than that the prevailing motive was **to regulate commerce**; to rescue it from the embarrassing and destructive consequences resulting from the legislation of so many different States, and to place it under the protection of a uniform law. The great objects were commerce and revenue; and they were objects indissolubly connected. By the Confederation, divers restrictions had been imposed on the States; but these had not been found sufficient. No State, it is true, could send or receive an embassy; nor make any treaty; nor enter into any compact with another State, or with a foreign power; nor lay duties interfering with treaties which had been entered into by Congress. But all these were found to be far short of what the actual condition of the country required. The States could still, each for itself, regulate commerce, and the consequence was a perpetual jarring and hostility of commercial regulation. In the history of the times, it is accordingly found, that the great topic, urged on all occasions, as showing the necessity of a new and different government, was the state of trade and commerce. To benefit and improve these was a great object in itself; and it became greater when it was regarded as the only means of enabling the country to pay the public debt, and to do justice to those who had most effectually labored for its independence. The leading state papers of the time are full of this topic. The New Jersey resolutions⁴⁰[1] complain that the regulation of trade was in the power of the several States, within their separate jurisdiction, to such a degree as to involve many difficulties and embarrassments; and they express an earnest opinion, that the sole and exclusive power of regulating trade with foreign states ought to be in Congress. Mr. Witherspoon's motion in Congress, in 1781, is of the same

40. 1 Laws U.S., page 28, Bioren and Duane's edition.



general character; and the report of a committee of that body, in 1785, is still more emphatic. It declares that Congress ought to possess the sole and exclusive power of regulating trade, as well with foreign nations as between the States.⁴¹ The resolutions of Virginia, in January, 1786, which were the immediate cause of the Convention, put forth this same great object. Indeed, it is the only object stated in those resolutions. There is not another idea in the whole document. The sole purpose for which the delegates assembled at Annapolis was to devise means for the uniform regulation of trade. They found no means but in a general government; and they recommended a convention to accomplish that purpose. Over whatever other interests of the country this government may diffuse its benefits and its blessings, it will always be true, as matter of historical fact, that it had its immediate origin in the necessities of commerce; and for its immediate object, the relief of those necessities, by removing their causes, and by establishing a uniform and steady system. It will be easy to show, by reference to the discussions in the several State conventions, the prevalence of the same general topics; and if any one would look to the proceedings of several of the States, especially to those of Massachusetts and New York, he would see very plainly, by the recorded lists of votes, that wherever this commercial necessity was most strongly felt, there the proposed new Constitution had most friends. In the New York convention, the argument arising from this consideration was strongly pressed, by the distinguished person⁴²[3] whose name is connected with the present question.

We do not find, in the history of the formation and adoption of the Constitution, that any man speaks of a general concurrent power, in the regulation of foreign and domestic trade, as still residing in the States. The very object intended, more than any other, was to take away such power. If it had not so provided, the Constitution would not have been worth accepting.

I contend, therefore, that the people intended, in establishing the Constitution, to transfer from the several States to a general government those high and important powers over commerce, which, in their exercise, were to maintain a uniform and general system. From the very nature of the case, these powers must be exclusive; that is, the higher branches of commercial regulation must be exclusively committed to a single hand. What is it that is to be regulated? Not the commerce of the several States, respectively, but the commerce of the United States. Henceforth, the commerce of the States was to be a **unit**, and the system by which it was to exist and be governed must necessarily be complete, entire, and uniform. Its character was to be described in the flag which waved over it, E PLURIBUS UNUM. Now, how could individual States assert a right of concurrent legislation, in a case of this sort, without manifest encroachment and confusion? It should be repeated, that the words used in the Constitution, "to regulate commerce," are so very general and extensive, that they may be construed to cover a vast field of legislation, part of which has always been occupied by State laws; and therefore the words must have a

41. 1 Laws U.S., page 50, Bioren and Duane's edition.

42. Chancellor Livingston.



reasonable construction, and the power should be considered as exclusively vested in Congress so far, and so far only, as the nature of the power requires. And I insist, that the nature of the case, and of the power, did imperiously require, that such important authority as that of granting monopolies of trade and navigation should not be considered as still retained by the States.

It is apparent from the prohibitions on the power of the States, that the general concurrent power was not supposed to be left with them. And the exception out of these prohibitions of the inspection laws proves this still more clearly. Which most concerns the commerce of this country, that New York and Virginia should have an uncontrolled power to establish their inspection of flour and tobacco, or that they should have an uncontrolled power of granting either a monopoly of trade in their own ports, or a monopoly of navigation over all the waters leading to those ports? Yet the argument on the other side must be, that, although the Constitution has sedulously guarded and limited the first of these powers, it has left the last wholly unlimited and uncontrolled.

But although much has been said, in the discussion on former occasions, about this supposed concurrent power in the States, I find great difficulty in understanding what is meant by it. It is generally qualified by saying, that it is a power by which the States could pass laws on subjects of commercial regulation, which would be valid until Congress should pass other laws controlling them, or inconsistent with them, and that then the State laws must yield. What sort of concurrent powers are these, which cannot exist together? Indeed, the very reading of the clause in the Constitution must put to flight this notion of a general concurrent power. The Constitution was formed for all the States; and Congress was to have power to regulate commerce. Now, what is the import of this, but that Congress is to give the rule, to establish the system, to exercise the control over the subject? And can more than one power, in cases of this sort, give the rule, establish the system, or exercise the control? As it is not contended that the power of Congress is to be exercised by a supervision of State legislation, and as it is clear that Congress is to give the general rule, I contend that this power of giving the general rule is transferred, by the Constitution, from the States to Congress, to be exercised as that body may see fit; and consequently, that all those high exercises of power, which might be considered as giving the rule, or establishing the system, in regard to great commercial interests, are necessarily left with Congress alone. Of this character I consider monopolies of trade or navigation; embargoes; the system of navigation laws; the countervailing laws, as against foreign states; and other important enactments respecting our connection with such states. It appears to me a most reasonable construction to say, that in these respects the power of Congress is exclusive, from the nature of the power. If it be not so, where is the limit, or who shall fix a boundary for the exercise of the power of the States? Can a State grant a monopoly of trade? Can New York shut her ports to all but her own citizens? Can she refuse admission to ships of particular nations? The argument on the other side is, and must be, that



she might do all these things, until Congress should revoke her enactments. And this is called **concurrent** legislation! What confusion such notions lead to is obvious enough. A power in the States to do any thing, and every thing, in regard to commerce, till Congress shall undo it, would suppose a state of things at least as bad as that which existed before the present Constitution. It is the true wisdom of these governments to keep their action as distinct as possible. The general government should not seek to operate where the States can operate with more advantage to the community; nor should the States encroach on ground which the public good, as well as the Constitution, refers to the exclusive control of Congress.

If the present state of things, these laws of New York, the laws of Connecticut, and the laws of New Jersey, had been all presented, in the convention of New York, to the eminent person whose name is on this record, and who acted on that occasion so important a part; if he had been told, that, after all he had said in favor of the new government, and of its salutary effects on commercial regulations, the time would yet come when the North River would be shut up by a monopoly from New York, the Sound interdicted by a penal law of Connecticut, reprisals authorized by New Jersey against citizens of New York, and when one could not cross a ferry without transshipment, does any one suppose he would have admitted all this as compatible with the government which he was recommending?

This doctrine of a general concurrent power in the States is insidious and dangerous. If it be admitted, no one can say where it will stop. The States may legislate, it is said, wherever Congress has not made a plenary exercise of its power. But who is to judge whether Congress has made this plenary exercise of power? Congress has acted on this power; it has done all that it deemed wise; and are the States now to do whatever Congress has left undone? Congress makes such rules as, in its judgment, the case requires; and those rules, whatever they are, constitute the system.

All useful regulation does not consist in restraint; and that which Congress sees fit to leave free is a part of its regulation, as much as the rest.

The practice under the Constitution sufficiently evinces, that this portion of the commercial power is exclusive in Congress. When, before this instance, have the States granted monopolies? When, until now, have they interfered with the navigation of the country? The pilot laws, the health laws, or quarantine laws, and various regulations of that class, which have been recognized by Congress, are no arguments to prove, even if they are to be called commercial regulations (which they are not), that other regulations, more directly and strictly commercial, are not solely within the power of Congress. There is a singular fallacy, as I venture to think, in the argument of very learned and most respectable persons on this subject. That argument alleges, that the States have a concurrent power with Congress of regulating commerce; and the proof of this position is, that the States have, without any question of their right, passed acts respecting turnpike roads, toll-bridges, and ferries. These are declared to be acts of commercial regulation, affecting not only the interior commerce of the State itself, but also



commerce between different States. Therefore, as all these are commercial regulations, and are yet acknowledged to be rightfully established by the States, it follows, as is supposed, that the States must have a concurrent power to regulate commerce.

Now, what is the inevitable consequence of this mode of reasoning? Does it not admit the power of Congress, at once, upon all these minor objects of legislation? If all these be regulations of commerce, within the meaning of the Constitution, then certainly Congress, having a concurrent power to regulate commerce, may establish ferries, turnpike-roads, and bridges, and provide for all this detail of interior legislation. To sustain the interference of the State in a high concern of maritime commerce, the argument adopts a principle which acknowledges the right of Congress over a vast scope of internal legislation, which no one has heretofore supposed to be within its powers. But this is not all; for it is admitted that, when Congress and the States have power to legislate over the same subject, the power of Congress, when exercised, controls or extinguishes the State power; and therefore the consequence would seem to follow, from the argument, that all State legislation over such subjects as have been mentioned is, at all times, liable to the superior power of Congress; a consequence which no one would admit for a moment. The truth is, in my judgment, that all these things are, in their general character, rather regulations of police than of commerce, in the constitutional understanding of that term. A road, indeed, may be a matter of great commercial concern. In many cases it is so; and when it is so, there is no doubt of the power of Congress to make it. But, generally speaking, roads, and bridges, and ferries, though of course they affect commerce and intercourse, do not possess such importance and elevation as to be deemed commercial regulations. A reasonable construction must be given to the Constitution; and such construction is as necessary to the just power of the States, as to the authority of Congress. Quarantine laws, for example, may be considered as affecting commerce; yet they are, in their nature, health laws. In England, we speak of the power of regulating commerce as in Parliament, or the king, as arbiter of commerce; yet the city of London enacts health laws. Would any one infer from that circumstance, that the city of London had concurrent power with Parliament or the crown to regulate commerce? or that it might grant a monopoly of the navigation of the Thames? While a health law is reasonable, it is a health law; but if, under color of it, enactments should be made for other purposes, such enactments might be void.

In the discussion in the New York courts, no small reliance was placed on the law of that State prohibiting the importation of slaves, as an example of a commercial regulation enacted by State authority. That law may or may not be constitutional and valid. It has been referred to generally, but its particular provisions have not been stated. When they are more clearly seen, its character may be better determined.

It might further be argued, that the power of Congress over these high branches of commerce is exclusive, from the consideration that Congress possesses an exclusive admiralty jurisdiction.



That it does possess such exclusive jurisdiction will hardly be contested. No State pretends to exercise any jurisdiction of that kind. The States abolished their courts of admiralty, when the Constitution went into operation. Over these waters, therefore, or at least some of them, which are the subject of this monopoly, New York has no jurisdiction whatever. They are a part of the high seas, and not within the body of any county. The authorities of that State could not punish for a murder, committed on board one of these boats, in some places within the range of this exclusive grant. This restraining of the States from all jurisdiction out of the body of their own counties, shows plainly enough that navigation on the high seas was understood to be a matter to be regulated only by Congress. It is not unreasonable to say, that what are called the waters of New York are, for purposes of navigation and commercial regulation, the waters of the United States. There is no cession, indeed, of the waters themselves, but their use for those purposes seems to be intrusted to the exclusive power of Congress. Several States have enacted laws which would appear to imply their conviction of the power of Congress over navigable waters to a greater extent.

If there be a concurrent power of regulating commerce on the high seas, there must be a concurrent admiralty jurisdiction, and a concurrent control of the waters. It is a common principle, that arms of the sea, including navigable rivers, belong to the sovereign, so far as navigation is concerned. Their use is navigation. The United States possess the general power over navigation, and, of course, ought to control, in general, the use of navigable waters. If it be admitted that, for purposes of trade and navigation, the North River and its bay are the river and bay of New York and the Chesapeake the bay of Virginia, very great inconveniences and much confusion might be the result.

It may now be well to take a nearer view of these laws, to see more exactly what their provisions are, what consequences have followed from them, and what would and might follow from other similar laws.

The first grant to John Fitch gave him the sole and exclusive right of making, employing, and navigating all boats impelled by fire or steam, "in all creeks, rivers, bays, and waters within the territory and jurisdiction of the State." Any other person navigating such boat, was to forfeit it, and to pay a penalty of a hundred pounds. The subsequent acts repeal this, and grant similar privileges to Livingston and Fulton; and the act of 1811 provides the extraordinary and summary remedy which has been already stated. The river, the bay, and the marine league along the shore, are all within the scope of this grant. Any vessel, therefore, of this description, coming into any of those waters, without a license, whether from another State or from abroad, whether it be a public or private vessel, is instantly forfeited to the grantees of the monopoly.

Now it must be remembered that this grant is made as an exercise of sovereign political power. It is not an inspection law, nor a health law, nor passed by any derivative authority; it is professedly an act of sovereign power. Of course, there is no limit to the power, to be derived from the purpose for which it



is exercised. If exercised for one purpose, it may be also for another. No one can inquire into the motives which influence sovereign authority. It is enough that such power manifests its will. The motive alleged in this case is, to remunerate the grantees for a benefit conferred by them on the public. But there is no necessary connection between that benefit and this mode of rewarding it; and if the State could grant this monopoly for that purpose, it could also grant it for any other purpose. It could make the grant for money; and so make the monopoly of navigation over those waters a direct source of revenue. When this monopoly shall expire, in 1838, the State may continue it, for any pecuniary consideration which the holders may see fit to offer, and the State to receive.

If the State may grant this monopoly, it may also grant another, for other descriptions of vessels; for instance, for all sloops. If it can grant these exclusive privileges to a few, it may grant them to many; that is, it may grant them to all its own citizens, to the exclusion of everybody else.

But the waters of New York are no more the subject of exclusive grants by that State, than the waters of other States are subjects of such grants by those other States. Virginia may well exercise, over the entrance of the Chesapeake, all the power that New York can exercise over the bay of New York, and the waters on her shores. The Chesapeake, therefore, upon the principle of these laws, may be the subject of State monopoly; and so may the bay of Massachusetts. But this is not all. It requires no greater power to grant a monopoly of trade, than a monopoly of navigation. Of course, New York, if these acts can be maintained, may give an exclusive right of entry of vessels into her ports; and the other States may do the same. These are not extreme cases. We have only to suppose that other States should do what New York has already done, and that the power should be carried to its full extent.

To all this, no answer is to be given but one, that the concurrent power of the States, concurrent though it be, is yet subordinate to the legislation of Congress; and that therefore Congress may, whenever it pleases, annul the State legislation; but until it does so annul it, the State legislation is valid and effectual. What is there to recommend a construction which leads to a result like this? Here would be a perpetual hostility; one legislature enacting laws, till another legislature should repeal them; one sovereign power giving the rule, till another sovereign power should abrogate it; and all this under the idea of concurrent legislation!

But, further, under this concurrent power, the State does that which Congress cannot do; that is, it gives preferences to the citizens of some States over those of others. I do not mean here the advantages conferred by the grant on the grantees; but the disadvantages to which it subjects all the other citizens of New York. To impose an extraordinary tax on steam navigation visiting the ports of New York, and leaving it free everywhere else, is giving a preference to the citizens of other States over those of New York. This Congress could not do; and yet the State does it; so that this power, at first subordinate, then concurrent, now becomes paramount.

The people of New York have a right to be protected against this



monopoly. It is one of the objects for which they agreed to this Constitution, that they should stand on an equality in commercial regulations; and if the government should not insure them that, the promises made to them in its behalf would not be performed.

I contend, therefore, in conclusion on this point, that the power of Congress over these high branches of commercial regulation is shown to be exclusive, by considering what was wished and intended to be done, when the convention for forming the Constitution was called; by what was understood, in the State conventions, to have been accomplished by the instrument; by the prohibitions on the States, and the express exception relative to inspection laws; by the nature of the power itself; by the terms used, as connected with the nature of the power; by the subsequent understanding and practice, both of Congress and the States; by the grant of exclusive admiralty jurisdiction to the federal government; by the manifest danger of the opposite doctrine, and the ruinous consequences to which it directly leads.

Little is now required to be said, to prove that this exclusive grant is a law regulating commerce; although, in some of the discussions elsewhere, it has been called a law of police. If it be not a regulation of commerce, then it follows, against the constant admission on the other side, that Congress, even by an express act, cannot annul or control it. For if it be not a regulation of commerce, Congress has no concern with it. But the granting of monopolies of this kind is always referred to the power over commerce. It was as arbiter of commerce that the king formerly granted such monopolies.⁴³[4] This is a law regulating commerce, inasmuch as it imposes new conditions and terms on the coasting trade, on foreign trade generally, and on foreign trade as regulated by treaties; and inasmuch as it interferes with the free navigation of navigable waters.

If, then, the power of commercial regulation possessed by Congress be, in regard to the great branches of it, exclusive; and if this grant of New York be a commercial regulation, affecting commerce in respect to these great branches, then the grant is void, whether any case of actual collision has happened or not.

But I contend, in the second place, that whether the grant were to be regarded as wholly void or not, it must, at least, be inoperative, when the rights claimed under it come in collision with other rights, enjoyed and secured under the laws of the United States; and such collision, I maintain, clearly exists in this case. It will not be denied that the law of Congress is paramount. The Constitution has expressly provided for that. So that the only question in this part of the case is, whether the two rights be inconsistent with each other. The appellant has a right to go from New Jersey to New York, in a vessel owned by himself, of the proper legal description, and enrolled and licensed according to law. This right belongs to him as a citizen of the United States. It is derived under the laws of the United States, and no act of the legislature of New York can deprive him of it, any more than such act could deprive him of the right of holding lands in that State, or of suing in its courts. It



appears from the record, that the boat in question was regularly enrolled at Perth Amboy, and properly licensed for carrying on the coasting trade. Under this enrolment, and with this license, she was proceeding to New York, when she was stopped by the injunction of the Chancellor, on the application of the New York grantees. There can be no doubt that here is a collision, in fact; that which the appellant claimed as a right, the respondent resisted; and there remains nothing now but to determine whether the appellant had, as he contends, a right to navigate these waters; because, if he had such right, it must prevail.

Now, this right is expressly conferred by the laws of the United States. The first section of the act of February, 1793, ch. 8, regulating the coasting trade and fisheries, declares, that all ships and vessels, enrolled and licensed as that act provides, "and no others, shall be deemed ships or vessels of the United States, entitled to the privileges of ships or vessels employed in the coasting trade or fisheries." The fourth section of the same act declares, "that, in order to the licensing of any ship or vessel, for carrying on the coasting trade or fisheries," bond shall be given, according to the provisions of the act. And the same section declares, that, the owner having complied with the requisites of the law, "it shall be the duty of the collector to grant a license for carrying on the coasting trade"; and the act proceeds to give the form and words of the license, which is, therefore, of course, to be received as a part of the act; and the words of the license, after the necessary recitals, are, "License is hereby granted for the said vessel to be employed in carrying on the coasting trade." Words could not make this authority more express.

The court below seems to me, with great deference, to have mistaken the object and nature of the license. It seems to have been of opinion, that the license has no other intent or effect than to ascertain the ownership and character of the vessel. But this is the peculiar office and object of the enrolment. That document ascertains that the regular proof of ownership and character has been given; and the license is given to confer the right to which the party has shown himself entitled. It is the authority which the master carries with him, to prove his right to navigate freely the waters of the United States, and to carry on the coasting trade.

In some of the discussions which have been had on this question, it has been said, that Congress has only provided for ascertaining the ownership and property of vessels, but has not prescribed to what use they may be applied. But this is an obvious error. The whole object of the act regulating the coasting trade is to declare what vessels shall enjoy the benefit of being employed in that trade. To secure this use to certain vessels, and to deny it to others, is precisely the purpose for which the act was passed. The error, or what I humbly suppose to be the error, in the judgment of the court below, consists in that court's having thought, that, although Congress might act, it had not yet acted, in such a way as to confer a right on the appellant; whereas, if a right was not given by this law, it never could be given. No law can be more express. It has been admitted, that, supposing there is a provision in



the act of Congress, that all vessels duly licensed shall be at liberty to navigate, for the purpose of trade and commerce, all the navigable harbors, bays, rivers, and lakes within the several States, any law of the States creating particular privileges as to any particular class of vessels to the contrary notwithstanding, the only question that could arise, in such a case, would be, whether the law was constitutional; and that, if that was to be granted or decided, it would certainly, in all courts and places, overrule and set aside the State grant.

Now, I do not see that such supposed case could be distinguished from the present. We show a provision in an act of Congress, that all vessels, duly licensed, may carry on the coasting trade; nobody doubts the constitutional validity of that law; and we show that this vessel was duly licensed according to its provisions. This is all that is essential in the case supposed. The presence or absence of a *non obstante* clause cannot affect the extent or operation of the act of Congress. Congress has no power of revoking State laws, as a distinct power. It legislates over subjects; and over those subjects which are within its power, its legislation is supreme, and necessarily overrules all inconsistent or repugnant State legislation. If Congress were to pass an act expressly revoking or annulling, in whole or in part, this New York grant, such an act would be wholly useless and inoperative. If the New York grant be opposed to, or inconsistent with, any constitutional power which Congress has exercised, then, so far as the incompatibility exists, the grant is nugatory and void, necessarily, and by reason of the supremacy of the law of Congress. But if the grant be not inconsistent with any exercise of the powers of Congress, then, certainly, Congress has no authority to revoke or annul it. Such an act of Congress, therefore, would be either unconstitutional or supererogatory. The laws of Congress need no *non obstante* clause. The Constitution makes them supreme, when State laws come into opposition to them. So that in these cases there is no question except this; whether there be, or be not, a repugnancy or hostility between the law of Congress and the law of the State. Nor is it at all material, in this view, whether the law of the State be a law regulating commerce, or a law of police, nor by what other name or character it may be designated. If its provisions be inconsistent with an act of Congress, they are void, so far as that inconsistency extends. The whole argument, therefore, is substantially and effectually given up, when it is admitted that Congress might, by express terms, abrogate the State grant, or declare that it should not stand in the way of its own legislation; because such express terms would add nothing to the effect and operation of an act of Congress.

I contend, therefore, upon the whole of this point, that a case of actual collision has been made out between the State grant and the act of Congress; and as the act of Congress is entirely unexceptionable, and clearly in pursuance of its constitutional powers, the State grant must yield.

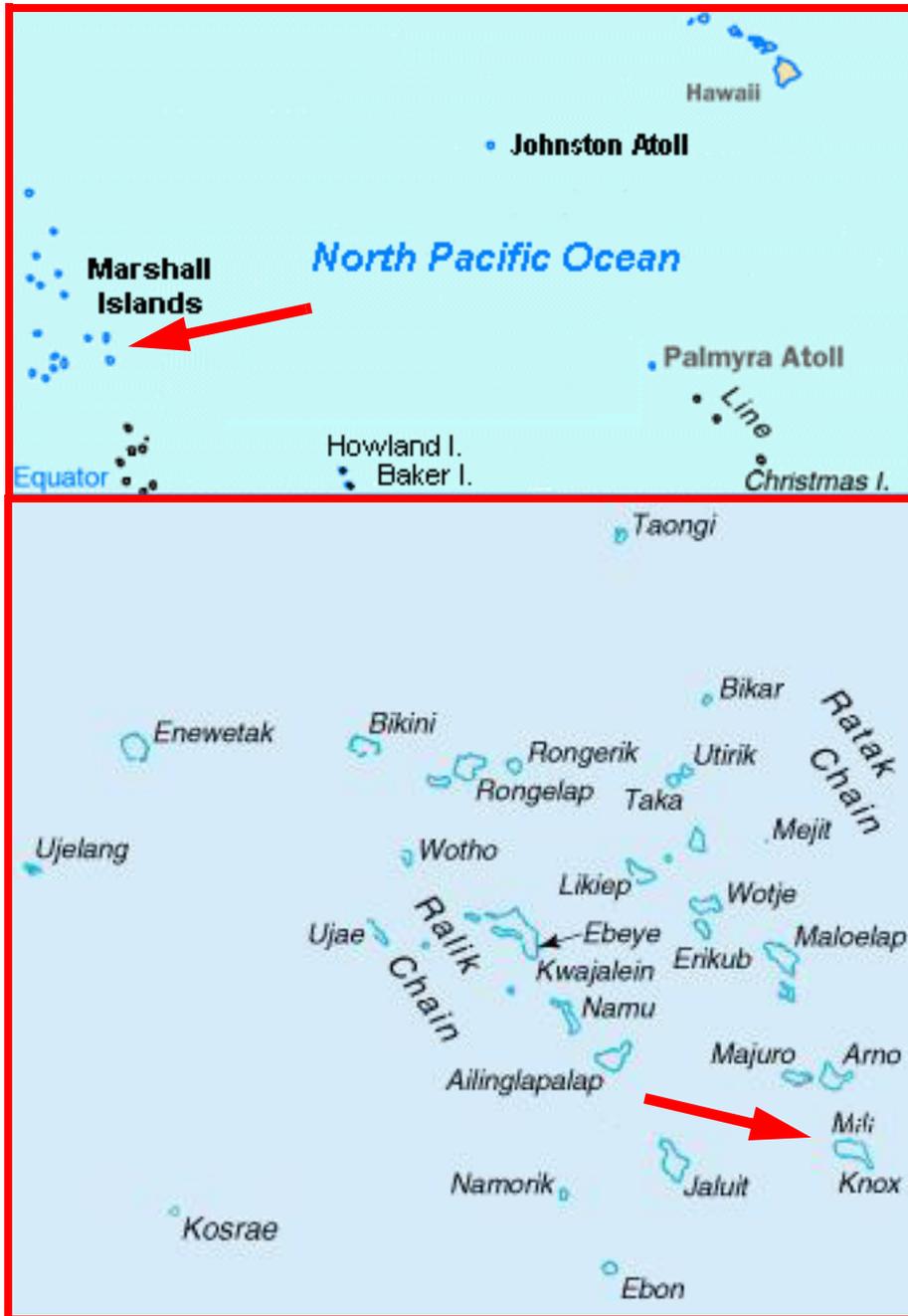
There are other provisions of the Constitution of the United States, which have more or less bearing on this question. "No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage." Under color of grants like this, that prohibition



might be wholly evaded. This grant authorizes Messrs. Livingston and Fulton to license navigation in the waters of New York. They, of course, license it on their own terms. They may require a pecuniary consideration, ascertained by the tonnage of the vessel, or in any other manner. Probably, in fact, they govern themselves, in this respect, by the size or tonnage of the vessels to which they grant licenses. Now, what is this but substantially a tonnage duty, under the law of the State? Or does it make any difference, whether the receipts go directly into her own treasury, or into the hands of those to whom she has made the grant?

There is, lastly, that provision of the Constitution which gives Congress power to promote the progress of science and the useful arts, by securing to authors and inventors, for a limited time, an exclusive right to their own writings and discoveries. Congress has exercised this power, and made all the provisions which it deemed useful or necessary. The States may, indeed, like munificent individuals, exercise their own bounty towards authors and inventors, at their own discretion. But to confer reward by exclusive grants, even if it were but a part of the use of the writing or invention, is not supposed to be a power properly to be exercised by the States. Much less can they, under the notion of conferring rewards in such cases, grant monopolies, the enjoyment of which is essentially incompatible with the exercise of rights possessed under the laws of the United States. I shall insist, however, the less on these points, as they are open to counsel who will come after me on the same side, and as I have said so much upon what appears to me the more important and interesting part of the argument.

February: Early in the month, the four remaining mutineers of the *Globe* out of [Martha's Vineyard](#) compelled the other crewmen to venture with them to what is now known as Mili Atoll:

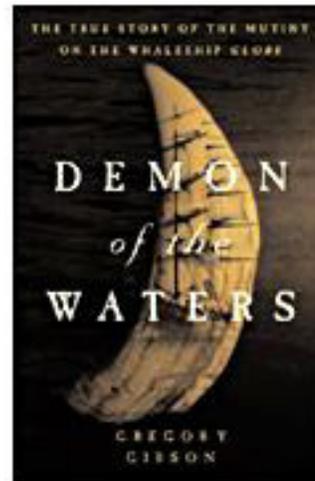
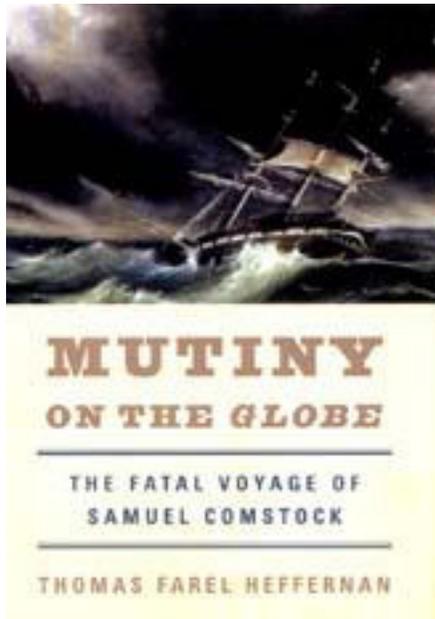


1824

1824

There the mutineers incautiously put ashore to establish a settlement, and six crewmembers who had taken no part in the mutiny were able to sail the *Globe* away. They would manage to make it some 7,500 miles across the Pacific to the safety of Valparaiso. The remaining three mutineers, and other members of the innocent crew trapped on the atoll, would of course be massacred, except for a couple of young men whom the islanders would adopt/enslave.

The US Navy would send out a ship to pick up these Americans. The bronzed adoptee/slaves would be rescued by a naval party led by Lieutenant John "Mad Jack" Percival. Aboard this ship 17-year-old midshipman Augustus Strong would be keeping a journal. We can now, in addition to reviewing the various accounts published during the 19th Century, be instructed also by this retrieved journal.



February: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

The theological notions of a Chinese are anomalous I trust in besotted perversity. The godhead that infests his thoughts is a certain cleverness & skill that implies no merit in the divinity but of which the yellow man may avail himself as he would of the swiftness of a horse or the fecundity of the earth. So he prays to his God for an event; if his prayer be answered he puts a copper or two on his shrine; if not, he curses & kicks him; the day, it may be, is not distant when the huge & sluggard wave of oriental population shall be stirred & purified by the conflict of counter currents, when the Resurrection of the East shall cast off the incubus that has so long ridden its torpid mind. Metaphysicians are mortified to find how entirely the whole materials of understanding are derived from sense. No man is understood who speculates on mind or character until he borrows specific imagery of Sense. A mourner will try in vain to explain the extent of his bereavement better than to say a chasm is opened in society. I fear the progress of Metaphysical philosophy may be found to consist in nothing else than the progressive introduction of apposite metaphors.

CHINESE

February 1, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 1 of 2 M 1824 / Our Meetings were solemn & quiet, tho' silent all Day - We took tea & set the evening at Father Rodmans - John having gone to [Portsmouth](#) to stay the rest of the Week while we go to [Providence](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting, which we intend to do health & weather permitting.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 2, Monday: Rammohan Roy responded to the Reverend Henry Ware, Sr. that the accounts published in the USA were highly unrealistic, in effect that the bulk of the converts in [India](#) were what we would today term "rice Christians." Conversion to a different religion probably wouldn't be seemly or necessary, because after all, of what is set forth in scripture, that "in every nation he that **feareth** God and worketh righteousness is accepted with him," applies regardless of whatever was the "form of worship he may have been taught to glorify God." However, he elaborated that with the further remark that Christianity, "if properly inculcated, has a greater tendency to improve the moral and political state of mankind, than any other known religious system." His advice would be to concentrate the efforts upon the upper-caste and wealthier Indians (bearing constantly in mind their natural fears that this experiment in an alien faith may cause them to lose their caste standing, a prospect the dangers of which can hardly be exaggerated), and leave the job of spreading the awareness of the gospels among the bulk of the Indians to converts from these groups.

 February 3, Tuesday: In Berlin, Carl Friedrich Zelter publicly announced that his student [Felix Mendelssohn](#) had completed his apprenticeship and called him to the world of independent composers (this was Felix's 15th birthday).

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

3rd day 3 of 2nd M / This Morning got into the Stage with our frd David Buffum & rode to [Providence](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting, we had a pleasant ride & arrived there in season, he going to lodge at Dorcas Browns & I went out to my old friend [Moses Browns](#) where as usual I was kindly rec'd. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 4, Wednesday: There is now an allegation all over the internet, that on this day Boston inventor "J.W. Goodrich" introduced "rubber galoshes" to the public. I do not have any information that corroborates that this person "J.W. Goodrich" actually existed, and I do not have any information that corroborates that anything interesting happened during this year in regard to rubber galoshes, either in Boston or elsewhere. Galoshes had been in use long prior to this year, made sometimes of rubberized cloth, and I think it was only long afterward that the name came to be spelled "galoshes" rather than "goloshes," as in Hans Christian Anderson's 1838 story "The Goloshes of Fortune." If you desire to believe this internet story, please do come up with some corroborating details — such as what the initials "J.W." were supposed to stand for plus a birth date and a death date for said inventor, or such as an actual period advertisement for said product.

L'ajo nell'imbarazzo, a melodramma giocoso by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti after Giraud, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome.

There is still in existence at Cornell Library a document bearing this date. It is a "revocation of snuff," made out by Martha Stanton. The document mentioned that she was a daughter of Stephen and Mary Wanton and the wife of John Stanton, and was witnessed by John Stanton Gould.

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

Our Select Meeting on 4th day was a Solemn favoured time, in which Micajah Collins & several others bore impressive testimonies & Anne A Jenkins in humble reverend supplication. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 5, Thursday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

The Meeting at large on 5th day was a time of deep suffering on acct of Benj Rodman who occupied nearly the whole time in spurious burdensome communication, at three times standing, & little else was said. - the buisness in the last meeting went on pretty well -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Friday: In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

On Sixth day I spent nearly the whole time at the Boarding School



with the committee in hard & exercising service, the subject of Superintendents being discussed - - -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 6, Friday: The US House of Representatives (which apparently had some time on its hands) considered a states-rights proposition offered by Representative Abbot, that the federal Constitution be amended to remove any implication that the central government's power ever might extend so far as, horror of horrors, to bring a non-white person into this for-white-people-only playground.

"That no part of the constitution of the United States ought to be construed, or shall be construed to authorize the importation or ingress of any person of color into any one of the United States, contrary to the laws of such state." Read first and second time and committed to the Committee of the Whole. HOUSE JOURNAL, 18th Congress, 1st session, page 208; ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 18th Congress, 1st session, page 1399.

 February 7, Saturday: Die beiden Neffen oder Der Onkel aus Boston, a singspiel by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of Casper, was performed for the initial time, before a small invited audience at the Mendelssohn residence in Berlin.

After arriving home in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) would write in his journal:

Seventh day Morning we took the Stage & rode [from [Providence](#)] to [Bristol](#) ferry, from whence I walked to Uncle Saml Thurstons, D B. having his chaise sent for him from the latter place I rode into Town with him & am Thankful to be at home this evening, having to acknowledge, favour & enlargement since my absence. -

The beginning of the "Hardscrabble" rioting in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) (mobs of white citizens protected by the police while they destroyed the homes of black citizens: urban gentrification through ethnic cleansing). From the diary of George F. Jencks, a white man of Pawtucket, we learn: "A gang of Ruffins toar down & Destroyed the Negro house on the hill this evening."

Information that is more to the point, about this racism that would culminate in October with a white mob pretending to have been provoked by unwillingness of some black men to step down into the street off the sidewalk to allow them to pass –provoked to the point of tearing apart some 20 black homes in a district off North Main Street known variously as "Addison's Hollow" and as "Hardscrabble"– may be obtained from the late-life autobiography of [William J. Brown](#), then a 10-year-old observer:⁴⁴

PAGES 50-51: 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 fit, and there was no chance for resentment or redress. Mobs were also the order of the day, and the poor colored people were the sufferers.

In the northwest part of the city was a place called Addison

44. For further details you could consult a publication of the time, HARDCRABBLE CALENDAR: REPORT OF THE TRIALS OF OLIVER CUMMINS, NATHANIEL G. METCALF, GILBERT HINES, AND ARTHUR FARRIER, published in Providence "for the purchaser" during 1824.

Hard Scrabble,

OR MISS PHILISES BOBALITION

O Dear dear what can the de matter be,
Dear, dear what can de matter be,

Pomp gone so long from Phillis away ;
He promise to buy me a damask and leghorn,
A Plad and a Crape and Silk Tocking to put on,
And a bunch of fine feather to dress my beaver so gny
O Dear, dear, &c.

O, O, so peaceable late we lib in Hard Scrabble,
'Till routed and driven away by the rabble,
Who 'tack us like furies wid a high-diddle diddle !
Demolish our dwelling, smash Beaurau and Cradle,
My Gin Jug and Spider, my Potrait and Ladle,
My Candlestand, Chairs, and poor Pompey's Fiddle.
O Dear, dear, &c.

O! O! such a time I ncher before see,
De Mohites come wizz! like a flock of mad bumble bee
Rip open my bed and scatter de fedder !
Assail us wid Brick Bat, wid Crowbars and Shovels,
And drove us poor wretches away from our hovels
To seek shelter out door expose to de wether.
O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp and I had juss rupt on a clam and eel custard,
And just topping off wid desert of tose cheese & mustard
When first salutation widout a forewarning—
Ebery window was smash in, and, O, goody gui !
Pomp leap from de table and cry ' Fly Phillis Fly,'
Or we both shall be mutton'd before morrow morning.
O Dear, dear, &c.

O, de next morning such condition our village,
So late de scene of confusion, riot and pillage.
O! it near broke de heart of my poor aged mother !
De chimnies and walls were den totling or falling,
Poor Cato's hut prop't up, and Cezer's lay sprawling,
And ours' goody gui ! nothing left but de cellar !
O Dear, dear, &c.

De mud Clay & brick dust lay so thick in Hard Scrabble
I was 'blige hold up my skirt to prevent it from drabble
And de fields for a mile was spread wid ben fether ;
Here lay my new bedtick and dare Pompey's garter
And my platter and Coffee Cup bury'd in Mortar,
In miscurious ruin all lay together.
O Dear, dear, &c.

Pomp has told me of Earthquakes Squall and Tornadoses
Trenariners, Harricanes, Gusts and Valeunose,
Of battle at sea, and battle on shore ;
Of Turks and of Hottentots, Indians and Moors,
Of Rygers and Crocodiles Lions and Bores,
But he neber fore saw such destruction before.
O Dear, dear, &c.

Some few weeks arter some were reign for a trial,
Dare were Peter and Moses and Jim and Abial,
And some forty or tirty or twenty or so ;
But de damage 'twas judge was by some shock of nature,
Mr. Nobody did it ! O what a wile creature,
So de court find um No Guilty and tell um to go.
O dear what a Rogue Mr. Nobody.

Mr. Nobody, wretch ! some invisible d-r-l
De biggest brick block in a moment he level
See what he did bout tre months ago :
He demolish a bilding near four stories high,
And level the whole in a twink of an eye,
Pray who did it ! Why Nobody know.
O dear, dear, &c.

I guess it best now for us brack folks be easy,
And no longer live lives immoral and lazy,
But gain honest living by sweat ob our brow ;
Depend on't de white folk won't den trouble or 'tack us,
But de good people of Providence will always respec us,
As they are wont to respec all good people now.
O dear, dear, &c.

So Miss Boston keep home your lazy black rabble,
Nor compel them seek shelter again at Hard Scrabble,
For every maggots should stick to be core ;
For should they visit us gain they may find it foul wether
We've plenty of Tar and de ground cover'd wid Fether
And we've Pitch to pitch you all out of door.
O dear, dear, &c.

So while Pomp earn a little by honest day labour,
I'll wash and make soap for some of my neighbour,
And lib by industry as honest folks do :
Pomp throw by your Fiddle & I'll smash de Gin Bottle
And soon we'll be able to build up our hovel
And more steady course we both will pursue.
O dear, dear, and so fort.



Hollow, but was nicknamed Hardscrabble. A great many colored people purchased land there, because it was some distance from town, and hence quite cheap. They put up small houses for themselves, and earned their living in various ways. They could be seen almost any time, with their saw-horse, standing, some on the Great Bridge, some on Shingle Bridge, and some on Mill Bridge, waiting for work. As hard coal was not known at that time (except Liverpool coal,) everybody used wood. Some men did jobs of gardening and farming.

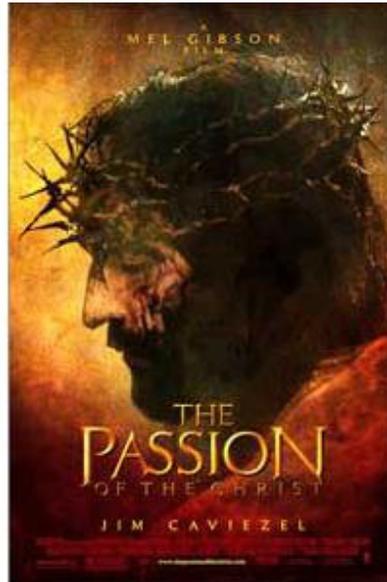
A man named Addison built houses, and rented to any one who would give him his price. As he rented cheap, people of bad character hired of him, and these drew a class of bad men and women, so that the good were continually being molested, having no protection. At last disturbances became so common that they raised a mob, and drove many from their houses, then tore them down, took their furniture -what little they had- carried it to Pawtucket, and sold it at auction. This was done late in the fall. One colored man named Christopher Hall, a widower with three or four children, a pious man, bearing a good character, and supported himself and family by sawing wood, had his house torn down by the rougns and stripped of its contents. He drew the roof over the cellar, and lived in it all winter. The people tried in vain to coax him out, and offered him a house to live in. Many went to see the ruins, among them some white ladies, who offered to take his children and bring them up, but he would not let them go. In the spring following he went to Liberia, on the western coast of Africa. Not long after this there was another mob, commenced at the west end of Olney Street. Here were a number of houses built and owned by white men, and rented to any one, white or colored, who wanted to hire one or more rooms, rent payable weekly. Some of these places had bar-rooms, where liquors were dealt out, and places where they sold cakes, pies, doughnuts, etc. These they called cooky stands. In some houses dancing and fiddling was the order of the day. It soon became dangerous for one to pass through there in the day time that did not belong to their gang, or patronize them. Most all sailors who came into port would be introduced into Olney Street by some one who had an interest that way. I remember when a boy, passing up one day to my father's garden, which was on that street, in company with two other boys, looking at the people as we passed along. Some were sitting at the windows, some in their doorway, some singing, some laughing, some gossiping, some had their clay furnaces in front of their houses, cooking, and seeing us looking at them, said "What are you gawking at, you brats?" hurling a large stone at the same time, and we were obliged to run for our lives. This street had a correspondence with all the sailor boarding houses in town, and was sustained by their patronage. Vessels of every description were constantly entering our port, and sailing crafts were seen from the south side of the Great Bridge to India Point. It was the great shipping port of New England in those days, and although the smallest of all the States, Rhode Island was regarded as among the wealthiest, the Quakers occupying a large portion of the State.

February 8, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 8th of 2 M 1824 / Silent Meetings & to me poor low seasons - the first was as well attended as common, but the Afternoon very small in consequence of the Walking -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 9, Monday: Finally [Anne Catherine Emmerich](#) got her reward (which is to say, she died, with no more needing to subsist on communion wafers and water while picking at bleeding skin sores, no more recreating and recreating the passion of Christ in her imagination).



CATHOLICISM

She would be able to see her triumphant Lord face to face (next screen):

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

2nd day 9th of 2 M / "Distressed but not in despair" but the present times seems as much like both, as any thing that has been known for some time. - Last night after I had gone up stairs to go to bed, I was called down by J Williams & consulted about the proper steps for him to take relative to the affairs of the Williams's, who it appears was broke upon, & theirs, & their late Fathers effects attached, but my limited knowledge of such proceedings renderd my assistance useless. -- It appears this Morning & today, that their affairs are in a miserable condition, that they are greatly involved & that many are likely to suffer by them. - this casts a gloom on all around, but things are as they are, & it is out of the power of any one to do much to make them better

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 10, Tuesday: The Peruvian congress acclaimed [Simón Bolívar](#) as dictator of Peru.



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 February 12, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 12th of 2 M 1824 / a small meeting & silent, the walking very bad & several of our friends are indisposed with colds. – Many are distressed with late events, their countenances are heac & mine is among the number. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 15, Sunday: Following the new principle of nomination just tested a few years earlier by Andrew Jackson, the legislature of the home state of Secretary of State John Quincy Adams nominated their favorite son to run for the office of President of the United States of America. Objections to such a nomination procedure, such as that it would provide greater power to large states than to small states, had begun to be ignored.

[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) has an epileptic seizure.

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

1st day 15th of 2nd M 1824 / Silent meetings & seasons of mental labour In the evening visited Abigail Robinson. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 16, Monday: In the rooms of the Royal Society in London, a committee met to create a “Club for scientific and literary men and Artists” that would be known as the [Athenaeum](#).

The town of Lincoln enacted a prohibition of fishing with more than one hook between December 1st and April, with a fine of \$2. This would have applied in particular to Flint’s Pond or Sandy Pond, which was their largest body of water and most productive source of pickerel.

Lincoln lies about three miles an a half southeasterly from [Concord](#), and is bounded southwesterly by East Sudbury, southerly by Weston, southeasterly by Waltham, easterly by Lexington, northerly by Bedford [BEDFORD](#), and northwesterly by Concord. Its greatest length is about five miles, and greatest breadth three and a half, nearly; and it contains about 7000 acres. It has all the varieties of soil from the richest to the poorest. Though rough and uneven, it contains some of the best farms in the county. The most celebrated is that known at different times as the Russell, Codman, and Percival farm. Farming constitutes the principal employment of the inhabitants. The hill on which the meeting-house stands is 470 feet above high water mark in [Boston](#). Two other hills, one 370 and the other 328 feet high, lie near the Lexington bounds.

Flint’s or Sandy Pond, the only considerable collection of water, contains, according to the estimate of the Hon. Samuel Hoar,⁴⁵ 197 acres. It derives its name from the first owner, being situated in the farm of Ephraim Flint, one of the principal owners of Lincoln. This pond is a favorite resort for pickerel; and its fisheries have been considered of sufficient importance to require the interference of the Legislature to regulate them. An Act was passed February 16, 1824, prohibiting any person,

45. Hon. Samuel Hoar, Lt. William Lawrence, and Mr. Nathan Weston, were chosen a committee August 21, 1794, to take a plan of the town [of Lincoln] agreeably to a resolve of the General Court the previous June, to be deposited in the Secretary’s office.

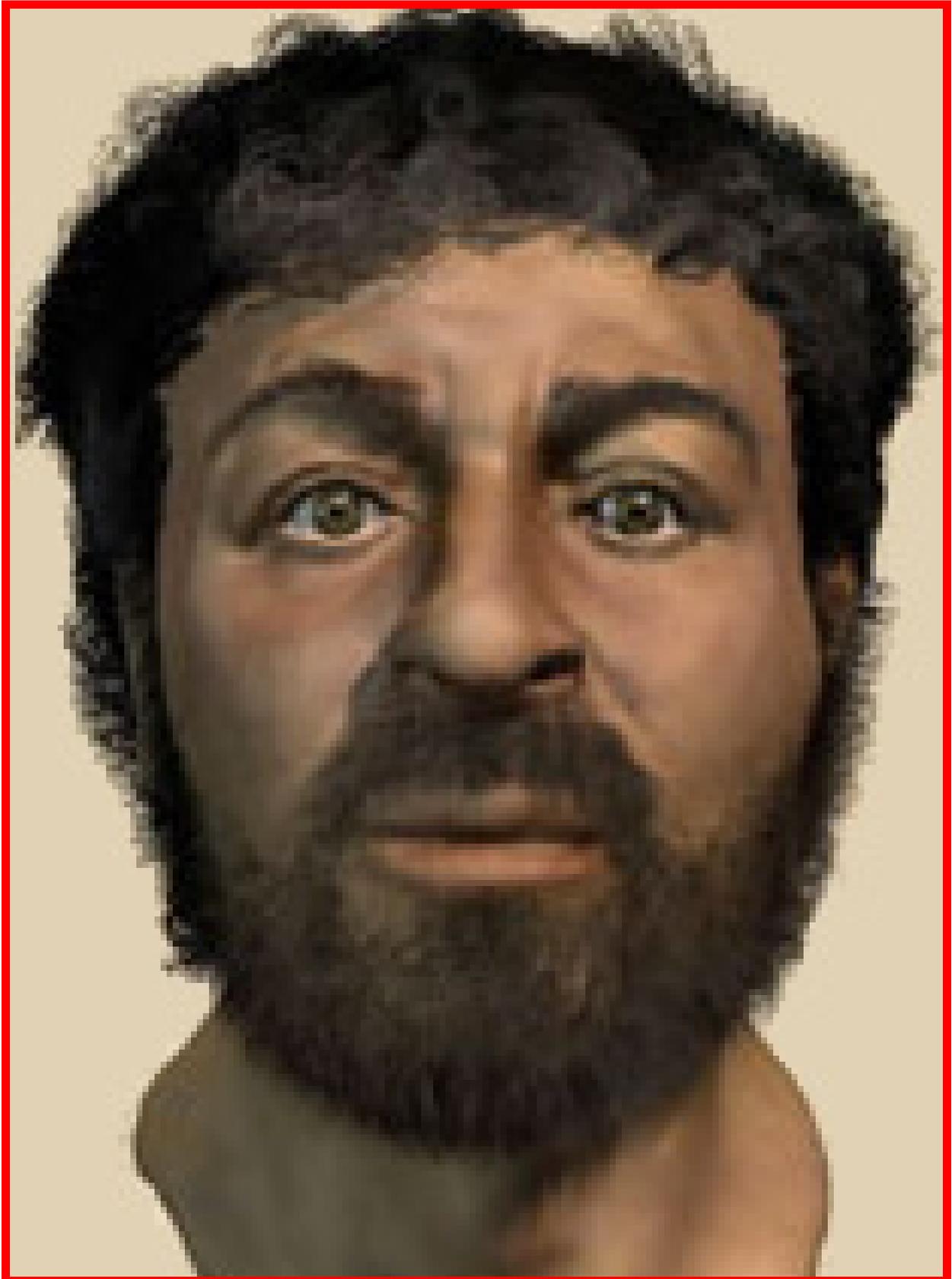
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WHAT?

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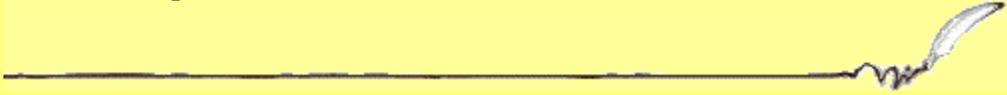


under penalty of \$2, from fishing with "more than one hook"! between the first of December and April; providing, however, that the town [of Lincoln] may repeal its operation for one year at a time. This pond is the source of Stony Brook, and receives Lilly Brook, the outlet of *Beaver Pond*, lying near the south line, and containing about 50 acres; and it flows into Charles River at the northwest corner of Waltham. Its waters also have flowed by an artificial channel, made, as is supposed, for the benefit of the Mill which once stood in the centre of Concord, by Mill Brook into Concord River.⁴⁶

 February 17, Tuesday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) accepted an invitation to address the Freemasons of New Orleans, about his adventures.

[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Pliny's uncle had a slave read while he eat [sic]. In the progress of Watt & Perkin's philosophy the day may come when the scholar shall be provided with a Reading Steam Engine; when he shall say Presto - & it shall discourse eloquent history - & Stop Sesame & it shall hush to let him think. He shall put in a pin, & hear poetry; & two pins, & hear a song. that age will discover Laputa.



PLINY

 February 18, Wednesday: Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

I had hoped to be married this month, but still this question of religion. The Archbishop of Baltimore declines to marry us if there is a Protestant ceremony.

 February 19, Thursday: Rochester, New York's first bank, the Bank of Rochester, was chartered.

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

*5th day 19th of 2 M / Silent Meeting again, it was a solid meeting & attended by nearly all our members who are in health to attend. -
In the last Preparative, My cousin Joseph Greene requested a certificate to proceed in Marriage with Sarah Collins - At the age of 64 Years seems late in life to enter into a connection of that kind for the first time, but in his situation, the saying*

46. [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.)

"better late than never" may well apply

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 21, Saturday: The Chumash began a revolt against Spanish intrusion along the California coast.

February 22, Sunday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 22nd of 2 M / Very Stormy day, small meetings & silent -& to me low poor times - except towards the close of the Afternoon sitting a little life sprung up -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 24, Tuesday: The Chumash revolt against Spanish intrusion along the California coast was crushed.

February 24, Tuesday: George William Curtis was born in Providence, Rhode Island to George Curtis and Mary Elizabeth Burrill Curtis.



Lord Amherst, the British governor general of India, declared war on Burma.

The Convention of 1824 Amending the Treaty of August 1797, and March 26, 1799 with Tunis.

READ THE FULL TEXT

February 25, Wednesday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 25th of 2nd M / This forenoon I was innoculated for the Kine Pock by Doctor Dunn - this is the third time the experiment

has been tried on me, the two former ones, appearing to have been unsuccessful producing no symptoms nor sore Arm, larger than a pins head, yet I find a small scar from one of the incisions - the Small pox being now prevalent, & very mortal in some places, is an inducement to try again & if possible rescue myself from so serious & destructive malady to mankind. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 26, Thursday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) received a petition by 30 musicians, publishers, and other admirers, requesting a performance of his newest works.

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

5th day 26 of 2 M / For several days & particularly yesterday I have been quite unwell with a hevy cold, some fever & a rheumatic pain in my knee which was very tedious last night - which prevents my attendance of our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held in [Portsmouth](#) - My heart is with my friends now assembled there, to transact the weighty & important concerns of the Church. but such was the situation of my health that I could not think it prudent to go. -

Yesterday Afternoon we had the company of Wm R Thurston of NYork to tea & a call from him this morning - He is here on buisness expecting to leave for home this Afternoon or tomorrow -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 27, Friday: Gioachino Rossini signed a contract with the French government at the French embassy in London. He agreed to stay in France for one year, and write new operas for the Theatre-Italien and the Opera as well as produce his older operas.



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

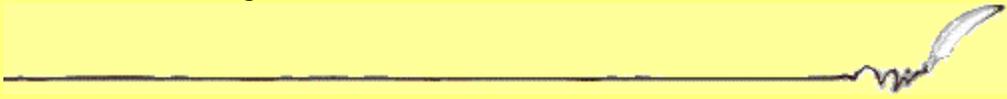
1st day 29th of 2nd M 1824 / Our Morning meeting was larger than usual a solemn quiet opportunity, & our frd David Buffum much engaged to invite the people to a serious attention to things which make for peace, instancing Martha & Mary - the former being much cumbered & the latter choosing the good part -I have heard him many times, greatly to the edification of the Meeting, but perhaps never more in gospel Authority. - In the Afternoon we were silent & as usual small

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February-March: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*I notice that Words are as much governed by Fashion as dress, both in written & spoken style. A negro said of another today "That's a **curious genius.**"*



MARCH

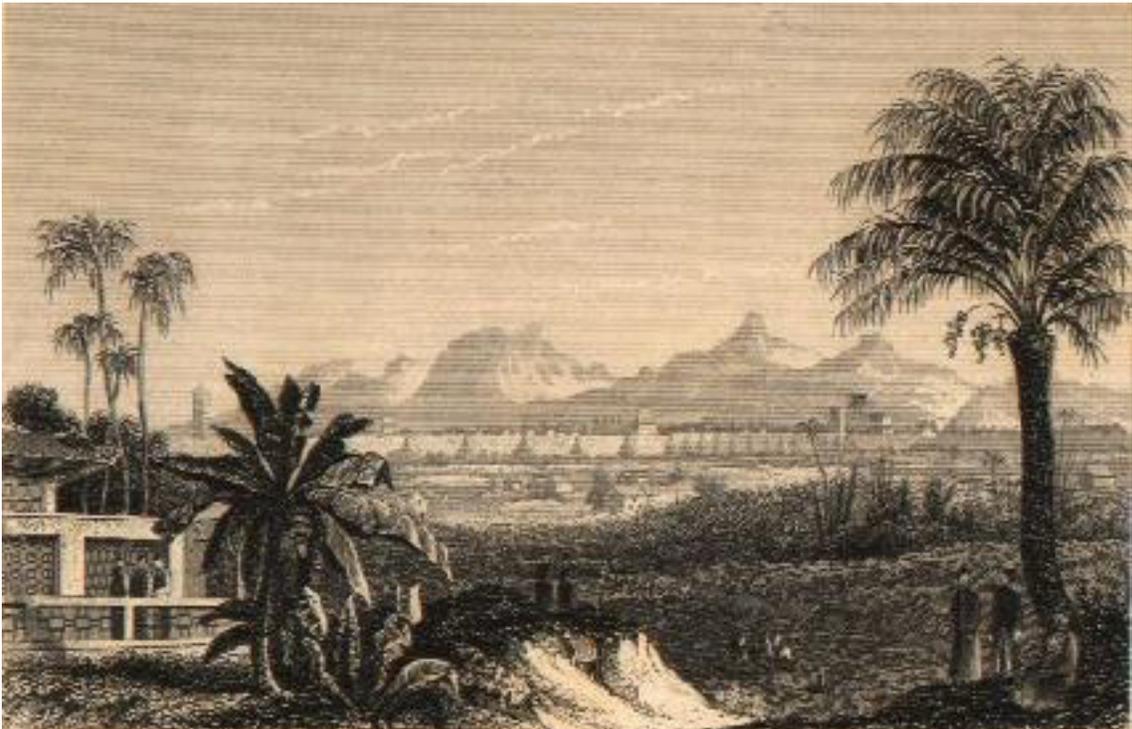
March: Samuel Taylor Coleridge was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Literature, which meant that he would begin to receive this annuity in supplement of his Wedgewood annuity.

NEW POETRY OF 1824

A fire broke out at the New-York boatyard of Adam and Noah Brown. A vain attempt was made to launch all ships currently on the stocks. Firemen were driven back by the flames and several were forced to jump into the East River to save themselves. The fire engine Black Joke No. 33 (named for a Revolutionary-period sloop out of Albany) was destroyed, as was the entire boatyard.

March: Waldo Emerson had recourse in his journal, in this year in which a prisoner would hang in Boston for murder, to the very available metaphor of hanging as a conventional vehicle for the expression of contempt or annoyance toward China and things Chinese:

The Celestial Empire - hang the Celestial Empire! I hate Pekin. I will not drink of the waters of the Yellow Sea... I hate China. 'Tis a tawdry vase. Out upon China. Words! Words.



Nowadays, of course, to express such a sentiment of contempt or annoyance, we would likely utilize instead

of a piss metaphor, “drink the waters of the Yellow Sea,” a sexual metaphor that would be equally questionable, and exclaim “China — fuck China! I hate Beijing.”⁴⁷



How different this is from the manner in which Thoreau would speak of the Celestial Empire:

WALDEN: I have always endeavored to acquire strict business habits; they are indispensable to every man. If your trade is with the Celestial Empire, then some small counting house on the coast, in some Salem harbor, will be fixture enough. You will export such articles as the country affords, purely native products, much ice and pine timber and a little granite, always in native bottoms. These will be good ventures. To oversee all the details yourself in person; to be at once pilot and captain, and owner and underwriter; to buy and sell and keep the accounts; to read every letter received, and write or read every letter sent; to superintend the discharge of imports night and day; to be upon many parts of the coast almost at the same time; -often the richest freight will be discharged upon a Jersey shore;- to be your own telegraph, unweariedly sweeping the horizon, speaking all passing vessels bound coastwise; to keep up a steady despatch of commodities, for the supply of such a distant and exorbitant market; to keep yourself informed of the state of the markets, prospects of war and peace every where, and anticipate the tendencies of trade and civilization, -taking advantage of the results of all exploring expeditions, using new passages and all improvements in navigation;- charts to be studied, the position of reefs and new lights and buoys to be ascertained, and ever, and ever, the logarithmic tables to be corrected, for by the error of some calculator the vessel often splits upon a rock that should have reached a friendly pier, -there is the untold fate of La Perouse;- universal science to be kept pace with, studying the lives of all great discoverers and navigators, great adventurers and merchants, from Hanno and the Phoenicians down to our day; in fine, account of stock to be taken from time to time, to know how you stand. It is a labor to task the faculties of a man, - such problems of profit and loss, of interest, of tare and tret, and gauging of all kinds in it, as demand a universal knowledge.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

JEAN-FRANÇOIS DE GALOUP

47. Actually, my sister-in-law, who as a simultaneous translator used to have to fly CAAC into Beijing several times a year, used to be saying this constantly — Cantonese has a whole lot of very expressive swear words.

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I offer, however, that it is worth taking into account, in this Emersonian usage of the expression “[hang](#)” to express contempt or annoyance, “hang the Celestial Empire,” that hanging is not only a practice of American state murder, but is also a practice of American household torture. For instance, in this same year of 1824 in which Emerson is sitting in his study in [Concord](#) employing that locution in his journal, farther south, at Holm

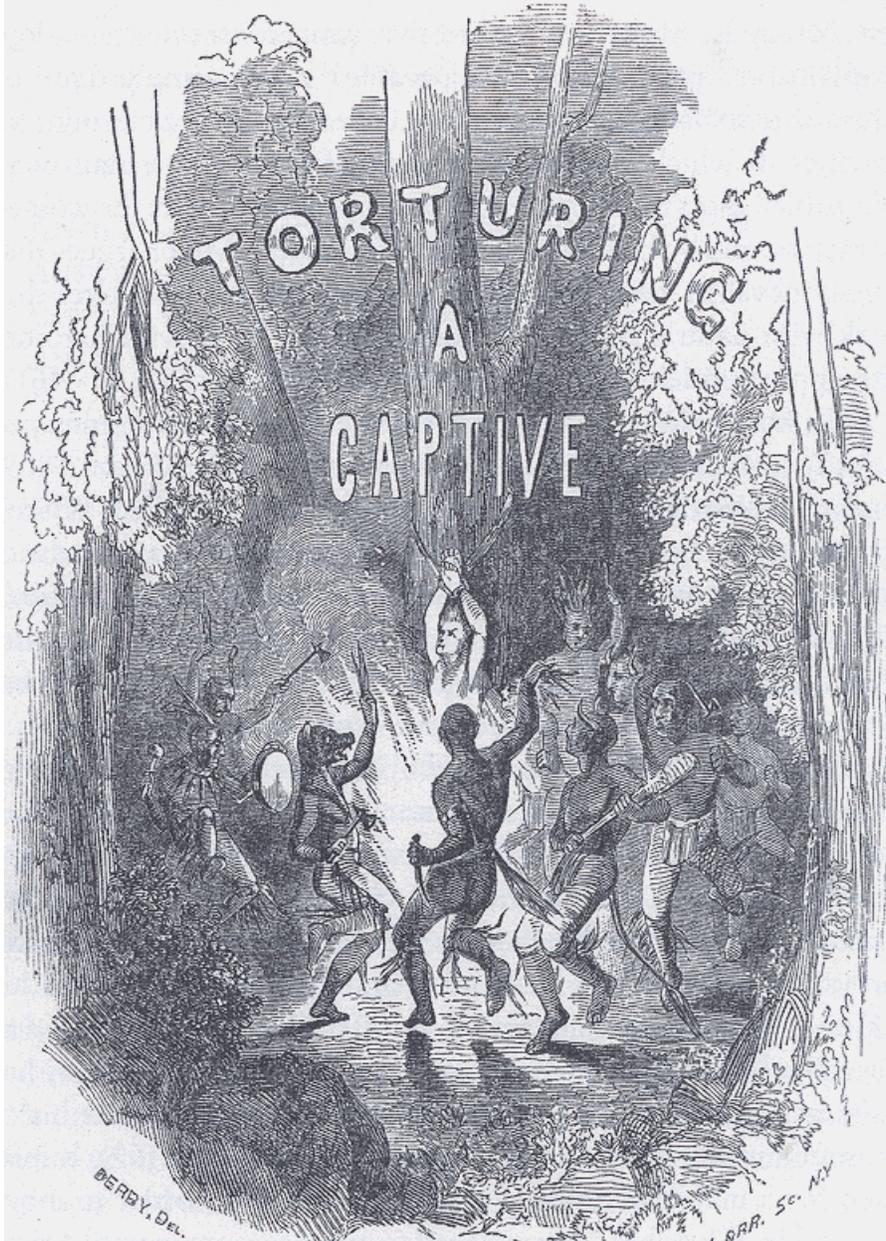


Hill Farm where he had been born to Lloyd Plantation on the Wye River, a six-year-old slave named Freddy (later to be better known under the name Frederick Douglass) is observing his young and pretty Aunt Hester being tortured by Aaron Anthony –the white owner who, apparently, was Freddy’s father– by being suspended

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from a joist in the kitchen and horse-whipped.



The child notices how his father/owner rolls up his sleeves before beginning to lash his aunt. He runs and hides in a closet not so much out of horror at the sight of the splattering gore, he says, as out of terror of being himself suspended and whipped, for as a child would see such things primally, “I expected it would be my turn next”

to be thus hung from the kitchen ceiling and lashed:



The louder she screamed, the harder he whipped; and where the blood ran fastest, there he whipped longest. He would whip her to make her scream, and whip her to make her hush; and not until overcome by fatigue, would he cease to swing the blood-clotted cowskin. I remember the first time I ever witnessed this horrible exhibition. I was quite a child, but I well remember it. I never shall forget it whilst I remember any thing.



March: [Friend Mary Rotch](#) was “frozen out” of the group of elders by the [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) meeting of [Quakers](#) despite the fact that 19 of the members of this monthly meeting were in disunity with such a shunning.⁴⁸

When, in this timeframe, the grave of the recently buried [Anne Catherine Emmerich](#) was opened for inspection, her body was characterized as still fresh and without any visible signs of corruption.



Was this miracle a sign of God’s favor? Was God discovering a way to pass along to us from “the other side” a coded message about Sister Anne’s specialness?

CATHOLICISM



March 1, Monday: Digging began on a new canal system, [New Jersey](#)’s [Morris Canal](#), to link New-York with the Delaware River and the Lehigh River.

48. To have become effective, a “disownment” would have needed to be approved by the Quarterly Meeting and I have found no record of any such action.



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 March 2, Shrove Tuesday: Bedrich Smetana was born in Litomysl, Bohemia, east of Prague, son of Frantisek Smetana, a cooper, barrel binder and master brewer in service to several noblemen, and Barbora Lynkova, daughter of a coachman. The child was the 3d of his mother's 10 children (11th of his father's 18).

In the United States of America, interstate commerce came under federal control due to the ruling of the Supreme Court in the case of [Gibbons v. Ogden](#). (What had happened was that in the late 1780s the state of New York had awarded a monopoly on steamboat [STEAMBOAT](#) navigation to Robert Fulton and Robert Livingston, but eventually the federal government had issued a trade license to Thomas Gibbons to operate a steamboat. The issue was whether or not such a federal license would supercede such a state-granted monopoly in the case of boats traveling generally — and the national court of course held that it did.)

 March 3, Wednesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 3rd of 3rd M 1824 / Our friend Isaac Stevenson from England was at [Portsmouth](#) Meeting today - & is this evening at David Buffums where I went to see him Br Dodman taking Richard, R's Mary & John along with us. - He seems to be a friend of the true stamp, his company was very pleasant & rendered more so, being a particular & intimate acquaintance of my frd & correspondent Thos Thompson of Liverpool. - He is to be at our Meeting tomorrow & Dines with us. -

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 March 4, Thursday: The "[National Institution for the Preservation of Life from Shipwreck](#) was founded in the United Kingdom, to be renamed in 1858 The Royal National Lifeboat Institution.

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

5th day 4th of 3 M / At meeting, which was attended by many besides our own members, Isaac Stevenson was engaged in very acceptable testimony - at the close of it a meeting was appointed at 6 OC in the evening, the Middle & Winter apartments of the House were filled & the Gospel was preached in the demonstrations & power of it, greatly to the satisfaction & I have no doubt to the edification of Many of the Auditory, who were very still & reverently attendtive - Isaac Dined with us, with his Companion Saml Wood, They took tea at Father Rodmans, & lodge tonight at J Dennis's who waits on them to [Bristol](#) & [Warren](#) tomorrow where they intend to Appoint Meetings.-

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

 March 5, Friday: After Burmese forces capture the Island of Shahpuri, which was claimed by the East India Company, the British Governor General Lord Amhurst declared war on Burma.

James Merritt Ives, lithographer (of Currier & Ives fame) was born.

 March 6, Saturday: Maria Szymanowska, embarking on a 3-year concert tour of Europe, gave her initial performance in a private salon in Paris.

Caroline Rebecca Ball was born, 2d child of [Nehemiah Ball](#) and Mary Merriam Ball.

 March 7, Sunday: Il crociato in Egitto, a melodramma eroico by [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) to words of Rossi, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro La Fenice, Venice.

Florida relocated its capital from St. Augustine to Tallahassee.

Prince Louis-Philippe sponsored a concert by Franz Liszt before a large and illustrious audience in the Theatre-Italien, Paris. The reviewer of Le Drapeau wrote that he had been “convinced that the soul and spirit of [Mozart](#) have passed into the body of young Liszt.”

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

1st day 7th of 3 M / Meetings as well attended as usual & both silent. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 9, Tuesday: The town of Sunderland in Durham, England, where an iron bridge had been erected over the river Wear commencing on September 24, 1793 and finishing on August 9, 1796, was on this night first lighted by gas.

Leland Stanford was born.

NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE MARCH 9TH, 1824 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST). THIS LELAND STANFORD WOULD GROW UP TO BECOME A GOVERNOR, AND A SENATOR, AND FOUND STANFORD UNIVERSITY, BUT AT THIS POINT APPEARS AS MERELY ANOTHER FECKLESS HUMAN INFANT.

 March 11, Thursday: An [Office of Indian Affairs](#) was organized, within the Department of War of the US of course, with Ely S. Parker, a member of the Seneca tribe, as its initial director. (This bureau would not be transferred to the Department of the Interior until 1849, and would not become the Bureau of Indian Affairs until 1947.)

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

*5th day 11th of 3 M / Being quite unwell part of yesterday & last night from the effect of Medicine I am unfit to be at Meeting today
It hardly seemed as if I should add much to the weight of the Meeting if I had gone – but have been favoured with some precious feelings while sitting alone in my shop – for which I desire to be thankful*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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 March 12, Friday: [Gustav Robert Kirchhoff](#) was born.

 March 13, Saturday: Great Britain proposed to enter into a convention with the United States of America to work in tandem to suppress the [international slave trade](#).

Art. I. "The commanders and commissioned officers of each of the two high contracting parties, duly authorized, under the regulations and instructions of their respective Governments, to cruize on the coasts of Africa, of America [see below], and of the West Indies, for the suppression of the slave trade," shall have the power to seize and bring into port any vessel owned by subjects of the two contracting parties, found engaging in the slave-trade. The vessel shall be taken for trial to the country where she belongs.

Art. II. Provides that even if the vessel seized does not belong to a citizen or citizens of either of the two contracting parties, but is chartered by them, she may be seized in the same way as if she belonged to them.

Art. III. Requires that in all cases where any vessel of either party shall be boarded by any naval officer of the other party, on suspicion of being concerned in the slave-trade, the officer shall deliver to the captain of the vessel so boarded a certificate in writing, signed by the naval officer, specifying his rank, etc., and the object of his visit. Provision is made for the delivery of ships and papers to the tribunal before which they are brought.

Art. IV. Limits the Right of Search, recognized by the Convention, to such investigation as shall be necessary to ascertain the fact whether the said vessel is or is not engaged in the slave-trade. No person shall be taken out of the vessel so visited unless for reasons of health.

Art. V. Makes it the duty of the commander of either nation, having captured a vessel of the other under the treaty, to receive unto his custody the vessel captured, and send or carry it into some port of the vessel's own country for adjudication, in which case triplicate declarations are to be signed, etc.

Art. VI. Provides that in cases of capture by the officer of either party, on a station where no national vessel is cruising, the captor shall either send or carry his prize to some convenient port of its own country for adjudication, etc.

Art. VII. Provides that the commander and crew of the captured vessel shall be proceeded against as pirates, in the ports to which they are brought, etc.

Art. VIII. Confines the Right of Search, under this treaty, to such officers of both parties as are especially authorized to execute the laws of their countries in regard to the slave-trade. For every abusive exercise of this right, officers are to be personally liable in costs and damages, etc.

Art. IX. Provides that the government of either nation shall inquire into abuses of this Convention and of the laws of the two countries, and inflict on guilty officers the proper punishment.



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Art. X. Declares that the right, reciprocally conceded by this treaty, is wholly and exclusively founded on the consideration that the two nations have by their laws made the slave-trade piracy, and is not to be taken to affect in any other way the rights of the parties, etc.; it further engages that each power shall use its influence with all other civilized powers, to procure from them the acknowledgment that the slave-trade is piracy under the law of nations.

Art. XI. Provides that the ratifications of the treaty shall be exchanged at London within twelve months, or as much sooner as possible. Signed by Mr. Rush, Minister to the Court of St. James, March 13, 1824.

(The above is a synopsis of the convention as it would be considered by the US Senate. This would be ratified only with conditions, one of which was that the duration of this convention should be limited to the pleasure of the two parties on six months' notice; another was that the Right of Search should be limited to the African and West Indian seas: i.e., the word "America" was struck out. This convention as amended and approved in the US Senate would be rejected by Great Britain. The striking out of the word "America" was declared to be the insuperable objection. A counter convention would be suggested, but would not be acceptable to the United States. SENATE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress, 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 15-20; NILES'S REGISTER, 3rd Series, XXVI. 230-2. For the proceedings in the US Senate, see AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. 360-2.)

 March 13, Saturday: Carlo Ludovico, son of Duchess Maria Luisa, became Duke of Parma.

 March 14, Sunday: Franz Schubert's String Quartet D.804 was performed for the initial time, in the Hall of the Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna.

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

1st day 14 of 3 M 1824 / Meeting (save a short offering) was silent in the Morning. - In the Afternoon Jonathon & Hannah Dennis both had a little to say, but both Meetings were low times, the seed was low & under suffering. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 17, Wednesday: Great Britain and the Netherlands signed the [Treaty of London](#) dividing control of the East Indies. The Netherlands would control Sumatra, Java, Maluku, Irian Jaya, and adjacent islands while the British would control Malaya and Singapore and retain an interest in North Borneo. Nominally, Aceh would be independent.

The 1st part of Franz Schubert's song cycle Die schone Mullerin, to words of Muller, was published.

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

5th day 18 of 3 M / My mind in the forefront of the Meeting was favoured with a little life, but I have been a long time poor &



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low. – O Lord, help, help. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

At last all is settled. Monsieur Pascault is disgusted with the behaviour of the Archbishop, and has written to him to the effect that he will entirely dispense with the services of the Church of Rome, that his daughter will be married in the Protestant Church. He added that a wife's first duty was to obey her husband.

 March 19, Friday: [William Allingham](#) was born near Ballyshannon, County Donegal, [Ireland](#), as a son of a bank manager.

Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto replaced Joaquim Pedro Gomes de Oliveira as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

In New York, David How, a white farmer, was [hanged](#) for murder.

 March 20, Saturday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Message from the President ... in relation to the Suppression of the African Slave Trade." –HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18 Cong. 1 sess. VI. No. 119. (Contained correspondence on the proposed treaty of 1824.)

 March 21, Sunday: In Cairo, [Egypt](#), a fire broke out, perhaps in the palace of Mehemet Ali near the arsenal, and spread. At about sunset a magazine of gunpowder exploded with a shock that was felt throughout the city. Fearing further explosions, a number of notables took shelter at the British consulate of Henry Salt, while other city residents fled to the western Nile and into surrounding gardens.

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

1st day 21 of 3rd M / Both Meetings silent the Afternoon was a season of some favour, for which I desire to be thankful & bow in humility before Him who dispenceth all good, & that often by giving us a sense of our wants [deficiencies]. – As we came home from Meeting in the Afternoon I rec'd a letter from our frd [Moses Brown](#) dated 18th inst giving an acct of P Hunt & supposing it would be agreeable to David Buffum I immediately sent John out to his house to carry it for his perusal – Sister Ruth took tea with us –after which we all spent the evening at Cousin Henry Goulds.–

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 22, Monday: Following the munitions explosion during the previous sunset, much of the city of Cairo, [Egypt](#) burned. It would be estimated that some 5,000 humans and 4,000 horses lost their lives in the massive detonation and subsequent general conflagration.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

 March 25, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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5th day 25 of 3 M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held in Town was about as large as usual, the first meeting was silent – In the last there was considerable buisness in the usual way, & nothing out of the usual course, tho' some of it was of an exercising nature. – Our Company at Dinner were S Fowler, E Lawton, P Lawton Z Chase G Dennis L Dennis

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 27, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 27th of 3rd M / This Afternoon rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Aunt Stanton & took John along to spent a little time with Cousin B Marshall & his son John who arrived from NYork Last night & went out this morning – First Day Walked from Uncle Stantons to Meeting, Benj Marshall in company - Uncle Aunt & my John rode in the Waggon. – It was to me a good Meeting & a pretty good day, tho' low in feelings – Mary Hicks preached a little in a solid weighty manner - & Ruth Freeborn was engaged in a lively pertinent testimony – In the Afternoon Br Isaac came out to Uncle Stantons with whom I rode home, & left John & David as company for John Marshall. – Found Thos Hornsby no better & Aunt Nancy Carpenter quite unwell. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 March 29, Monday: The New York House of Refuge, for New-York juvenile delinquents, was incorporated.

 March 31, Wednesday: Franz Schubert wrote to Leopold Kupelweiser about finding himself “the most wretched and unhappy creature in the world.” He despaired over his health which “will never be right again,” his hopes which “have come to nothing,” and his “passion for beauty” which “threatens to forsake” him. “...every night, when I go to bed, I hope I may not wake again, and every morning only recalls yesterday’s grief.”

Great Britain began to consider engaging in the [international slave trade](#) as amounting to [piracy](#). Nothing might redeem the sort of person who would commit such an offense.

“Any person engaging in the slave-trade “shall be deemed and adjudged guilty of Piracy, Felony and Robbery, and being convicted thereof shall suffer Death without Benefit of Clergy, and Loss of Lands, Goods and Chattels, as Pirates, Felons and Robbers upon the Seas ought to suffer,” etc. STATUTE 5 GEORGE IV., Chapter 17; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. 342.

SPRING 1824

 Spring: ANNA ROSS: THE ORPHAN OF WATERLOO. Soon would follow ANDREW CAMPBELL’S VISIT TO HIS IRISH COUSINS and THE WORD OF GOD, OR THE WORD OF MAN: ADDRESSED TO IRISH CATHOLICS, BY A FRIEND IN SCOTLAND (W. Oliphant). The author, [Grace Kennedy](#), fell ill.

 Spring: John Dickens was committed to Marshalsea Prison for debt. The family (except for Charles Dickens at the shoe-blackening factory) joined him in lodgings at the facility. About his mother's refusal to allow him to quit his job in order to resume his education, Dickens would later comment "I never can forget."

APRIL

 April: The Brockport/Rochester section of the [Erie Canal](#) opened.

Manhattan Company superintendent John Lozier lowered his estimate of possible new customers for his new 25-foot-diameter surface-water well at the corner of what has become Reade Street and Centre Street, pumping that surface water into a 550,000-gallon reservoir on Chambers Street by the power of two 18-horsepower steam engines (operated 16 hours per day) and distributing it through 23 miles of hollowed-log pipes, to 1,000, while guaranteeing to those who would sign up an uninterrupted supply of water. At an annual rate of \$12 only a few would be able to subscribe to this water service, but this was the situation that would obtain on Manhattan Island for some three decades. The New-York Common Council considered the plan that canal engineer Canvass White had submitted on January 3d for obtaining water out of the Bronx River and eventually out of the Byram River by the force of gravity alone, and paid him his fee of \$1,100 but then shelved his proposals. The assembly favored a competing plan by educator John Griscom to create a New-York Water-Works, but the legislative sessions would end with no action taken.

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April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Aimable Socorro*, master Castello, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at the port of Havana, Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
RACE SLAVERY



April 1, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1st of 4th M 1824 / Meeting rather small, but silent & comfortable Some of the Worthies absent at [New Bedford](#) Quarterly Meeting this Day held. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



At Hartford, Connecticut, Eli Todd opened the doors of the Connecticut Retreat for the Insane for its 1st patients. The name and philosophy of treatment of this institution was to be patterned after the humane practices of the York Retreat in England. This institution is now known as the Institute of Living.⁴⁹

PSYCHOLOGY

A board was chosen to study the feasibility of a [canal](#) from the Susquehanna River to Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Early on during the 1823/1824 session of the federal Congress, a bill had been introduced into the House of Representatives to comprehensively revise the acts pertaining to duties on imports, in order more fully to protect domestic producers. The bill had become the subject of a protracted debate engaging the talent of both political parties. Mr. Webster had taken an active part in that discussion, but the friends of the bill had not been able, or had been unwilling, to put it into a condition in which Webster would support it. Speaker of the House Henry Clay having addressed the representatives sitting as a Committee of the Whole on March 30/31, on this day it was the turn of Representative [Daniel Webster](#).⁵⁰

MR. CHAIRMAN, – I will avail myself of the present occasion to make some remarks on certain principles and opinions which have been recently advanced, and on those considerations which, in my judgment, ought to govern us in deciding upon the several and respective parts of this very important and complex measure. I can truly say that this is a painful duty. I deeply regret the necessity which is likely to be imposed upon me of giving a general affirmative or negative vote on the whole of the bill. I cannot but think this mode of proceeding liable to great objections. It exposes both those who support and those who oppose the measure to very unjust and injurious misapprehensions. There may be good reasons for favoring some of the provisions of the bill, and equally strong reasons for opposing others; and these provisions do not stand to each other in the relation of principal and incident. If that were the case, those who are in favor of the principal might forego their opinions upon incidental and subordinate provisions. But the bill proposes enactments entirely distinct and different from one another in character and tendency. Some of its clauses are intended merely for revenue; and of those which regard the protection of home manufactures, one part stands upon very different grounds from those of other parts. So that probably every gentleman who may ultimately support the bill will vote for much which his judgment does not approve; and those who oppose it will oppose something which they would very gladly support.

Being intrusted with the interests of a district highly commercial, and deeply interested in manufactures also, I wish to state my opinions on the present measure, not as on a whole, for it has no entire and homogeneous character, but as on a collection of different enactments, some of which meet my approbation and some of which do not.

And allow me, Sir, in the first place, to state my regret, if indeed I ought not to express a warmer sentiment, at the names

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

50. 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).



or designations which Mr. Speaker⁵¹ has seen fit to adopt for the purpose of describing the advocates and the opposers of the present bill. It is a question, he says, between the friends of an "American policy" and those of a "foreign policy." This, Sir, is an assumption which I take the liberty most directly to deny. Mr. Speaker certainly intended nothing invidious or derogatory to any part of the House by this mode of denominating friends and enemies. But there is power in names, and this manner of distinguishing those who favor and those who oppose particular measures may lead to inferences to which no member of the House can submit. It may imply that there is a more exclusive and peculiar regard to American interests in one class of opinions than in another. Such an implication is to be resisted and repelled. Every member has a right to the presumption, that he pursues what he believes to be the interest of his country with as sincere a zeal as any other member. I claim this in my own case; and while I shall not, for any purpose of description or convenient arrangement use terms which may imply any disrespect to other men's opinions, much less any imputation upon other men's motives, it is my duty to take care that the use of such terms by others be not, against the will of those who adopt them, made to produce a false impression.

Indeed, Sir, it is a little astonishing, if it seemed convenient to Mr. Speaker, for the purposes of distinction, to make use of the terms "American policy" and "foreign policy," that he should not have applied them in a manner precisely the reverse of that in which he has in fact used them. If names are thought necessary, it would be well enough, one would think, that the name should be in some measure descriptive of the thing; and since Mr. Speaker denominates the policy which he recommends "a new policy in this country"; since he speaks of the present measure as a new era in our legislation; since he professes to invite us to depart from our accustomed course, to instruct ourselves by the wisdom of others, and to adopt the policy of the most distinguished foreign states, — one is a little curious to know with what propriety of speech this imitation of other nations is denominated an "American policy," while, on the contrary, a preference for our own established system, as it now actually exists and always has existed, is called a "foreign policy." This favorite American policy is what America has never tried; and this odious foreign policy is what, as we are told, foreign states have never pursued. Sir, that is the truest American policy which shall most usefully employ American capital and American labor, and best sustain the whole population. With me it is a fundamental axiom, it is interwoven with all my opinions, that the great interests of the country are united and inseparable; that agriculture, commerce, and manufactures will prosper together or languish together; and that all legislation is dangerous which proposes to benefit one of these without looking to consequences which may fall on the others.

Passing from this, Sir, I am bound to say that Mr. Speaker began his able and impressive speech at the proper point of inquiry, — I mean the present state and condition of the country, — although I am so unfortunate, or rather although I am so happy,

51. Mr. Clay.



as to differ from him very widely in regard to that condition. I dissent entirely from the justice of that picture of distress which he has drawn. I have not seen the reality, and know not where it exists. Within my observation, there is no cause for so gloomy and terrifying a representation. In respect to the New England States, with the condition of which I am of course best acquainted, the present appears to me a period of very general prosperity. Not, indeed, a time for sudden acquisition and great profits, not a day of extraordinary activity and successful speculation. There is no doubt a considerable depression of prices, and, in some degree, a stagnation of business. But the case presented by Mr. Speaker was not one of **depression**, but of **distress**; of universal, pervading, intense distress, limited to no class and to no place. We are represented as on the very verge and brink of national ruin. So far from acquiescing in these opinions, I believe there has been no period in which the general prosperity was better secured, or rested on a more solid foundation. As applicable to the Eastern States, I put this remark to their representatives, and ask them if it is not true. When has there been a time in which the means of living have been more accessible and more abundant? When has labor been rewarded, I do not say with a larger, but with a more certain success? Profits, indeed, are low; in some pursuits of life, which it is not proposed to benefit, but to **burden**, by this bill, very low. But still I am unacquainted with any proofs of extraordinary distress. What, indeed, are the general indications of the state of the country? There is no famine nor pestilence in the land, nor war, nor desolation. There is no writhing under the burden of taxation. The means of subsistence are abundant; and at the very moment when the miserable condition of the country is asserted, it is admitted that the wages of labor are high in comparison with those of any other country. A country, then, enjoying a profound peace, perfect civil liberty, with the means of subsistence cheap and abundant, with the reward of labor sure, and its wages higher than anywhere else, cannot be represented as in gloom, melancholy, and distress, but by the effort of extraordinary powers of tragedy. Even if, in judging of this question, we were to regard only those proofs to which we have been referred, we shall probably come to a conclusion somewhat different from that which has been drawn. Our exports, for example, although certainly less than in some years, were not, last year, so much below an average formed upon the exports of a series of years, and putting those exports at a fixed value, as might be supposed. The value of the exports of agricultural products, of animals, of the products of the forest and of the sea, together with gunpowder, spirits, and sundry unenumerated articles, amounted in the several years to the following sums, viz.: -

In 1790,	\$27,716,152
1804,	33,842,316
1807,	38,465,854

Coming up now to our own times, and taking the exports of the years 1821, 1822, and 1823, of the same articles and products, at the same prices, they stand thus: -

In 1821,	\$45,643,175
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1822,	48,782,295
1823,	55,863,491

Mr. Speaker has taken the very extraordinary year of 1803, and, adding to the exportation of that year what he thinks ought to have been a just augmentation, in proportion to the increase of our population, he swells the result to a magnitude, which, when compared with our actual exports, would exhibit a great deficiency. But is there any justice in this mode of calculation? In the first place, as before observed, the year 1803 was a year of extraordinary exportation. By reference to the accounts, that of the article of flour, for example, there was an export that year of thirteen hundred thousand barrels; but the very next year it fell to eight hundred thousand, and the next year to seven hundred thousand. In the next place, there never was any reason to expect that the increase of our exports of agricultural products would keep pace with the increase of our population. That would be against all experience. It is, indeed, most desirable, that there should be an augmented demand for the products of agriculture; but, nevertheless, the official returns of our exports do not show that absolute want of all foreign market which has been so strongly stated.

But there are other means by which to judge of the general condition of the people. The quantity of the means of subsistence consumed, or, to make use of a phraseology better suited to the condition of our own people, the quantity of the comforts of life enjoyed, is one of those means. It so happens, indeed, that it is not so easy in this country as elsewhere to ascertain facts of this sort with accuracy. Where most of the articles of subsistence and most of the comforts of life are taxed, there is, of course, great facility in ascertaining, from official statements, the amount of consumption. But in this country, most fortunately, the government neither knows, nor is concerned to know, the annual consumption; and estimates can only be formed in another mode, and in reference only to a few articles. Of these articles, tea is one. It is not quite a luxury, and yet is something above the absolute necessities of life. Its consumption, therefore, will be diminished in times of adversity, and augmented in times of prosperity. By deducting the annual export from the annual import, and taking a number of years together, we may arrive at a probable estimate of consumption. The average of eleven years, from 1790 to 1800, inclusive, will be found to be two millions and a half of pounds. From 1801 to 1812, inclusive, the average was three millions seven hundred thousand; and the average of the last three years, to wit, 1821, 1822, and 1823, was five millions and a half. Having made a just allowance for the increase of our numbers, we shall still find, I think, from these statements, that there is no distress which has limited our means of subsistence and enjoyment.

In forming an opinion of the degree of general prosperity, we may regard, likewise, the progress of internal improvements, the investment of capital in roads, bridges, and canals. All these prove a balance of income over expenditure; they afford evidence that there is a surplus of profits, which the present generation is usefully vesting for the benefit of the next. It cannot be denied, that, in this particular, the progress of the country



is steady and rapid.

We may look, too, to the sums expended for education. Are our colleges deserted? Do fathers find themselves less able than usual to educate their children? It will be found, I imagine, that the amount paid for the purpose of education is constantly increasing, and that the schools and colleges were never more full than at the present moment. I may add, that the endowment of public charities, the contributions to objects of general benevolence, whether foreign or domestic, the munificence of individuals towards whatever promises to benefit the community, are all so many proofs of national prosperity. And, finally, there is no defalcation of revenue, no pressure of taxation.

The general result, therefore, of a fair examination of the present condition of things, seems to me to be, that there is a considerable depression of prices, and curtailment of profit; and in some parts of the country, it must be admitted, there is a great degree of pecuniary embarrassment, arising from the difficulty of paying debts which were contracted when prices were high. With these qualifications, the general state of the country may be said to be prosperous; and these are not sufficient to give to the whole face of affairs any appearance of general distress.

Supposing the evil, then, to be a depression of prices, and a partial pecuniary pressure, the next inquiry is into the causes of that evil; and it appears to me that there are several; and in this respect, I think, too much has been imputed by Mr. Speaker to the single cause of the diminution of exports. Connected, as we are, with all the commercial nations of the world, and having observed great changes to take place elsewhere, we should consider whether the causes of those changes have not reached us, and whether we are not suffering by the operation of them, in common with others. Undoubtedly, there has been a great fall in the price of all commodities throughout the commercial world, in consequence of the restoration of a state of peace. When the Allies entered France in 1814, prices rose astonishingly fast, and very high. Colonial produce, for instance, in the ports of this country, as well as elsewhere, sprung up suddenly from the lowest to the highest extreme. A new and vast demand was created for the commodities of trade. These were the natural consequences of the great political changes which then took place in Europe.

We are to consider, too, that our own war created new demand, and that a government expenditure of twenty-five or thirty million dollars a year had the usual effect of enhancing prices. We are obliged to add, that the paper issues of our banks carried the same effect still further. A depreciated currency existed in a great part of the country; depreciated to such an extent, that, at one time, exchange between the centre and the North was as high as twenty per cent. The Bank of the United States was instituted to correct this evil; but, for causes which it is not necessary now to enumerate, it did not for some years bring back the currency of the country to a sound state. This depreciation of the circulating currency was so much, of course, added to the nominal prices of commodities, and these prices, thus unnaturally high, seemed, to those who looked only at the appearance, to indicate great prosperity. But such prosperity



is more specious than real. It would have been better, probably, as the shock would have been less, if prices had fallen sooner. At length, however, they fell; and as there is little doubt that certain events in Europe had an influence in determining the time at which this fall took place, I will advert shortly to some of the principal of those events.

In May, 1819, the British House of Commons decided, by a unanimous vote, that the resumption of cash payments by the Bank of England should not be deferred beyond the ensuing February. The restriction had been continued from time to time, and from year to year, Parliament always professing to look to the restoration of a specie currency whenever it should be found practicable. Having been, in July, 1818, continued to July, 1819, it was understood that, in the interim, the important question of the time at which cash payments should be resumed should be finally settled. In the latter part of the year 1818, the circulation of the bank had been greatly reduced, and a severe scarcity of money was felt in the London market. Such was the state of things in England. On the Continent, other important events took place. The French Indemnity Loan had been negotiated in the summer of 1818, and the proportion of it belonging to Austria, Russia, and Prussia had been sold. This created an unusual demand for gold and silver in those countries. It has been stated, that the amount of the precious metals transmitted to Austria and Russia in that year was at least twenty millions sterling. Other large sums were sent to Prussia and to Denmark. The effect of this sudden drain of specie, felt first at Paris, was communicated to Amsterdam and Hamburg, and all other commercial places in the North of Europe. The paper system of England had certainly communicated an artificial value to property. It had encouraged speculation, and excited over-trading. When the shock therefore came, and this violent pressure for money acted at the same moment on the Continent and in England, inflated and unnatural prices could be kept up no longer. A reduction took place, which has been estimated to have been at least equal to a fall of thirty, if not forty per cent. The depression was universal; and the change was felt in the United States severely, though not equally so in every part. There are those, I am aware, who maintain that the events to which I have alluded did not cause the great fall of prices, but that that fall was natural and inevitable, from the previously existing state of things, the abundance of commodities, and the want of demand. But that would only prove that the effect was produced in another way, rather than by another cause. If these great and sudden calls for money did not reduce prices, but prices fell, as of themselves, to their natural state, still the result is the same; for we perceive that, after these new calls for money, prices could not be kept longer at their unnatural height.

About the time of these foreign events, our own bank system underwent a change; and all these causes, in my view of the subject, concurred to produce the great shock which took place in our commercial cities, and in many parts of the country. The year 1819 was a year of numerous failures, and very considerable distress, and would have furnished far better grounds than exist at present for that gloomy representation of our condition which



has been presented. Mr. Speaker has alluded to the strong inclination which exists, or has existed, in various parts of the country, to issue paper money, as a proof of great existing difficulties. I regard it rather as a very productive cause of those difficulties; and the committee will not fail to observe, that there is, at this moment, much the loudest complaint of distress precisely where there has been the greatest attempt to relieve it by systems of paper credit. And, on the other hand, content, prosperity, and happiness are most observable in those parts of the country where there has been the least endeavor to administer relief by law. In truth, nothing is so baneful, so utterly ruinous to all true industry, as interfering with the legal value of money, or attempting to raise artificial standards to supply its place. Such remedies suit well the spirit of extravagant speculation, but they sap the very foundation of all honest acquisition. By weakening the security of property, they take away all motive for exertion. Their effect is to transfer property. Whenever a debt is allowed to be paid by any thing less valuable than the legal currency in respect to which it was contracted, the difference between the value of the paper given in payment and the legal currency is precisely so much property taken from one man and given to another, by legislative enactment.

When we talk, therefore, of protecting industry, let us remember that the first measure for that end is to secure it in its earnings; to assure it that it shall receive its own. Before we invent new modes of raising prices, let us take care that existing prices are not rendered wholly unavailable, by making them capable of being paid in depreciated paper. I regard, Sir, this issue of irredeemable paper as the most prominent and deplorable cause of whatever pressure still exists in the country; and, further, I would put the question to the members of this committee, whether it is not from that part of the people who have tried this paper system, and tried it to their cost, that this bill receives the most earnest support? And I cannot forbear to ask, further, whether this support does not proceed rather from a general feeling of uneasiness under the present condition of things, than from the clear perception of any benefit which the measure itself can confer? Is not all expectation of advantage centred in a sort of vague hope, that change may produce relief? Debt certainly presses hardest where prices have been longest kept up by artificial means. They find the shock lightest who take it soonest; and I fully believe that, if those parts of the country which now suffer most had not augmented the force of the blow by deferring it, they would have now been in a much better condition than they are. We may assure ourselves, once for all, Sir, that there can be no such thing as payment of debts by legislation. We may abolish debts indeed; we may transfer property by visionary and violent laws. But we deceive both ourselves and our constituents, if we flatter either ourselves or them with the hope that there is any relief against whatever pressure exists, but in economy and industry. The depression of prices and the stagnation of business have been in truth the necessary result of circumstances. No government could prevent them, and no government can altogether relieve the people from their effect. We have enjoyed a day of



extraordinary prosperity; we had been neutral while the world was at war, and had found a great demand for our products, our navigation, and our labor. We had no right to expect that that state of things would continue always. With the return of peace, foreign nations would struggle for themselves, and enter into competition with us in the great objects of pursuit. Now, Sir, what is the remedy for existing evils? What is the course of policy suited to our actual condition? Certainly it is not our wisdom to adopt any system that may be offered to us, without examination, and in the blind hope that whatever changes our condition may improve it. It is better that we should

"bear those ills we have,
Than fly to others that we know not of."

We are bound to see that there is a fitness and an aptitude in whatever measures may be recommended to relieve the evils that afflict us; and before we adopt a system that professes to make great alterations, it is our duty to look carefully to each leading interest of the community, and see how it may probably be affected by our proposed legislation.

And, in the first place, what is the condition of our commerce? Here we must clearly perceive, that it is not enjoying that rich harvest which fell to its fortune during the continuance of the European wars. It has been greatly depressed, and limited to small profits. Still, it is elastic and active, and seems capable of recovering itself in some measure from its depression. The shipping interest, also, has suffered severely, still more severely, probably, than commerce. If any thing should strike us with astonishment, it is that the navigation of the United States should be able to sustain itself. Without any government protection whatever, it goes abroad to challenge competition with the whole world; and, in spite of all obstacles, it has yet been able to maintain eight hundred thousand tons in the employment of foreign trade. How, Sir, do the ship-owners and navigators accomplish this? How is it that they are able to meet, and in some measure overcome, universal competition? It is not, Sir, by protection and bounties: but by unwearied exertion, by extreme economy, by unshaken perseverance, by that manly and resolute spirit which relies on itself to protect itself. These causes alone enable American ships still to keep their element, and show the flag of their country in distant seas. The rates of insurance may teach us how thoroughly our ships are built, and how skilfully and safely they are navigated. Risks are taken, as I learn, from the United States to Liverpool, at one per cent; and from the United States to Canton and back, as low as three per cent. But when we look to the low rate of freight, and when we consider, also, that the articles entering into the composition of a ship, with the exception of wood, are dearer here than in other countries, we cannot but be utterly surprised that the shipping interest has been able to sustain itself at all. I need not say that the navigation of the country is essential to its honor and its defence. Yet, instead of proposing benefits for it in this hour of its depression, we threaten by this measure to lay upon it new and heavy burdens. In the discussion, the other day, of that provision of the bill which proposes to tax tallow for the



benefit of the oil-merchants and whalemens, we had the pleasure of hearing eloquent eulogiums upon that portion of our shipping employed in the whale-fishery, and strong statements of its importance to the public interest. But the same bill proposes a severe tax upon that interest, for the benefit of the iron-manufacturer and the hemp-grower. So that the tallow-chandlers and soapboilers are sacrificed to the oil-merchants, in order that these again may contribute to the manufacturers of iron and the growers of hemp.

If such be the state of our commerce and navigation, what is the condition of our home manufactures? How are they amidst the general depression? Do they need further protection? and if any, how much? On all these points, we have had much general statement, but little precise information. In the very elaborate speech of Mr. Speaker, we are not supplied with satisfactory grounds of judging with respect to these various particulars. Who can tell, from any thing yet before the committee, whether the proposed duty be too high or too low on any one article? Gentlemen tell us, that they are in favor of domestic industry; so am I. They would give it protection; so would I. But then all domestic industry is not confined to manufactures. The employments of agriculture, commerce, and navigation are all branches of the same domestic industry; they all furnish employment for American capital and American labor. And when the question is, whether new duties shall be laid, for the purpose of giving further encouragement to particular manufactures, every reasonable man must ask himself, both whether the proposed new encouragement be necessary, and whether it can be given without injustice to other branches of industry.

It is desirable to know, also, somewhat more distinctly, how the proposed means will produce the intended effect. One great object proposed, for example, is the increase of the home market for the consumption of agricultural products. This certainly is much to be desired; but what provisions of the bill are expected wholly or principally to produce this, is not stated. I would not deny that some increase of the home market may follow, from the adoption of this bill, but all its provisions have not an equal tendency to produce this effect. Those manufactures which employ most labor, create, of course, most demand for articles of consumption; and those create least in the production of which capital and skill enter as the chief ingredients of cost. I cannot, Sir, take this bill merely because a committee has recommended it. I cannot espouse a side, and fight under a flag. I wholly repel the idea that we must take this law, or pass no law on the subject. What should hinder us from exercising our own judgments upon these provisions, singly and severally? Who has the power to place us, or why should we place ourselves, in a condition where we cannot give to every measure, that is distinct and separate in itself, a separate and distinct consideration? Sir, I presume no member of the committee will withhold his assent from what he thinks right, until others will yield their assent to what they think wrong. There are many things in this bill acceptable, probably, to the general sense of the House. Why should not these provisions be passed into a law, and others left to be decided upon their own merits, as a majority of the House shall see fit? To some of these provisions



I am myself decidedly favorable; to others I have great objections; and I should have been very glad of an opportunity of giving my own vote distinctly on propositions which are, in their own nature, essentially and substantially distinct from one another.

But, Sir, before expressing my own opinion upon the several provisions of this bill, I will advert for a moment to some other general topics. We have heard much of the policy of England, and her example has been repeatedly urged upon us, as proving, not only the expediency of encouragement and protection, but of exclusion and direct prohibition also. I took occasion the other day to remark, that more liberal notions were becoming prevalent on this subject; that the policy of restraints and prohibitions was getting out of repute, as the true nature of commerce became better understood; and that, among public men, those most distinguished were most decided in their reprobation of the broad principle of exclusion and prohibition. Upon the truth of this representation, as matter of fact, I supposed there could not be two opinions among those who had observed the progress of political sentiment in other countries, and were acquainted with its present state. In this respect, however, it would seem that I was greatly mistaken. We have heard it again and again declared, that the English government still adheres, with immovable firmness, to its old doctrines of prohibition; that although journalists, theorists, and scientific writers advance other doctrines, yet the practical men, the legislators, the government of the country, are too wise to follow them. It has even been most sagaciously hinted, that the promulgation of liberal opinions on these subjects is intended only to delude other governments, to cajole them into the folly of liberal ideas, while England retains to herself all the benefits of the admirable old system of prohibition. We have heard from Mr. Speaker a warm commendation of the complex mechanism of this system. The British empire, it is said, is, in the first place, to be protected against the rest of the world; then the British Isles against the colonies; next, the isles respectively against each other, England herself, as the heart of the empire, being protected most of all, and against all.

Truly, Sir, it appears to me that Mr. Speaker's imagination has seen system, and order, and beauty, in that which is much more justly considered as the result of ignorance, partiality, or violence. This part of English legislation has resulted, partly from considering Ireland as a conquered country, partly from the want of a complete union, even with Scotland, and partly from the narrow views of colonial regulation, which in early and uninformed periods influenced the European states.

Nothing, I imagine, would strike the public men of England more singularly, than to find gentlemen of real information and much weight in the councils of this country expressing sentiments like these, in regard to the existing state of these English laws. I have never said, indeed, that prohibitory laws do not exist in England; we all know they do; but the question is, Does she owe her prosperity and greatness to these laws? I venture to say, that such is not the opinion of public men now in England, and the continuance of the laws, even without any alteration, would not be evidence that their opinion is



different from what I have represented it; because the laws having existed long, and great interests having been built up on the faith of them, they cannot now be repealed without great and overwhelming inconvenience. Because a thing has been wrongly done, it does not therefore follow that it can now be undone; and this is the reason, as I understand it, for which exclusion, prohibition, and monopoly are suffered to remain in any degree in the English system; and for the same reason, it will be wise in us to take our measures, on all subjects of this kind, with great caution. We may not be able, but at the hazard of much injury to individuals, hereafter to retrace our steps. And yet, whatever is extravagant or unreasonable is not likely to endure. There may come a moment of strong reaction; and if no moderation be shown in laying on duties, there may be as little scruple in taking them off.

It may be here observed, that there is a broad and marked distinction between entire prohibition and reasonable encouragement. It is one thing, by duties or taxes on foreign articles, to awaken a home competition in the production of the same articles; it is another thing to remove all competition by a total exclusion of the foreign article; and it is quite another thing still, by total prohibition, to raise up at home manufactures not suited to the climate, the nature of the country, or the state of the population. These are substantial distinctions, and although it may not be easy in every case to determine which of them applies to a given article, yet the distinctions themselves exist, and in most cases will be sufficiently clear to indicate the true course of policy; and, unless I have greatly mistaken the prevailing sentiment in the councils of England, it grows every day more and more favorable to the diminution of restrictions, and to the wisdom of leaving much (I do not say every thing, for that would not be true) to the enterprise and the discretion of individuals. I should certainly not have taken up the time of the committee to state at any length the opinions of other governments, or of the public men of other countries, upon a subject like this; but an occasional remark made by me the other day, having been so directly controverted, especially by Mr. Speaker, in his observations yesterday, I must take occasion to refer to some proofs of what I have stated.

What, then, is the state of English opinion? Everybody knows that, after the termination of the late European war, there came a time of great pressure in England. Since her example has been quoted, let it be asked in what mode her government sought relief. Did it aim to maintain artificial and unnatural prices? Did it maintain a swollen and extravagant paper circulation? Did it carry further the laws of prohibition and exclusion? Did it draw closer the cords of colonial restraint? No, Sir, but precisely the reverse. Instead of relying on legislative contrivances and artificial devices, it trusted to the enterprise and industry of the people, which it sedulously sought to excite, not by imposing restraint, but by removing it, wherever its removal was practicable. In May, 1820, the attention of the government having been much turned to the state of foreign trade, a distinguished member⁵² of the House of Peers

52. Lord Lansdowne.



brought forward a Parliamentary motion upon that subject, followed by an ample discussion and a full statement of his own opinions. In the course of his remarks, he observed, "that there ought to be no prohibitory duties as such; for that it was evident, that, where a manufacture could not be carried on, or a production raised, but under the protection of a prohibitory duty, that manufacture, or that produce, could not be brought to market but at a loss. In his opinion, the name of strict prohibition might, therefore, in commerce, be got rid of altogether; but he did not see the same objection to protecting duties, which, while they admitted of the introduction of commodities from abroad similar to those which we ourselves manufactured, placed them so much on a level as to allow a competition between them." "No axiom," he added, "was more true than this: that it was by growing what the territory of a country could grow most cheaply, and by receiving from other countries what it could not produce except at too great an expense, that the greatest degree of happiness was to be communicated to the greatest extent of population."

In assenting to the motion, the first minister⁵³ of the crown expressed his own opinion of the great advantage resulting from unrestricted freedom of trade. "Of the soundness of that general principle," he observed, "I can entertain no doubt. I can entertain no doubt of what would have been the great advantages to the civilized world, if the system of unrestricted trade had been acted upon by every nation from the earliest period of its commercial intercourse with its neighbors. If to those advantages there could have been any exceptions, I am persuaded that they would have been but few; and I am also persuaded that the cases to which they would have referred would not have been, in themselves, connected with the trade and commerce of England. But we are now in a situation in which, I will not say that a reference to the principle of unrestricted trade can be of no use, because such a reference may correct erroneous reasoning, but in which it is impossible for us, or for any country in the world but the United States of America, to act unreservedly on that principle. The commercial regulations of the European world have been long established, and cannot suddenly be departed from." Having supposed a proposition to be made to England by a foreign state for free commerce and intercourse, and an unrestricted exchange of agricultural products and of manufactures, he proceeds to observe: "It would be impossible to accede to such a proposition. We have risen to our present greatness under a different system. Some suppose that we have risen in consequence of that system; **others, of whom I am one, believe that we have risen in spite of that system.** But, whichever of these hypotheses be true, certain it is that we have risen under a very different system than that of free and unrestricted trade. It is utterly impossible, with our debt and taxation, even if they were but half their existing amount, that we can suddenly adopt the system of free trade."

Lord Ellenborough, in the same debate, said, "that he attributed the general distress then existing in Europe to the regulations that had taken place since the destruction of the French power. Most of the states on the Continent had surrounded themselves

53. Lord Liverpool.



as with walls of brass, to inhibit intercourse with other states. Intercourse was prohibited, even in districts of the same state, as was the case in Austria and Sardinia. Thus, though the taxes on the people had been lightened, the severity of their condition had been increased. He believed that the discontent which pervaded most parts of Europe, and especially Germany, was more owing to commercial restrictions than to any theoretical doctrines on government; and that a free communication among them would do more to restore tranquillity, than any other step that could be adopted. He objected to all attempts to frustrate the benevolent intentions of Providence, which had given to various countries various wants, in order to bring them together. He objected to it as anti-social; he objected to it as making commerce the means of barbarizing instead of enlightening nations. The state of the trade with France was most disgraceful to both countries; the two greatest civilized nations of the world, placed at a distance of scarcely twenty miles from each other, had contrived, by their artificial regulations, to reduce their commerce with each other to a mere nullity." Every member speaking on this occasion agreed in the general sentiments favorable to unrestricted intercourse, which had thus been advanced; one of them remarking, at the conclusion of the debate, that "the principles of free trade, which he was happy to see so fully recognized, were of the utmost consequence; for, though, in the present circumstances of the country, a free trade was unattainable, yet their task hereafter was to approximate to it. Considering the prejudices and interests which were opposed to the recognition of that principle, it was no small indication of the firmness and liberality of government to have so fully conceded it."

Sir, we have seen, in the course of this discussion, that several gentlemen have expressed their high admiration of the **silk manufacture** of England. Its commendation was begun, I think, by the honorable member from Vermont, who sits near me, who thinks that that alone gives conclusive evidence of the benefits produced by attention to manufactures, inasmuch as it is a great source of wealth to the nation, and has amply repaid all the cost of its protection. Mr. Speaker's approbation of this part of the English example was still warmer. Now, Sir, it does so happen, that both these gentlemen differ very widely on this point from the opinions entertained in England, by persons of the first rank, both as to knowledge and power. In the debate to which I have already referred, the proposer of the motion urged the expediency of providing for the admission of the silks of France into England. "He was aware," he said, "that there was a poor and industrious body of manufacturers, whose interests must suffer by such an arrangement; and therefore he felt that it would be the duty of Parliament to provide for the present generation by a large Parliamentary grant. It was conformable to every principle of sound justice to do so, when the interests of a particular class were sacrificed to the good of the whole." In answer to these observations, Lord Liverpool said that, with reference to several branches of manufactures, time, and the change of circumstances, had rendered the system of protecting duties merely nominal; and that, in his opinion, if all the protecting laws which regarded both the woollen and cotton



manufactures were to be repealed, no injurious effects would thereby be occasioned. "But," he observes, "with respect to silk, that manufacture in this kingdom is so completely artificial, that any attempt to introduce the principles of free trade with reference to it might put an end to it altogether. I allow that the silk manufacture is not natural to this country. **I wish we had never had a silk manufactory.** I allow that it is natural to France; I allow that it might have been better, had each country adhered exclusively to that manufacture in which each is superior; and had the silks of France been exchanged for British cottons. But I must look at things as they are; and when I consider the extent of capital, and the immense population, consisting, I believe, of about fifty thousand persons, engaged in our silk manufacture, I can only say, that one of the few points in which I totally disagree with the proposer of the motion is the expediency, under existing circumstances, of holding out any idea that it would be possible to relinquish the silk manufacture, and to provide for those who live by it, by Parliamentary enactment. Whatever objections there may be to the continuance of the protecting system, I repeat, that it is impossible altogether to relinquish it. I may regret that the system was ever commenced; but as I cannot recall that act, I must submit to the inconvenience by which it is attended, rather than expose the country to evils of greater magnitude." Let it be remembered, Sir, that these are not the sentiments of a theorist, nor the fancies of speculation; but the operative opinions of the first minister of England, acknowledged to be one of the ablest and most practical statesmen of his country. Gentlemen could have hardly been more unfortunate than in the selection of the silk manufacture in England as an example of the beneficial effects of that system which they would recommend. It is, in the language which I have quoted, completely artificial. It has been sustained by I know not how many laws, breaking in upon the plainest principles of general expediency. At the last session of Parliament, the manufacturers petitioned for the repeal of three or four of these statutes, complaining of the vexatious restrictions which they impose on the wages of labor; setting forth, that a great variety of orders has from time to time been issued by magistrates under the authority of these laws, interfering in an oppressive manner with the minutest details of the manufacture, – such as limiting the number of threads to an inch, restricting the widths of many sorts of work, and determining the quantity of labor not to be exceeded without extra wages; that by the operation of these laws, the rate of wages, instead of being left to the recognized principles of regulation, has been arbitrarily fixed by persons whose ignorance renders them incompetent to a just decision; that masters are compelled by law to pay an equal price for all work, whether well or ill performed; and that they are wholly prevented from using improved machinery, it being ordered, that work, in the weaving of which machinery is employed, shall be paid precisely at the same rate as if done by hand; that these acts have frequently given rise to the most vexatious regulations, the unintentional breach of which has subjected manufacturers to ruinous penalties; and that the introduction of all machinery being prevented, by which labor might be



cheapened, and the manufacturers being compelled to pay at a fixed price, under all circumstances, they are unable to afford employment to their workmen, in times of stagnation of trade, and are compelled to stop their looms. And finally, they complain that, notwithstanding these grievances under which they labor, while carrying on their manufacture in London, the law still prohibits them, while they continue to reside there, from employing any portion of their capital in the same business in any other part of the kingdom, where it might be more beneficially conducted. Now, Sir, absurd as these laws must appear to be to every man, the attempt to repeal them did not, as far as I recollect, altogether succeed. The weavers were too numerous, their interests too great, or their prejudices too strong; and this notable instance of protection and monopoly still exists, to be lamented in England with as much sincerity as it seems to be admired here.

In order further to show the prevailing sentiment of the English government, I would refer to a report of a select committee of the House of Commons, at the head of which was the Vice-President of the Board of Trade (Mr. Wallace), in July, 1820. "The time," say that committee, "when monopolies could be successfully supported, or would be patiently endured, either in respect to subjects against subjects, or particular countries against the rest of the world, seems to have passed away. Commerce, to continue undisturbed and secure, must be, as it was intended to be, a source of reciprocal amity between nations, and an interchange of productions to promote the industry, the wealth, and the happiness of mankind." In moving for the re-appointment of the committee in February, 1823, the same gentleman said: "We must also get rid of that feeling of appropriation which exhibited itself in a disposition to produce every thing necessary for our own consumption, and to render ourselves independent of the world. No notion could be more absurd or mischievous; it led, even in peace, to an animosity and rancor greater than existed in time of war. Undoubtedly there would be great prejudices to combat, both in this country and elsewhere, in the attempt to remove the difficulties which are most obnoxious. It would be impossible to forget the attention which was in some respects due to the present system of protections, although that attention ought certainly not to be carried beyond the absolute necessity of the case." And in a second report of the committee, drawn by the same gentleman, in that part of it which proposes a diminution of duties on timber from the North of Europe, and the policy of giving a legislative preference to the importation of such timber in the log, and a discouragement of the importation of deals, it is stated that the committee reject this policy, because, among other reasons, "it is founded on a principle of exclusion, which they are most averse to see brought into operation, in any **new instance**, without the warrant of some evident and great political expediency." And on many subsequent occasions the same gentleman has taken occasion to observe, that he differed from those who thought that manufactures could not flourish without restrictions on trade; that old prejudices of that sort were dying away, and that more liberal and just sentiments were taking their place.

These sentiments appear to have been followed by important legal



provisions, calculated to remove restrictions and prohibitions where they were most severely felt; that is to say, in several branches of navigation and trade. They have relaxed their colonial system, they have opened the ports of their islands, and have done away the restriction which limited the trade of the colony to the mother country. Colonial products can now be carried directly from the islands to any part of Europe; and it may not be improbable, considering our own high duties on spirits, that that article may be exchanged hereafter by the English West India colonies directly for the timber and deals of the Baltic. It may be added, that Mr. Lowe, whom the gentleman has cited, says, that nobody supposes that the three great staples of English manufactures, cotton, woollen, and hardware, are benefited by any existing protecting duties; and that one object of all these protecting laws is usually overlooked, and that is, that they have been intended to reconcile the various interests to taxation; the corn law, for example, being designed as some equivalent to the agricultural interest for the burden of tithes and of poor-rates.

In fine, Sir, I think it is clear, that, if we now embrace the system of prohibitions and restrictions, we shall show an affection for what others have discarded, and be attempting to ornament ourselves with cast-off apparel.

Sir, I should not have gone into this prolix detail of opinions from any consideration of their special importance on the present occasion; but having happened to state that such was the actual opinion of the government of England at the present time, and the accuracy of this representation having been so confidently denied, I have chosen to put the matter beyond doubt or cavil, although at the expense of these tedious citations. I shall have occasion hereafter to refer more particularly to sundry recent British enactments, by way of showing the diligence and spirit with which that government strives to sustain its navigating interest, by opening the widest possible range to the enterprise of individual adventurers. I repeat, that I have not alluded to these examples of a foreign state as being fit to control our own policy. In the general principle, I acquiesce. Protection, when carried to the point which is now recommended, that is, to entire prohibition, seems to me destructive of all commercial intercourse between nations. We are urged to adopt the system upon general principles; and what would be the consequence of the universal application of such a general principle, but that nations would abstain entirely from all intercourse with one another? I do not admit the general principle; on the contrary, I think freedom of trade to be the general principle, and restriction the exception. And it is for every state, taking into view its own condition, to judge of the propriety, in any case, of making an exception, constantly preferring, as I think all wise governments will, not to depart without urgent reason from the general rule.

There is another point in the existing policy of England to which I would most earnestly invite the attention of the committee; I mean the warehouse system, or what we usually call the system of drawback. Very great prejudices appear to me to exist with us on that subject. We seem averse to the extension of the principle. The English government, on the contrary, appear to



have carried it to the extreme of liberality. They have arrived, however, at their present opinions and present practice by slow degrees. The transit system was commenced about the year 1803, but the first law was partial and limited. It admitted the importation of raw materials for exportation, but it excluded almost every sort of manufactured goods. This was done for the same reason that we propose to prevent the transit of Canadian wheat through the United States, the fear of aiding the competition of the foreign article with our own in foreign markets. Better reflection or more experience has induced them to abandon that mode of reasoning, and to consider all such means of influencing foreign markets as nugatory; since, in the present active and enlightened state of the world, nations will supply themselves from the best sources, and the true policy of all producers, whether of raw materials or of manufactured articles, is, not vainly to endeavor to keep other vendors out of the market, but to conquer them in it by the quality and the cheapness of their articles. The present policy of England, therefore, is to allure the importation of commodities into England, there to be deposited in English warehouses, thence to be exported in assorted cargoes, and thus enabling her to carry on a general export trade to all quarters of the globe. Articles of all kinds, with the single exception of tea, may be brought into England, from any part of the world, in foreign as well as British ships, there warehoused, and again exported, at the pleasure of the owner, without the payment of any duty or government charge whatever.

While I am upon this subject, I would take notice also of the recent proposition in the English Parliament to abolish the tax on imported wool; and it is observable that those who support this proposition give the same reasons that have been offered here, within the last week, against the duty which we propose on the same article. They say that their manufacturers require a cheap and coarse wool, for the supply of the Mediterranean and Levant trade, and that, without a more free admission of the wool of the Continent, that trade will all fall into the hands of the Germans and Italians, who will carry it on through Leghorn and Trieste. While there is this duty on foreign wool to protect the wool-growers of England, there is, on the other hand, a prohibition on the exportation of the native article in aid of the manufacturers. The opinion seems to be gaining strength, that the true policy is to abolish both.

Laws have long existed in England preventing the emigration of artisans and the exportation of machinery; but the policy of these, also, has become doubted, and an inquiry has been instituted in Parliament into the expediency of repealing them. As to the emigration of artisans, say those who disapprove the laws, if that were desirable, no law could effect it; and as to the exportation of machinery, let us make it and export it as we would any other commodity. If France is determined to spin and weave her own cotton, let us, if we may, still have the benefit of furnishing the machinery.

I have stated these things, Sir, to show what seems to be the general tone of thinking and reasoning on these subjects in that country, the example of which has been so much pressed upon us. Whether the present policy of England be right or wrong, wise



or unwise, it cannot, as it seems clearly to me, be quoted as an authority for carrying further the restrictive and exclusive system, either in regard to manufactures or trade. To re-establish a sound currency, to meet at once the shock, tremendous as it was, of the fall of prices, to enlarge her capacity for foreign trade, to open wide the field of individual enterprise and competition, and to say plainly and distinctly that the country must relieve itself from the embarrassments which it felt, by economy, frugality, and renewed efforts of enterprise, — these appear to be the general outline of the policy which England has pursued.

Mr. Chairman, I will now proceed to say a few words upon a topic, but for the introduction of which into this debate I should not have given the committee on this occasion the trouble of hearing me. Some days ago, I believe it was when we were settling the controversy between the oil-merchants and the tallow-chandlers, the **balance of trade** made its appearance in debate, and I must confess, Sir, that I spoke of it, or rather spoke to it, somewhat freely and irreverently. I believe I used the hard names which have been imputed to me, and I did it simply for the purpose of laying the spectre, and driving it back to its tomb. Certainly, Sir, when I called the old notion on this subject nonsense, I did not suppose that I should offend any one, unless the dead should happen to hear me. All the living generation, I took it for granted, would think the term very properly applied. In this, however, I was mistaken. The dead and the living rise up together to call me to account, and I must defend myself as well as I am able.

Let us inquire, then, Sir, what is meant by an unfavorable balance of trade, and what the argument is, drawn from that source. By an unfavorable balance of trade, I understand, is meant that state of things in which importation exceeds exportation. To apply it to our own case, if the value of goods imported exceed the value of those exported, then the balance of trade is said to be against us, inasmuch as we have run in debt to the amount of this difference. Therefore it is said, that, if a nation continue long in a commerce like this, it must be rendered absolutely bankrupt. It is in the condition of a man that buys more than he sells; and how can such a traffic be maintained without ruin? Now, Sir, the whole fallacy of this argument consists in supposing, that, whenever the value of imports exceeds that of exports, a debt is necessarily created to the extent of the difference, whereas, ordinarily, the import is no more than the result of the export, augmented in value by the labor of transportation. The excess of imports over exports, in truth, usually shows the gains, not the losses, of trade; or, in a country that not only buys and sells goods, but employs ships in carrying goods also, it shows the profits of commerce, and the earnings of navigation. Nothing is more certain than that, in the usual course of things, and taking a series of years together, the value of our imports is the aggregate of our exports and our freights. If the value of commodities imported in a given instance did not exceed the value of the outward cargo, with which they were purchased, then it would be clear to every man's common sense, that the voyage had not been profitable. If such commodities fell far short in value of the



cost of the outward cargo, then the voyage would be a very losing one; and yet it would present exactly that state of things, which, according to the notion of a balance of trade, can alone indicate a prosperous commerce. On the other hand, if the return cargo were found to be worth much more than the outward cargo, while the merchant, having paid for the goods exported, and all the expenses of the voyage, finds a handsome sum yet in his hands, which he calls profits, the balance of trade is still against him, and, whatever he may think of it, he is in a very bad way. Although one individual or all individuals gain, the nation loses; while all its citizens grow rich, the country grows poor. This is the doctrine of the balance of trade.

Allow me, Sir, to give an instance tending to show how unaccountably individuals deceive themselves, and imagine themselves to be somewhat rapidly mending their condition, while they ought to be persuaded that, by that infallible standard, the balance of trade, they are on the high road to ruin. Some years ago, in better times than the present, a ship left one of the towns of New England with 70,000 specie dollars. She proceeded to Mocha, on the Red Sea, and there laid out these dollars in coffee, drugs, spices, and other articles procured in that market. With this new cargo she proceeded to Europe; two thirds of it were sold in Holland for \$130,000, which the ship brought back, and placed in the same bank from the vaults of which she had taken her original outfit. The other third was sent to the ports of the Mediterranean, and produced a return of \$25,000 in specie, and \$15,000 in Italian merchandise. These sums together make \$170,000 imported, which is \$100,000 more than was exported, and is therefore proof of an unfavorable balance of trade, to that amount, in this adventure. We should find no great difficulty, Sir, in paying off our balances, if this were the nature of them all.

The truth is, Mr. Chairman, that all these obsolete and exploded notions had their origin in very mistaken ideas of the true nature of commerce. Commerce is not a gambling among nations for a stake, to be won by some and lost by others. It has not the tendency necessarily to impoverish one of the parties to it, while it enriches the other; all parties gain, all parties make profits, all parties grow rich, by the operations of just and liberal commerce. If the world had but one clime and but one soil; if all men had the same wants and the same means, on the spot of their existence, to gratify those wants, — then, indeed, what one obtained from the other by exchange would injure one party in the same degree that it benefited the other; then, indeed, there would be some foundation for the balance of trade. But Providence has disposed our lot much more kindly. We inhabit a various earth. We have reciprocal wants, and reciprocal means for gratifying one another's wants. This is the true origin of commerce, which is nothing more than an exchange of equivalents, and, from the rude barter of its primitive state, to the refined and complex condition in which we see it, its principle is uniformly the same, its only object being, in every stage, to produce that exchange of commodities between individuals and between nations which shall conduce to the advantage and to the happiness of both. Commerce between nations has the same essential character as commerce between individuals, or between



parts of the same nation. Cannot two individuals make an interchange of commodities which shall prove beneficial to both, or in which the balance of trade shall be in favor of both? If not, the tailor and the shoemaker, the farmer and the smith, have hitherto very much misunderstood their own interests. And with regard to the internal trade of a country, in which the same rule would apply as between nations, do we ever speak of such an intercourse as prejudicial to one side because it is useful to the other? Do we ever hear that, because the intercourse between New York and Albany is advantageous to one of those places, it must therefore be ruinous to the other?

May I be allowed, Sir, to read a passage on this subject from the observations of a gentleman, in my opinion one of the most clear and sensible writers and speakers of the age upon subjects of this sort?⁵⁴ "There is no political question on which the prevalence of false principles is so general, as in what relates to the nature of commerce and to the pretended balance of trade; and there are few which have led to a greater number of practical mistakes, attended with consequences extensively prejudicial to the happiness of mankind. In this country, our Parliamentary proceedings, our public documents, and the works of several able and popular writers, have combined to propagate the impression, that we are indebted for much of our riches to what is called the balance of trade." "Our true policy would surely be to profess, as the object and guide of our commercial system, that which every man who has studied the subject must know to be the true principle of commerce, the interchange of reciprocal and equivalent benefit. We may rest assured that it is not in the nature of commerce to enrich one party at the expense of the other. This is a purpose at which, if it were practicable, we ought not to aim; and which, if we aimed at, we could not accomplish." These remarks, I believe, Sir, were written some ten or twelve years ago. They are in perfect accordance with the opinions, advanced in more elaborate treatises, and now that the world has returned to a state of peace, and commerce has resumed its natural channels, and different nations are enjoying, or seeking to enjoy, their respective portions of it, all see the justness of these ideas, — all see, that, in this day of knowledge and of peace, there can be no commerce between nations but that which shall benefit all who are parties to it.

If it were necessary, Mr. Chairman, I might ask the attention of the committee to refer to a document before us, on this subject of the balance of trade. It will be seen by reference to the accounts, that, in the course of the last year, our total export to Holland exceeded two millions and a half; our total import from the same country was but seven hundred thousand dollars. Now, can any man be wild enough to make any inference from this as to the gain or loss of our trade with Holland for that year? Our trade with Russia for the same year produced a balance the other way, our import being two millions, and our export but half a million. But this has no more tendency to show the Russian trade a losing trade, than the other statement has to show that the Dutch trade has been a gainful one. Neither of them, by itself, proves any thing.

Springing out of this notion of a balance of trade, there is

54. Mr. Huskisson, President of the English Board of Trade.



another idea, which has been much dwelt upon in the course of this debate; that is, that we ought not to buy of nations who do not buy of us; for example, that the Russian trade is a trade disadvantageous to the country, and ought to be discouraged, because, in the ports of Russia, we buy more than we sell. Now allow me to observe, in the first place, Sir, that we have no account showing how much we do sell in the ports of Russia. Our official returns show us only what is the amount of our direct trade with her ports. But then we all know that the proceeds of another portion of our exports go to the same market, though indirectly. We send our own products, for example, to Cuba, or to Brazil; we there exchange them for the sugar and the coffee of those countries, and these articles we carry to St. Petersburg, and there sell them. Again; our exports to Holland and Hamburg are connected directly or indirectly with our imports from Russia. What difference does it make, in sense or reason, whether a cargo of iron be bought at St. Petersburg, by the exchange of a cargo of tobacco, or whether the tobacco has been sold on the way, in a better market, in a port of Holland, the money remitted to England, and the iron paid for by a bill on London? There might indeed have been an augmented freight, there might have been some saving of commissions, if tobacco had been in brisk demand in the Russian market. But still there is nothing to show that the whole voyage may not have been highly profitable. That depends upon the original cost of the article here, the amount of freight and insurance to Holland, the price obtained there, the rate of exchange between Holland and England, the expense, then, of proceeding to St. Petersburg, the price of iron there, the rate of exchange between that place and England, the amount of freight and insurance at home, and, finally, the value of the iron when brought to our own market. These are the calculations which determine the fortune of the adventure; and nothing can be judged of it, one way or the other, by the relative state of our imports or exports with Holland, England, or Russia.

I would not be understood to deny, that it may often be our interest to cultivate a trade with countries that require most of such commodities as we can furnish, and which are capable also of directly supplying our own wants. This is the original and the simplest form of all commerce, and is no doubt highly beneficial. Some countries are so situated, that commerce, in this original form, or something near it, may be all that they can, without considerable inconvenience, carry on. Our trade, for example, with Madeira and the Western Islands has been useful to the country, as furnishing a demand for some portion of our agricultural products, which probably could not have been bought had we not received their products in return. Countries situated still farther from the great marts and highways of the commercial world may afford still stronger instances of the necessity and utility of conducting commerce on the original principle of barter, without much assistance from the operations of credit and exchange. All I would be understood to say is, that it by no means follows that we can carry on nothing but a losing trade with a country from which we receive more of her products than she receives of ours. Since I was supposed, the other day, in speaking upon this subject, to advance opinions



which not only this country ought to reject, but which also other countries, and those the most distinguished for skill and success in commercial intercourse, do reject, I will ask leave to refer again to the discussion which I first mentioned in the English Parliament, relative to the foreign trade of that country. "With regard," says the mover⁵⁵ of the proposition, "to the argument employed against renewing our intercourse with the North of Europe, namely, that those who supplied us with timber from that quarter would not receive British manufactures in return, it appeared to him futile and ungrounded. If they did not send direct for our manufactures at home, they would send for them to Leipsic and other fairs of Germany. Were not the Russian and Polish merchants purchasers there to a great amount? But he would never admit the principle, that a trade was not profitable because we were obliged to carry it on with the precious metals, or that we ought to renounce it, because our manufactures were not received by the foreign nation in return for its produce. Whatever we received must be paid for in the produce of our land and labor, directly or circuitously, and he was glad to have the noble Earl's⁵⁶ marked concurrence in this principle."

Referring ourselves again, Sir, to the analogies of common life, no one would say that a farmer or a mechanic should buy **only** where he can do so by the exchange of his own produce, or of his own manufacture. Such exchange may be often convenient; and, on the other hand, the cash purchase may be often more convenient. It is the same in the intercourse of nations. Indeed, Mr. Speaker has placed this argument on very clear grounds. It was said, in the early part of the debate, that, if we cease to import English cotton fabrics, England will no longer continue to purchase our cotton. To this Mr. Speaker replied, with great force and justice, that, as she must have cotton in large quantities, she will buy the article where she can find it best and cheapest; and that it would be quite ridiculous in her, manufacturing as she still would be, for her own vast consumption and the consumption of millions in other countries, to reject our uplands because we had learned to manufacture a part of them for ourselves. Would it not be equally ridiculous in us, if the commodities of Russia were both cheaper and better suited to our wants than could be found elsewhere, to abstain from commerce with her, because she will not receive in return other commodities which we have to sell, but which she has no occasion to buy?

Intimately connected, Sir, with this topic, is another which has been brought into the debate; I mean the evil so much complained of, the exportation of specie. We hear gentlemen imputing the loss of market at home to a want of money, and this want of money to the exportation of the precious metals. We hear the India and China trade denounced, as a commerce conducted on our side, in a great measure, with gold and silver. These opinions, Sir, are clearly void of all just foundation, and we cannot too soon get rid of them. There are no shallower reasoners than those political and commercial writers who would represent it to be the only true and gainful end of commerce, to accumulate the

55. The Marquess of Lansdowne.

56. Lord Liverpool.



precious metals. These are articles of use, and articles of merchandise, with this additional circumstance belonging to them, that they are made, by the general consent of nations, the standard by which the value of all other merchandise is to be estimated. In regard to weights and measures, something drawn from external nature is made a common standard, for the purposes of general convenience: and this is precisely the office performed by the precious metals, in addition to those uses to which, as metals, they are capable of being applied. There may be of these too much or too little in a country at a particular time, as there may be of any other articles. When the market is overstocked with them, as it often is, their exportation becomes as proper and as useful as that of other commodities, under similar circumstances. We need no more repine, when the dollars which have been brought here from South America are despatched to other countries, than when coffee and sugar take the same direction. We often deceive ourselves, by attributing to a scarcity of money that which is the result of other causes. In the course of this debate, the honorable member from Pennsylvania⁵⁷ has represented the country as full of every thing but money. But this I take to be a mistake. The agricultural products, so abundant in Pennsylvania, will not, he says, sell for money; but they will sell for money as quick as for any other article which happens to be in demand. They will sell for money, for example, as easily as for coffee or for tea, at the prices which properly belong to those articles. The mistake lies in imputing that to want of money which arises from want of demand. Men do not buy wheat because they have money, but because they want wheat. To decide whether money be plenty or not, that is, whether there be a large portion of capital unemployed or not, when the currency of a country is metallic, we must look, not only to the prices of commodities, but also to the rate of interest. A low rate of interest, a facility of obtaining money on loans, a disposition to invest in permanent stocks, all of which are proofs that money is plenty, may nevertheless often denote a state not of the highest prosperity. They may, and often do, show a want of employment for capital; and the accumulation of specie shows the same thing. We have no occasion for the precious metals as money, except for the purposes of circulation, or rather of sustaining a safe paper circulation. And whenever there is a prospect of a profitable investment abroad, all the gold and silver, except what these purposes require, will be exported. For the same reason, if a demand exist abroad for sugar and coffee, whatever amount of those articles might exist in the country, beyond the wants of its own consumption, would be sent abroad to meet that demand. Besides, Sir, how should it ever occur to anybody, that we should continue to export gold and silver, if we did not continue to import them also? If a vessel take our own products to the Havana, or elsewhere, exchange them for dollars, proceed to China, exchange them for silks and teas, bring these last to the ports of the Mediterranean, sell them there for dollars, and return to the United States, – this would be a voyage resulting in the importation of the precious metals. But if she had returned from Cuba, and the dollars obtained there had been

57. Mr. Tod.



shipped direct from the United States to China, the China goods sold in Holland, and the proceeds brought home in the hemp and iron of Russia, this would be a voyage in which they were exported. Yet everybody sees that both might be equally beneficial to the individual and to the public. I believe, Sir, that, in point of fact, we have enjoyed great benefit in our trade with India and China, from the liberty of going from place to place all over the world, without being obliged in the mean time to return home, a liberty not heretofore enjoyed by the private traders of England, in regard to India and China. Suppose the American ship to be at Brazil, for example; she could proceed with her dollars direct to India, and, in return, could distribute her cargo in all the various ports of Europe or America; while an English ship, if a private trader, being at Brazil, must first return to England, and then could only proceed in the direct line from England to India. This advantage our countrymen have not been backward to improve; and in the debate to which I have already so often referred, it was stated, not without some complaint of the inconvenience of exclusion, and the natural sluggishness of monopoly, that American ships were at that moment fitting out in the Thames, to supply France, Holland, and other countries on the Continent, with tea; while the East India Company would not do this of themselves, nor allow any of their fellow-countrymen to do it for them.

There is yet another subject, Mr. Chairman, upon which I would wish to say something, if I might presume upon the continued patience of the committee. We hear sometimes in the House, and continually out of it, of the rate of exchange, as being one proof that we are on the downward road to ruin. Mr. Speaker himself has adverted to that topic, and I am afraid that his authority may give credit to opinions clearly unfounded, and which lead to very false and erroneous conclusions. Sir, let us see what the facts are. Exchange on England has recently risen one or one and a half per cent, partly owing, perhaps, to the introduction of this bill into Congress. Before this recent rise, and for the last six months, I understand its average may have been about seven and a half per cent advance. Now, supposing this to be the **real**, and not merely, as it is, the nominal, par of exchange between us and England, what would it prove? Nothing, except that funds were wanted by American citizens in England for commercial operations, to be carried on either in England or elsewhere. It would not necessarily show that we were indebted to England; for, if we had occasion to pay debts in Russia or Holland, funds in England would naturally enough be required for such a purpose. Even if it did prove that a balance was due England at the moment, it would have no tendency to explain to us whether our commerce with England had been profitable or unprofitable.

But it is not true, in point of fact, that the **real** price of exchange is seven and a half per cent advance, nor, indeed, that there is at the present moment any advance at all. That is to say, it is not true that merchants will give such an advance, or any advance, for **money** in England, beyond what they would give for the same amount, in the same currency, here. It will strike every one who reflects upon it, that, if there were a real difference of seven and a half per cent, money would be



immediately shipped to England; because the expense of transportation would be far less than that difference. Or commodities of trade would be shipped to Europe, and the proceeds remitted to England. If it could so happen, that American merchants should be willing to pay ten per cent premium for money in England, or, in other words, that a real difference to that amount in the exchange should exist, its effects would be immediately seen in new shipments of our own commodities to Europe, because this state of things would create new motives. A cargo of tobacco, for example, might sell at Amsterdam for the same price as before; but if its proceeds, when remitted to London, were advanced, as they would be in such case, ten per cent by the state of exchange, this would be so much added to the price, and would operate therefore as a motive for the exportation; and in this way national balances are, and always will be, adjusted.

To form any accurate idea of the true state of exchange between two countries, we must look at their currencies, and compare the quantities of gold and silver which they may respectively represent. This usually explains the state of the exchanges; and this will satisfactorily account for the apparent advance now existing on bills drawn on England. The English standard of value is gold; with us that office is performed by gold, and by silver also, at a fixed relation to each other. But our estimate of silver is rather higher, in proportion to gold, than most nations give it; it is higher, especially, than in England, at the present moment. The consequence is, that silver, which remains a legal currency with us, stays here, while the gold has gone abroad; verifying the universal truth, that, if **two** currencies be allowed to exist, of different values, that which is cheapest will fill up the whole circulation. For as much gold as will suffice to pay here a debt of a given amount, we can buy in England more silver than would be necessary to pay the same debt here; and from this difference in the value of silver arises wholly or in a great measure the present apparent difference in exchange. Spanish dollars sell now in England for four shillings and nine pence sterling per ounce, equal to one dollar and six cents. By our standard the same ounce is worth one dollar and sixteen cents, being a difference of about nine per cent. The true par of exchange, therefore, is nine per cent. If a merchant here pay one hundred Spanish dollars for a bill on England, at nominal par, in sterling money, that is for a bill of £22 10s., the proceeds of this bill, when paid in England in the legal currency, will there purchase, at the present price of silver, one hundred and nine Spanish dollars. Therefore, if the nominal advance on English bills do not exceed nine per cent, the real exchange is not against this country; in other words, it does not show that there is any pressing or particular occasion for the remittance of funds to England.

As little can be inferred from the occasional transfer of United States stock to England. Considering the interest paid on our stocks, the entire stability of our credit, and the accumulation of capital in England, it is not at all wonderful that investments should occasionally be made in our funds. As a sort of countervailing fact, it may be stated that English stocks are now actually held in this country, though probably not to any



considerable amount.

I will now proceed, Sir, to state some objections of a more general nature to the course of Mr. Speaker's observations.

He seems to me to argue the question as if all domestic industry were confined to the production of manufactured articles; as if the employment of our own capital and our own labor, in the occupations of commerce and navigation, were not as emphatically domestic industry as any other occupation. Some other gentlemen, in the course of the debate, have spoken of the price paid for every foreign manufactured article as so much given for the encouragement of foreign labor, to the prejudice of our own. But is not every such article the product of our own labor as truly as if we had manufactured it ourselves? Our labor has earned it, and paid the price for it. It is so much added to the stock of national wealth. If the commodity were dollars, nobody would doubt the truth of this remark; and it is precisely as correct in its application to any other commodity as to silver. One man makes a yard of cloth at home; another raises agricultural products and buys a yard of imported cloth. Both these are equally the earnings of domestic industry, and the only questions that arise in the case are two: the first is, which is the best mode, under all the circumstances, of obtaining the article; the second is, how far this first question is proper to be decided by government, and how far it is proper to be left to individual discretion. There is no foundation for the distinction which attributes to certain employments the peculiar appellation of American industry; and it is, in my judgment, extremely unwise to attempt such discriminations.

We are asked, What nations have ever attained eminent prosperity without encouraging manufactures? I may ask, What nation ever reached the like prosperity without promoting foreign trade? I regard these interests as closely connected, and am of opinion that it should be our aim to cause them to flourish together. I know it would be very easy to promote manufactures, at least for a time, but probably for a short time only, if we might act in disregard of other interests. We could cause a sudden transfer of capital, and a violent change in the pursuits of men. We could exceedingly benefit some classes by these means. But what, then, becomes of the interests of others? The power of collecting revenue by duties on imports, and the habit of the government of collecting almost its whole revenue in that mode, will enable us, without exceeding the bounds of moderation, to give great advantages to those classes of manufactures which we may think most useful to promote at home. What I object to is the immoderate use of the power, — exclusions and prohibitions; all of which, as I think, not only interrupt the pursuits of individuals, with great injury to themselves and little or no benefit to the country, but also often divert our own labor, or, as it may very properly be called, our own domestic industry, from those occupations in which it is well employed and well paid, to others in which it will be worse employed and worse paid. For my part, I see very little relief to those who are likely to be deprived of their employments, or who find the prices of the commodities which they need raised, in any of the alternatives which Mr. Speaker has presented. It is nothing to say that they may, if they choose, continue to buy the foreign



article; the answer is, the price is augmented: nor that they may use the domestic article; the price of that also is increased. Nor can they supply themselves by the substitution of their own fabric. How can the agriculturist make his own iron? How can the ship-owner grow his own hemp?

But I have a yet stronger objection to the course of Mr. Speaker's reasoning; which is, that he leaves out of the case all that has been already done for the protection of manufactures, and argues the question as if those interests were now for the first time to receive aid from duties on imports. I can hardly express the surprise I feel that Mr. Speaker should fall into the common mode of expression used elsewhere, and ask if we will give our manufacturers no protection. Sir, look to the history of our laws; look to the present state of our laws. Consider that our whole revenue, with a trifling exception, is collected at the custom-house, and always has been; and then say what propriety there is in calling on the government for protection, as if no protection had heretofore been afforded. The real question before us, in regard to all the important clauses of the bill, is not whether we will **lay** duties, but whether we will **augment** duties. The demand is for something more than exists, and yet it is pressed as if nothing existed. It is wholly forgotten that iron and hemp, for example, already pay a very heavy and burdensome duty; and, in short, from the general tenor of Mr. Speaker's observations, one would infer that, hitherto, we had rather taxed our own manufactures than fostered them by taxes on those of other countries. We hear of the fatal policy of the tariff of 1816; and yet the law of 1816 was passed avowedly for the benefit of manufacturers, and, with very few exceptions, imposed on imported articles very great additions of tax; in some important instances, indeed, amounting to a prohibition.

Sir, on this subject, it becomes us at least to understand the real posture of the question. Let us not suppose that we are **beginning** the protection of manufactures, by duties on imports. What we are asked to do is, to render those duties much higher, and therefore, instead of dealing in general commendations of the benefits of protection, the friends of the bill, I think, are bound to make out a fair case for each of the manufactures which they propose to benefit. The government has already done much for their protection, and it ought to be presumed to have done enough, unless it be shown, by the facts and considerations applicable to each, that there is a necessity for doing more. On the general question, Sir, allow me to ask if the doctrine of prohibition, as a general doctrine, be not preposterous. Suppose all nations to act upon it; they would be prosperous, then, according to the argument, precisely in the proportion in which they abolished intercourse with one another. The less of mutual commerce the better, upon this hypothesis. Protection and encouragement may be, and doubtless are, sometimes, wise and beneficial, if kept within proper limits; but when carried to an extravagant height, or the point of prohibition, the absurd character of the system manifests itself. Mr. Speaker has referred to the late Emperor Napoleon, as having attempted to naturalize the manufacture of cotton in France. He did not cite a more extravagant part of the projects of that ruler, that is,



his attempt to naturalize the growth of that plant itself, in France; whereas, we have understood that considerable districts in the South of France, and in Italy, of rich and productive lands, were at one time withdrawn from profitable uses, and devoted to raising, at great expense, a little bad cotton. Nor have we been referred to the attempts, under the same system, to make sugar and coffee from common culinary vegetables; attempts which served to fill the print-shops of Europe, and to show us how easy is the transition from what some think sublime to that which all admit to be ridiculous. The folly of some of these projects has not been surpassed, nor hardly equalled, unless it be by the philosopher in one of the satires of Swift, who so long labored to extract sunbeams from cucumbers.

The poverty and unhappiness of Spain have been attributed to the want of protection to her own industry. If by this it be meant that the poverty of Spain is owing to bad government and bad laws, the remark is, in a great measure, just. But these very laws are bad because they are restrictive, partial, and prohibitory. If prohibition were protection, Spain would seem to have had enough of it. Nothing can exceed the barbarous rigidity of her colonial system, or the folly of her early commercial regulations. Unenlightened and bigoted legislation, the multitude of holidays, miserable roads, monopolies on the part of government, restrictive laws, that ought long since to have been abrogated, are generally, and I believe truly, reckoned the principal causes of the bad state of the productive industry of Spain. Any partial improvement in her condition, or increase of her prosperity, has been, in all cases, the result of relaxation, and the abolition of what was intended for favor and protection.

In short, Sir, the general sense of this age sets, with a strong current, in favor of freedom of commercial intercourse, and unrestrained individual action. Men yield up their notions of monopoly and restriction, as they yield up other prejudices, slowly and reluctantly; but they cannot withstand the general tide of opinion.

Let me now ask, Sir, what relief this bill proposes to some of those great and essential interests of the country, the condition of which has been referred to as proof of national distress; and which condition, although I do not think it makes out a case of **distress**, yet does indicate depression.

And first, Sir, as to our foreign trade. Mr. Speaker has stated that there has been a considerable falling off in the tonnage employed in that trade. This is true, lamentably true. In my opinion, it is one of those occurrences which ought to arrest our immediate, our deep, our most earnest attention. What does this bill propose for its relief? It proposes nothing but new burdens. It proposes to diminish its employment, and it proposes, at the same time, to augment its expense, by subjecting it to heavier taxation. Sir, there is no interest, in regard to which a stronger case for protection can be made out, than the navigating interest. Whether we look at its present condition, which is admitted to be depressed, the number of persons connected with it, and dependent upon it for their daily bread, or its importance to the country in a political point of view, it has claims upon our attention which cannot be



surpassed. But what do we propose to do for it? I repeat, Sir, simply to burden and to tax it. By a statement which I have already submitted to the committee, it appears that the shipping interest pays, annually, more than half a million of dollars in duties on articles used in the construction of ships. We propose to add nearly, or quite, fifty per cent to this amount, at the very moment that we appeal to the languishing state of this interest as a proof of national distress. Let it be remembered that our shipping employed in foreign commerce has, at this moment, not the shadow of government protection. It goes abroad upon the wide sea to make its own way, and earn its own bread, in a professed competition with the whole world. Its resources are its own frugality, its own skill, its own enterprise. It hopes to succeed, if it shall succeed at all, not by extraordinary aid of government, but by patience, vigilance, and toil. This right arm of the nation's safety strengthens its own muscle by its own efforts, and by unwearied exertion in its own defence becomes strong for the defence of the country.

No one acquainted with this interest can deny that its situation, at this moment, is extremely critical. We have left it hitherto to maintain itself or perish; to swim if it can, and to sink if it must. But at this moment of its apparent struggle, can we as men, can we as patriots, add another stone to the weight that threatens to carry it down? Sir, there is a limit to human power, and to human effort. I know the commercial marine of this country can do almost every thing, and bear almost every thing. Yet some things are impossible to be done, and some burdens may be impossible to be borne; and as it was the last ounce that broke the back of the camel, so the last tax, although it were even a small one, may be decisive as to the power of our marine to sustain the conflict in which it is now engaged with all the commercial nations on the globe.

Again, Mr. Chairman, the failures and the bankruptcies which have taken place in our large cities have been mentioned as proving the little success attending **commerce**, and its general decline. But this bill has no balm for those wounds. It is very remarkable, that when the losses and disasters of certain manufacturers, those of iron, for instance, are mentioned, it is done for the purpose of invoking aid for the distressed. Not so with the losses and disasters of commerce; these last are narrated, and not unfrequently much exaggerated, to prove the ruinous nature of the employment, and to show that it ought to be abandoned, and the capital engaged in it turned to other objects.

It has been often said, Sir, that our manufacturers have to contend, not only against the natural advantages of those who produce similar articles in foreign countries, but also against the action of foreign governments, who have great political interest in aiding their own manufactures to suppress ours. But have not these governments as great an interest to cripple our marine, by preventing the growth of our commerce and navigation? What is it that makes us the object of the highest respect, or the most suspicious jealousy, to foreign states? What is it that most enables us to take high relative rank among the nations? I need not say that this results, more than from any thing else, from that quantity of military power which we can cause to be



water-borne, and from that extent of commerce which we are able to maintain throughout the world.

Mr. Chairman, I am conscious of having detained the committee much too long with these observations. My apology for now proceeding to some remarks upon the particular clauses of the bill is, that, representing a district at once commercial and highly manufacturing, and being called upon to vote upon a bill containing provisions so numerous and so various, I am naturally desirous to state as well what I approve, as what I would reject. The first section proposes an augmented duty upon woollen manufactures. This, if it were unqualified, would no doubt be desirable to those who are engaged in that business. I have myself presented a petition from the woollen manufacturers of Massachusetts, praying an augmented *ad valorem* duty upon imported woollen cloths; and I am prepared to accede to that proposition, to a reasonable extent. But then this bill proposes, also, a very high duty upon imported wool; and, as far as I can learn, a majority of the manufacturers are at least extremely doubtful whether, taking these two provisions together, the state of the law is not better for them now than it would be if this bill should pass. It is said, this tax on raw wool will benefit the agriculturist; but I know it to be the opinion of some of the best informed of that class, that it will do them more hurt than good. They fear it will check the manufacturer, and consequently check his demand for their article. The argument is, that a certain quantity of coarse wool, cheaper than we can possibly furnish, is necessary to enable the manufacturer to carry on the general business, and that if this cannot be had, the consequence will be, not a greater, but a less, manufacture of our own wool. I am aware that very intelligent persons differ upon this point; but if we may safely infer from that difference of opinion, that the proposed benefit is at least doubtful, it would be prudent perhaps to abstain from the experiment. Certain it is, that the same reasoning has been employed, as I have before stated, on the same subject, when a renewed application was made to the English Parliament to repeal the duty on imported wool, I believe scarcely two months ago; those who supported the application pressing urgently the necessity of an unrestricted use of the cheap, imported raw material, with a view to supply with coarse cloths the markets of warm climates, such as those of Egypt and Turkey, and especially a vast newly created demand in the South American states.

As to the manufactures of cotton, it is agreed, I believe, that they are generally successful. It is understood that the present existing duty operates pretty much as a prohibition over those descriptions of fabrics to which it applies. The proposed alteration would probably enable the American manufacturer to commence competition with higher-priced fabrics; and so, perhaps, would an augmentation less than is here proposed. I consider the cotton manufactures not only to have reached, but to have passed, the point of competition. I regard their success as certain, and their growth as rapid as the most impatient could well expect. If, however, a provision of the nature of that recommended here were thought necessary, to commence new operations in the same line of manufacture, I should cheerfully



agree to it, if it were not at the cost of sacrificing other great interests of the country. I need hardly say, that whatever promotes the cotton and woollen manufactures promotes most important interests of my constituents. They have a great stake in the success of those establishments, and, as far as those manufactures are concerned, would be as much benefited by the provisions of this bill as any part of the community. It is obvious, too, I should think, that, for some considerable time, manufactures of this sort, to whatever magnitude they may rise, will be principally established in those parts of the country where population is most dense, capital most abundant, and where the most successful beginnings have already been made.

But if these be thought to be advantages, they are greatly counterbalanced by other advantages enjoyed by other portions of the country. I cannot but regard the situation of the West as highly favorable to human happiness. It offers, in the abundance of its new and fertile lands, such assurances of permanent property and respectability to the industrious, it enables them to lay such sure foundations for a competent provision for their families, it makes such a nation of freeholders, that it need not envy the happiest and most prosperous of the manufacturing communities. We may talk as we will of well-fed and well-clothed day-laborers or journeymen; they are not, after all, to be compared, either for happiness or respectability, with him who sleeps under his own roof and cultivates his own fee-simple inheritance.

With respect to the proposed duty on glass, I would observe, that, upon the best means of judging which I possess, I am of opinion that the chairman of the committee is right in stating that there is in effect a bounty upon the exportation of the British article. I think it entirely proper, therefore, to raise our own duty by such an amount as shall be equivalent to that bounty.

And here, Mr. Chairman, before proceeding to those parts of the bill to which I most strenuously object, I will be so presumptuous as to take up a challenge which Mr. Speaker has thrown down. He has asked us, in a tone of interrogatory indicative of the feeling of anticipated triumph, to mention any country in which manufactures have flourished without the aid of prohibitory laws. He has demanded if it be not policy, protection, ay, and prohibition, that have carried other states to the height of their prosperity, and whether any one has succeeded with such tame and inert legislation as ours. Sir, I am ready to answer this inquiry.

There is a country, not undistinguished among the nations, in which the progress of manufactures has been far more rapid than in any other, and yet unaided by prohibitions or unnatural restrictions. That country, the happiest which the sun shines on, is our own.

The woollen manufactures of England have existed from the early ages of the monarchy. Provisions designed to aid and foster them are in the black-letter statutes of the Edwards and the Henrys. Ours, on the contrary, are but of yesterday; and yet, with no more than the protection of existing laws, they are already at the point of close and promising competition. Sir, nothing is more unphilosophical than to refer us, on these subjects, to the



policy adopted by other nations in a very different state of society, or to infer that what was judged expedient by them, in their early history, must also be expedient for us, in this early part of our own. This would be reckoning our age chronologically, and estimating our advance by our number of years; when, in truth, we should regard only the state of society, the knowledge, the skill, the capital, and the enterprise which belong to our times. We have been transferred from the stock of Europe, in a comparatively enlightened age, and our civilization and improvement date as far back as her own. Her original history is also our original history; and if, since the moment of separation, she has gone ahead of us in some respects, it may be said, without violating truth, that we have kept up in others, and, in others again, are ahead ourselves. We are to legislate, then, with regard to the present actual state of society; and our own experience shows us, that, commencing manufactures at the present highly enlightened and emulous moment, we need not resort to the clumsy helps with which, in less auspicious times, governments have sought to enable the ingenuity and industry of their people to hobble along.

The English cotton manufactures began about the commencement of the last reign. Ours can hardly be said to have commenced with any earnestness, until the application of the power-loom, in 1814, not more than ten years ago. Now, Sir, I hardly need again speak of its progress, its present extent, or its assurance of future enlargement. In some sorts of fabrics we are already exporters, and the products of our factories are, at this moment, in the South American markets. We see, then, what **can** be done without prohibition or extraordinary protection, because we see what **has** been done; and I venture to predict, that, in a few years, it will be thought wonderful that these branches of manufactures, at least, should have been thought to require additional aid from government.

Mr. Chairman, the best apology for laws of prohibition and laws of monopoly will be found in that state of society, not only unenlightened but sluggish, in which they are most generally established. Private industry, in those days, required strong provocatives, which governments were seeking to administer by these means. Something was wanted to actuate and stimulate men, and the prospects of such profits as would, in our times, excite unbounded competition, would hardly move the sloth of former ages. In some instances, no doubt, these laws produced an effect, which, in that period, would not have taken place without them. But our age is of a wholly different character, and its legislation takes another turn. Society is full of excitement; competition comes in place of monopoly; and intelligence and industry ask only for fair play and an open field. Profits, indeed, in such a state of things, will be small, but they will be extensively diffused; prices will be low, and the great body of the people prosperous and happy. It is worthy of remark, that, from the operation of these causes, commercial wealth, while it is increased beyond calculation in its general aggregate, is, at the same time, broken and diminished in its subdivisions. Commercial prosperity should be judged of, therefore, rather from the extent of trade, than from the



magnitude of its apparent profits. It has been remarked, that Spain, certainly one of the poorest nations, made very great profits on the amount of her trade; but with little other benefit than the enriching of a few individuals and companies. Profits to the English merchants engaged in the Levant and Turkey trade were formerly very great, and there were richer merchants in England some centuries ago, considering the comparative value of money, than at the present highly commercial period. When the diminution of profits arises from the extent of competition, it indicates rather a salutary than an injurious change.⁵⁸

The true course then, Sir, for us to pursue, is, in my opinion, to consider what our situation is; what our means are; and how they can be best applied. What amount of population have we in comparison with our extent of soil, what amount of capital, and labor at what price? As to skill, knowledge, and enterprise, we may safely take it for granted that in these particulars we are on an equality with others. Keeping these considerations in view, allow me to examine two or three of those provisions of the bill to which I feel the strongest objections.

To begin with the article of iron. Our whole annual consumption of this article is supposed by the chairman of the committee to be forty-eight or fifty thousand tons. Let us suppose the latter. The amount of our own manufacture he estimates, I think, at seventeen thousand tons. The present duty on the imported article is \$15 per ton, and as this duty causes, of course, an equivalent augmentation of the price of the home manufacture, the whole increase of price is equal to \$750,000 annually. This sum we pay on a raw material, and on an absolute necessary of life. The bill proposes to raise the duty from \$15 to \$22.50 per ton, which would be equal to \$1,125,000 on the whole annual consumption. So that, suppose the point of prohibition which is aimed at by some gentlemen to be attained, the consumers of the article would pay this last-mentioned sum every year to the producers of it, over and above the price at which they could supply themselves with the same article from other sources. There would be no mitigation of this burden, except from the prospect, whatever that might be, that iron would fall in value, by domestic competition, after the importation should be prohibited. It will be easy, I think, to show that it cannot fall; and supposing for the present that it shall not, the result will be, that we shall pay annually the sum of \$1,125,000, constantly augmented, too, by increased consumption of the article, **to support a business that cannot support itself.**

It is of no consequence to the argument, that this sum is expended at home; so it would be if we taxed the people to support any other useless and expensive establishment, to build another Capitol, for example, or incur an unnecessary expense of any sort. The question still is, Are the money, time, and labor well laid out in these cases? The present price of iron at Stockholm, I am assured by importers, is \$53 per ton on board, \$48 in the yard before loading, and probably not far from \$40

58. "The present equable diffusion of moderate wealth cannot be better illustrated, than by remarking that in this age many palaces and superb mansions have been pulled down, or converted to other purposes, while none have been erected on a like scale. The numberless baronial castles and mansions, in all parts of England, now in ruins, may all be adduced as examples of the decrease of inordinate wealth. On the other hand, the multiplication of commodious dwellings for the upper and middle classes of society, and the increased comforts of all ranks, exhibit a picture of individual happiness, unknown in any other age." — *Sir G. Blane's Letter to Lord Spencer, in 1800.*



at the mines. Freight, insurance, &c. may be fairly estimated at \$15, to which add our present duty of \$15 more, and these two last sums, together with the cost on board at Stockholm, give \$83 as the cost of Swedes iron in our market. In fact, it is said to have been sold last year at \$81.50 to \$82 per ton. We perceive, by this statement, that the cost of the iron is doubled in reaching us from the mine in which it is produced. In other words, our present duty, with the expense of transportation, gives an advantage to the American over the foreign manufacturer of one hundred per cent. Why, then, cannot the iron be manufactured at home? Our ore is said to be as good, and some of it better. It is under our feet, and the chairman of the committee tells us that it might be wrought by persons who otherwise will not be employed. Why, then, is it not wrought? Nothing could be more sure of constant sale. It is not an article of changeable fashion, but of absolute, permanent necessity, and such, therefore, as would always meet a steady demand. Sir, I think it would be well for the chairman of the committee to revise his premises, for I am persuaded that there is an ingredient properly belonging to the calculation which he has misstated or omitted. Swedes iron in England pays a duty, I think, of about \$27 per ton; yet it is imported in considerable quantities, notwithstanding the vast capital, the excellent coal, and, more important than all perhaps, the highly improved state of inland navigation in England; although I am aware that the English use of Swedes iron may be thought to be owing in some degree to its superior quality.

Sir, the true explanation of this appears to me to lie in the different prices **of labor**; and here I apprehend is the grand mistake in the argument of the chairman of the committee. He says it would cost the nation, as a nation, nothing, to make our ore into iron. Now, I think it would cost us precisely that which we can worst afford; that is, great **labor**. Although bar-iron is very properly considered a raw material in respect to its various future uses, yet, as bar-iron, the principal ingredient in its cost is labor. Of manual labor, no nation has more than a certain quantity, nor can it be increased at will. As to some operations, indeed, its place may be supplied by machinery; but there are other services which machinery cannot perform for it, and which it must perform for itself. A most important question for every nation, as well as for every individual, to propose to itself, is, how it can best apply that quantity of labor which it is able to perform. Labor is the great producer of wealth; it moves all other causes. If it call machinery to its aid, it is still employed, not only in using the machinery, but in making it. Now, with respect to the quantity of labor, as we all know, different nations are differently circumstanced. Some need, more than any thing, work for hands, others require hands for work; and if we ourselves are not absolutely in the latter class, we are still most fortunately very near it. I cannot find that we have those idle hands, of which the chairman of the committee speaks. The price of labor is a conclusive and unanswerable refutation of that idea; it is known to be higher with us than in any other civilized state, and this is the greatest of all proofs of general happiness. Labor in this country is independent and proud. It has not to ask the patronage of



capital, but capital solicits the aid of labor. This is the general truth in regard to the condition of our whole population, although in the large cities there are doubtless many exceptions. The mere capacity to labor in common agricultural employments, gives to our young men the assurance of independence. We have been asked, Sir, by the chairman of the committee, in a tone of some pathos, whether we will allow to the serfs of Russia and Sweden the benefit of making iron for us. Let me inform the gentleman, Sir, that those same serfs do not earn more than seven cents a day, and that they work in these mines for that compensation because they are serfs. And let me ask the gentleman further, whether we have any labor in this country that cannot be better employed than in a business which does not yield the laborer more than seven cents a day? This, it appears to me, is the true question for our consideration. There is no reason for saying that we will work iron because we have mountains that contain the ore. We might for the same reason dig among our rocks for the scattered grains of gold and silver which might be found there. The true inquiry is, Can we produce the article in a useful state at the same cost, or nearly at the same cost, or at any reasonable approximation towards the same cost, at which we can import it?

Some general estimates of the price and profits of labor, in those countries from which we import our iron, might be formed by comparing the reputed products of different mines, and their prices, with the number of hands employed. The mines of Danemora are said to yield about 4,000 tons, and to employ in the mines twelve hundred workmen. Suppose this to be worth \$50 per ton; any one will find by computation, that the whole product would not pay, in this country, for one quarter part of the necessary labor. The whole export of Sweden was estimated, a few years ago, at 400,000 ship pounds, or about 54,000 tons. Comparing this product with the number of workmen usually supposed to be employed in the mines which produce iron for exportation, the result will not greatly differ from the foregoing. These estimates are general, and might not conduct us to a precise result; but we know, from intelligent travellers, and eye-witnesses, that the price of labor in the Swedish mines does not exceed seven cents a day.⁵⁹

The true reason, Sir, why it is not our policy to compel our citizens to manufacture our own iron, is that they are far better employed. It is an unproductive business, and they are not poor enough to be obliged to follow it. If we had more of poverty, more of misery, and something of servitude, if we had an ignorant, idle, starving population, we might set up for iron makers against the world.

The committee will take notice, Mr. Chairman, that, under our present duty, together with the expense of transportation, our

59. The price of labor in Russia may be pretty well collected from Tooke's "View of the Russian Empire." "The workmen in the mines and the founderies are, indeed, all called master-people; but they distinguish themselves into masters, under-masters, apprentices, delvers, servants, carriers, washers, and separators. In proportion to their ability their wages are regulated, which proceed from fifteen to upwards of thirty roubles per annum. The provisions which they receive from the magazines are deducted from this pay." The value of the rouble at that time (1799) was about twenty-four pence sterling, or forty-five cents of our money. "By the edict of 1799," it is added, "a laborer with a horse shall receive, daily, in summer, twenty, and in winter, twelve copecks; a laborer without a horse, in summer, ten, in winter, eight copecks."

A copeck is the hundredth part of a rouble, or about half a cent of our money. The price of labor may have risen, in some degree, since that period, but probably not much.



manufacturers are able to supply their own immediate neighborhood; and this proves the magnitude of that substantial encouragement which these two causes concur to give. There is little or no foreign iron, I presume, used in the county of Lancaster. This is owing to the heavy expense of land carriage; and as we recede farther from the coast, the manufacturers are still more completely secured, as to their own immediate market, against the competition of the imported article. But what they ask is to be allowed to supply the sea-coast, at such a price as shall be formed by adding to the cost at the mines the expense of land carriage to the sea; and this appears to me most unreasonable. The effect of it would be to compel the consumer to pay the cost of two land transportations; for, in the first place, the price of iron at the inland furnaces will always be found to be at, or not much below, the price of the imported article in the seaport, and the cost of transportation to the neighborhood of the furnace; and to enable the home product to hold a competition with the imported in the seaport, the cost of another transportation downward, from the furnace to the coast, must be added. Until our means of inland commerce be improved, and the charges of transportation by that means lessened, it appears to me wholly impracticable, with such duties as any one would think of proposing, to meet the wishes of the manufacturers of this article. Suppose we were to add the duty proposed by this bill, although it would benefit the capital invested in works near the sea and the navigable rivers, yet the benefit would not extend far in the interior. Where, then, are we to stop, or what limit is proposed to us?

The freight of iron has been afforded from Sweden to the United States as low as eight dollars per ton. This is not more than the price of fifty miles of land carriage. Stockholm, therefore, for the purpose of this argument, may be considered as within fifty miles of Philadelphia. Now, it is at once a just and a strong view of this case, to consider, that there are, within fifty miles of our market, vast multitudes of persons who are willing to labor in the production of this article for us, at the rate of seven cents per day, while we have no labor which will not command, upon the average, at least five or six times that amount. The question is, then, shall we buy this article of these manufacturers, and suffer our own labor to earn its greater reward, or shall we employ our own labor in a similar manufacture, and make up to it, by a tax on consumers, the loss which it must necessarily sustain.

I proceed, Sir, to the article of hemp. Of this we imported last year, in round numbers, 6,000 tons, paying a duty of \$30 a ton, or \$180,000 on the whole amount; and this article, it is to be remembered, is consumed almost entirely in the uses of navigation. The whole burden may be said to fall on one interest. It is said we can produce this article if we will raise the duties. But why is it not produced now? or why, at least, have we not seen some specimens? for the present is a very high duty, when expenses of importation are added. Hemp was purchased at St. Petersburg, last year, at \$101.67 per ton. Charges attending shipment, &c., \$14.25. Freight may be stated at \$30 per ton, and our existing duty \$30 more. These three last sums, being the charges of transportation, amount to a protection of near



seventy-five per cent in favor of the home manufacturer, if there be any such. And we ought to consider, also, that the price of hemp at St. Petersburg is increased by all the expense of transportation from the place of growth to that port; so that probably the whole cost of transportation, from the place of growth to our market, including our duty, is equal to the first cost of the article; or, in other words, is a protection in favor of our own product of one hundred per cent.

And since it is stated that we have great quantities of fine land for the production of hemp, of which I have no doubt, the question recurs, Why is it not produced? I speak of the water-rotted hemp, for it is admitted that that which is dew-rotted is not sufficiently good for the requisite purposes. I cannot say whether the cause be in climate, in the process of rotting, or what else, but the fact is certain, that there is no American water-rotted hemp in the market. We are acting, therefore, upon an hypothesis. Is it not reasonable that those who say that they **can** produce the article shall at least prove the truth of that allegation, before new taxes are laid on those who use the foreign commodity? Suppose this bill passes; the price of hemp is immediately raised \$14.80 per ton, and this burden falls immediately on the ship-builder; and no part of it, for the present, will go for the benefit of the American grower, because he has none of the article than can be used, nor is it expected that much of it will be produced for a considerable time. Still the tax takes effect upon the imported article; and the ship-owners, to enable the Kentucky farmer to receive an additional \$14 on his ton of hemp, whenever he may be able to raise and manufacture it, pay, in the mean time, an equal sum per ton into the treasury on all the imported hemp which they are still obliged to use; and this is called "protection"! Is this just or fair? A particular interest is here burdened, not only for the benefit of another particular interest, but burdened also beyond that, for the benefit of the treasury. It is said to be important for the country that this article should be raised in it; then let the country bear the expense, and pay the bounty. If it be for the good of the whole, let the sacrifice be made by the whole, and not by a part. If it be thought useful and necessary, from political considerations, to encourage the growth and manufacture of hemp, government has abundant means of doing it. It might give a direct bounty, and such a measure would, at least, distribute the burden equally; or, as government itself is a great consumer of this article, it might stipulate to confine its own purchases to the home product, so soon as it should be shown to be of the proper quality. I see no objection to this proceeding, if it be thought to be an object to encourage the production. It might easily, and perhaps properly, be provided by law, that the navy should be supplied with American hemp, the quality being good, at any price not exceeding, by more than a given amount, the current price of foreign hemp in our market. Every thing conspires to render some such course preferable to the one now proposed. The encouragement in that way would be ample, and, if the experiment should succeed, the whole object would be gained; and, if it should fail, no considerable loss or evil would be felt by any one.



from Charleston to Liverpool, in time of peace. It is now I know not what, or how many fractions of a penny; I think, however, it is stated at five eighths. The producers, then, of this great staple, are able, by means of this navigation, to send it, for a cent a pound, from their own doors to the best market in the world.

Mr. Chairman, I will now only remind the committee that, while we are proposing to add new burdens to the shipping interest, a very different line of policy is followed by our great commercial and maritime rival. It seems to be announced as the sentiment of the government of England, and undoubtedly it is its real sentiment, that the first of all manufactures is the manufacture of ships. A constant and wakeful attention is paid to this interest, and very important regulations, favorable to it, have been adopted within the last year, some of which I will beg leave to refer to, with the hope of exciting the notice, not only of the committee, but of all others who may feel, as I do, a deep interest in this subject. In the first place, a general amendment has taken place in the register acts, introducing many new provisions, and, among others, the following: -

A direct mortgage of the interest of a ship is allowed, without subjecting the mortgagee to the responsibility of an owner.

The proportion of interest held by each owner is exhibited in the register, thereby facilitating both sales and mortgages, and giving a new value to shipping among the moneyed classes.

Shares, in the ships of copartnerships, may be registered as joint property, and subject to the same rules as other partnership effects.

Ships may be registered in the name of trustees, for the benefit of joint-stock companies.

And many other regulations are adopted, with the same general view of rendering the mode of holding the property as convenient and as favorable as possible.

By another act, British registered vessels, of every description, are allowed to enter into the general and the coasting trade in the India seas, and may now trade to and from India, with any part of the world except China.

By a third, all limitations and restrictions, as to latitude and longitude, are removed from ships engaged in the Southern whale-fishery. These regulations, I presume, have not been made without first obtaining the consent of the East India Company; so true is it found, that real encouragement of enterprise oftener consists, in our days, in restraining or buying off monopolies and prohibitions, than in imposing or extending them. The trade with Ireland is turned into a free coasting trade; light duties have been reduced, and various other beneficial arrangements made, and still others proposed. I might add, that, in favor of general commerce, and as showing their confidence in the principles of liberal intercourse, the British government has perfected the warehouse system, and authorized a reciprocity of duties with foreign states, at the discretion of the Privy Council.

This, Sir, is the attention which our great rival is paying to these important subjects, and we may assure ourselves that, if we do not cherish a proper sense of our own interests, she will not only beat us, but will deserve to beat us.



Sir, I will detain you no longer. There are some parts of this bill which I highly approve; there are others in which I should acquiesce; but those to which I have now stated my objections appear to me so destitute of all justice, so burdensome and so dangerous to that interest which has steadily enriched, gallantly defended, and proudly distinguished us, that nothing can prevail upon me to give it my support.⁶⁰

* * * * *

NOTE.

This is commonly called Mr. Webster's "Free Trade" speech. It has been found difficult to select one among his many speeches in support of the policy of Protection which would fully represent his views on the subject; but the reasons for his change of opinion, and for his advocacy of Protection, are fully stated in many of the speeches printed in this volume, delivered after the year 1830. Perhaps as good a statement as can be selected from his many speeches on the Tariff, in explanation of his change of position as to the need, policy, and duty of protection to American manufactures, may be found in his speech delivered in the Senate of the United States, on the 25th and 26th of July, 1846, on the Bill "To reduce the Duties on Imports, and for other Purposes." In this speech, he made the following frank avowal of the reasons which induced him to reconsider and reverse his original opinions on the subject:

—

"But, Sir, before I proceed further with this part of the case, I will take notice of what appears, latterly, to be an attempt, by the republication of opinions and expressions, arguments and speeches of mine, at an earlier and later period of life, to found against me a charge of inconsistency, on this subject of the protective policy of the country. Mr. President, if it be an inconsistency to hold an opinion upon a subject at one time and in one state of circumstances, and to hold a different opinion upon the same subject at another time and in a different state of circumstances, I admit the charge. Nay, Sir, I will go further; and in regard to questions which, from their nature, do not depend upon circumstances for their true and just solution, I mean constitutional questions, if it be an inconsistency to hold an opinion to-day, even upon such a question, and on that same question to hold a different opinion a quarter of a century afterwards, upon a more comprehensive view of the whole subject, with a more thorough investigation into the original purposes and objects of that Constitution, and especially after a more thorough exposition of those objects and purposes by those who framed it, and have been trusted to administer it, I should not shrink even from that imputation. I hope I know more of the

60. Since the delivery of this speech, an arrival has brought London papers containing the speech of the English Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Robinson), on the 23d of February last, in submitting to Parliament the annual financial statement. Abundant confirmation will be found in that statement of the remarks made in the preceding speech, as to the prevailing sentiment, in the English government, on the general subject of prohibitory laws, and on the silk manufacture and the wool tax particularly.



Constitution of my country than I did when I was twenty years old. I hope I have contemplated its great objects more broadly. I hope I have read with deeper interest the sentiments of the great men who framed it. I hope I have studied with more care the condition of the country when the convention assembled to form it. And yet I do not know that I have much to retract or to change on these points.

"But, Sir, I am of the opinion of a very eminent person, who had occasion, not long since, to speak of this topic in another place. Inconsistencies of opinion, arising from changes of circumstances, are often justifiable. But there is one sort of inconsistency which is culpable. It is the inconsistency between a man's conviction and his vote; between his conscience and his conduct. No man shall ever charge me with an inconsistency like that. And now, Sir, allow me to say, that I am quite indifferent, or rather thankful, to those conductors of the public press who think they cannot do better than now and then to spread my poor opinions before the public.

"I have said many times, and it is true, that, up to the year 1824, the people of that part of the country to which I belong, being addicted to commerce, having been successful in commerce, their capital being very much engaged in commerce, were averse to entering upon a system of manufacturing operations. Every member in Congress from the State of Massachusetts, with the exception, I think, of one, voted against the act of 1824. But what were we to do? Were we not bound, after 1817 and 1824, to consider that the policy of the country was settled, had become settled, as a policy, to protect the domestic industry of the country by solemn laws? The leading speech⁶¹ which ushered in the act of 1824 was called a speech for the 'American System.' The bill was carried principally by the Middle States. Pennsylvania and New York would have it so; and what were we to do? Were we to stand aloof from the occupations which others were pursuing around us? Were we to pick clean teeth on a constitutional doubt which a majority in the councils of the nation had overruled? No, Sir; we had no option. All that was left us was to fall in with the settled policy of the country; because, if any thing can ever settle the policy of the country, or if any thing can ever settle the practical construction of the Constitution of the country, it must be these repeated decisions of Congress, and enactments of successive laws conformable to these decisions. New England, then, did fall in. She went into manufacturing operations, not from original choice, but from the necessity of the circumstances in which the legislation of the country had placed her. And, for one, I resolved then, and have acted upon the resolution ever since, that, having compelled the Eastern States to go into

61. That of Mr. Clay.



these pursuits for a livelihood, the country was bound to fulfil the just expectations which it had inspired."



April 2, Friday: Having been unable to complete his speech on the tariff to the US House of Representatives on the previous day, on this day [Daniel Webster](#) completed that speech.

50,000 New-York inhabitants, perhaps a third of the city's population, turned out to witness the [hanging](#) in an open field at what is now 2d Avenue and 13th Street in the East Village of white 45-year-old landlord John Johnson for having murdered a sailor who had rented a room from him, James Murray, by striking him on the head with the blunt side of a hatchet. Johnson had dragged the body out into Cuyler's Alley, near the present location of the New York Stock Exchange Stock Clearing Building downtown, but the body had been traced back to Johnson's boarding house. Charles H. Haswell's Reminiscences of New York by an Octogenarian would provide some detail on the scene:

James Murray, from Boston, on his way South put up at a sailors' boarding-house of a man named Johnson, who, ascertaining that the former had a bag containing several hundred dollars in specie, murdered him in his bed, and two days after dragged the body to Cuyler's Alley, leading from Water Street to the river between Coenties and Old slips, and left it there. He was soon after arrested... Johnson, who had been indicted for murder on the 4th of December preceding, was found guilty on the 17th of March, and as there were not any members of the legal profession in those days known as Tombs lawyers, vulgo Shysters, the verdict was accepted without appeal and he was hanged on the 2nd of April. The proceedings connected with his execution were so widely different from those of a later, and the present day, that a reference to them may be of interest. The culprit, dressed in white, trimmed with black, and seated on his coffin in an open wagon, was transported from the Bridewell (City Hall Park) through Broadway to an open field at the junction of Second Avenue and about Thirteenth Street, where his execution was witnessed by many thousands of persons; his body was then taken to the Hall of the Physicians and Surgeons in Barclay Street, where it was subjected to a number of experiments with galvanism.



April 3, Saturday: Morning and Evening Service for chorus and organ by Samuel Wesley was performed completely for the initial time, in St. Paul's Cathedral, London.

Samuel Young was nominated by a state caucus for governor of [New York](#).

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

7th day 3 of 4 M / About 2 OC this afternoon a messenger stoped & gave information that Aunt Mary Gould was worse & I was requested to go up there - which I quickly did, & found her very low, but did not appear to me immediately Dieing [sic]. When I went into the Chamber, I went to the bed & inquired how she did. she told me very poorly, & asked me to sit down, which I did) at the head of her bed - she soon put out her hand for me to take, which I did, & took her pulse & found them Stronger than I expected. - She asked me if I did not think her dieing. I told her not immediately - but considered her very weak & low.

*– While sitting by her bed side, my mind was cover'd with quiet, & I evidently felt a solemn quiet to preside over her, which was a consolation to my feelings on her account – Aunt Stanton came in, to whom she was able to speak with much composure. – it was necessary for me to leave & come home, being under several pressing engagements - but a few minutes before 5 OC a message came that she was very near the close - I went up & found she had expired just as I entered the room
Aged 81 Years 4 Months & 1 day, being born the 2nd of the 10th M called December "old stile" 1743*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 4, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 4 of 4 M / Large solid Meeting & silent till near the close, when our frd D Buffum rose & delivered a testimony on the importance of a preparation for a future State, with great life & solemnity – To me the forepart of the Meeting was a favour season, for which I desire to be very thankful – In the Afternoon the Meeting was silent, but a pretty good time, indeed it has been a day of favour to me –for this renewal of favour, my heart bows under a sense of my unworthyness –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 5, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 5 of 4 M 1824 / Attended Aunt Molly Goulds funeral which was a silent solid sitting - she was interd in friends burying ground near our Meeting House on the North side of Aunt Pollys grave

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 7, Wednesday: In St. Petersburg, Mass in D “[Missa Solemnis](#)” for soloists, chorus and orchestra by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) was performed completely for the initial time.



April 8, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 8th of 4th M / Silent & pretty good Meetings - The Committee in care of Jamestown Meeting met at the close, & Concluded to open one there, the First day after the Next Quarterly Meeting at [Greenwich](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 9, Friday: [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) caught a chill after riding.



April 10, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th 10th of 4 M / We had this Afternoon the company our Young Friends Wing Russel & Jos Tillinghast of [New Bedford](#) to tea - They appear to be rightly concerned young men, & on good ground, my heart desires their Wellfare - To Wing I feel myself under



1824

1824

no small obligations, for many interesting communications, furnished of late on the state of society in [New Bedford](#). –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 11, Sunday: Maria Szymanowska gave a very successful performance at the Paris Conservatoire, on her 3-year concert tour of Europe.

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

1st day 12 [sic] of 4 M / Meetings silent excepting a short savory communication from Anne Dennis - Both small being very rainy -seasons of some favour to me, but Oh how short of what I desire-

This eveng visited James Mitchell who is very sick & without a speedy change for the better, it now looks as if the days of his Years are nearly numbered. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 12, Monday: De Witt Clinton was ousted by Van Buren's colleagues as an [Erie Canal](#) commissioner.

Publication of [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami's](#) *LA DÉCOUVERTE DES SOURCES DU MISSISSIPPI ET DE LA RIVIÈRE SANGLANTE. DESCRIPTION DU COURS ENTIRE DU MISSISSIPPI, QUIE N'ÉTAIT CONNU, QUE PARTIELLEMENT, ET D'UNE GRANDE PARTIE DE CELUI DE LA RIVIERE SANGLANTE, PRESQUE ENTIÈREMENT INCONNUE; AINSI QUE DU COURS ENTIRE DE L'OHIO. APERÇUS HISTORIQUES, DES ENDROITS LES PLUS INTÉRESSANS, QU'ON Y RECONTRE. OBSERVATIONS CRITICO-PHILOSOPHIQUES, SUR LES MOEURS, LA RELIGION, LES SUPERSTITIONS, LES COSTUMES, LES ARMES, LES CHASSES, LA GUERRE, LA PAIX, LE DÉNOMBREMENT, L'ORGINE, &C. &C. DE PLUSIEURS NATIONS INDIENNES. PARALLELE DE CES PEOPLES AVEC CEUX DE L'ANTIQUITÉ, DU MOYEN AGE, ET DU MODERNE. COUP D'OEIL, SUR LES COMPAGNIES NORD-OUEST, ET DE LA BAIE D'HUDSON, AINSI QUE SUR LA COLONIE SELKIRK. PREUVES EVIDENTES, QUE LE MISSISSIPPI EST LA PREMIÈRE RIVIÈRE DU MONDE. PAR G. C. BELTRAMI ...* (Nouvelle-Orléans: Impr. par Benjamin Levy, 1824).



LA DÉCOUVERTE ...

 April 15, Thursday: Work resumed on the [Chesapeake and Delaware Canal](#) after a 19-year hiatus, under Chief Engineer Benjamin Wright.

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

5th day 15th of 4 M / Meeting silent - In the Select Meeting, a sense of lowness in my mown mind & in others - Indeed it is a low time in the Church, especially this part of it - I felt a sense of lamentation over the State of things in the first

meeting & particularly for myself - but what avails Lamentation, it is not that which is to effect change - it is setting about the Work, removing the Rubbish, building the Wall with one hand & loding the Weapon of defence in the other to Keep away the enemy, this would inspire our own minds with confidence that the Work would be completed, & stimulate others to follow our example, & give them confidence in their leaders - but I cannot but say -Alas the weakness which pervades Zion, may her waste places be restored to ancient beauty by the renewed Zeal of her inhabitants

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 17, Saturday: A treaty between [Russia](#) and the United States confined Russian claims in North America to north of 54° 40' north latitude. The region from the Rockies to the Pacific that would eventually become the states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho would in the future be under contention only between the United States and Great Britain.

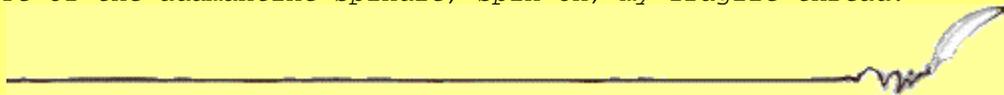
 April 18, Easter Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 18 of 4 M 1824 / Hard meetings but a degree of favour in the Afternoon - H Dennis & J D was engaged in short testimony in the forenoon & in the Afternoon Jonathon spoke pertinently in a few words

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

I cannot accurately estimate my chances of success, in my profession, & in life. Were it just to judge the future from the past, they would be very low. In my case I think it is not. I have never expected success in my present employment. My scholars are carefully instructed, my money is faithfully earned, but the instructor is little wiser. & the duties were never congenial with my disposition. Thus far the dupe of hope I have trudged on with my burden at my back, and my eye fixed on the distant hill where my burden would fall. It may be I shall write dupe a long time to come & the end of life shall intervene betwixt me & the release. My trust is that my profession shall be my regeneration of mind, manners, inward & outward estate; or rather my starting point, for I have hoped to put on eloquence as a robe, and by goodness and zeal and the awfulness of virtue to press & prevail over the false judgments, the rebel passions & corrupt habits of men. We blame the past, we magnify & gild the future and are not wiser for the multitude of days. Spin on, Ye of the adamantine spindle, spin on, my fragile thread.



1824

1824

 April 19, Monday: George Gordon Noel, 6th Baron Byron of Rochdale, a volunteer in the Greek rebellion, lay a victim of malaria in Missolonghi (Mesolongion), to the west of Athens.⁶² His schemes to become a great white hero seemed remote. Ordinarily he wouldn't have let physicians near him, but on this occasion he was hardly conscious enough to drive them away. They bled [the 6th Baron Byron of Rochdale](#) until Captain George Anson Byron became by default [the 7th Baron Byron of Rochdale](#).



His heart and lungs would remain in Greece, while the remainder of his body would be shipped home to be placed in Hucknall Torkard Church near Newstead, Nottinghamshire.

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

2nd day 19 of 4 M / Went to Conannicut to rectify Clocks, after a laborious day returned at Night -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 20, Tuesday: After two months in Paris, Maria Szymanowska departed for London.

 April 22, Thursday: A home at 286 Water Street in New-York was the first private residence to be lighted by gas.

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

5th day 22nd of 4 M / Priscilla Hunt from Indiana was at meeting Long testimony, know not what to say, - some approves - some are doubtful - In the last (Preparative) - Queries answered for the Year, some searching -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 23, Friday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 23 of 4 M / This Afternoon went to Connanicut to attend a Meeting appointed by her there this PM at 4 OC - it was so foggy that we could see nothing in the ferry & steerd by the Compass - it was also rainy & when we got there found the Meeting was not given out, so concluded to stay all Night at J Greenes & appoint the Meeting tomorrow at 11 OClock AM. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

62. A lot of the fighting of the Greek rebellion centered on this small town. It had originally been carried by storm on November 1, 1821 but then the Turks had laid siege to it during October 1822. The Turks had assaulted the town six times by January 5, 1823 but on January 27, 1823 had been compelled to retreat. They would return on April 17, 1825 and bombard the town beginning on May 7, 1825. There would be another bombardment on January 25, 1826. The town would fall to the Turks on April 22, 1825. The Greeks would again capture the town in 1829, and it would be included in the new kingdom of Greece.

 April 24, Saturday: [Martha Bartlett](#) was born, the 2d child of [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#) and [Martha Tilden Bradford Bartlett](#) of Concord.⁶³

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

*7th day – Meeting not very full, but considerable many folks there. – Priscilla engaged in a long testimony & concluded in supplication - know not that any fault could be found - her exemplary deportment while I was with her, much in her favour - together with a Savour of life in some part of her testimony at least –
Waited on her & her companions who were John Lawton of Athens NYork & Hannah Eddy of Uxbridge, to the West ferry where we were joined by John Weeden, who agreed to conduct them to Tower Hill Meeting, where they expect to be tomorrow –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 25, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 25th of 4 M / Silent Meetings, & rather Small – We took tea at David Buffums & spent the evening pleasantly –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 April 27, Tuesday: [Edward Bliss Emerson](#)'s exercise in mathematics (25 ¾ x 38 ¾ in., Thesis #285, HUC 8782.514) was exhibited at [Harvard College](#). It consisted of a calculation and projection predicting the path across the face of the earth of the shadow of an [eclipse](#) of the sun that would be occurring during May 1836.

RECORDS ARCHIVE

Les trois genres, a scene lyrique by Adrien Boieldieu and Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, Dupaty and Pichat, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre de l'Odeon, Paris.

63. Martha would be a student at the [Concord Academy](#) under [the Thoreau brothers](#). [Sophia Thoreau](#) would come to enjoy playing chess with Martha.

1824

1824



April 28, Wednesday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) left New Orleans for Tampico, Mexico. He would tour Aguascalientes, Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Alvarado, San Luis Potosi, etc.



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

5th day 29 of 4 M / Did not go to [Portsmouth](#) to attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting - various discouragements attending - Was absent two Days last week, a prospect of Quarterly Meeting next week - & Thos Hornsby who lives in the house with us is very ill - a day of much seriousness to me -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 30, Friday: The garrison of Lisbon revolted in favor of the absolutist Dom Miguel, younger son of King Joao VI.

The General Survey Act authorized federal survey of routes proposed as national roads and [canals](#).



MAY



May: Two **negreros** flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Chatica*, master Jozé Inza, and the *Indomable*, master J. Sangredas, on their one known Middle Passage, arrived during this month at the port of Havana, Cuba.



RACE SLAVERY

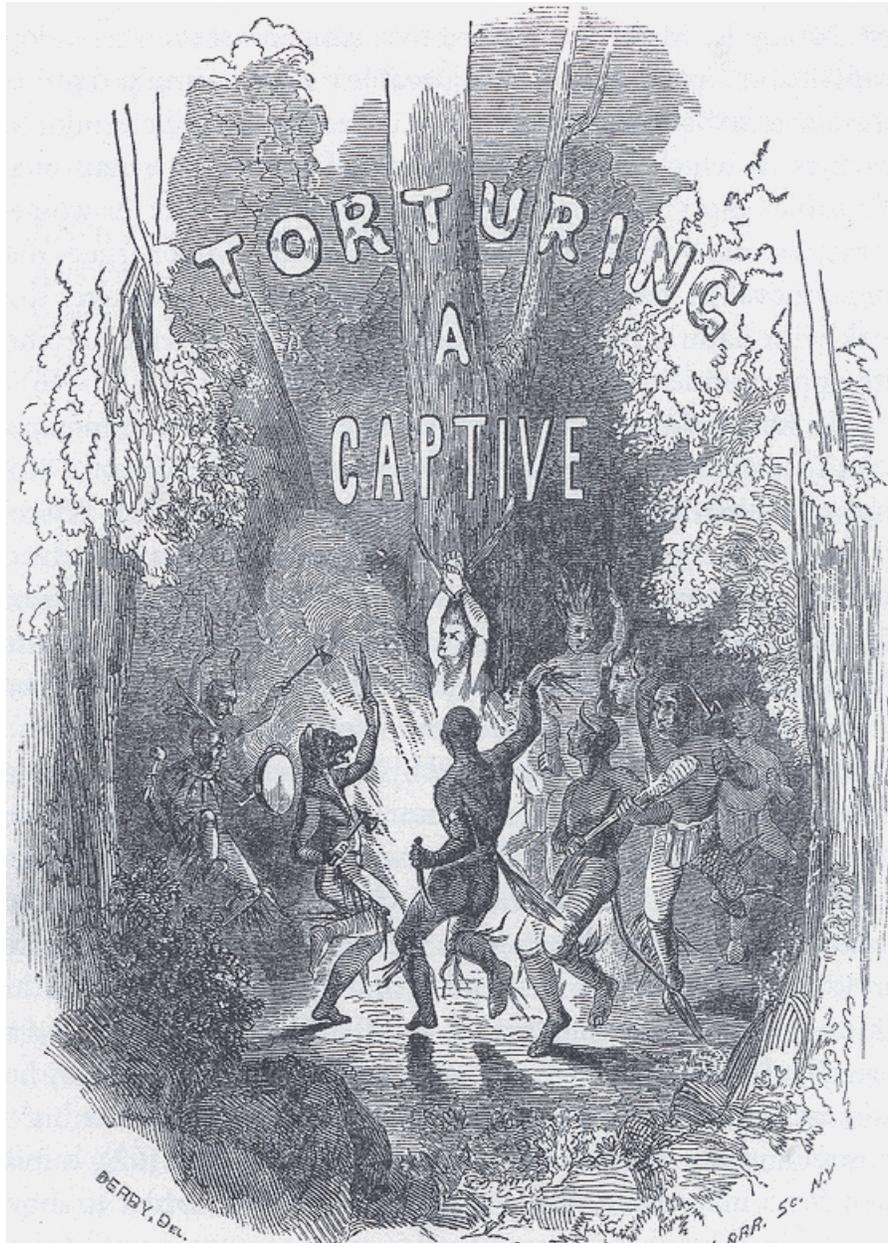
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

1824

1824



May: At Cape Fear, a [slave](#) identified as “Isam” who had been accused of having led [servile insurrections](#) in Bladen County, Carteret County, Jones County, and Onslow County in [North Carolina](#), in August and September of 1821, was publicly tortured to death.



(Of course, the good white people of [North Carolina](#) didn't **say** that was what they were doing, didn't **say** that they were publicly [torturing](#) someone to death: they **called** it something else.

Back then they were calling it something which our historians, imitating them, have ever since allowed it to be called. They had reason, the man “Isam” having been, to them, a mere black and therefore a slave, and therefore a suitable object for them to torture. Our historians, however, have no reason for calling torture something else, something which the torturers called it — unless our historians are even more impoverished in their thinking than they are in their scribbling, or unless, and I really suspect that this is the case, our historians have inherited the mindset of these torturers to such an extent as to consider such a vicious mindset

to be normative objectivity. Obviously, I am looking forward toward a future day in which we will be able to afford to be polite and christen this sort of historical thingie “Anxiety Management” because we have finally all of us grasped that it was very wrong for us ever to have tortured people, within, that is, the continental bounds of the United States of America.)

→ May: [James Fenimore Cooper](#) relocated his family from 3 Beach Street, New-York, to 345 Greenwich Street.

[Lydia Maria Francis](#)'s ([Lydia Maria Child](#)'s) novel *HOBOMOK*, A TALE OF EARLY TIMES.⁶⁴



HOBOMOK

This was anonymously issued in 1,000 copies through a vanity press, Cummings, Hilliard, & Company, at a charge to the author of \$495.⁰⁰, and was marked to sell at retail for \$0.⁷⁵ each. We may well notice that in this novel a mixed marriage occurred not between a white male and a red female, which has ever been more or less countenanced, but between a white female and a red male. The result was that readership found the novel “not only unnatural, but revolting ... to every feeling of delicacy in man or woman.” This has been completely missed in such analyses of the setting of this unsettling novel as that of David Leverenz in *MANHOOD AND THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE*. According to Nancy B. Black and Bette S. Wiedman in their edition *WHITE ON RED* (NY: Kennikat Press, 1976):

Child's humanitarian spirit led her to portray, in *HOBOMOK*, a most noble savage. Friend of the English, he remains loyal to members of the small white settlement at Salem despite stirrings of Indian hostility; he expresses his love for Mary Conant only

64. [Henry Thoreau](#) would read this in 1834.



when she is desolated by the loss of her mother and her white lover. Mary marries Hobomok while she is in a state of grief bordering on insanity, but after the birth of a son and the passage of two years, she begins to recognize and admire his manly qualities. The purportedly drowned lover returns at this time; Hobomok calls up all of his nobility and sacrifices his happiness. He goes west alone to die, foreshadowing the fate of his whole race. Despite her liberalism, Child makes it clear that Mary has lowered herself in marrying Hobomok; her "savage" husband's nobility is measured by his self-abasement.... The book dramatizes the theory of the inevitable, benevolent displacement of the Indian; it is equally severe to rigid Puritanism and to Indian resistance. Child prefers to have her Indians survive in memory, rather than physical reality. Hobomok's child, conveniently given his mother's patronym, after the matrilineal style of the Indians, becomes a Cambridge graduate. Child notes, with some relief, "His father was seldom spoken of; and by degrees his Indian appellation was silently omitted."

For several weeks Mary remained in the same stupefied state in which she had been at the time of her marriage. She would lie through the livelong day, unless she was requested to rise; and once risen, nothing could induce her to change her posture. Language has no power to shadow forth her feelings as she gradually awoke to a sense of her situation. But there is a happy propensity in the human mind to step as lightly as possible on the thorns which infest a path we are compelled to tread. It is only when there is room for hope that evils are impatiently borne. Desolate as Mary's lot might seem, it was not without its alleviations. All the kind attentions which could suggest themselves to the mind of a savage, were paid by her Indian mother. Hobomok continued the same tender reverence he had always evinced, and he soon understood the changing expression of her countenance, till her very looks were a law. So much love could not but awaken gratitude; and Mary by degrees gave way to its influence, until she welcomed his return with something like affection. True, in her solitary hours there were reflections enough to make her wretched. Kind as Hobomok was, and rich as she found his uncultivated mind in native imagination, still the contrast between him and her departed lover would often be remembered with sufficient bitterness. Besides this, she knew that her own nation looked upon her as lost and degraded; and, what was far worse, her own heart echoed back the charge. Hobomok's connection with her was considered the effect of witchcraft on his part, and even he was generally avoided by his former friends. However, this evil brought its own cure. Lively wound of this kind, every insult which her husband courageously endured for her sake, added romantic fervor to her increasing affection, and thus made life something more than endurable. While all her English acquaintances more or less neglected her, her old associate, Mrs. Collier, firmly and boldly stemmed the tide, and seemed resolved to do all in her power to relieve the hardships of her friends. For a long time her overtures were proudly refused; for Mary could not endure that the visits of one who had been so vastly her inferior should now be considered an honor and obligation. However, persevering kindness did in



time overcome this feeling, and in less than a year, Sally became a frequent inmate of her wigwam. To this was soon likely to be added another source of enjoyment. Before two years passed away, she became the mother of a hopeful son. Under such circumstances, his birth was no doubt entwined with many mournful associations; still, the smiles of her infant son brought more of pleasure than of pain. As Mary looked on the little being, which was "bone of her bone, and flesh of her flesh," she felt more love for the innocent object than she thought she should ever again experience.

After this general view of things, we must now pass over to the 16th of September, 1633, and leave the interim to the reader's imagination. The old squaw had lately died of a fever, and symptoms of the same disorder began to appear in her little grandson, now nearly two years old. On the morning we have mentioned, Mrs. Collier took her own little blooming daughter in her arms, and went into the wigwam to inquire concerning the health of the boy. No sooner was she seated than the children, accustomed to see each other, began to peep in each other's faces, and look up to their mothers, their bright, laughing eyes beaming with cherub love. Hobomok entered, and for a moment stood watching with delighted attention the bewitching sports of childhood. He caught up the infant, and placing his little feet in the center of his hand, held him high above his head.

"My boy, my brave hunter's boy," said he, and pressing him in his arms he half suffocated him with caresses. He placed him in his mother's lap, and took down his quiver, as he said, "Hobomok must be out hunting the deer." The child jumped down upon the floor, and tottling up to him, took hold of his blanket and looked in his face, as he lisped, "Fader come back gin to see 'ittle Hobomok."

Again the father stooped and kissed him, as he answered, "Hobomok very much bad, if he didn't come back always to see little Hobomok, and his good Mary."

He went out, but soon returned and, lifting the blanket, which served for a door, he again looked at his boy, who would alternately hide his head, and then reach forward to catch another glimpse of his father.

"Good bye, Hobomok - Good bye, Mary" - said the Indian. "Before the sun hides his face, I shall come home loaded with deer."

"Take care of yourself," said his wife, affectionately; "and see that Corbitant be not in your path."

"Sally, you have never said one word about my marrying Hobomok," continued she; "and I have no doubt you think I must be very miserable; but I speak truly when I say that every day I live with that kind, noblehearted creature, the better I love him."

"I always thought he was the best Indian I ever knew," answered Sally; "and within these three years he has altered so much that he seems almost like an Englishman. After all, I believe matches are foreordained."

"I don't know concerning that," rejoined Mary. "I am sure I am happier than I ever expected to be after Charles's death, which is more than I deserve, considering I broke my promise to my dying mother and deserted my father in his old age."



While conversation of this nature was going on at home, Hobomok was pursuing his way through the woods, whistling and singing as he went, in the joyfulness of his heart. He had proceeded near half a mile in this way, when he espied an eagle, soaring with a flight so lofty, that he seemed almost like a speck in the blue abyss above. The Indian fixed his keen eye upon him, and as he gradually lowered his flight, he made ready his arrow, and a moment after the noble bird lay fluttering at his feet.

"A true aim that, Hobomok," said a voice which sounded familiar to his ears. He raised his head to see from whence it proceeded. Charles Brown stood by his side! The countenance of the savage assumed at once the terrible, ashen hue of Indian paleness. His wounded victim was left untouched, and he hastily retreated into the thicket, casting back a fearful glance on what he supposed to be the ghost of his rival. Brown attempted to follow; but the farther he advanced, the farther the Indian retreated, his face growing paler and paler, and his knees trembling against each other in excessive terror.

"Hobomok," said the intruder, "I am a man like yourself. I suppose three years ago you heard I was dead, but it has pleased the Lord to spare me in captivity until this time, and to lead me once more to New England. The vessel which brought me hither lieth down a mile below, but I chose the rather to be put on shore, being impatient to inquire concerning the friends I left behind. You used to be my good friend, Hobomok, and many a piece of service have you done for me. I beseech you feel of my hand, that you may know I am flesh and blood even as yourself."

After repeated assurances, the Indian timidly approached—and the certainty that Brown was indeed alive was more dreadful to him than all the ghosts that could have been summoned from another world.

"You look as if you were sorry your old friend had returned," said the Englishman "but do speak and tell me one thing — is Mary Conant yet alive?"

I Hobomok fixed his eyes upon him with such a strange mixture of sorrow and fierceness that Brown laid his hand upon his rifle, half fearful his intentions were evil. At length, the Indian answered with deliberate emphasis,

"She is both alive and well."

"I thank God," rejoined his rival. "I need not ask whether she is married?"

The savage looked earnestly and mournfully upon him, and sighed deeply, as he said,

"The handsome English bird hath for three years lain in my bosom; and her milk hath nourished the son of Hobomok."

The Englishman cast a glance of mingled doubt and despair towards the Indian, who again repeated the distressing truth.

Disappointed love, a sense of degradation, perhaps something of resentment were all mingled in a dreadful chaos of agony within the mind of the unfortunate young man, and at that moment it was difficult to tell to which of the two anguish had presented her most unmingled cup. The Indian gazed upon his rival, as he stood leaning his aching head against a tree; and once and again he indulged in the design of taking his life.

"No," thought he. "She was first his. Mary loves him better than



she does me; for even now she prays for him in her sleep. The sacrifice must be made to her."

For a long time, however, it seemed doubtful whether he could collect sufficient fortitude to fulfill his resolution. The remembrance of the smiling wife and the little prattling boy, whom he had that morning left came too vividly before him. It recks not now what was the mighty struggle in the mind of that dark man. He arose and touched Brown's arm, as he said,

"'Tis all true which I have told you. It is three snows since the bird came to my nest; and the Great Spirit only knows how much I have loved her. Good and kind she has been; but the heart of Mary is not with the Indian. In her sleep she talks with the Great Spirit, and the name of the white man is on her lips. Hobomok will go far off among some of the red men in the west. They will dig him a grave, and Mary may sing the marriage song in the wigwam of the Englishman."

"No," answered his astonished companion. "She is your wife. Keep her, and cherish her with tenderness. A moment ago, I expected your arrow would rid me of the life which has now become a burden. I will be as generous as you have been. I will return from whence I came, and bear my sorrows as I may. Let Mary never know that I am alive. Love her, and be happy."

"The purpose of an Indian is seldom changed," replied Hobomok. "My tracks will soon be seen far beyond the back-bone of the Great Spirit. For Mary's sake I have borne the hatred of the Yengees, the scorn of my tribe, and the insults of my enemy. And now I will be buried among strangers, and none shall black their faces for the unknown chief. When the light sinks behind the hills, see that Corbitant be not near my wigwam; for that hawk has often been flying round my nest. Be kind to my boy." -His voice choked and the tears fell bright and fast. He hastily wiped them away as he added, "You have seen the first and last tears that Hobomok will ever shed Ask Mary to pray for me-that when I die, I may go to the Englishman's God, where I may hunt beaver with little Hobomok, and count my beavers for Mary."

Before Brown had time to reply, he plunged into the thicket and disappeared. He moved on with astonishing speed, till he was aware that he must be beyond the reach of pursuit; then throwing himself upon the grass, most earnestly did he hope that the arrow of Corbitant would do the office it had long sought, and wreak upon his head deep and certain vengeance. But the weapon of his enemy came not. He was reserved for a fate that had more of wretchedness. He lay thus inactive for several hours, musing on all he had enjoyed and lost. At last, he sprung upon his feet, as if stung with torture he could no longer endure, and seizing his bow, he pursued with delirious eagerness every animal which came within his view.

The sun was verging toward the western horizon, when he collected his game in one spot, and selecting the largest deer, and several of the handsomest smaller animals, he fastened them upon a pole and proceeded towards Plymouth.

It was dark, and the tapers were lighted throughout the village, when he entered Governor Winslow's dwelling. Whatever was the purpose of his visit, it was not long continued; and soon after, the deer was noiselessly deposited by the side of Mr. Collier's house, with a slip of paper fastened on his branching horns.

Hobomok paused before the door of his wigwam, looked in at a small hole which admitted the light, saw Mary feeding her Indian boy from his little wooden bowl, and heard her beloved voice, as she said to her child, "Father will come home and see little Hobomok presently."

How much would that high-souled child of the forest have given for one parting embrace – one kind assurance that he should not be forgotten. Affection was tugging hard at his heart strings, and once his foot was almost on the threshold.

"No," said he; "it will distress her. The Great Spirit bless 'em both."

Without trusting another look, he hurried forward. He paused on a neighboring hill, looked toward his wigwam till his strained vision could hardly discern the object, with a bursting heart again murmured his farewell and blessing, and forever passed away from New England.



1824'S NEW LITERATURE

 May 1, Saturday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) took a room for the summer in Penzing (he would leave after three weeks because, he said, people on a nearby footbridge were staring at him while he was shaving).



If, while he was working, he did not go out during the forenoon, in order to compose himself, he would stand at the washbasin ... and pour great pitchersful of water over his hands, at the same time howling or, for a change, growling out the whole gamut of the scale, ascending and descending; then, before long, he would pace the room, his eyes rolling or fixed in a stare, jot down a few notes and again return to his water pouring and howling.... Beethoven was everywhere unwelcome as a lodger.

The Eastern Lunatic Asylum (now Eastern State Hospital) opened in Lexington, Kentucky in the Fayette Hospital, a building that had been initiated by charitable citizens on June 30, 1817 and completed after purchase by the state in 1822. Its 1st inmate was Charity, a 21-year-old African American woman.⁶⁵

PSYCHOLOGY

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

7th day 1st of 5 M 1824 / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) with Aunt Stanton this PM - lodged & this (1st day [Sunday]) went with her to meeting A precious good one to me, which I felt very thankful for Uncle brought me part of the way home this Afternoon

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 2, Sunday: [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#) visited Ettersberg (Buchenwald).

 May 3, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 3 of 5 M / This Afternoon went to [Portsmouth](#) again with Dr Hazard to bleed Uncle Stanton who is complaining. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 4, Tuesday: In [Greenwich, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

3rd day 4th of 5 M / In the Greenwich Packet with Friends I went to Greenwich - we got there by 12 OClock, John & Richard on board, with whom I walked up to Dan Howlands & on the way we were caught in the Rain but were Kindly entertained when there. -towards night we walked over to Thomas's to see him & his sister a little while. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 5, Wednesday: Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber's opera comique Le concert a la cour, ou La debutante to words of Scribe and Melesville was performed for the initial time, in Theatre Feydeau, Paris.

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

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



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We are back from our honeymoon and leave shortly to join poor mamma at New Geneva. Father still in Washington. The Archbishop has excommunicated Monsieur Pascault.

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

4th day Our Select Meeting was better attended than I have sometimes seen it, but a very low time, to appearance with most present – Spent the Afternoon in visiting a few friends & after the Meeting for Sufferings rose, met with the Trustees of O Browns Benevolent Fund – Lodged at cousin Wanton Caseys. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 6, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day The Public Meeting was a season of favour the Ministry flowed freely – Thos Anthony, John Wilbour, Ruth Freeborn & Mary B Allen were all favoured in their communications & under M B Allen, the Meetings closed with a solemn & precious covering. – The weight & savour continued in the Meeting for buisness –Dined at the Widow Bonds after which finding a convenient opportunity, I rode to Wm Almys in Cranston & lodged. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

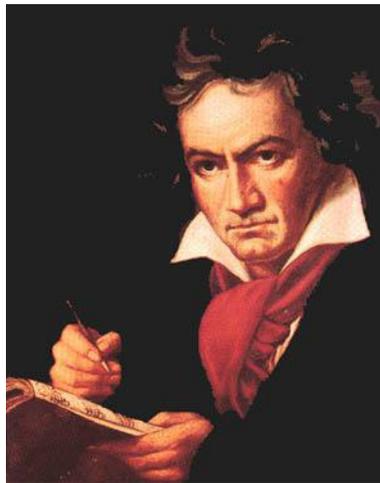
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May 7, Friday: Under the new constitution of Mejico, there was a new state to consist of the areas now encompassed by Texas and by Coahuila. There were already a few thousand Gringos in Tejas, mostly squatters but counting also those who had permission to be with the Austin colony in central Tejas. (Mejico would make no attempt to discourage such emigration of persons out of the USA prior to 1830, at which point the number of these troublesome intrusives ostensibly in the process of becoming citizens of Mejico rather than citizens of the USA would exceed 30,000.)

In Vienna's Karntnertortheater, the Symphony No. 9 in D Minor for soloists, chorus, and orchestra by [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) to words of Schiller, the "Choral" Symphony, was performed for the initial time. The musicians had been instructed to ignore the conducting attempted by the deaf composer. Afterward a violinist would report that on the podium he had thrown himself "back and forth like a madman." At the conclusion of the work the crowd bursts into uproarious applause, including stamping of feet and waving, and Caroline Unger, the alto soloist, turned the composer around to view the spectacle because he had been unaware of it.



In the audience was a very interested Franz Schubert.

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

6th day Rode this mornng to the Boarding School in [Providence](#) to attend the School committee & spent the day there in the service of society. – at Six oClock we (J Dennis & I) went on board the Steam Boat & arrived home at 10 OClock in the evening finding all as well as when I left tho J Hornsby very ill. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 8, Saturday: [Charles Louis Flint](#) was born in Middleton, Massachusetts. He was the 2d son of Jeremiah Flint and Mary Hayward Flint, and of the 7th generation from Thomas Flint of Salem (father Jeremiah, grandfather John, great-grandfather Samuel, great-great-grandfather Thomas, great-great-great-grandfather William, great-great-great-great grandfather Thomas Flint born 1603 in Flint, Wales; died April 15, 1663 in Salem Village).⁶⁶ In his youth he would work on the family farm and study at a country school.

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

7th day 8th of 5 M 1824 / I feel glad to be at home & to attend

66. Evidently he was not descended from the Thomas Flint family in Concord — because that Thomas had come over from Matlock in Derbyshire rather than from Flint in Wales and had died on October 8, 1653 rather than on April 15, 1663.



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a little to my own concerns - this having been a very broken & unsettled Week - even today we have had many incumberances of callers in, which tends to scatter & cause additional labour for my dear Wife - who has much to do at this season as well as other seasons. - but particularly at this time in consequence of J Hornsby sickness

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 9, Sunday: After King Joao VI of Portugal submitted to his son, Dom Miguel, he boarded a British ship and reasserted his authority.

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

1st day 9th of 5 M / Before Meeting this morning called to see James Mitchell who is very low & in great distress of body & mind -between Meeting I was informed our friend Hannah Dennis called to see him & tho' the paroxisms of body & mind were so great that he caught hold of her handkerchief & tore it before his hand was disengaged - yet when she kneeled in supplication by his bedside he lay perfectly silent & still. - Our Meetings were both Silent & pretty well attended

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 10, Monday: The National Gallery in London opened to the public in its temporary home in a townhouse on Pall Mall Street.

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

The French Minister intimated to us that he has an important package to deliver into one of our hands, or accredited servants. As Lucien was returning here from Washington, father sent him for it. Imagine my surprise when I found it was addressed to me. It was from the Duc and Duchesse d'Angouleme -a most beautiful silver-gilt vase with their arms on one side- a wedding present. It was more than a surprise considering all they have been through, on account of the King's death, to have given me a thought. Josephine is delighted with it. Monsieur Pascault was greatly overcome when he saw it. I must consult father in what form to acknowledge it. We go in a few days to try the new house at New Geneva. It is all ready for our reception. In all events we will pass the summer there. It is getting intolerably hot here.

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

2nd day 10th of 5 M / Was called up this morning to assist in laying out poor JM who departed about an hour before I got to him

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 11, Tuesday: British forces captured Rangoon (Yangon).

The cornerstone of Rochester, [New York](#)'s St. Luke's Church was laid.

 May 12, Wednesday: Marianne Wieck left her husband Friedrich in Leipzig and, taking her infant son Victor and her daughter Clara, went to her father's house in Plauen to arrange a legal separation.

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

4th day 12 of 5 M / Attended as bearer at the funeral of James Mitchell & could but solemnly reflect on the number of times I have served with him at different funerals in the same way - The sitting was silent quiet & solemn & many people attended - 5th day 13 of 5 M / Silent Meeting & poor as respected myself while I trust it was better with others. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 13, Thursday: The absolutist son of King Joao, Dom Miguel, fled Portugal, his revolt having collapsed.

American Bible Society president John Jay addressed the New-York group.

 May 14, Friday: News of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s death reached London. The horror.

Pedro de Sousa Holstein, marques e conde de Palmela replaces Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto as Secretary of State (prime minister) of Portugal.

 May 15, Saturday: [Richard Frederick Fuller](#) was born in Cambridge, Massachusetts to Timothy Fuller and Margaret Crane Fuller.

 May 16, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 16 of 5 M / Our Morning Meeting was uncommonly large & much favoured. Anne Dennis, D Buffum in testimony then Hannah Dennis in supplication after which she bore a short testimony & Jonathon said a few words & the Meeting closed. - In the Afternoon silent & tho' low in my own mind, it was not the worst of Meetings. - Times & seasons are not at our command. We are in the Lords hand, to whom alone we must look for Help. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 17, Monday: Destruction of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s memoirs. The precaution.

 May 18, Tuesday: Maria Szymanowska performed for the Royal Philharmonic Society in London.



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 May 19, Wednesday: Ruth S. Taber was born to [William Congdon Taber](#) and Hannah Tucker Shearman or Sherman Taber (1801-1858). This infant would not survive.

Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka began his duties as an under-secretary in the office of the Council of Communications, St. Petersburg. "I had to be in the office only five to six hours per day, I was not assigned work at home, and I had no real duties or responsibilities. Consequently, all the rest of my time I could devote to my favorite activities, especially music."

 May 20, Thursday: Samuel Wesley was appointed organist of Camden Chapel.

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

5th day 20th of 5th M 1824 / Silent Meeting & not without some good feelings - In the last (Preparative) we had a request for membership from an individual some advanced in years & Judge of a Court - In the admission of members, in this day of corruption of principle, it becomes necessary that we should know that Such are sound in the Free Faith as it is on our Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ, & I hope in this case Friends will be favoured with true judgement, & determine in Wisdom. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 May 21, Friday: President James Monroe's message in regard to the proposed Treaty of 1824 (AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. 344-6).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: England did not, however, lose hope of gaining some concession from the United States. Another House committee had, in 1822, reported that the only method of suppressing the trade was by granting a Right of Search.⁶⁷ The House agreed, February 28, 1823, to request the President to enter into negotiations with the maritime powers of Europe to denounce the slave-trade as piracy; an amendment "that we agree to a qualified right of search" was, however, lost.⁶⁸ Meantime, the English minister was continually pressing the matter upon Adams, who proposed in turn to denounce the trade as piracy. Canning agreed to this, but only on condition that it be piracy under the Law of Nations and not merely by statute law. Such an agreement, he said, would involve a Right of Search for its enforcement; he proposed strictly to limit and define this right, to allow captured ships to be tried in their own courts, and not to commit the United States in any way to the question of the belligerent Right of Search. Adams finally sent a draft of a proposed treaty to England, and agreed to recognize the slave-traffic "as piracy under the law of nations, namely: that, although seizable by the officers and authorities of every nation, they should be triable only by the tribunals of the country of the slave trading vessel."⁶⁹ Rush presented this *project* to the government in January 1824.

67. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92.

68. HOUSE JOURNAL, 17th Congress 2d session, pages 212, 280; ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 17th Congress 2d session, pages 922, 1147-1155.

69. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1823-4, pages 409-21; 1824-5, pages 828-47; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 371, pages 333-7.



England agreed to all the points insisted on by the United States; viz., that she herself should denounce the trade as piracy; that slavers should be tried in their own country; that the captor should be laid under the most effective responsibility for his conduct; and that vessels under convoy of a ship of war of their own country should be exempt from search. In addition, England demanded that citizens of either country captured under the flag of a third power should be sent home for trial, and that citizens of either country chartering vessels of a third country should come under these stipulations.⁷⁰

This convention was laid before the Senate April 30, 1824, but was not acted upon until May 21, when it was so amended as to make it terminable at six months' notice. The same day, President Monroe, "apprehending, from the delay in the decision, that some difficulty exists," sent a special message to the Senate, giving at length the reasons for signing the treaty, and saying that "should this Convention be adopted, there is every reason to believe, that it will be the commencement of a system destined to accomplish the entire Abolition of the Slave Trade." It was, however, a time of great political pot-boiling, and consequently an unfortunate occasion to ask senators to settle any great question. A systematic attack, led by Johnson of Louisiana, was made on all the vital provisions of the treaty: the waters of America were excepted from its application, and those of the West Indies barely escaped exception; the provision which, perhaps, aimed the deadliest blow at American slave-trade interests was likewise struck out; namely, the application of the Right of Search to citizens chartering the vessels of a third nation.⁷¹

The convention thus mutilated was not signed by England, who demanded as the least concession the application of the Right of Search to American waters. Meantime the United States had invited nearly all nations to denounce the trade as piracy; and the President, the Secretary of the Navy, and a House committee had urgently favored the granting of the Right of Search. The bad faith of Congress, however, in the matter of the Colombian treaty broke off for a time further negotiations with England.⁷²

70. AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 371, pages 333-7.

71. AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V., No. 374, page 344 ff., No. 379, pages 360-2.

72. HOUSE REPORTS, 18th Congress 2d session, I. No. 70; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 379, pages 364-5, No. 414, page 783, etc. Among the nations invited by the United States to co-operate in suppressing the trade was the United States of Colombia. Mr. Anderson, our minister, expressed "the certain belief that the Republic of Colombia will not permit herself to be behind any Government in the civilized world in the adoption of energetic measures for the suppression of this disgraceful traffic": AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 407, page 729. The little republic replied courteously; and, as a *projet* for a treaty, Mr. Anderson offered the proposed English treaty of 1824, including the Senate amendments. Nevertheless, the treaty thus agreed to was summarily rejected by the Senate, March 9, 1825: AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 407, page 735. Another result of this general invitation of the United States was a proposal by Colombia that the slave-trade and the status of Hayti be among the subjects for discussion at the Panama Congress. As a result of this, a Senate committee recommended that the United States take no part in the Congress. This report was finally disagreed to by a vote of 19 to 24: AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. No. 423, pages 837, 860, 876, 882.

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➡ May 22, Saturday: President James Monroe signed the Tariff of 1824 designed to protect American industry from cheaper British commodities (iron products, wool and cotton textiles, agricultural goods). This was the 2d protective tariff of the 19th Century and would create conflict between the economic interests of the North and the South (Henry Clay Henry Clay had extolled the virtues of the proposed Tariff of 1824, opining that the Tariff's blend of protectionist measures and domestic trade initiatives, including proposed improvements to America's transit routes, would reduce import of foreign goods, whereas Daniel Webster had dismissed the legislation as an affront to free trade).

➡ May 23, Sunday: Shortly after Antonio Salieri cut his throat in a suicide attempt, Calisto Bassi began passing out printed copies of his poem "A [Lodovico van Beethoven](#) Ode Alcaica" (it was in this poem that Bassi made the initial assertion that Salieri had poisoned Wolfgang Amadeus [Mozart](#) — the Vienna police quickly confiscated as many copies as they could get their hands on).

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

1st day 23 of 5 M / Our morning Meeting well attended, it was Silent & long & tho' the forepart of it was to me nearly Senseless yet it closed under precious feelings for which I desire to be thankful — Silent again in the Afternoon & not so hard a time as many others. — With John Took tea & set the evening at D Buffums.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ May 24, Monday: Pope Leo XII proclaimed a universal jubilee.

The British took Rangoon, Burma in the 1st Anglo/Burmese War.

➡ May 25, Tuesday: Franz Schubert left Vienna for Zseliz to take up the position of music master to the Esterhazy family.

The coffin of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) was hoisted aboard the *Florida* at Zante.

➡ May 25, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 21st birthday.



Tallahassee was designated as the capital of the Florida Territory.

➡ May 26, Wednesday: The United States recognized the Empire of Brazil.



May 27, Thursday: Robert F. Seale was awarded £500 for his model of the island of [St. Helena](#) at the scale of a foot to a mile, by the East India Company government. Mr. Seale pointed out, however, that since he needed another year to complete the work, £500 would be an inadequate remuneration.

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

5th day 27th of 5 M / At our Moy [Monthly] Meeting this day held in town we had the company of Walter Allen Thos Howland & Nicholas Congdon who were part of a Committee from the Meeting for Sufferings to make provision for friends at the Yearly Meeting time -

The first meeting was nearly silent, & perhaps it might as well have been quite so, but I feel tender in judging. -- In the last the buisness went on well. - Nicholas Congdon Benj Freeborn & wife, Sarah Greene, wife of Jos dined with us, & after dinner I met with the YMs committee on the subject of making provision, & made arrangements for the purpose. - N Congdon lodged with us.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 30, Sunday: Heinrich August Marschner's duties as assistant to Carl Maria von Weber began as he conducted Paer's Wie gerufen in Dresden.

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

1st day 30th of 5 M / We had a little preaching in the forenoon & in the Afternoon Silent, both Meetings rather small. - Anne Ruth & James Dennis took tea with us, Also Sister Mary Rodman, all set the evening -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



May 31, Monday: The Cathedral of the Assumption was consecrated in Baltimore (this was the 1st Roman Catholic cathedral in the United States).

JUNE

→ June: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) met [Thomas Carlyle](#).

[Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#)'s edition of her late husband [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#)'s POSTHUMOUS POEMS was published by John Hunt.



NEW POETRY OF 1824

→ June: [Castle Clinton](#), the D-shaped sandstone artillery fort on a tiny offshore island at the tip of Manhattan that had sheltered 28 bronze cannon from naval bombardment, was leased by New-York City as the [Castle Garden](#), a place of public entertainment.

1824



1824



June: Two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Espanola*, master Luna, P.G. de, and the *Especuladora*, master Manzana, S., on their one and only known Middle Passage, arrived during this month at their destination, the port of Havana, Cuba.



June 1, Tuesday: Gustaf af Wetterstedt replaced Lars von Engestrom as Prime Minister for Foreign Affairs of Sweden.

The [Erie Canal Commission](#) signed a 2d, overlapping contract with Samuel Wilkeson and Ebenezer Johnson, for building the dam at Tonawanda.



June 3, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 3rd of 6th M 1824 / Small meeting & low, but a season of some favour to me for which I desire to be thankful – a short exhortation from Jon Dennis. – As Yearly Meeting approaches, the prospect of weight & responsibility increases, but it is somewhere said "As the day is so shall thy strength be, & if my strength does not increase it now seems as if I shall be but poorly quallified for usefulness at that time –



1824

1824

 June 5, Saturday: Franz Liszt played his London debut, in a semi-private setting at the Argyll Rooms.

Although the Quintuple Alliance intervention in Spain during the Trienio liberal, a policy sponsored by [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#), was considered to have been a success, at this point the leader of the ultra-royalist group, Prime Minister Jean-Baptiste de Villèle, saw fit to remove him as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

 June 6, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 6th of 6 M 1824 / Meeting pretty well attended in the forenoon which was solid & Silent. – Silent & dull in the Afternoon. – Set part of the eveng at Abigail Robinsons with Sister Ruth – My H has not been at meeting today from indisposition
Thos Hornsby lays very low in the House, & tho' his apartment is separate from ours yet, we have much additional care in consequence of his situation*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 8, Tuesday: A wool washing and fulling machine was patented by Noah Cushing of Québec (the patent office having just opened its doors, this was the 1st patent ever issued in [Canada](#)).

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

3rd day 8th of 6th M / Yearly Meeting has now Commenced, (that is) Wm Forster Jr has come – had a meeting at [Portsmouth](#) day – took tea with us on his way to Connanicut to have a Meeting there tomorrow

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

We have been here for some time. The place itself is delightful. The views superb. Air as pure as air can be, but not a soul to speak to-not a neighbour, with the exception of some totally uneducated farmers, their wives and daughters. We are all here. Frances has a pony. Josephine is not allowed to ride at present. So I ride a huge farm-horse-who is as thin as a knife; no roads, so we risk our lives every moment. Albert sometimes rides in front of us. and when we are approaching a dangerous spot he blows a horn. I wish some of my Paris intimes could see us-how amused they would be. Mamma attends to all our personal comforts. We have many too many servants. Frances has named it "Castle Solitude." Our greatest friends are the mosquitoes, who certainly keep us company. Father reads all day as he is compiling some work. It is too hot for him to go to Washington at present. Mr. Crawford is no better.

 June 10, Thursday: While at the house of Stephen Groomsbridge, Esq. FRS at Blackheath, the [Reverend Professor John Josias Conybeare](#) was seized with an apoplexy.

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



1824

1824

5th day 10 of 6 M / At Meeting Wm Forster preached, his testimony was sound & sweet. -- After meeting Hannah Dennis & her daughter Anne called & requested me to pay a visit with them to Thomas Hornsby in his room which Thos readily consented to receive. - I went up with them & it was a season of tenderness to us all, they both spoke with feeling & the visit was well received. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 11, Friday: [John Josias Conybeare](#) died.

Maria Agata Szymanowska gave a performance in the Hanover Square rooms, London in the presence of members of the British royal family.

Gioachino Rossini's canzone Il pianto delle muse in morte di Lord Byron was performed for the initial time, in Almack's Assembly Rooms, London.

In [New York](#) a black seaman, Thomas Jones, was [hanged](#) for murder.

 June 12, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 12th of 6 M / Went to [Portsmouth](#) with my H & attended the Select Yearly Meeting which was a Season of divine favour, wherein the hearts of many were comforted with the renew'd faith that the Law & Testimony remained precious & would stand the test of all oppositions. - to my mind it was a time to be remembered The Testimony of our frd Wm Forster, Isaac Stevenson, Sally Collins, & others of our own members were plain & Prevalent. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 13, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13 of 6 M / Our Meeting this morning was not as full as at sometime, & much disturbed by the appearance of divers of the New order (so called) their speaking was awfully burdensome & awfully unsound on christian principles. - Yet for all, there was a good deal of Solid weight kept up & those who attended that were not members, were not at a loss to see the difference between the true & the False. - In the afternoon the Meeting was very large & tho' we had one spurious offering - Our Isaac Stevenson was large in testimony & great in Authority - Truth going over all opposers

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 14, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 14th of 6th M 1824 / This Morning commenced Our Yearly Meeting for Church Government, the solemnity was such as was to be felt, tho' attended with some distress, a gathering home to the fountain was experienced - After the Meeting was opened it was informed that an Individual was present who had no right according to discipline to Sit. this occasioned a jostling, but

the minds of Friends were preserved in the quiet & after considerable discussion the individual consented to leave the Meeting, after which my mind was unusually humbled & tendered under a thankful sense of the continued regard of Ancient goodness, & the power of Truth over all loose spirits & gainsayers. - The Buisness of the Meeting moved on in usual course, not without some trouble from several who were burdensome. - But I have to Acknowledge, Great is Truth, & its efficacy ever to be confided in -- The Afternoon was solid & quiet, & many weighty & feeling remarks were made on the State of Society by many of our own members & those who are with us from Abroad, particularly Isaac Stevenson Wm Forster Jr & Wm Jackson. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 15, Tuesday: By letter, the Emperor of Austria granted Antonio Salieri's petition to be relieved of his duties at full salary. "In the service of four monarchs of the imperial house you have proved an incorruptible truth and devotion, and a perfect self-negation, which have never for a moment wavered, even in the most diverse and, for less magnanimous persons than you, tempting relations." He had held court positions since the death of Gluck. Although the letter was dated on this day, the Emperor had actually granted the petition in Prague on June 6th.

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

3rd day / Our Select meeting was a season of favour for which many minds were thankful. - In the Afternoon the Meeting at large met under very painful circumstances. - Benj Rodman who was the person who came in yesterday, not having a right by discipline to Sit, came in & took his seat & notwithstanding many intreaties would not withdraw - & the Meeting adjourned without transacting any buisness, after a sitting of about two hours. - Oh painful Oh Afflicting - such an exercise I never saw. - It was however thought he might have been prevailed on to have withdrawn but for some who uphold him

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 16, Wednesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 16th 6 M / Oh Lord strengthen us for the day, this is the Prayer of my heart this morning -- It was found necessary, in order to have our Meeting select to close the front door of our meeting house on the Mens side, & all other entrances, excepting the door at the little Meeting House, where Several door keepers were placed to let none go in that had not a right according to our discipline, which was promptly attended too by the, -- The buisness progressed in usual course & under a sense of divine favour, tho' the feelings of distress attendant were great - for "the city of Shushan, (the residence of the True Jews) was perplexed" but not disheartened

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



That evening, 22 men, led by Richard Martin, MP, met in Old Slaughter's Coffee House near Covent Garden in London. They desired to enforce regulations on the humane treatment of animals passed by Parliament in 1822 and therefore organized themselves into a group they call the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. (Among their number was William Wilberforce. In 1840, Queen Victoria will allow them to add "Royal" to their title.)



June 17, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day / A sitting for buisness this morning from 8 OC to Ten, when we adjourned for the Public Meeting at Eleven which was a time of great distress, the time being almost wholly taken up in spurious offerings - dear Sarah Collins however had some good service, but no Satisfactory result to the Meeting as her communication was followed by others quite as painful as those in the forepart of the Meeting
The Meeting for buisness met at 4 OClock, to finish the Epistles, which were the most sound & agreeable to me of any I recollect for many years, some cavals [cavel: a part or share, a gag or horse's bit. cavil: to jeer, to mock quibble] were set up to some part of them by those who may be considerd in the opposition, but the weight of the Meeting was kept up & closed about dark after a solemn fervent supplication from William Forster. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 18, Friday: Grand Duke Ferdinando III of Tuscany dies in Florence and was succeeded by his son Leopoldo II.

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

*6th day / This Morning the Meeting for Sufferings & School Committee met - I could not get time to go to the early part of the sitting of the latter, into which I have been this year introduced for the first time, which is an increase of weight & responsibility I tremble under, but seeing my name was mentioned, I thought, considering the state of things it was not best for me to ask to be excused.
The School committee sat about three hours after which the day was spent in parting with many dear friends, some of whom & perhaps none of whom I may never see more, time to all is uncertain. -
Set the evening at Abigail Robinsons in company with our friend William Jackson. -
Thro' the course of this Yearly Meeting my heart has many times been affected with a sense of renew'd favour, for which I desire to be thankful - our company were all pleasant & among others Our frd Isaac Stevenson lodged with us.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1824

1824

 June 20, Sunday: The remains of [John Josias Conybeare](#) were interred in the churchyard at Bath Easton. (False reports were circulating, that it had been his younger brother who had died.)

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

1st day 20th of 6th M 1824 / It was rainy & our forenoon meeting was small. Our frd Ruth Davis had good acceptable service. – The Afternoon meeting was difered till 4 OClock by request of our Ancient frd Wm Jackson who attended [Portsmouth](#) Meeting in the forenoon & wished to be at ours in the Afternoon. – Wm Jackson attended in the Afternoon, & addessed the youth, particularly the "Little lads" which was very comfortable to my feelings – at a second rising he preached more generally & very acceptably. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 21, Monday: [Rhode Island](#) was the only state of our union that still was functioning under its original colonial charter, granted to it by the King of England. This was the first day of a constitutional convention summoned by the General Assembly to replace that old charter.

The [Egyptian](#) fleet captured the island of Psara for the Sultan.

The British Parliament repealed the Combinations Acts of 1799-1800, thus allowing British workers to organize.

Franz Liszt gave his initial public concert in London, at the Argyll Rooms. Among the attenders were Muzio Clementi and Frederic Kalkbrenner. The room was full and the performance went very well.

 June 23, Wednesday: In a [Quaker](#) ceremony, [William Basset](#) got married with [Mary Boyce](#).

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

4th day 23rd of 6th M / This afternoon Uncle Stanton sent his Waggon to Town to take us to his house, whither we went towards night & Lodged – 5th day Morning we went to Moy [Monthly] Meeting which was silent but a solid favoured season. – & the weight was uncommonly preserved during the time we were transacting the buisness – for this sense of favour I desire to be thankful – We returned after meeting & dined at Uncle Stantons & towards night rode home as we went & kept [sic] the Horse in town all night for John to carry out tomorrow –

 June 25, Friday: Two nurses who had attend Antonio Salieri since Winter 1823 signed a declaration that at no time had their patient confessed to murdering Wolfgang Amadeus [Mozart](#).

 June 26, Saturday: An den Tod D.518, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Schubart, was published in the [Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung](#) of Vienna.

 June 27, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



1824

1824

1st day 27th of 6 M / Unwell so as not to go to Meeting, but those who did go inform'd that the Meetings were uncommonly large & favour'd A Robinson & D Buffum in testimony in the forenoon & in the Afternoon D Buffum & Father Rodman

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 29, Tuesday: The corpse of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) arrived at London.

SUMMER 1824

 This was the final year of an extended drought across North America (since 1818) that had radically lowered the level of water in Walden Pond, and there was also drought in Australia:

Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1824-1832

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
1824	strong	warm El Niño moderate +		drought	deficient	extremely poor
1825	strong	cold La Niña		adequate	deficient	extremely poor
1826	absent	cold La Niña		adequate	adequate	adequate
1827	very strong	cold La Niña		adequate	deficient	adequate
1828	very strong	warm El Niño very strong		drought	deficient	quite weak
1829	absent	cold La Niña		adequate	adequate	adequate
1830	moderate	warm El Niño moderate		adequate	adequate	quite weak
1831	absent	cold La Niña		adequate	adequate	adequate
1832	very strong	warm El Niño moderate +		drought	deficient	low

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.

Young Kable became the first Australian pugilist to defeat an English professional. Other noted Australian boxers of the era included Ned Chalker and George Hough.

 Summer: The Ottoman fleet and troops assembled along the coast of Anatolia, preparing for an attempt to overwhelm the autonomous government established in 1821 on the island of Samos offshore by Lykourgos Logothetis (while Admiral Georgios Sachtouris assembled a Greek fleet to forestall this assault).



1824

1824

During a period of very low water at [Walden Pond](#), [Henry David Thoreau](#) helped boil a kettle of chowder on the sandbar at Bay Henry. Later he would record this is [WALDEN](#) Draft D of 1852 going into Draft F of 1853-1854.⁷³

*There is a narrow sand-bar running into it [Walden Pond], with very deep water
on one side [the south side], on which I ^{helped boil} ~~boiled~~ a kettle of chowder, ^{some} ~~more than~~ six
about the year 1824
^{^ as much as 25 years ago} ~~more than 25 years ago~~, which it has not been possible
for twenty-five years
^{^ for twenty years at least} ~~for twenty years at least~~
to do ^{^ since}.*

(There is an explanation for why the water level was so low, exposing the sandbar. This had been the final summer of an extended drought period across the United States beginning in 1818, that was possibly due to what has come to be known among weather scientists as the “[PNA](#)” Pacific/North American teleconnection pattern in which a positive phase tends to be associated with southern Pacific Ocean “[ENSO](#)” warm El Niño episodes and a negative phase, such as the period between 1818 and 1824, with La Niña episodes.)

73. You shouldn't suppose that little David was helping his grandmother open any tin cans for their “pic nic” on that sandbar! In this year a tin of roast beef would have borne the following instructions: “Cut round on the top with chisel and hammer.” The wall of the can would have been fully 1/3th-inch thick and the container –empty– would have weighed a full pound.

WALDEN: The pond rises and falls, but whether regularly or not, and within what period, nobody knows, though, as usual, many pretend to know. It is commonly higher in the winter and lower in the summer, though not corresponding to the general wet and dryness. I can remember when it was a foot or two lower, and also when it was at least five feet higher, than when I lived by it. There is a narrow sand-bar running into it, with very deep water on one side, on which I helped boil a kettle of chowder, some six rods from the main shore, about the year 1824, which it has not been possible to do for twenty-five years; and on the other hand, my friends used to listen with incredulity when I told them, that a few years later I was accustomed to fish from a secluded cove in the woods, fifteen rods from the only shore they knew, which place was long since converted into a meadow. But the pond has risen steadily for two years, and now, in the summer of '52, is just five feet higher than when I lived there, or as high as it was thirty years ago, and fishing goes on again in the meadow. This makes a difference of level, at the outside, of six or seven feet; and yet the water shed by the surrounding hills is insignificant in amount, and this overflow must be referred to causes which affect the deep springs. This same summer the pond has begun to fall again. It is remarkable that this fluctuation, whether periodical or not, appears thus to require many years for its accomplishment. I have observed one rise and a part of two falls, and I expect that a dozen or fifteen years hence the water will again be as low as I have ever known it. Flint's Pond, a mile eastward, allowing for the disturbance occasioned by its inlets and outlets, and the smaller intermediate ponds also, sympathize with Walden, and recently attained their greatest height at the same time with the latter. The same is true, as far as my observation goes, of White Pond. The rise and fall of Walden at long intervals serves this use at least; the water standing at this great height for a year or more, though it makes it difficult to walk round it, kills the shrubs and trees which have sprung up about its edge since the last rise, pitch-pines, birches, alders, aspens, and others, and, falling again, leaves an unobstructed shore; for, unlike many ponds and all waters which are subject to a daily tide, its shore is cleanest when the water is lowest. On the side of the pond next my house, a row of pitch pines fifteen feet high has been killed and tipped over as if by a lever, and thus a stop put to their encroachments; and their size indicates how many years have elapsed since the last rise to this height. By this fluctuation the pond asserts its title to a shore, and thus the *shore is shorn*, and the trees cannot hold it by right of possession. These are the lips of the lake on which no beard grows. It licks its chaps from time to time. When the water is at its height, the alders, willows, and maples send forth a mass of fibrous red roots several feet long from all sides of their stems in the water, and to the height of three or four feet from the ground, in the effort to maintain themselves; and I have known the high-blueberry bushes about the shore, which commonly produce no fruit, bear an abundant crop under these circumstances.

JULY

→ July: According to a comet list published in Boston in 1846, attributed to Professor Benjamin Peirce:

138	1823	Dec.	9.43750	303	25	25	274	55	5	28	30	20	76	12	60.2267453			R	Rumker.
139	1824	July	11.511	134	40	29	260	37	52	234	2	37	54	34	190.591263			R	Rumker.
140	1824	Sept.	29.06645	279	37	53	4	53	15	85	15	22	54	35	321.049835			D	Encke.
141	1825	May	30.353	20	38	4	273	25	7	107	12	57	58	35	580.9020186			R	Rumker.
142	1825	Aug.	18.71105	193	17	5	10	35	21	177	18	16	89	41	470.8834712			D	Clausen.
143	1825	Dec.	10.68187	216	3	23	319	6	50	256	56	33	33	32	391.240849	0.9953690	4386	R	Hansen.
			10.77845	216	5	6	318	49	2	257	16	4	33	31	31.045837	0.9562464	152	R	Rumker.
R	1826	May	18.96231	251	46	6	110	11	19	218	25	13	13	23	150.0000000				

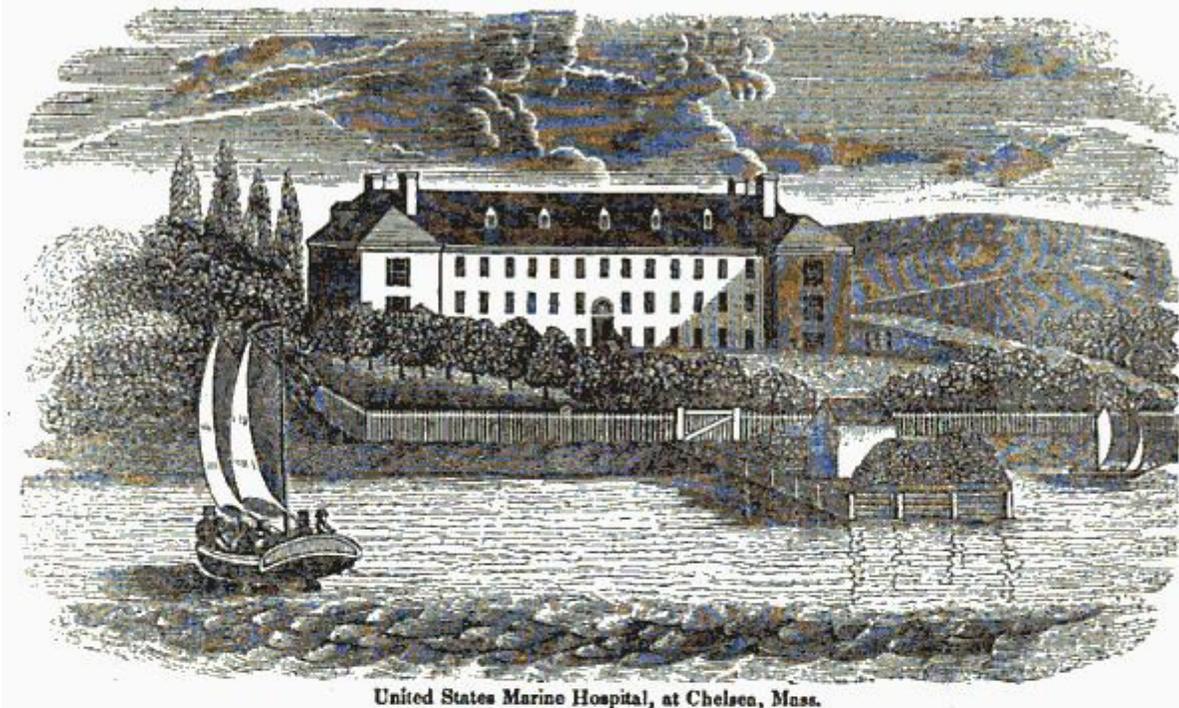
SKY EVENT

1824

1824



July: [Colonel Charles Turner, Jr.](#) was appointed steward (master) of the United States Marine Hospital at Chelsea, Massachusetts, intended to provide a secure environment and health care for all at risk mariners whether naval or merchant (this pictured building would have risen as far as three stories in 1827).⁷⁴



United States Marine Hospital, at Chelsea, Mass.

The following table of deaths which occurred in the hospital in a period of a little less than ten years, with the ages at which they took place, was constructed by the venerable Colonel Turner, steward of the hospital. From this table he has deduced a calculation of the average length of life among seamen.

Deaths in the Marine Hospital from October 1, 1827, to December 31, 1836, two hundred and forty-four, viz.

Under 20 years,	13; being 1 in 29.
From 20 to 30,	103; being 1 in 2 $\frac{1}{2}$.
30 to 40,	69; being 1 in 3 $\frac{1}{2}$.
40 to 50,	39; being 1 in 6 2-5.
50 to 60,	13; being 1 in 19.
Above 60,	7; being 1 in 35.

The average length of seamen's lives, according to the above table, is thirty-two years, five and a half months.



July 1, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 1st of 7th M 1824 / Our Meeting was small, but solid &

74. We may well note that the above tabulation, allegedly about the short average length of seamen's lives, is utterly specious since the data was collected at a seaman's hospice and we may presume that any persons who would have been tabulated would have been present precisely because they had fallen ill, or had been injured. In other words such persons were remarkably unrepresentative of the general population of seamen — and such a statistic about their longevity would be nothing more than tendentious!

good - but my own feeding was not on fatness, tho' It did seem to me that others were in better condition than myself - while inserting this my mind is humbled under a sense of my weakness my leanness. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 3, Saturday: In New-York, [Castle Clinton](#), the D-shaped sandstone artillery fort on a tiny offshore island at the tip of Manhattan that had sheltered 28 bronze cannon from any and all naval bombardment, became the centerpiece of [Castle Garden](#) and opened its doors as a venue of hospitality. Make love not war! The interior was a "fanciful garden, tastefully ornamented with shrubs and flowers." In time an imposing fountain would be added. Atop the wall a romantic covered promenade with a 14-foot-wide walkway would be constructed.

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

7th day 3 of 7 M / This Afternoon recd a letter from my old friend Rowse Taylor now living at Lanesville Ohio dated 4 M [April] & 6 M 20th partly in answer to one I wrote him in the 5th M last mentioning the illness of James Mitchell. - Its contents is solemn for it appears his mind is distressed with embarrassments - his circumstances so far from being better'd by a removal from [Newport](#) in a lapse of Years has become reduced, & I believe much more so than if he had remained on this Island. - We hardly know what is for the best or what is for the worst, as respects this life, but certainly it does look that if he had staid here he might have been as well off in every respect. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 8, Thursday: Carl Maria von Weber visited Marienbad seeking a cure for his malady.

[Hector Berlioz](#) arrived home in La Cote-St.-Andre for a stay of two and a half weeks.

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

5th day 8 of 7 M / Silent, small & to me a lean meeting, was favourd however to witness a labour in my own heart, but fear there was but little overcoming. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 11, Sunday: Luis Maria de Salazar y Salazar replaced Narciso de Heredia y Begines, Conde de Ofalia as First Secretary of State of Spain.

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

1st day 11th of 7 M / Silent meeting in the Mornng - In the Afternoon Hannah & Anne Dennis were concerned in short testimonys -To me pretty solid seasons, but Oh my leanness - my weakness

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s 8th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Monday, 1824.

- In Boston, Margaret Fuller met the marquis de Lafayette. David Henry was present during Lafayette’s passage through Concord. He began to receive instruction from Edward Jarvis at the Concord public Town School. Sister Sophia began at Miss Wheeler’s dame school “infants class.” At some point brother John would draw her a sketch of a rabbit munching on a twig. Mother Cynthia joined the Concord Female Charitable Society.
- Walt Whitman would in a later timeframe allege that he had been kissed by Lafayette in Brooklyn.
- Waldo Emerson was admitted to the middle class at the Harvard Divinity School. The Directors asked for funds for the construction of a separate building. Emerson visited ex-President John Adams.
- Concord prepared the foundation for an eventual Concord Battle Monument.

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1824
BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1825

 July 12, Saturday: On the 8th day after our national celebration, according to the journal of Hezekiah Prince



Jr., news of the simultaneous deaths of two Founding Fathers and ex-Presidents during that anniversary came to the small port town of Thomaston in Maine:

Papers brought the news that Presidents Old Adams and Jefferson both died on the 4th of July past.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



[George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)’s funeral.

Horatio Gates Spafford registered his A POCKET GUIDE FOR THE TOURIST AND TRAVELLER ALONG THE LINE OF THE [CANALS](#) AND THE INTERIOR COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF [NEW-YORK](#) and subsequently would publish this.

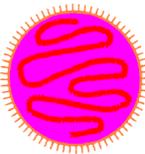
 July 14, Monday: Kamehameha II of the Hawaiian Islands died of the [measles](#) in [London](#) (his favorite wife Kamāmalu had already succumbed on the 8th).⁷⁵

 July 15, Thursday: Camden Chapel was dedicated by the Bishop of London, with music provided by its organist, Samuel Wesley.

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

5th day 15th of 7th M / Meeting Silent & solid - after which was held our Select Meeting which was a season of exercise to me & I hope not unprofitably so. - There were more members present than I ever sat with before in a Moy [Monthly] Meeting capacity 16 in number -three were absent. Vizt Dorcas Earl wholly

75. When the news would arrive belatedly in Hawaii, a 12-year-old son would be designated to rule as Kamehameha III while Kaahumana, the widow of Kamehameha I, would be regent. Kaahumana would in fact rule Hawaii until her death, in 1832.



confined by Age & infirmity - Father Rodman at Salem & Anne Greene unwell -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 16, Wednesday: The remains of [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) were interred at Hucknall Torkard. Claiming an illness, the new Lord Byron did not make an appearance at this ceremony — he had just been made aware of how little of what he had supposed would be his inheritance was still in existence.

→ July 17, Saturday: [William Hazlitt](#) remarried with Isabella Bridgewater, at Coldstream in Scotland (because his divorce was not legally recognized in England). This new relationship would endure for only one year.

After ten weeks in London Maria Szymanowska departed for Paris.

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

7th day 17th of 7th M 1824 / This Morning crossed the Ferry to Narragansett & went to Willet Carpenters to rectify his Clock where I dined - then Crossed again to Connanicut & walked about two or three Miles up the Island to Solomon Carpenters to do something to a Clock there, then tho' much fatigued returned South to Mercy Weedens, drank tea & lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

First Day went to Meeting, was favourd with a little life in my own particular - - - went to Joseph Greenes Dined & drank tea & had a pleasant visit. - then came across the ferry home. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 21, Wednesday: Nangklao (Rama III) replaced Buddha Loetla (Rama II) as King of Krung Thep (Thailand).

→ July 22, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5 day 22nd of 7th M / Small Meeting a low time - Suffering is our lot - May a right improvement be made. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 24, Thursday: This is the date of the first American public opinion survey of which we presently have knowledge, a “straw” poll which was conducted by the Harrisburg [Pennsylvanian](#) in Wilmington DE. The result of the poll was a prediction that in the upcoming national election Andrew Jackson would win with 335 votes, John Quincy Adams would obtain 169, Henry Clay would obtain 19, and William H. Crawford would obtain 9.

 July 25, Friday: At the request of the Ottoman Sultan, an [Egyptian](#) fleet and army sailed from Alexandria (El Iskandariya) to aid in subduing Greek insurgents.

After two and a half weeks at home in La Cote-St.-Andre, in increasing conflict with his father and family over his chosen vocation, [Hector Berlioz](#) left to return to Paris.

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

1st day 25 of 7 M / Good solid meeting – H Dennis was engaged to call our attention to the necessity of rendering unto God thanksgiving & dedication of heart for his many Mercys & favours –after which D Buffum Rose & observed that from great age & considerable infirmity of Body & abatement of the Powers of his mental faculties he apprehended he might be excused from much religious communication, but feeling his mind exercised with considerations arising from a passage of Scripture which had often been feelingly revived in his mind out of Meeting as well as in meeting & at this time which Was – "Set thine House in order for thou shalt Die & not live." he urged the necessity of Doing this in a temporal sense that those we might leave behind might have as little trouble with our affairs as might be - but dwelt much & very lively on the necessity of having our accounts in readiness to appear before the Judge of Quick & Dead for we know not how soon we might be called home to be seen of men no more -- It often seems to me when I hear our above said friend, in lively & pertinent testimony, that he is doing his last work -but he yet lives, tho' thurned[?] of 80 Years & is useful to society & mankind at large. – Small meeting in the Afternoon but closed with me under a sense of weight - perhaps more so as having to sit at the head of it & break it up – Oh the weight of it - I feel my poverty –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 26, Monday: Gioachino Rossini and his wife left London for Paris.

 July 27, Tuesday: Franz Liszt and his father were presented to King George IV at Windsor. He played for the King and a small private gathering for two hours.

 July 28, Wednesday: Gaetano Donizetti's dramma semiseria Emilia di Liverpool after Scatizzi was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Nuovo, Naples.

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

4th day 28th of 7 M 1824 / By the mail last evening I recd the News of the decease of Bailey Brooks on the 4th of this Month at sea on board the Brig William of Portland William Norris Master, I had for some years stood in the capacity of Guardian to him & felt a tender Interest for his well fare, he was twenty years & about three Months old. – This morning & last evening I have been round to give his relations & friends the account, which has deeply impressed my mind with the Awful uncertainty of all things here & the



1824

1824

necessity of a right preparation for the great & final change

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 July 29, Thursday: Calvin S. Pennell, husband of [Horace Mann, Sr.](#)'s sister Rebecca, died.

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

5th day 29th of 7 M / This day was our Moy [Monthly] Meeting in Town - In the first meeting we had several testimonys & the one the most to the purpose was from our frd Hannah Dennis - Some days ago we heard of the Sudden departure of our frd JONATHON CHASE ar Swansey, by information today it appears that he had been at Meeting and had preached acceptably on First day last the 25th inst & on returning home was taking his horse out of the Chaise & untackled one side when it was supposed he found himself unwell & stepped into the Stable, as in a few minutes after he was found quite gone - he was a friend much esteemed for his innocent walk in life, & for his excellent gift in the Ministry, in the exercise of which he was faithful & ardent as well as prudent in management of it, in the Year 1815 in company with Daniel Brayton he visited families in this Moy [Monthly] Meeting to good satisfaction, it was my lot to go to many places with them, in which my mind was instructed & enlarged. - The language which forcilby strikes the mind on his suden exit is that of the Poet "Many fall as sudden, Few as Safe" & of the Scripture "Be ye ready also, for in such an hour as ye think not the son of man cometh."

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

AUGUST

 August: [James Fenimore Cooper](#) received an honorary AM from Columbia University (he had been a student at [Yale College](#) but had been expelled for having blown up another student's door, and for obliging a donkey to sit in a professor's chair).

 August: [Warren Colburn](#) was hired to supervise the facility of the Merrimack Manufacturing Company at Lowell, Massachusetts. He would also become Superintendent of Schools there.

 August: The Reverend [William Ellis](#) needed to take his wife [Mrs. Mary Mercy Moor Ellis](#) back to England on account of her health, so they boarded a vessel heading toward the North American continent. When the couple would arrive back in London, the Reverend would prepare a narrative of their travels among the islands of the Pacific Ocean.

1824



1824



August: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Feliciana*, master Anlet, J., on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination, Havana, Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
RACE SLAVERY

1824

1824



August: Frederick Douglass was sent to live on Lloyd Plantation, Wye River, at the home of his master, Aaron Anthony.



A proposal that a special tax be levied on “free Blacks” was rejected by Governor Brigadier-General Alexander Walker because “the law cannot recognise distinctions of colour.” This would not be wrong in principle but would amount to the creation of an administrative nightmare: given the extent of race mixing that had already taken place on [St. Helena](#), it would be inordinately difficult to determine whether to tax or not tax many of these individual freemen.



August 1, Sunday: [New York](#) State electors were selected in Utica to nominate the governor and lieutenant governor.

Gioachino Rossini arrived in Paris under contract to the Ministry of the Royal Household, to write two new operas and produce one of his already existing works (he also agreed to become director of the Theatre-Italien).

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

1st day 1 of 8 M 1824 / Some preaching & pretty good meetings,



but nothing in which to boast, neither for myself or others. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 2, Monday: A referendum in the State of Illinois abolished [slavery](#).

 August 3, Tuesday: Singapore was ceded to Great Britain by the Sultan of Johore.

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

3rd day 3rd of 8th M / This morning rode in the Rain with my H & John to [Portsmouth](#), lodged at Uncle Stantons & 4th day Morning took his waggon & went to attend the Select Quarterly Meeting which was a season of some searching, which I hope may be proffitable both to Ministers & Elders. – We dined at Uncle P Lawtons & in the Afternoon while I attended the meeting for Sufferings H went to Adam Anthonys – The service of the Meeting for Sufferings is to me a new one, & a weighty one - which I feel very incompetent too --The cares of Society & concerns of my own are heavy upon me, but I desire to do as well as I can, & leave the rest. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 4, Wednesday: Franz Liszt played the 1st of two concerts at the Theater-Royal in Manchester.

The United States recognized the United Provinces of Central America.

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

5th day was our Quarterly Meeting at large, which was attended by many & was a very solid sitting, Mary B Allen was concerned in a Solid testimony & the Meeting closed rather sooner than common but I believe all in right time. - The buisness was well conducted & John R Davis was engaged in a very lively testimony also Obadiah Davis said a little in the life & the Meeting closed early, after which I got into the Chaise with William Jenkins & rode to [Warren](#) & Dined at Coles tavern, the rest of the distance to [Providence](#) I rode with Wm Almy & reached [Moses Browns](#) House a little before sunset where I lodged -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 6, Friday: South Americans under [Simón Bolívar](#) defeated the Spanish at Junin, northeast of Lima.

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

6th day in the forenoon was engaged with the yearly Meetings committee & in some other services - In the Afternoon at the Boarding School committee & returned to [M Browns](#) to lodge.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 7, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day The Trustees of [O Browns](#) Benevolent fund met at Wm Jenkins House at 8 O'clock & were engaged in that service till dinner time, after which I attended to a little buisness about Town & at 4 OC PM took the Steam boat & came Home about 9 OC - I have to acknowledge much favour in this little time of being from Home. The life quickened, & my spirit a little raised, for which I desire to be Humbly thankful & trust I am so. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*1st day 8th of 8 M 1824 / Meetings nearly silent & very good ones to me - I may acknowledge it has been a good day to me - my spirit tender & my mind in a good measure centerd in that which gives stability. -
My H & John are at [Portsmouth](#), not having returned since Quarterly Meeting. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 12, Thursday: Adam and Franz Liszt arrive in Calais from England.

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

*5th day 8 M 12 / Meeting comfortable & silent - tho' not as much life as I desired -
This Mornng Jnth Slocum introduced Samuel Peebles a young man from Virginia who produced a good certificate from his Moy [Monthly] Meeting expressive of his prospect of travelling this way for his health, which appears to be low - There is something in his countenance innocent & sweet & his acct of his situation claimed our sympathy & proved an inducement to ask him to stay a day or two among us. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 15, Sunday: The Cape Mesurado Colony, founded by the American Colonization Society for the repatriation of American slaves, was expanded into the Colony of Liberia.

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

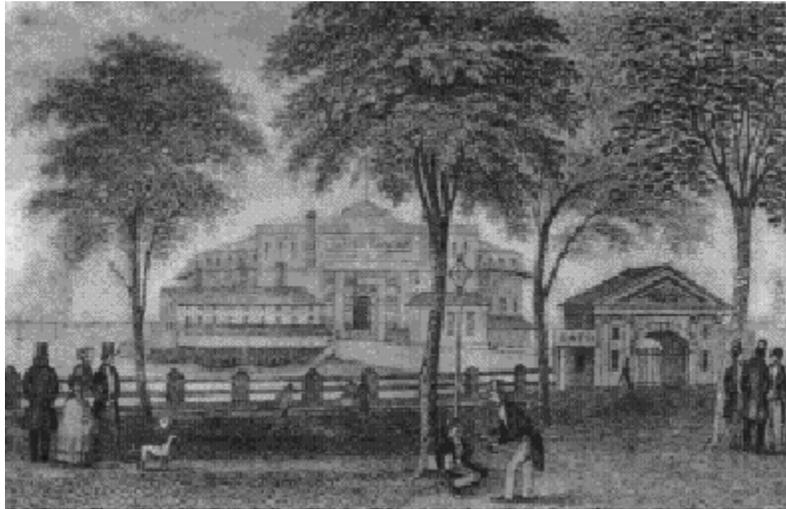
*1st day 15 of 8 M / In the Mornng Meeting two short testimonys & in the Afternoon silent - both pretty solid to me
Took tea at D Buffums with Saml Peebles. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

1824

➡ August 16, Monday: *Citoyen Lafayette*, the “guest of the nation” arrived in New-York harbor for his triumphal geriatric tour of the young opponent of Britain which he and his France had helped to create after their Seven Years War with Britain,⁷⁶ and to be the recipient of an outpouring of official gratitude and public enthusiasm. He brought with him his son George Washington Lafayette. By arrangement they disembarked at [Castle Clinton](#) in [Castle Garden](#), where there was a public welcome ceremony. A memorial punchbowl crafted in honor of Lafayette’s visit was presumably fashioned at the time at the American Pottery Company of Jersey City NJ.



Lafayette would travel through New England to [Washington DC](#), and thence to Monticello for a visit with Thomas Jefferson.

Lafayette, nous sommes ici!

—General “Black Jack” Pershing,
arriving with US troops in France
at the very end of the WWI trench warfare.

Ester Loughbridge, who had murdered a sister-in-law, was [hanged](#) at Carrickfergus in England (she would be the sole Englishwoman to be executed, during the entire year).

➡ August 18, Wednesday: Carl Maria von Weber received an offer from Charles Kemble for a new opera for Covent Garden. The Englishman also wanted Weber to come to London to produce *Der Freischutz* and *Preciosa*.

The fur trappers Jedediah Smith and William Sublette rediscovered, some dozen years after it had first been trodden but unreported by white people, a wide gap in the Wind River range of the northern Rockies, to become known as the South Pass. This geographical knowledge, which of course had long been in the possession of American tribes, would be vital to the establishment of the Oregon Trail.

➡ August 19, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

76. We should never fail to mention in these contexts that such policies and actions are not due to warm and fuzzy affection between nations, but are due rather to the usual calculated statecraft along the lines of “The enemies of my enemies are my friends.” Nations are not individuals and neither feel emotions in the manner in which individuals feel emotions nor endure loyalties in the manner in which individuals endure loyalties, and when we encourage ourselves to believe that such things are so, we are not submitting to an innocent penchant for the preposterous but are, rather, carefully coaching ourselves in the most calculated of self-manipulations.



1824

1824

5th day 19 of 8 M / Father Rodman & H Dennis engaged in good solid testimonys & the Meeting solid - Oh for an increase of life & religious engagement among us

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 20, Friday, early in the morning: The Boston Light Infantry fell in to honor the visiting [Marquis de Lafayette](#). There was a cavalcade of 1,200 men on horseback, and they met the General at the neck after he had spent the night with Governor Eustis in Roxbury. The *Marquis* was riding in an open barouche drawn by four white horses.

 August 21, Saturday: Carl Maria von Weber decided to accept the offer he had received from Charles Kemble three days earlier.

Mexico gave up its claim to Guatemala.

 August 22, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 22 of 8 M / In the forenoon Father Rodman in Testimony & supplication & H Dennis in Testimony, an evidence of life was experienced in my own particular - In the Afternoon nearly silent, a few words dropped towards the close by JD
Set the evening at Abigail Robinsons*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 23, Monday: The touring *Marquis de Lafayette* arrived in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

A convention was called by the State to frame a written Constitution for the State, to which this town sent its quota of delegates. The Convention met at [Newport](#), and formed a Constitution, which was submitted to the freemen, and was rejected. There was an almost unanimous vote in this town in its favor. - On the receipt of intelligence that Lafayette had again arrived in this country, the bells were rung, and the great guns were fired in this town. A Town meeting was called, a resolution was passed to invite this friend of American and human rights, to visit this town, and a committee of arrangements was appointed, consisting of the Town Council, and such as they might associate with them, to carry out the objects of the meeting. The distinguished visitor arrived at the westerly line of the town in Olneyville, August 23, at noon, where he was met and addressed by the committee of arrangements, and with them, was escorted by a vast civic and military procession to the State House. The streets were lined with citizens eager to see their country's friend, the companion in arms and beloved of Washington; and thousands of "happy human faces" gave him evidence that he was a welcome and honored guest. He was conducted to the Senate Chamber, where he was received by the Governor, and was then introduced by the Committee to the crowd of citizens, who pressed forward to touch the patriot's hand. He dined with the Committee and other citizens, reviewed the troops after dinner, and then departed for Boston. In front of the State House, he was recognized by Captain Stephen Olney as

an old comrade, and their mutual rapturous joy, at this meeting, produced a strong sensation on the surrounding crowd.

 August 24, Tuesday: Le roi Rene, ou La Provence au XVe siecle, an opera comique by Ferdinand Herold to words of Belle and Sewrin, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre Feydeau, Paris.

 August 25, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 25 of 8 M / This Afternoon went to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting & lodged at Uncle Stantons. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*5th day the first Meeting was a good time much solemnity prevailed & Father Rodman Hannah Dennis & Abigail Robinson were all twice engaged in testimony - my own mind favoured with feeling - In the last meeting buisness went on comfortably & closed well -
Dine at Richard Mitchells, & took tea at Jethro's*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day 29th of 8 M 1824 / Our Morning meeting was a favoured time. The silent part of it was unusually solemn & my mind in a state of feeling & tenderness that I am thankful for - - - Silent in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 30, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 30th of 8 M / This morning under no small weight of discouragement, I left home in the Packet for [Providence](#) to attend the Meeting of the Sub committee of the YM Schhool & An adjournment of the Meeting for Sufferings, to be held there tomorrow -
We arrived after a tedious passage of eight hours. & I took tea at Jos Anthonys, then went to [Moses Brown](#) to lodge*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



August 31, Tuesday: [Hector Berlioz](#) wrote from Paris, replying to a scornful letter from his father: "I am driven involuntarily towards a magnificent career –no other adjective can be applied to the career of artist– and not towards my doom. For I believe I shall succeed; yes, I believe it ... I wish to make a name for myself, I wish to leave some trace of my existence on this earth; and so strong was the feeling –which was an entirely honorable one– that I would rather be Gluck or Mehul dead than what I am in the flower of my age."

On the day that [Captain Jones Very](#) and his 11-year-old cabin boy son [Jones Very, Jr.](#) arrived back in Salem from their voyage to New Orleans, France, and Portugal, the [Marquis de Lafayette](#) was being paraded through the streets of Salem along with his American friend, Fanny Wright. Father and son may well have witnessed this event. In addition, the mother, Lydia Very, may on this day have had an opportunity not only to see but also to speak with Fanny Wright, her personal "idol."



The French luminary, who had been to [Ipswich](#) before, honored the place that evening with a second visit. Unfortunately he and his suite were delayed en route by rain and mud and, after having been expected most of the day, they did not enter the packed meetinghouse until between seven and eight in the evening. He was addressed by Nathaniel Lord, Esq. and made a short reply before being conducted to Nathaniel Treadwell's inn, where he kibbitzed with some Revolutionary soldiers while obtaining refreshments. The following morning at 10 o'clock he would depart with his suite for Newburyport "amid the benedictions of many hearts." Unlike the canker-worm, this general would not again return.

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

3rd day - In the morning attended School Committee & in the Afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings, both which made adjournment till tomorrow - lodged again at [MB](#),

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FALL 1824

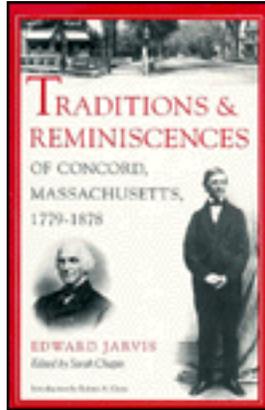


Fall: The voters of [Rhode Island](#) rejected the state constitution that had been proposed that summer by a constitutional convention summoned by the General Assembly, to replace the state's old colonial Charter of 1663.

1824

1824

→ Fall: [David Henry Thoreau](#), who had been attending Miss Phœbe Wheeler's dame school, at age 9 was taken by his parents to receive instruction at the [Concord](#) public [Town School](#) run by [Edward Jarvis](#).



There was a revival in the neighborhood of the home of the Smith family of Almyra, New York. This revival would continue into the spring of 1825, involving Methodists, Presbyterians, and Baptists, and [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#)'s mother, sister, and two brothers would become Presbyterians.

→ Fall: F.A.P. Barnard matriculated at the age of 15 at [Yale](#) in New Haven, Connecticut. He would be at the head of his class in mathematics and the exact sciences.





1824

1824

SEPTEMBER



September: An obituary of [John Josias Conybeare](#), from which I have paraphrased, appeared on page 162 of [Annals of Philosophy](#).

[Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#)'s edition of her late husband [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#)'s POSTHUMOUS POEMS, which had been on sale since June, was suppressed at the insistence of his father Sir Timothy Shelley.



1824

1824



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.

→ September: According to a comet list published in Boston in 1846, attributed to Professor Benjamin Peirce:

138	1823	Dec.	9.43750	303	25	25	274	55	5	28	30	20	76	12	60.2267453				R	Rumcker.
139	1824	July	11.511	134	40	29	260	37	52	234	2	37	54	34	190.591263				R	Rumcker.
140	1824	Sept.	29.06645	279	37	53	4	53	15	85	15	22	54	35	321.049835				D	Encke.
141	1825	May	30.353	20	38	4	273	25	7	107	12	57	58	35	580.9020186				R	Rumcker.
142	1825	Aug.	18.71105	193	17	5	10	35	21	177	18	16	89	41	470.8834712				D	Clausen.
143	1825	Dec.	10.68187	216	3	23	319	6	50	256	56	33	33	32	391.240849	0.9953690	4386		R	Hansen.
			10.77845	216	5	6	318	49	2	257	16	4	33	31	31.045837	0.9562464	152		R	Rumcker.
R	1826	May	18.96231	251	46	6	110	11	19	218	25	13	13	23	150.0000000					

SKY EVENT

→ September: In Philadelphia, 150 blacks attacked some whites who were taking a black to jail while accusing this man of "being a runaway slave."

1824

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September 1, Wednesday: General [Lafayette](#) and his suite departed [Ipswich](#) at 10AM for Newburyport “amid the benedictions of many hearts.” Unlike the canker-worm, this general would not again return. The weather was so inclement that they would not arrive in Newburyport until too late in the evening for any reception, but the town cannon would be discharged anyway, to alert the residents to his arrival.



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

4th day - in dilligent service under my different appointments in society, from the Y Meeting, with my mind much engaged in the service, no part of which was attended with more solid weight than our visit to the children in the School, in the girls department, our frd [M Brown](#) was concerned to impart weighty council, & was followed by a baptising supplication from Alice Rathbone & testimony from Hannah Dennis - & was a most interesting opportunity - In the boys school much good council was imparted by several of the committee & I hope our labours will not be soon forgotten - After the service of this day was over I went in to [Providence](#), set the evening with Dorcas Brown & lodged at Welcome Congdons. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

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→ September 2, Thursday: The *Marquis de Lafayette* breakfasted in Newburyport on yet another rainy day, and [William Lloyd Garrison](#) was among the hundreds of townspeople who obtained his handshake at the Tracy mansion on State Street (a building which now houses the town's public library) prior to his departure for [Concord](#).



When the illustrious *citoyen* reached [Concord](#), Squire Samuel Hoar, on behalf of all, rose to deliver the welcome.



Lafayette, nous sommes ici!

—General “Black Jack” Pershing,
arriving with US troops in France
at the very end of the WWI trench warfare.

Unfortunately, Squire Hoar did this in a manner which would begin a long and bitter controversy with Lexington over which town's militia had been the first to fire upon the colonial army in America, by pointing out in his speech of welcome that it had been at the [Old North Bridge](#) over the [Concord River](#) rather than during the prior slaughter on the green in Lexington town that “the first forcible resistance” had been offered by the militia to the army. Before this visit by the *marquis*, there had in fact been very little note taken either in [Concord](#) or in Lexington of the anniversary of the April 19th dustup between the militia and the army. This invidious discrimination between two outbreaks of smallarms fire would produce a “storm of protest” from indignant Lexingtonians. Major Elias Phinney of Lexington would begin to pull together the depositions of survivors, none of whom had forgotten any details of the “battle” and some of whom were finding that they were able to recall details that hadn't actually happened.

When [Mary Moody Emerson](#) was introduced to the general, she coquettishly told him that since she had been at the time a newborn infant, she also could lay claims to having been “‘in arms’ at the [Concord](#) fight.”⁷⁷

[John Shepard Keyes](#) would later preserve a dim memory of having been pulled by a sister out of the way of the horses that drew [Lafayette](#) through Concord, and of the pageantry of that very special day.

[Elizabeth Hallett Prichard](#), daughter of [Moses Prichard](#) and [Jane Tompson Hallet Prichard](#), would all her long life remember being picked up by this geriatric general and kissed, before she reached her 3d birthday.

[Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#) would later allege that [Henry Thoreau](#) had been able to summon a childhood memory of this event, which would have occurred subsequent to his 7th birthday, but Thoreau's memory of

77. I don't know whether this presentation of Mary Moody Emerson to [Lafayette](#) occurred earlier during this day, in Newburyport, or later, in [Concord](#).



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the event would have been rather more like the trace memory of Keynes ([John Shepard Keyes](#)) and nothing like Walt Whitman's — for Walt's memory much later (a memory produced for the amazement of his friend [John Burroughs](#)), was that somehow he had obtained for himself a manly kiss:



On the visit of General Lafayette to this country, in 1824, he came over to Brooklyn in state, and rode through the city. The children of the schools turn'd out to join in the welcome. An edifice for a free public library for youths was just then commencing, and Lafayette consented to stop on his way and lay the corner-stone. Numerous children arriving on the ground, where a huge irregular excavation for the building was already dug, surrounded with heaps of rough stone, several gentlemen assisted in lifting the children to safe or convenient spots to see the ceremony. Among the rest, Lafayette, also helping the children, took up the five-year-old Walt Whitman, and pressing the child a moment to his breast, and giving him a kiss, handed him down to a safe spot in the excavation.

— John Burroughs.

[Abba Alcott](#) would love to recount, in her old age, how her aunt Dorothy Sewall Quincy met the *marquis* at the ball held in his honor. We may be able to judge the nature of the reception and ball at which Dorothy Sewall Quincy “met her *marquis*” —presumably in [Boston](#) rather than in [Concord](#) where there would not have been an adequate infrastructure of edifices, servants, and the paraphernalia of privilege— by considering that the visit of this distinguished “friend of America,” who had been declared a guest of the nation by President James Monroe and by the federal Congress, was our nation's chief social excitement of this year.

In Philadelphia, for instance, the celebrations had occupied several days, with the good general [Lafayette](#) bowing with grace of manner and greeting each lady and gentleman presented to him with “How do you do?” in very careful English, and the following account subsequently appeared in [Niles' Weekly Register](#):



THE NATION'S GUEST

On Monday morning, the 4th inst., about three hundred children of both sexes, from the different schools in Philadelphia, were arranged in the State House yard to receive General La Fayette: the spectacle was most beautiful and highly interesting.

In the evening he attended a grand ball at the theatre: the lobby of which was converted into a magnificent saloon, adorned with beautiful rose, orange and lemon trees, in full bearing, and a profusion of shrubbery, pictures, busts, banners with classical inscriptions, etc., all illuminated with a multitude of lamps. For the dancers there were two compartments, the house and the stage; the upper part of the former was hung with scarlet drapery, studded with golden stars, while the great chandelier, with two additional ones, and a row of wax tapers, arranged over the canopy, shed down a blaze of light. The first and second tiers of boxes were crowded with ladies in the richest apparel, as spectators of the dazzling array. Beyond the proscenium the stage division wore the appearance of an Eastern pavilion in a garden, terminating with a view of an extended sea and landscape, irradiated by the setting sun, and meant to typify the Western world. The company began to assemble soon after seven o'clock, and consisted of two thousand or more persons, of whom 600 or 700 were invited strangers. Twenty-two hundred tickets had been issued. No disorder occurred in the streets, with the arrival and departure of the carriages, which formed a line along the adjoining squares.

General La Fayette appeared at nine o'clock and was received at the door by the managers of the ball. He was conducted the whole length of the apartments through an avenue formed by the ladies to the bottom of the stage, where Mrs. Morris, Governor Shulze, and the Mayer waited to greet him in form: the full band playing an appropriate air during his progress. As soon as he was seated, the dancers were called, and at least four hundred were immediately on the floor. The dancing did not cease until near five o'clock, though the company began to retire about three. At twelve, one of the managers, from an upper box, proclaimed a toast "to the nation's guest," which was hailed with enthusiasm and accompanied by the descent of a banner from the ceiling. Behind this was suddenly displayed a portrait of the general, with allegorical figures.

A short while later, churning this topic, Niles' Weekly Register offered information about the sexual overtones of toasts which had been offered at a similar upscale bash in Baltimore, and the manner in which such gallantries had been offered and received:



When the music for the dancing ceased, the military band of the first rifle regiment played the most pleasing and fashionable airs.... Just before the ladies of the first tables retired, General La Fayette requested permission to give the following toast, which was received in a manner that reflected credit on the fair objects of it: "The Baltimore ladies – the old gratitude of a young soldier mingles with the respectful sense of new obligation conferred on a veteran." The ladies rose and saluted the general, and the sensation and effect is not to be described; when he sat down there was a burst of applause from all the gentlemen present.

Need we explore the overtones of this toast? The old French general is relying upon the national stereotypes according to which Frenchmen in tights are "gallant," and is reminiscing about when he and his fellows were young and horny, traveling around in magnificent uniforms diddling the lovely young colonial maidens. He is saying to these ladies at the banquet "Maybe it was you I swived with when you were much younger, and you will remember but not I, or consider that maybe it was your mama," and he was saying to their husbands as well, "Maybe it was your wife I swived with when we were so much younger, and she will remember but not I and she will most certainly not tell you about it, or maybe it was your mama, or your wife's mama." He remembers youthful delights and is grateful. Lafayette says all this in the most careful innuendo, "and the sensation and effect is not to be described." What could the American males do but applaud wildly? –They couldn't very well rush the main table and shove this codger's head into his soup, could they?

In Newport, Rhode Island Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day Morng - called a little while at Jos Anthonys, then came on board the Packet & got home in about five hours - This little jant [jaunt] to Providence has been attended with depression on account of the inconvenience of leaving home when I have considerable of my own to attend too, & my outward circumstances require my attention - yet I have (I trust) humbly to acknowledge an evidence of divine favour & even an enlargement of my views & exercises which is worth sacrifice & even suffering for & as to my spiritual condition I have returned refreshed & enlivened, with renew'd desires for myself & the society of which I am a member, that I may grow in grace, & there by become increasingly usefull to the latter

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 3, Friday: In Newport, Rhode Island Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

6th day 3rd of 9th M 1824 / During my late absence from home, my Wife rec'd for me a letter from Thomas Evans of Philada giving some acct of the difficultys attending Friends in that Yearly Meeting particularly in that City, Oh! the disheartening circumstances which exist among us, but may the Lord preserve



his heritage –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 4, Saturday: Joseph Anton Bruckner was born in Ansfelden near Linz the eldest of eleven children (only five surviving infancy) born to Anton Bruckner, schoolmaster and organist, and Therese Helm, daughter of a civil servant and innkeeper.

Gioachino Rossini left Paris for Bologna.

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

7th day 4th of 9 M / Again occupied all day in the concerns of Society Vizt in attending the Meeting of the Proprietors of Eastons Point as one of the Assisting committee - All I can say, is, that the services of Society press heavily upon me, both as it respects Spirituals & temporals. -- Oh that I may be usefully & honourably carried through –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 5, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5 of 9 M / Morning Meeting large - JD. AD. DB & AR all in rotation engaged in testimony A Robinson in particular much favoured. – In the Afternoon Father Rodman was to me very much acceptably engaged in Testimony. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 9th of 9 M / Our old frd Job Chaloner & his wife were at Meeting, & Job was acceptably engaged in testimony - they called to see us yesterday, their company was pleasant reviving in my mind many old occurrences while they were inhabitants of this town & as long ago as when I went to school to him

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 10, Friday: Greeks defeated Ottoman naval forces off Bodrum, Turkey.

 September 11, Saturday: Due to Carl Maria von Weber's increasing debilitation from tuberculosis, Heinrich August Marschner was appointed director of the German and Italian opera companies in Dresden.

Scottish reformer Fanny Wright and her sister Camilla were invited to stay with Maria Colden, wife of former mayor Cadwallader Colden, in New York during their visit to the US.

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

7th day 11th of 9th M / Rode this morning to [Portsmouth](#) Meeting House with D Buffum to attend the funeral of Mary Aylsworth, who died on 5th day at Isaac Almys - the funeral was small but a solid sitting at the Meeting House after the Corpse was inter'd



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-& Wm Almy was engaged in a sound pertinent testimony. – We dined at Isaac Almys & had an Opportunity of much conversation with Wm on concerns of society & some other subjects in [which] he with D Buffum & myself were concerned. –
Mary Aylesworth was a solid exampary [sic] friend & had a testimony to bear in public for some Years – She was daughter of John Aylesworth & for many years had lived in Wm Almys family & chiefly a companion to his daughter Anne

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 12, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

9th M 12th (1st day) 1824 / We had unexpectedly the company of our frd Wm Almy at Meeting this morning who was concerned in a deeply Doctrinal testimony attended with life & power – I may acknowledge his communication was a comfort to me, a Strength to my hands, & I dont know but I may say a joy to my heart. – In the Afternoon Job Chaloner delivered a testimony in love & after meeting he & his wife took tea with us, & going away early I spent the rest of the evening at Abigail Robinsons in company with Mary Morton who arrived a few days ago from Philad. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 13, Monday: With his crew and 29 convicts aboard the *Amity*, John Oxley arrived at and founded the Moreton Bay Penal Settlement at what is now Redcliffe in Queensland, Australia after leaving Sydney.

At the [Harvard Divinity School](#), [Alexander Young, Jr.](#) was approved as a candidate for the ministry.

 September 14, Tuesday: Following a referendum on the matter, Chiapas was incorporated into Mexico.

 September 15, Wednesday: Benderli Selim Sirri Pasha replaced Mehmed Said Galip Pasha as Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire.

 September 16, Thursday: King Louis XVIII, age 68, having ruled France for nearly a decade, lay like a beached white whale and breathed one last time and was still. Attendants scurried like ants deprived of their queen. *Le Roi* [Louis XVIII] *est meurt, vive le Roi* [his brother, Charles X]! And would you know, the Archbishop of Rheims announced, when the National Convention of France had supposed it had destroyed, to the last drop, together with the vial, in public with witnesses, and certified as destroyed, all the remainder of the Holy Oil of Rheims which had been given to Saint Remi for the coronation of King Clovis in the sixth century by a dove from Heaven, when that had happened on October 6, 1793, some of the sacred oil had nevertheless miraculously been preserved! There could be a coronation for this Charles the X!

Yes, indeed it is foolish for foolish men to suppose they can defy the ways of a provident deity!

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

5th day 16th of 9 M / Our meeting was small & from some circumstances a painful one to me. – Of what importance that



*Ministers should be skilful in their communications, & that
Elders too should have a right understanding. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 17, Friday: After spending the summer with her mother, Clara Wieck was legally given into the custody of her father in Leipzig.

 September 19, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 19th of 9 M / Our Meeting this morning was silent & not
very lively but still I believe a degree of favour extended
In the Afternoon a short lively testimony from Father Rodman. –
Took tea with Father Rodman Br David & Samuel Peebles in company*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 20, Monday: The Great Salt Lake of Utah was visited by trapper and scout Jim Bridger.

Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

*Josephine and myself return to Baltimore shortly. Monsieur
Pascault is very ailing and they seem worried about him. Our
home is empty, so I think Josephine will not suffer too much
from the heat. There is a rumour about a mission to France. I
dare not think of it. When we leave, Frances says she will take
to her bed. It is awful for her. I am certain mamma will not
stand the winter here. Father will have to be in Washington on
account of the elections.*

 September 22, Wednesday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 22 of 9 M / Attended the funeral of Eunice Clarke aged
81 Years & about 5 Months. She was the widow of Nathaniel Clarke
& daughter of the late Jacob Barney. – She was a friend in good
esteem & many years ago was a useful member of the Moy [Monthly]
Meeting. –her funeral was largely attended by friends & others
& the sitting a Solid opportunity where Father Rodman Anne
Dennis & David Buffum bore short testimonys. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 23, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 23rd of 9 M / Meeting small & low as to my own particular
It is again a time of poverty with me, but having known many
such seasons succeeded by a degree of Divine help, May I not yet
trust in the Holy Helper.
With three other committee men visited a requester this
Afternoon, but like the meeting was a low time, & the request
withdrawn to the relief of our Minds. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 25, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#) Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:



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*7th day 25th of 9th M 1824 / Rode this Afternoon to [Portsmouth](#) with Uncle Saml Thurston & after taking tea at his house took Saml Peebles who was at his house & walked down to Uncle Stantons & lodged - Next Morning rode to meeting with Aunt Patty - Abby Sherman & Mary Hix preeached - I returned to Uncle Stantons & dined, then walked up to Uncle Thurstons to attend to an appointment from the Moy [Monthly] Meeting where the committee agreed to Meet - after which Uncle Thurston brought me as far as the two Mile corner & I walked the rest of the distance, & being unwell found the distance a Match for me
On my return, found John quite unwell with the St Anthonys fire, & My H almost sick with a cold Sister Ruth set the evening with us -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 26, Sunday: Kapiolani defied Pele (Hawaiian volcano goddess) and lived.

 September 27, Monday: [Benjamin Apthorp Gould](#) was born in [Boston](#). He would attend the school at which his father [Benjamin Apthorp Gould](#) had previously been headmaster, the Boston Latin School.

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

5th day 30th of 9th M / Our Moy [Monthly] Meeting was rather small & rather heavy, tho' we had a communication from Father Rodman which appear'd to me to be in the life - & buisness went on about as usual in the last Meeting. - We had several of our friends to dine with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

OCTOBER

 October: The USS *Porpoise*, still on its cruise which had been authorized in 1822, landed bluejackets in pursuit of [pirates](#) near Matanzas, Cuba.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

 October: Colonel Joseph Valentine and Luke Fiske spoke at the [Concord](#), Massachusetts annual agricultural exhibition. Exhibitors received prizes totaling \$359.

To the Inhabitants of Concord.



THE *Concord Gazette & Middlesex Freeman*, of Sept. 8th, notices the reception of Gen. La Fayette in this town. This notice is understood to have received the sanction of some of the extensive Committee, who planned the arrangements for the day. Some have said that an active committee-man wrote the account to suit himself. But, by some, this is denied. Yet all admit, that the majority of the Committee adopted the account as true. Still, this account, though it contains no single assertion which is really false, conveys a wrong impression to the reader. It intimates, if it does not say, that the "Ladies who prepared and set out the refreshments of the bower" gave them as a voluntary tribute to the Hero. It also leaves one to suppose, that the whole expense of the occasion was defrayed by a few public-spirited persons of both sexes who had placed themselves in the front rank, and contrived to show themselves as so small advantages in presence of the illustrious Guest.

To correct these mistakes this sheet is written. It is intended to state the truth; and it is the common wish that the truth, without varnish or colouring should be told; and with the truth the Citizens will rest satisfied. To receive Gen. La Fayette in Concord with appropriate ceremonies and respect, a Committee of fifteen was appointed, by a considerable meeting of their townsmen. This Committee served, and an address to the General by their Chairman, spoke the feelings and gratitude of the people with ability, and gave universal satisfaction. Yet in some parts of the committee's doings, there was a strange spirit discovered. In selecting persons to appear in the presence of the Hero, there was a singular display of judgment shall it be called? No, it was not judgment; it was preference and caprice.— This was noticed at the time, but called out no peculiar expression of disapprobation. But, this reception, parade, or entertainment had a tail to it. There was a bill to be paid; or, to speak more euphemistically, there were an infinite number of bills to be met. The refreshments voluntarily furnished by the Ladies were to be paid for by the public. As ounce of tea, a slice of bacon, a quarter of sugar, or a shilling's worth of clams, whenever bought or by whoever furnished, had not been furnished without being charged in a bill, and was now to be paid for. The persons who were for excluding their neighbors from joining in making ready the ceremonies, were now not so very anxious to exclude the same neighbors from paying the bill or bills. They who received the General as if they themselves constituted the whole town, and were resolved to appear as the only persons of consequence at his reception, were not so very desirous to exclude others from the privilege of bearing the expense. These remarks it is thought apply not to the whole of the Committee; and those liberal minds were now averse to inflicting a tax on the town, to bear the expense, incurred, to enable a few persons to display their own personal consequence to advantage.

The warrant for town-meeting on Nov. 1st, contained an article "to see if the town will defray the expense of the reception of Gen. La Fayette." When this was known it produced a strong excitement. There were numbers in town, who had been excluded from aiding in the reception, who were yet so zealous and enthusiastic for the companion of Washington, that they voluntarily contributed enough to defray the whole of these expenses, and would not let it be said, that in Concord it was necessary to lay a town-tax for the reception of the General; they would not suffer it to be said, that this town had not liberal minded citizens enough to pay eighty dollars for the honour of

seeing and welcoming Gen. La Fayette, without the infliction of a tax.

Let it be remembered that most of these men, are the very persons whom a majority of the Committee excluded from the ceremonies, when Gen. La Fayette was here. They had no fault with the reception, except that so few were allowed to share in it. With parts of it they are much pleased. The military parade was an honour to the town and County; they are proud of it. Indeed had the whole business been conducted on a liberal scale; had all the citizens been allowed to aid in conducting it, no dissatisfaction would have been felt. As it is, many are not pleased. Many have had injustice done them by being excluded; while it is conceived that some individuals have had great injustice done them by being allowed to make themselves seen so much. Be this as it may, it concerns every one to have the matter rightly understood in this town; and beyond this town of Concord let not these things be told.

The following is a Statement of the Expenses incurred at the reception of Gen. La Fayette, September, 1824.

E. THOMPSON'S BILL for Refreshment furnished the troops on duty that day, viz.
 60 Mugs of drink before his arrival, at 1s \$15 33
 *10 Bottles of Spirit after his arrival, at 46¢ 12 00—\$27 33

JOSEPH BERTHAUX, Jr.'s BILL
 To his expense in going to Boston after a Dagle player, 3 75

SAMUEL DEAN'S BILL
 For Powder & Flannel to make cartridges for artillery, 12 17

JUSTAN DAVIS' BILL;
 For Sundries furnished the Bower, viz.
 6 lb. Coffee, at 20 cts. - - - - - 1 20
 3 doz. Eggs 14 cts. - - - - - 42
 1 lb. Butter, - - - - - 17
 27 lb. Ham, at 12½ cts. - - - - - 3 38
 5 Bottles Wine of Davenport, at 6s. - - - 5 00
 Making Bower by G. Proctor, - - - - - 5 00
 Abel Connor's attendance of himself and boy, 1 00
 Bread of Jarvis, - - - - - 1 00
 ½ lb. Loaf Sugar, 1s. - - - - - 1 33—13 50

DANIEL SHATTUCK'S BILL.
 7 lb. Currants, at 25 cts. - - - - - 1 75
 7 lb. Sugar, - - - - - 75
 6 lb. White Sugar, at 14 cts. - - - - - 84
 ½ lb. Cloves, - - - - - 40
 7 lb. Box Raisins, at 20 cts. - - - - - 1 40
 ½ lb. Nutmegs, - - - - - 63
 7 lb. 12 oz. Loaf Sugar, at 1s. - - - - - 1 29
 Crockery lost and broken, - - - - - 95
 Expense in notifying Capt. DAVIS, of Jutes by William Whiting, - - - - - 63
 Damage of Loader, - - - - - 1 20—9 04

MONS DAVIS' BILL.
 4 doz. Eggs, at 1s. - - - - - 67
 ½ lb. Hyson Tea, - - - - - 28—95

WILLIAM WHITING'S BILL.
 8 lb. Butter at 1s. - - - - - 1 33
 6 doz. Eggs, 12½ cts. - - - - - 75
 Cash paid for attendance at Table, - - - 1 25—3 33

\$19 07

The above items are copied exactly from the bill given in, and which was laid before the town. There was another item of \$2, which made the whole bill \$21 07; This amount was received and receipted for by Col. DANIEL SHATTUCK, in behalf of the Committee of Arrangements.

* Eight dollars of this item were refunded by the commanders of the Concord Independent Companies.

† This charge is now omitted in the bill, because it was made without the consent of the persons for whom it was chiefly set down by the liberality of friends. This money too was refunded, as having been paid unadvisedly.



1824

1824



October 1, Friday: Emerson Cogswell died in [Concord](#), Massachusetts. His father, also named Emerson Cogswell, had gotten married with Eunice Robinson, and this generation's Emerson Cogswell had been born on October 24, 1779 in Concord. The father had purchased land from Isaac Merriam in Concord on December 19, 1771, from Jacob Walker on September 28, 1776, from Samuel Bartlett in 1781, from John Brooks in 1795, and from Reuben Brown and from Asa Brooks, Reuben Hunt, Stephen Jones, and William Mercer in 1799, and had been one of the founders of the local Social Circle. That father had been a sergeant under Captain John Buttrick on April 19, 1775, and a 2d Lieutenant under Captain George Minot in 1776 in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, and had gone from being a hatter to being a tavern keeper, and had died in the east quarter of Concord on May 13, 1808. This generation's Emerson Cogswell had reached 44 years of age at the time of his demise.

1824

1824



October 2, Saturday: The 1st constitution of the United Mexican States (*Estados Unidos Mexicanos*) was approved, to go into effect at midnight (midnight seems somehow appropriate, for this 1824 constitution was one that normalized human [enslavement](#).)

“HEY HEY HEY, AND HO HO HO! / HUMAN ENSLAVEMENT, IT’S THE WAY TO GO!”

TEXAS

Later on, Anglo “Texian” immigrants would be fulminating against mongrel Mejjico to the south and seeking to join themselves unto the United States of America to the north. They would put “1824” on their banner in reference to this constitution. –Without doubt, what these white men meant by such a shorthand reference was something like



“SLAVERY FIRST — SLAVERY LAST — SLAVERY ALWAYS!”

WAR ON MEXICO



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

10th M 2nd (7th day) 1824 / This Afternoon Samuel Peebles of Gravelly Run who has been here about 8 Weeks wanting a few Days let [left] us, taking the Packet for NYork on his way home. – he has been a pleasant & very acceptable inmate in most of the families of Friends here during his stay, his solid deportment has comforted my mind, & under the afflicting disease which

attends him, I have been almost surprised to behold in him a pattern of patience & resignation, & it affords me no small satisfaction that he has found his health in a considerable degree improved by our Air

We have hitherto known but very little of Friends of the Yearly Meeting of Virginia, but thro' Saml a medium of acquaintance seems to be open which I think may be useful. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 3, Sunday: Establishment of the Rensselaer School of Theoretical and Practical Science, at Troy, New York. [Elsewhere I have seen recorded that the school was founded on November 5th.] Rather than educating young gentlemen wannabees in the classics, this institution was to take a trade school approach and educate them to become productive servants of society. (The first of these students would graduate in 1835 and in 1861 the school would change its name to Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.)

The 1st constitution of the United Mexican States (*Estados Unidos Mexicanos*), having been approved on the previous day, went into effect.

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

*1st day 3rd of 10th M 1824 / Our Meeting large & an uncommon portion of Preaching, in rotation as follows Anne Dennis Mary Morton Hannah Dennis, Father Rodman & Abigail Sherman. –
In the Afternoon Mary Morton & Father Rodman were concerned to bear short testimonies. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 4, Monday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 4 of 10 M / Went to Connanicut this morning on buisness
Went to Mercy Weedens & on my return called a few minutes at Jos
Greenes, from thence to Cousin Molly Howlands & returned across
the ferry in time to take tea at home –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 7, Thursday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 7 of 10 M / Soon after sitting down in Meeting a solemn
covering was witnessed, life renew'd & I thought spread over the
Meeting – our fr Mary Morton favourd in Testimony*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 8, Friday: [Brigham Young](#) got married with Miriam Works.

 October 10, Sunday: Manuel Felix Fernandez Guadalupe Victoria became the 1st President of Mexico.

The Edinburgh Town Council founded the Edinburgh Municipal Fire Brigade, the first fire brigade in Britain.

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



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*1st day 10th of 10 M / Both Meetings were solid opportunities & only a short testimony in the Afternoon from Father Rodman. – Our Cousin Henry, Molly, Lydy Anne & Thomas B Gould set the evening with us –
Benj & John Marshall arrived this Morning from NYork*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 11, Monday: The Times of London reviewed a new biographical dictionary of musicians, from Sainsbury and Company — the section on Samuel Wesley averred that he had died in 1815 but the newspaper pointed out that as of 1824 he was still alive.

In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

2nd day 11th of 10 M / This Morning rose early & rode to Portsmouth with Charles Phelps & took Breakfast at Uncle Stantons, after which Charles & Benj Marshall went to Fall River & I rode into the West rode with Uncle Stanton & walked from the Mill lane home & reached Newport about half after 12 OClock – soon after which I rec'd a letter directed to Brother Isaac & myself from Willet Carpenter announcing the decease of our Cousin Lewis L Clarke, Last 7th day evening about half past 11 OClock being the 9th day of the present Month Aged [] Years. – Cousin Lewis has been a man of a singular turn of mind & at time deranged in Mind but I have no doubt the main bent of his intentions were good & his concern for the welfare of Society sincere, & his love for his friends & relations in particular, ardent, & has taken much satisfaction in visiting them, & his friends esteem him, but his situation of body & mind for sometime past has been such as to render longer life undesirable for him or his connections –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 14, Thursday: In Newport, Rhode Island, Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 14th of 10th M 1824 / This day was our Select Moy [Monthly] Meeting in the public part we had excellent encouraging testimonys from Hannah Dennis Mary Morton, & a few words from another, it was a comfortable Meeting, & that part allotted for buisness there was some exebrcise but I trust all ended well & the right thing promoted in the end. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 15, Friday: Per the journal of Albert Gallatin's son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

Greatly to the relief of us all, greatly to the relief of father himself, he has been able to withdraw from the candidature of Vice-President. It really was nothing more than a hope of his party that should Mr. Crawford have been elected President his health would have obliged him to withdraw, and father would have been head of the State. Of course his birth disqualified him for standing for the Presidency, and this was the only means of putting him in that position. Now they are worrying him again

with offers of the Treasury, but I am certain he will not accept any post of any kind or description. I had always heard Carrolltown, the seat of the Carrolls, spoken of with almost awe as to its magnificence. Josephine told me it was nonsense. So to see it we went. I really could not help laughing. Merely a square wooden house with a piazza all around it. The interior most ordinary. It seems the original Carroll, who called himself Carroll of Carrolltown, was the natural child of somebody. This I fear is very much the habit of the Americans of the Southern States- vain boasting. They of course have large plantations and slaves; but miserable houses, and live in the most untidy manner. To my astonishment I hear there are no schools in the Southern States and that all the children of the better class have to be sent to the North to be educated. Father has decided to remain with mamma, Frances and Albert for the winter at New Geneva. Of course I am obliged to remain in Baltimore.

 October 16, Saturday: Franz Schubert departed Zseliz, where he had been music tutor to the Esterhazy family, to return to Vienna, in the company of Baron Schonstein.

 October 17, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 17 of 10th M / In the morning good solemn & impressive testimonys from David Buffum, Father Rodman & H Dennis - & a large Meeting. - Small & Silent in the Afternoone
On the 15th inst U was informed by letter from Jas Robinson that Cousin Lewis L Clarke had bequeathed to me in his Will Twenty Dollars. - I feel grateful for that small Sum & pleased that in his final Testament he remembered me. - This I consider & feel to be a favour unexpected - my circumstances are small & my dependence small in any way as respects the World - but hitherto I have been preserved from actual want, & desire to be humbly thankful to the Giver of all good for it & hold my confidence in his all powerful supporting Arm of Mercy - for his Mercy my heart is sensible & without it What Am I - Where Am I -& where are any who have it not.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 19, Tuesday: From the diary of George F. Jencks, a white man of Pawtucket: “Last night the Whites assembled on the bridge in Providence and went out in a body to that part of town occupied by the blacks and pulled down Ten of their houses and laid waste all there contents and this day the Governor and Council has ordered out the Light Infantry to guard the town.”⁷⁸ A crown of perhaps as many as a thousand white people had stood around idly and watched in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) as a white mob, reacting to perceived economic competition from free black Americans, had demolished some 20 black homes in “Addison’s Hollow” or “Hardscrabble,” a challenged neighborhood along Olney Lane by what is now Gaspee street and the State House. (It would all happen again, in the Olney Lane and Snowtown district of Providence, Charles/Orms Street area, on September 21, 1831.) 

RACISM

Although 10 of these white rioters would be prosecuted for serious offenses, their defense, provided by the

78. See HISTORY OF THE PROVIDENCE RIOTS, published in Providence by M.M. Brown during 1831.



prominent local attorney Joseph Tillinghast, consisting of an argument that actually they had been improving “the morals of the community” by removing a “pig-stye” of lewdness, disorder, [drunkenness](#), and unseemly dancing, would prove to be entirely successful. The only convictions would be on minor charges, and the only punishment would be of the “slap on the wrist” variety, with leading white citizens openly congratulating them for their civic-minded destructiveness. (When the rioting would break out again in 1831, however, it would end with the militia needing to kill four white men, and afterward, in the interest of maintaining public order, voters would approve a charter for a city government with stronger police powers.)

Providence in the 1820s was a fast-growing port town, drawing on its hinterland’s farms and manufactures to overshadow [Newport](#), once Rhode Island’s primary metropolis. Providence had about 11,750 people in 1820 (by 1825 there would be about 15,000, and by 1830 about 17,000). Of these, about 1,000 were freemen who met the property qualification to vote in Town Meetings. At the other extreme of Providence’s social spectrum were about 1,000 blacks, rising from 980 in 1820 to 1,200-1,400 in 1830. Only four people were still enslaved. Many black families had lived in Providence for generations, but others were recent arrivals from South County. About half the blacks in town lived with their employers, and the other half were generally drawn of course to neighborhoods where land and rent were cheap, at the north end of town. A proud few owned homes. Two days before the “Hardscrabble” riots, the Providence Beacon had editorialized about “Our Black Population.” (The Beacon, published almost single-handedly by William Spear, would be characterized as “a fearless paper” by a lawyer representing the white rioters, Chief Justice William Staples, in his *Annals of Providence*, but Attorney General Duttee Pearce would characterize William Spear himself as “a person of evil, wicked, and malicious mind and disposition.” Spear was the sort of person who would lament in print that local blacks were “naturally vicious and wicked,” “profligate,” and “worthless,” and spread stories that groups of blacks were forcing whites to step off the sidewalks to make way for them rather than themselves stepping off the sidewalks to make way for whites as was natural and proper.) The previous weekend the Providence Beacon had reported that local blacks had defeated a white crowd for possession of the bridge on Smith Street (were people using this bridge to cope with the heat of the season?)—since nature had given them disproportionate “physical strength”—and that a thrown stone had wounded “a respectable lady” on the breast. Spear was warning that Providence after dark was now “absolutely dangerous for females.” Other Providence newspapers, such as the *Jeffersonian Providence Patriot*, the proto-Whig *Manufacturer’s and Farmer’s Journal*, and the old Federalist *Providence Gazette*, generally ignored the white riot. The *Patriot* ran a half-inch notice of the “affray,” and after a few days reprinted the *Gazette*’s editorial obliquely deploring “the increase of our colored population.” It noted that the Town Council had ordered a census of blacks for the purpose of expelling the “idle, dissolute” ones. After reviling the capacities of the race, it allowed that most long-settled blacks were “sober, industrious and respectable citizens.” Spear’s Beacon, however, was offering that while “extermination” was not indicated, at least as yet, some decent white people would need to volunteer to “rid the town of its superabundant share” of transient poor blacks. It was two days later, on the evening of October 18th, that a white mob marched north to Hardscrabble and destroyed eleven structures. Most of the structures destroyed were speakeasies, but all accounts agree that a few were the homes of “respectable” black craftsmen and their families. By some accounts, including the Beacon’s, this mob comprised 400 to 500 rioters and up to 1,000 eager spectators, although others estimated the mob at only 50 or 60 effectives, with a cheering section amounting to only about a hundred. The next Beacon published a short account of the violence, followed by a romantic lamentation for the poor, innocent, hard-working black victims, after which Spear chastised their impudence, “idleness and vice” and proposed that Draconian controls be imposed over them. This article, entitled “RIOT AND REBELLION,” announced that Providence, known “for the purity of its morals and its domestic felicity and repose,” had been “disharmonized” by the indiscriminate “atrocities” of an “abandoned and profligate mob.” Hardscrabble, wrote Spear, was a “hamlet” of “smiling aspect” where blacks had moved “to avoid all intercourse” with “hostile” whites. When attacked, the “unoffending and unsuspecting inhabitants” “were engaged in convivial sports and rural games.” Their “innocent festivity” may have involved rum, for the newspaper mentioned that some provident housekeepers had enough of it on hand to buy off the mob and thus preserve their homes. In the wake of the white mob, Spear found devoted mothers, an “honest sailor” and “an

aged son of Africa,” mourning “with downcast countenance” their “humble cottages,” the fruits of “honest toil,” and gasping, “Hope forsaken!”

Spear predicted that these wronged blacks would be righteously seeking vengeance. They were innocent as lambs, except that they were “impudent, and often offer insults to whites.” Blacks “cannot bear the luxuries of freedom,” and are temperamentally incompatible with whites. Therefore, “let their liberties be abridged.” we should put “every Negro under the immediate control of the Orphan’s Court,” and apprentice them all to “respectable Mechanics.” Some would be “susceptible of improvement,” and for others “it would be the means of driving them from our region.” This “benevolence” would benefit both whites and blacks — the only alternative would be a cycle of riot culminating in a white “war of extermination” destroying this black element in the town.

The next week, Spear’s sympathies would be even more firmly with the wronged black residents of Providence. He would be pointing out that many of the local blacks, although they had become “miserable wretches,” were actually the offspring of “noble” Revolutionary veterans.

 October 21, Thursday: Joseph Aspdin, a mason, received a British patent for Portland Cement (this was the 1st modern improvement on the cement used by the ancient Romans).

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

5th day 21 of 10 M / Silent & to me precious meeting - in that the arising of life was Sweetly experienced, for which favour I desire to be thankful. - This State of mind I have enjoyed for Some days to my refreshment & encouragement

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 22, Friday: Sarah Hawes Capen was born in South Boston.

 October 23, Saturday: Charles Albert Fechter was born.

LET’S NOT GET AHEAD OF OURSELVES! TO APPRECIATE OCTOBER 23D, 1824 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST). THIS CHARLES ALBERT FECHTER WOULD GROW UP TO BECOME AN ACTOR, WELL KNOWN IN FRANCE, AND THEN IN ENGLAND, AND THEN IN THE UNITED STATES, BUT AT THIS POINT APPEARS AS MERELY ANOTHER FECKLESS HUMAN INFANT.

 October 24, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 24th of 10 M / Morning Meeting was large which passed in Silence till near the close, when Father Rodman delivered a short testimony sound clear & according to my feeling appropriate. - Soon After Lucy Dow wife of Lorenzo stood up & spoke, which tho’ generally sound, & I have no doubt well ment,



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was not a very acceptable offering - it being evidently lacking of that seasoning which makes way in Truth, & besides she had no right to preach in our meetings, being not in Membership with us

A few words again from Father Rodman - Lucy was there but silent

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 October 26, Tuesday: The digging of the western end of the [Erie Canal](#) at Lockport, to Lake Erie, was completed.

 October 27, Wednesday: Clara Wieck began taking piano lessons with her father, in Leipzig.

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

4th day 27th of 10th M 1824 / Uncle Stanton having sent the Waggon into townwe went out this Afternoon to his house & lodged

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day morning we took Aunt Polly & went to Moy [Monthly] Meeting a sound lively & pertinent testimony - in the last we had a larger portion of buisness than usual - Abigail Sherman was recommmeded to the Quarterly Meeting as a Minister - Elisha A Lawton & Sarah Lawton published their intentions of Marriage with several other subjects which held the Meeting later than usual. -- After which we dined at Uncle Stantons & lodged again - Wm Wilbour with drawed his request to be admitted to membership & the subject was dismissed. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

6th day finding it very rainy this Morning we staid till after dinner when we set out & in running the Waggon from the Barn to the house, I found it had got the advantage of me on a seep [steep] hill got to going fast & in clearing myself from it, I pitched head formost over a pile of Boards, on getting up found I was not apparantly hurt but much overcome with the sudden twirl - The fill [?] of the Waggon was broken which detained us longer to get another, but we got home before sunset - I consider this escape from immediate death, in which I was in danger of, both from the fall & from being crushed by the force of the Waggon - a great preservation for which I desire to be humbly thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

7th day 30 of 10 M / Find myself quite unwell today with a pain in my right shoulder thro' to my Stomach & an occasional shooting pain in my left breast & side - whether it is owing to the fall



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of yesterday, or only my old complaint the Rheumatism I do not know, but am inclined to think it may be partly woing to both. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

1st day 31 of 10 M / Our Beloved friend Sarah Tucker attended both our Meetings & in both was twice engaged in very lively testimonys much [to] the edification of Friends & others - in the afternoon at her second rising she addressed the Youth very Sweetly, & I can but feelingly desire it may prove lastingly beneficial to them & be remembered by them in days to come. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

NOVEMBER

➡ November: The results of the Presidential elections in the US left no candidate with a majority in the Electoral College. Andrew Jackson has 99 votes, John Quincy Adams 81, William Crawford 41, and Henry Clay 37. In 1825 Adams would be elected President, by the House of Representatives.

De Witt Clinton was again elected governor of New York, partly in a backlash due to his ouster from the [Erie Canal](#) commissioner’s post by Van Buren’s colleagues.

[R.C. Dallas](#)’s “Recollections of [Lord Byron](#)” appeared anonymously in [Gentleman’s Magazine](#).

NEW POETRY OF 1824

Commodore David Porter took a landing party of 200 onto Spanish territory to attack the town of Fajardo on the island of Puerto Rico, because this town had been sheltering [pirates](#) and also because American naval officers had been insulted (whatever that might have been). The local people tendered an apology and the Commodore would be court-martialed for having overstepped his authority.

US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS

➡ November 1, Monday: [Amelia Mackay Prichard](#) was born, daughter of [Moses Prichard](#) and [Jane Tompson Hallet Prichard](#) of [Concord](#) (she would be nicknamed Mela, Mela Mela, or Puss, and would be referred to by her brother [William Mackay Prichard](#) as “ma chère” or “my dear little girl”).⁷⁹

➡ November 3, Wednesday: [Bartlett Leonidas Snipes Durham](#) was born in Orange County, [North Carolina](#).

79. [Frances](#) and [Amelia](#), the oldest and the youngest girls respectively of the Prichard family of Concord, would be spinsters, which is to say, neither would get married. After attending Phineas Allen’s Concord Academy Amelia for one would go on to attend the school for girls run by George Barrell Emerson in Boston ([Elizabeth “Lizzie” Hallett Prichard](#) also attended the school for girls run by George Barrell Emerson in Boston, and [Frances “Fanny” Jane Hallett Prichard](#) may have done although we do not know). Following in [Elizabeth](#)’s footsteps, [Amelia](#) would teach school in Baltimore for a time. After the deaths of their parents, [Frances](#) and [Amelia](#) would remain in the family home and take in boarders. Census records show that in 1880 their nieces Fanny (Florida) and Nowelle (sometimes spelled Nowell, also found as Norvelle) fstepdaughters of brother [Moses Barnard Prichard](#).— lived with them, as did boarder James L. Whitney (later librarian at the Boston Public Library).



1824

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November 4, Thursday: Leocadie, a drame lyrique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe and Melesville after Cervantes, was performed for the initial time, in Theatre Feydeau, Paris.

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

*5th day 4th of 11th M 1824 / This is our Quarterly Meeting day
at Somersett - my mind was much there while sitting in our
Meeting today which was small - our fr Job Chaloner was there &
spake a little to satisfaction -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[John Augustus Stone](#)'s play "Restoration; or, The Diamond Cross" was staged at the Chatham Garden Theater in New-York. During this year the author himself was making appearances in supporting roles at this theater, as usual heavily made up as an old man.

Owen Brown, 3d of John Brown's sons and his stalwart aid both in Kansas and at Harpers Ferry, was born at Hudson, Ohio. With a withered arm, he would attempt to make a career of writing humor articles for newspapers, and would be 35 years of age at the time that he would escape from the aftermath the Harpers Ferry raid. He would complete his life as a grower of grapes in Ohio, and on a mountain near Pasadena, California.



On the following screen is what Harpers Ferry looked like in this year:



 November 6, Saturday: Great Britain proposed to the government of the United States of America that there might be a way out of their current stalemate:⁸⁰

Great Britain proposes to conclude the treaty as amended by the Senate, if the word "America" were to be reinstated in Art. I.

 On February 16th, 1825, the Committee of the US House of Representatives would favor this project; on March 2d, Addington would remind Adams of this counterproposal; on April 6th, Clay

80. AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, FOREIGN, V. 367; HOUSE REPORTS, 18th Congress, 2d session, I. No. 70; HOUSE DOCUMENT, 19th Congress, 1st session, I. No. 16.



would on account of the failure of the Colombian treaty refuse to reopen negotiations.

Great Britain and Sweden granted to one another permission to board and search one another's commercial vessels upon suspicion of participation in the [international slave trade](#).⁸¹

Date	Right of Search Treaty with Great Britain, made by	Arrangements for Joint Cruising with Great Britain, made by
1817	Portugal; Spain	
1818	Netherlands	
1824	Sweden	
1831-33	France	
1833-39	Denmark, Hanse Towns, etc.	
1841	Quintuple Treaty (Austria, Russia, Prussia)	
1842		United States
1844	Texas	
1845	Belgium	France
1862	United States	

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: In 1824 the Right of Search was established between England and Sweden, and in 1826 Brazil promised to abolish the trade in three years.⁸² In 1831 the cause was greatly advanced by the signing of a treaty between Great Britain and France, granting mutually a geographically limited Right of Search.⁸³ This led, in the next few years, to similar treaties with Denmark, Sardinia,⁸⁴ the Hanse towns,⁸⁵ and Naples.⁸⁶ Such measures put the trade more and more in the hands of Americans, and it began greatly to increase. Mercer sought repeatedly in the House to have negotiations reopened with England, but without success.⁸⁷ Indeed, the chances of success were now for many years imperilled by the recurrence of deliberate search of American vessels by the British.⁸⁸ In the majority of cases the vessels proved to be slavers, and some of them fraudulently flew the American flag; nevertheless, their molestation by British cruisers created much feeling, and hindered all steps toward an understanding: the United States

81. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1824-5, pages 3-28
 82. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1823-4, and 1826-7. Brazil abolished the trade in 1830.
 83. This treaty was further defined in 1833: BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1830-1, page 641 ff.; 1832-3, page 286 ff.
 84. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1833-4, pages 218 ff., 1059 ff.
 85. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1837-8, page 268 ff.
 86. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1838-9, page 792 ff.
 87. Viz., Feb. 28, 1825; April 7, 1830; Feb. 16, 1831; March 3, 1831. The last resolution passed the House: HOUSE JOURNAL, 21st Congress 2d session, pages 426-8.
 88. Cf. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress 2d session, V. No. 115, pages 35-6, etc.; HOUSE REPORTS, 27 Cong. 3 sess. III. No. 283, pages 730-55, etc.



was loath to have her criminal negligence in enforcing her own laws thus exposed by foreigners. Other international questions connected with the trade also strained the relations of the two countries: three different vessels engaged in the domestic slave-trade, driven by stress of weather, or, in the "Creole" case, captured by Negroes on board, landed slaves in British possessions; England freed them, and refused to pay for such as were landed after emancipation had been proclaimed in the West Indies.⁸⁹ The case of the slaver "L'Amistad" also raised difficulties with Spain. This Spanish vessel, after the Negroes on board had mutinied and killed their owners, was seized by a United States vessel and brought into port for adjudication. The court, however, freed the Negroes, on the ground that under Spanish law they were not legally slaves; and although the Senate repeatedly tried to indemnify the owners, the project did not succeed.⁹⁰

Such proceedings well illustrate the new tendency of the pro-slavery party to neglect the enforcement of the slave-trade laws, in a frantic defence of the remotest ramparts of slave property. Consequently, when, after the treaty of 1831, France and England joined in urging the accession of the United States to it, the British minister was at last compelled to inform Palmerston, December, 1833, that "the Executive at Washington appears to shrink from bringing forward, in any shape, a question, upon which depends the completion of their former object – the utter and universal Abolition of the Slave Trade – from an apprehension of alarming the Southern States."⁹¹ Great Britain now offered to sign the proposed treaty of 1824 as amended; but even this Forsyth refused, and stated that the United States had determined not to become "a party of any Convention on the subject of the Slave Trade."⁹²

Estimates as to the extent of the slave-trade agree that the traffic to North and South America in 1820 was considerable, certainly not much less than 40,000 slaves annually. From that time to about 1825 it declined somewhat, but afterward increased enormously, so that by 1837 the American importation was estimated as high as 200,000 Negroes annually. The total abolition of the African trade by American countries then brought the traffic down to perhaps 30,000 in 1842. A large and rapid increase of illicit traffic followed; so that by 1847 the importation amounted to nearly 100,000 annually. One province of Brazil is said to have received 173,000 in the years 1846-1849. In the decade 1850-1860 this activity in slave-trading continued, and reached very large proportions.

The traffic thus carried on floated under the flags of France,

89. These were the celebrated cases of the "Encomium," "Enterprize," and "Comet." Cf. SENATE DOCUMENT, 24th Congress 2d session, II. No. 174; 25 Cong. 3 sess. III. No. 216. Cf. also case of the "Creole": SENATE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress 2d session, II.-III. Nos. 51, 137.

90. SENATE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress 2d session, IV. No. 179; SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31st Congress 2d session, III. No. 29; 32d Congress 2d session, III. No. 19; SENATE REPORTS, 31st Congress 2d session, No. 301; 32 Cong. 1 sess. I. No. 158; 35th Congress 1st session, I. No. 36; HOUSE DOCUMENT, 26th Congress 1st session, IV. No. 185; 27 Cong. 3 sess. V. No. 191; 28th Congress 1st session, IV. No. 83; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 32d Congress 2d session, III. No. 20; HOUSE REPORTS, 26th Congress 2d session, No. 51; 28th Congress 1st session, II. No. 426; 29th Congress 1st session, IV. No. 753; also Decisions of the U.S. Supreme Court, *15 Peters*, 518. Cf. Drake, REVELATIONS OF A SLAVE SMUGGLER, page 98.

91. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1834-5, page 136.

92. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1834-5, pages 135-47. Great Britain made treaties meanwhile with Hayti, Uruguay, Venezuela, Bolivia, Argentine Confederation, Mexico, Texas, etc. Portugal prohibited the slave-trade in 1836, except between her African colonies. Cf. BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, from 1838 to 1841.



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Spain, and Portugal, until about 1830; from 1830 to 1840 it began gradually to assume the United States flag; by 1845, a large part of the trade was under the stars and stripes; by 1850 fully one-half the trade, and in the decade, 1850-1860 nearly all the traffic, found this flag its best protection.⁹³

93. These estimates are from the following sources: BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1822-3, pages 94-110; PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A., pages 10-11; 1838-9, XLIX., SLAVE TRADE, Class A, Further Series, pages 115, 119, 121; HOUSE DOCUMENT, 19th Congress 1st session, I. No. 1, page 93; 20 Cong. 1 sess. III. No. 99; 26th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 211; HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, page 193; HOUSE REPORTS, 21st Congress 1st session, III. No. 348; SENATE DOCUMENT, 28th Congress 1st session, IV. No. 217; 31st Congress 1st session, XIV. No. 66; 31st Congress 2d session, II. No. 6; AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL, I. No. 249; Buxton, THE AFRICAN SLAVE TRADE AND ITS REMEDY, pages 44-59; Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841); Friends' EXPOSITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE, 1840-50; ANNUAL REPORTS OF THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

The annexed table gives the dates of the abolition of the slave-trade by the various nations: —

Date	Slave-trade Abolished by	Right of Search Treaty with Great Britain, made by	Arrangements for Joint Cruising with Great Britain, made by
1802	Denmark		
1807	Great Britain; United States		
1813	Sweden		
1814	Netherlands		
1815	Portugal (north of the equator)		
1817	Spain (north of the equator)	Portugal; Spain	
1818	France	Netherlands	
1820	Spain		
1824		Sweden	
1829	Brazil (?)		
1830	Portugal		
1831-33		France	
1833-39		Denmark, Hanse Towns, etc.	
1841		Quintuple Treaty (Austria, Russia, Prussia)	
1842			United States
1844		Texas	
1845		Belgium	France
1862		United States	



November 7, Sunday: Water rose 421 centimeters above normal in the worst flood to date in Saint Petersburg, and 200 lost their lives.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) seized an opportunity to warn other local [Quakers](#) to distrust the New Doctrines of Friend [Elias Hicks](#):

1st day 7th of 11th M / Silent Meetings. - but pretty well attended My mind tho' some favourd was at times scattered - In the evening called at Dorcas Earls & had conversation with Sarah & Phebe on the subject of New Doctrines afloat among friends particularly as delivered by Elias Hicks - bore my testimony against it pretty faithfully. -



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 November 11, Thursday: Sam L. Hitchcock of the ΦBK society wrote to inform [Noah Webster](#) that he had been elected an honorary member.

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

5th day 12th [sic] of 11th M / Meeting small & silent till near the close, when J Dennis delivered a short testimony. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 13, Saturday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 13 of 11 M / This Afternoon went to [Portsmouth](#) & lodged at cousin Shadrack Chases -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 14, Sunday: The Symphony no.1 op.11 by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in the Mendelssohn home, Berlin on the occasion of his sister Fanny's 19th birthday.

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

1st day Rode to Meeting with cousin Jacob, & after meeting went to Uncle Stantons & dined -then walked home. - A pleasant little visit, especially to cousin Shadrack, who is a great sufferer in the body, with distress for breath, I believe chiefly owing to a polypus in his nose -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 15, Monday: A major conflagration broke out in Edinburgh, [Scotland](#).

 November 17, Wednesday: Publication of the Two Piano Pieces op.109a by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

The Great Fire of Edinburgh, [Scotland](#) burned out after destroying large parts of the city including Parliament Hill and the High Street.

At [Harvard Divinity School](#), a new Constitution was adopted vesting the immediate government of the School in the Directors of a "Society for promoting Theological Education" &c.

 November 19, Friday: When a brief stint of warm weather broke an ice jam on the Neva River, the water building up behind it inundated St. Petersburg, Russia in a catastrophic flood. Some estimates would put the death toll as high as 10,000.

 November 22, Monday: In Berlin for a stay of six weeks, Ignaz Moscheles wrote in his diary, "This afternoon...I gave Felix ([Felix Mendelssohn](#)) his 1st lesson, never for a moment forgetting that I was sitting beside a master, not a pupil.

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 November 24, Wednesday: A Credo in D for chorus and orchestra by Gaetano Donizetti was performed for the initial time.

 November 25, Thursday: Gioachino Rossini signed a contract with the Theatre-Italien, Paris to become directeur de la musique et de la scene.

 November 20, Saturday: [Lady Oxford](#) died.

 November 22, Monday: In Berlin for a stay of six weeks, Ignaz Moscheles wrote in his diary, "This afternoon...I gave Felix ([Felix Mendelssohn](#)) his 1st lesson, never for a moment forgetting that I was sitting beside a master, not a pupil.

 November 24, Wednesday: A Credo in D for chorus and orchestra by Gaetano Donizetti was performed for the initial time.

 November 25, Thursday: Gioachino Rossini signed a contract with the Theatre-Italien, Paris to become directeur de la musique et de la scene.

 November 28, Sunday: At the invitation of Lea Mendelssohn, Ignaz Moscheles visits the Mendelssohn home in Berlin and hears Fanny and [Felix Mendelssohn](#) play. She was hoping that Moscheles will consent to teach the two children.

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

1st day 28th of 11th M 1824 / Both our Meetings were silent & rather low times to me. - Set the evening at Father Rodmans - Sister Ruth is poor in health, & I fear very poor. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

2nd day 29 of 11 M / It has been my lot for some Months to take care of the Meeting house & while I was there this morning attending to necessary concerns - my mind was lead in many reflections of a serious nature & I do not remember of ever having a clearer view of that preservation which will be experienced by keeping within the limits of Truth - nothing being able to hurt or make afraid

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 30, Tuesday: The sod began to be turned in Ontario, [Canada](#), for the initial of four canals to bypass [Niagara Falls](#) ([Welland Canal](#) would open for a trial run exactly 5 years later to the day).

WINTER 1824/1825

Winter: The name of Grace Kennedy at this point became known to her publisher.

December: DUNALLAN: OR, KNOW WHAT YOU JUDGE; A STORY. (The 1828 Exeter edition of this would be found in the personal library of Henry David Thoreau, bearing the autograph of Helen Louisa Thoreau.)

DUNALLAN :
OR,
Know what you Judge.
IN TWO VOLUMES.
BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE DECISION,"
" FATHER CLEMENT," &c. &c.
VOL. I.
EXETER :
PRINTED FOR THE PUBLISHERS.
1828.



KNOW WHAT YOU JUDGE
KNOW WHAT YOU JUDGE

GRACE KENNEDY

DECEMBER

December: Lieutenant George Back returned from the HMS Superb in the West Indies to London to go on Lieutenant John Franklin's 2d overland expedition to explore the northern coast of North America, eastwards and westwards from the mouth of the Mackenzie River. During these explorations he would be promoted to Commander.

THE FROZEN NORTH

Per the journal of Albert Gallatin's son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

My father-in-law is very ill and we are all in close attendance.
Reubel found the air did not agree with him and has betaken

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himself to New York, much to the relief of all. Madame Reubel is a delightful woman and has suffered much. To be here in Baltimore without money, dependent on her friends, must be most galling to her, having lived at Court all her life, and particularly at the Court of Westphalia, where she was the first lady-in-waiting on the Queen. She often describes to us the splendours of the Palace at Cassel, which was built by the Landgrave of Hesse in imitation of Versailles. His son has it now and I believe the whole of his vast fortune intact. When she was there and King Jerome reigned, she says nothing could equal the extravagance of living. She was not at all surprised at the Westphalian troops being quite useless to Napoleon, as they were never maneouvred. All was a life of pleasure there, from morning until night. We will have, I fear, a sad Christmas. I am sorry for Josephine's sake.



December: When the Southern Association met at Milford, [Adin Ballou](#) was ordained. He would serve a congregation at Milford until 1831 (interrupted during 1827-1828 by a period of service to the Universalist society on Prince Street in New-York).



Early December: [David Lee Child](#) and [Lydia Maria Francis](#) met.





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December 1, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Report of the Secretary of the Navy.” –AMERICAN STATE PAPERS, NAVAL AFFAIRS, I. No. 249.

In the national election, for the 2d time in American political history, no candidate achieved a majority of the total electoral votes in the Electoral College and the body became deadlocked. The decision of who would become President would need to be held over to be determined in the House of Representatives in the following year (131 electoral votes, just over half of the 261 total, were necessary to elect a candidate as the president; votes were counted for the initial time in this election, but that had no effect on the outcome; the 12th Amendment to the US Constitution dictated that Congress turn over the presidential election to the House of Representatives). Would it be General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee with 99 electoral votes and 153,544 popular votes, Secretary of State John Quincy Adams with 84 electoral and 108,740 popular votes, Secretary of State William H. Crawford of the Democratic-Republican party (who had suffered a stroke before the election) with 41 electoral votes, or Henry Clay of Virginia with 37 electoral votes? (Clay, allowed by this to become the President-maker, would throw his electoral votes in the direction of Adams in exchange for being appointed as Adams’s Secretary of State — the repercussions of this deal would split the Democratic-Republican party into Whigs and Democratic-Republicans.)

The [Quaker](#) traveling preacher, [Elias Hicks](#), bluntly embraced in a sermon in Philadelphia what must be the ultimate consequence of religious leveling, to wit, that:

"We are
on a level
with
all the rest
of
God's creatures."



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

5th day 2nd of 12 M 1824 / Our meeting was silent & small tho' attended by several that are not members who do not usually come, it being what is usually denominated "Thanksgiving Day" – to me it was a season of favour for which I desire to be thankful – this is also the day of the Quarterly Meeting at [New Bedford](#) & the time of holding the Meeting for Sufferings the which I should have been glad to attended –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 3, Friday: U.S. presidential election: None of the four candidates for U.S. President gained a majority of the electoral votes, which meant that the election would be thrown into the US House of Representatives.



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

1st day 5th of 12th M / It was my intention to have gone with Jethro F Mitchell to [Tiverton](#) Meeting as one of the committee appointed to attend occasionall – but the weather being Stormy yesterday & very Windy today, prevented us. – Our Meeting at home was silent & to me low. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

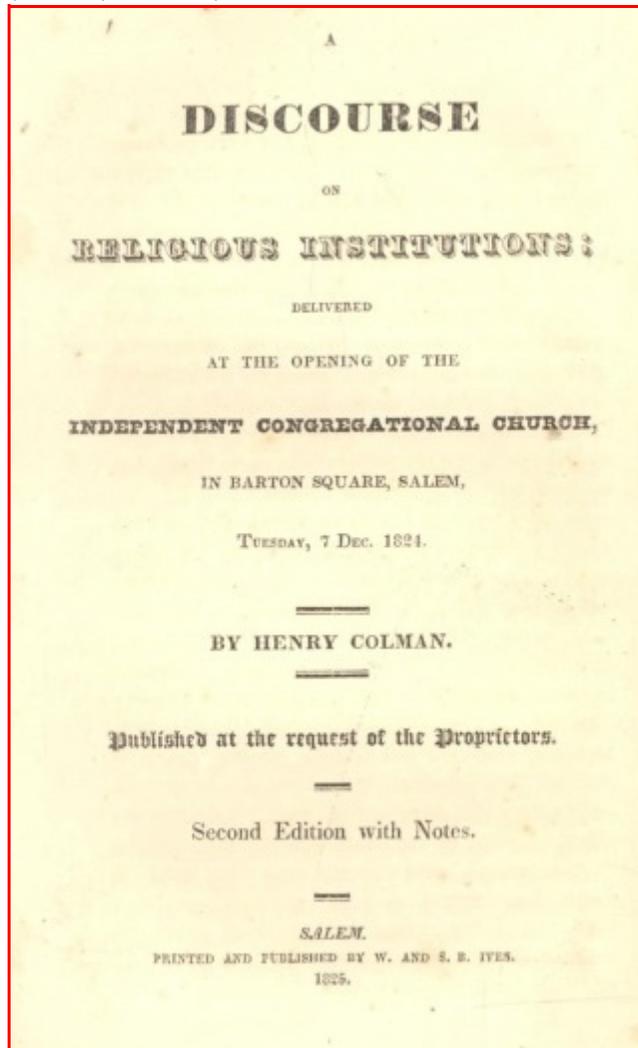


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December 7, Tuesday: The [Reverend Henry Root Colman](#)'s A DISCOURSE ON RELIGIOUS INSTITUTIONS: DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF THE INDEPENDENT CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, IN BARTON SQUARE, SALEM, TUESDAY, 7 DEC. 1824.



After traveling for a month, General Andrew Jackson of Tennessee arrived in the District of Columbia to await the outcome of the hung presidential election.

A hack version of Carl Maria von Weber's *Der Freischutz*, called *Robin des bois ou les trois balles*, opened at the Theatre de l'Odeon in Paris (this would have a run of more than 300 performances).

Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Documents accompanying the Message of the President ... to both Houses of Congress, at the commencement of the Second Session of the Eighteenth Congress: Documents from the Department of State." – HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18 Cong. 2 sess. I. No. 1. pp. 1-56. Reprinted in SENATE DOCUMENT, 18 Cong. 2 sess. I. No. 1. (Matter on the treaty of 1824.)

"It is a cause of serious regret, that no arrangement has yet been finally concluded between the two Governments, to secure, by joint co-operation, the suppression of the slave trade. It was the object of the British Government, in the early stages of the negotiation, to adopt a plan for the suppression, which



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should include the concession of the mutual right of search by the ships of war of each party, of the vessels of the other, for suspected offenders. This was objected to by this Government, on the principle that, as the right of search was a right of war of a belligerent towards a neutral power, it might have an ill effect to extend it, by treaty, to an offence which had been made comparatively mild, to a time of peace. Anxious, however, for the suppression of this trade, it was thought advisable, in compliance with a resolution of the House of Representatives, founded on an act of Congress, to propose to the British Government an expedient, which should be free from that objection, and more effectual for the object, by making it piratical.... A convention to this effect was concluded and signed, in London," on the 13th of March, 1824, "by plenipotentiaries duly authorized by both Governments, to the ratification of which certain obstacles have arisen, which are not yet entirely removed." [For the removal of which, the documents relating to the negotiation are submitted for the action of Congress]....

"In execution of the laws for the suppression of the slave trade, a vessel has been occasionally sent from that squadron to the coast of Africa, with orders to return thence by the usual track of the slave ships, and to seize any of our vessels which might be engaged in that trade. None have been found, and, it is believed, that none are thus employed. It is well known, however, that the trade still exists under other flags." HOUSE JOURNAL, 18th Congress, 2d session, pages 11, 12, 19, 27, 241; HOUSE REPORTS, 18th Congress, 2d session, I. No. 70; Gales and Seaton, REGISTER OF DEBATES, I. 625-8, and Appendix, page 2 ff.



December 8, Wednesday: On 8th day 12th month of 1824 Friend [Elias Hicks](#) delivered a sermon at the Byberry Friends Meeting that was taken down in Short Hand by M.T.C. Gould, and would in the following year be published in Philadelphia by Joseph & Edward Parker:

My mind, since we have been sitting silently together, has been led to a feeling view of the excellency of love; pure undefiled love; its dignity, its majesty, and its power. It stands over and above all: it is above all price; – it cannot be bought. If a man would give all the substance of his house for love; it would be utterly contemned. It was, no doubt, that which led the apostle, formerly, to address his brethren on this wise: "Let brotherly love continue."

Now, what is this brotherly love, my friends? – this true brotherly love? I apprehend we may see something of it, in a family of children, all of the same parent; why, it leads and instructs all, and keeps all in their proper allotment, under the direction of a pious and wise parent, who begins with his children when young, very young; and if he is, as he ought to be, possessed of love, – his love to his tender offspring is equal to his love for his own soul. He begins with them, when they have a being, one after another; and he instructs them according to their age and preparation to receive instruction. And in a large family of brothers and sisters, there are many states, all somewhat different from each other, in point of age and acquirements; the parent begins with the first, and leads



them on, so that they are prepared to receive a different kind of instruction, and greater knowledge and information from him, than the younger brothers and sisters.

But here, if brotherly love prevails, no envy gets in rather younger do not envy the elder, because the father informs them of higher pursuits, which are beyond the reach of the younger, and which they cannot understand. And as they keep in love and fellowship and in obedience to the father, they are all content with his disposing toward them. They attend individually to their own lessons of instruction. Their meals are all meted out, in proportion, and in agreement with, their several states and conditions; and yet there is a diversity in the whole, not all being capacitated alike for receiving instruction, or any thing else. The elder ones have their proper places in the family, all in regular gradation one above another.

The younger ones, seeing the elder advance beyond what they know and experience, are stimulated with a desire for this advanced state. As they keep in love to one another, it does not raise any envy or dislike, but all go on in harmony. Now, these are the effects, of pure undefiled love. This is that love, of which we read so much; the excellency of which is so highly desirable; and which is said to be stronger than death. Oh! its excellency, its dignity, and its power! What wonders it does in the creation! He that is the author of it, assigns of it, like a pious father dealing out to his children, to every one who is obedient to his manifested will, and agreeable to his state and condition to receive.

The elder will always be ahead in advancement, if he is equally obedient and faithful; and yet there is no envy, no strife: "for where envy and strife is, there is contention and every evil work." But in a well ordered family of children. these things cannot rise; for if they all stand in their proper places, envy hath no place; and strife is not known.

Now, my friends, there is nothing, I apprehend, that can keep families together; and preserve, harmony and concord, but love – all powerful love. However, as I observed, we read much of it, and of its power and sufficiency; yet we cannot gain it through that medium. All that we can read and hear about it, gives us no possession at all. There is but one way in which we can come to know it; and be blessed with it. We cannot purchase it with money: no, it is above all price. How are we then: obtain it, my beloved friends? There is but one only way – there never was but one only way – and that is faithfulness and submission the father's direction; faithfulness and submission to the father's discipline. For every prudent, godly, and wise parent has a discipline his family. If he has wisdom to direct, and his children are obedient to his will, all will be subject to this discipline; subject to this law of the family; each standing in his own proper allotment, without grudging, and without envy. So it will be, and so it must be, with our Heavenly Father's family; for all his children must be taught of him. "The Lord's children are all taught of the Lord, in righteousness are they established, and great is the peace of these children."

Here we have a view of the subject outwardly; but it gives us no possession at all. It is but the letter; it is not to be depended upon. We must come home within ourselves. We must come



to know our hearts cleansed, purified, and emptied of every thing which is in opposition to this pure and holy principle. Now this is great work. It is a work of God upon the soul; for man cannot do it himself.

We have all fallen away from this pure, undefiled love. There is another who has got possession of our hearts; "the strong man armed." While he keeps the city, the goods are at peace: but when a stronger than he comes in and turns him out, then he call spoil his goods.

What is stronger than the strong man? Pure, undefiled love is stronger; for God is love, and they that dwell in love, dwell in God, and God in them. Now here we may see and behold what to do. We feel and know, in ourselves, that while we are in a natural state; while we are unredeemed and not saved, our hearts are filled with many guests, - many beloveds. Here divine love cannot enter and get a place of residence. If it for a moment breaks in upon us, and makes us feel its excellency; it is soon crowded out by these many beloveds. We turn away our attention, and lose the feelings which are sometimes witnessed, while it is shed abroad in our hearts. Now, here the divine visitor manifests himself, and shows the design of his coming; that it is in order to bind the strong man in us, who has taken the seat of God and of love in our hearts; - the man of sin and son of perdition; or man's strong will, his strong and ungoverned passions, which have grown up in him, by indulging his propensities beyond truth and righteousness.

This is the strong man in the soul, which stands in direct opposition to God, and to pure undefiled love. It is selfish, and all it does is to gratify self: all it does while under the power of this man of sin and son of perdition, is to exalt itself, no matter how.

The great work which we have to do is, turn to the Lord, when he is pleased to call upon us, to plead with us, as no doubt he has times with all of us. We must endeavour to feel the mollifying influence of his love; we must listen and attend to this holy visitor. We must give way to him in our hearts, and permit him to dispossess the man of sin; for he has come to bind the strong man armed, and to turn him out to clear our hearts of all our strong passions, our cultivated desires, and selfish will. We should, therefore unite, with the operation of this divine principle of God in the soul. It is a living principle, it is the light and life, by which all the children of men are enlightened, and shown their condition. By it they discover the enmity that exists between this divine love, and the man of sin; for there is great enmity between the two seeds. One to bruise the head, and the other to bruise the heel. The man of sin and son of perdition cannot bruise the head; for the true head is the seed of God in the soul. He can do nothing but to undermine and deceive, by his working and deceptive power. Here every individual has a great work to do, under the leading and influence of this divine visitor, the light and love of God in our own souls. He comes in at times and seasons, when, in the cool of the day, the mind is a little retired from the continual exertions and buzzing about its own business. Whenever it can find the soul in a state of quiet, it comes in, and makes it sensible of its condition. Blessed be his great and glorious



name; he is visiting all the children of men with this divine love; for God is love: – and by this principle he works upon the children of men. By it, he endeavours to bring them off from that which is against his nature

Man, in his fallen state, is a heap of hatred and opposition to divine love; and hatred and love cannot abide in the same place at the same time. And as we yield to temptations, evil of every description arises in the soul, and stands in direct opposition to God, and his law and light. The great work, therefore, is to turn inward, and wait in holy silence to feel the arising of the love light and love of God there; and in the same proportion as we yield, our love will begin to rise. It will break forth as the morning. Yea, if we are faithful to its divine influence, it will cause our darkness to be as the noon day, anti thus our hearts will become emptied. They will become as a vacuum, when the divine love and light shall have banished all these evils; and when all combustible matter shall be turned out of the soul. This cannot all be done at once. It is a gradual work. In the figure, the Israelites did not drive all out at once, lest the beasts of the field should prey upon them. So with the souls of the children of men. The Almighty enters and engages the soul, and turns its attention to itself. He shows it what is its first work. It is to do away this thing, that thing, or the other thing, which the light reveals to be inconsistent with the divine will. Here then, as we give up this enemy, to be slain and cast out, it leaves a vacuum in the soul, and this is filled with divine love; and so, as there is faithfulness to the divine light and manifestation in the soul, one enemy after another is overcome, and there is always something to fill up the place. The Lord in his loving kindness fills the vacuum, and enables us to go on from one degree of strength to another. Here we learn to know and understand what the apostle expresses of growing in grace; and in the saving knowledge of God our Saviour, step by step, like Jacob's ladder, by which we climb from earth to heaven. We are brought out of a state of wrath; a state in which envy and strife is, and contention, and every evil work.

We gradually rise out of these things; and as way is made, as I observed, evil is cast out, and good comes in and fills the vacuum, till the whole heart becomes renovated and renewed.

Here we come to witness the new birth. We read of a state in which man becomes a new creature; "he that is in Christ is a new creature." What is it to be in Christ? It is to come up into that righteousness which he came up into. He had to war with temptations as we have. One temptation after another assailed him; and as he overcame one, the divine light took place of it: just so it must be with us, if we are ever made fit for the kingdom of heaven. We must come to know all these things removed, before we can enjoy that pure undefiled love, where no envy or strife is, no contention or evil work. We are willing that every one should stand in his own allotment.

Therefore, "let brotherly love continue." Let us be of the same mind to one another. How are we to be of the same mind? Does this mean that we are all to come to the same point? No. Because we are gradually advanced one above another. The elder brother has a mind to love the younger, when he is under the direction of the father; and therefore the younger has the same mind to



love the elder, in proportion as he is in his proper allotment, under the direction of his great parent. So it should be in societies. There should be no discord, because the individuals are in different situations; they are all children growing up together; some have, of course, experienced a great deal, some very little; but this should not excite the envy of those who are so young as not to comprehend, what their elder brothers have attained to. That love, which is stronger than death, keeps down envy and strife, and every one in his proper allotment, is willing to let others do as he would have the do to him.

Now to the want of this spirit of love, in the minds of the children of men, may be attribute all the persecutions in the world, on a religious account. Because if men were willing to subject their wills to the divine will; if we are desirous of being the Lord's children, we must be obedient to his law. And therefore, as he has but one law, which is a law of righteousness in every soul, it is a law that is clear and perfect; so that every individual that attends to this inward law, has the will of God manifested to him. For no outward thing can manifest the will of God. If we believe what we read, and what we know in ourselves, nothing can teach us the things of God, but the spirit of God. Nothing can write God's law upon our hearts but the finger of God. There it is, then, that we must gather as the only place of safety; there the work is to be done. It is there, we find our enemy, if we have any, and there we must find our friend. But people too generally, looking outwardly to find God and in this outward looking they are told about a devil; some monstrous creature, some self-existing creature, that is terrible in power. Now, all this seeking to know God, and this devil, the serpent without, is the work of darkness, superstition, and tradition. It hath no foundation; it is all breath and wind, without the power. We need not look without for enemies or friends; for we shall not find them without. Our enemies are those of our own household: our own propensities and unruly desires are our greatest, and I may almost say, our alone enemies. And yet, in themselves, they are all good; because man could not give himself propensities or desires; and therefore, as there is but one being who creates, and as he is perfect in wisdom and holiness: and as he is nothing but pure and undefiled love, he could create nothing but that which is good. If nothing can create but this undefiled love, all that we feel and all that we have, when we turn inward, is the work of this Almighty creator, who has stamped it upon man, and made him a twofold creature, consisting of a body and a spirit – matter and spirit. He has impressed upon the immortal soul of man, propensities and desires, suited to its nature, and suited to the design of its creation and existence. He has impressed upon our animal bodies propensities and passions suitable to their nature, to lead us to provide for what we stand in need of. Nothing could impress these upon the creature, but God Almighty who creates; because man cannot create any thing, or make any addition to that which God has given him. Neither is there any power under Heaven, which can alter the state of man, beside man himself and his Creator. And as God is over all, and is perfectly good, he could not possibly create evil: and therefore, we must seek for the way in which, and the place from whence this evil arises, in some



other quarter. We must not look outwardly for it, but inwardly. Here we find that we are possessed of desires and propensities of various kinds, and a great many of them; and yet they are all absolutely necessary, as our being is necessary. Here we shall find out that which will banish all superstition and tradition from our souls: we shall find out that God is the only great good; that all evil arises from our disobedience to him, and from our abuse of his blessings. He has made man a twofold creature; one part mortal, the other immortal. The mortal tabernacle and the immortal spirit within, can never unite one with the other; they must stand eternally distinct from each other; and therefore, the immortal spirit has its independent nature, distinct from matter, because it comes from God. In old days it was seen to be so. These poor bodies of clay must return to the earth from whence they were taken, and the spirit to God who gave it. The soul, when disencumbered from the body, returns to the world of spirits, to give an account of its deeds, while an agent under God, in the animal body, with authority to direct it as wisdom should dictate. We see that it is not in the animal body to reason. No: it is not in bones to think, or flesh to reason. It is the immortal soul only that is accountable to God. For its own propensities are limited by the light of God in itself, and its duty is to keep insubordination the animal body, so as not to suffer it to get angry, or do any thing contrary to this light. It is to keep it down within its proper limits. And how natural these things are, my friends, if we reflect upon them. They are as plain as A, B, C. You would find you never were tempted by a devil without you, but by a devil within you. What is the devil? It is that cunning, twining wisdom, – that serpentine wisdom of man. Man is a being who is made a free agent, and with propensities, out of which, he is to grow up into a more glorious state. But by indulging them beyond the bounds of wisdom and of truth, – here is where the evil begins, here comes in that that does us mischief. What makes a drunkard, but the soul's indulging the animal passion after drink, which taken to excess produces drunkenness? It is nothing but the excess that makes the drunkard. Here now we see where sin begins; here we see where devils are created, by man himself; he is the author of them all; as he is the only fallen angel upon earth. What produces the glutton, the adulterer, the fornicator, the covetous, the liar, the thief, but an excess in the indulgence of propensities, which lead us to seek for that which is necessary for us? We should always keep within the limits of truth and wisdom, and never suffer our propensities or desires to carry us beyond what God in his wisdom intended to our limits; and thus all our passions would kept in their proper allotments. Man was created and placed in a garden of trees – full of trees – which he was to dress, keep them in order. And what were the trees the garden of Eden? They were the propensities of man, in his animal body. These are the trees that will grow, if they are not kept down by pruning. You know how necessary it is for the wise husbandman, by care and the use of the knife, to keep his trees pruned; and if any bud shoots out improperly, he rubs it off, and keeps all smooth. If he suffers it to grow, it may be injurious to the tree, and may require the knife. Just so it is in a spiritual sense, if we attend the trees of the garden; if



we watch over them with diligence, and watch every growing propensity, as it grows stronger, and the soul creases in knowledge. As the desire of knowledge grows stronger, we are to keep it down and never let the mind rise, to exercise its own ability to decide for itself, but wait in humility on the heavenly Father to know his will. Let the business be great or small: still it must be under the dominion and control of the heavenly Father.

Here we see how the blessed Jesus went on, and how he began. He said he did not come to do his own will, but the will of the Father, that sent him. Just so with us, my friends; this is the end of our coming into the world, not to do our own will, but the will of him that has blessed us with this state of being, and endowed us with these passions, which bring about our probationary state. We feel that we are placed in a state of probation; and we feel and know that it is done by our Creator; and, therefore, we must conclude that it is the best situation in which infinite wisdom and perfect justice could have placed us. There could have been nothing more excellent; for if there could have been, our gracious Creator would have placed his creature man in the best situation – in the best possible state to effect the great end of his creation. Therefore, this probationary state, is the best state that infinite wisdom could have selected, to effect the great design.

Well now, there must be something to bring about this probation; and has there been any thing that any of us ever knew of but these propensities and desires, that are a part of our common nature? I challenge the whole host of mankind, to find any thing but our own propensities and desires. And as man could not give to himself these propensities and desires, we have the evidence along with them, that they were given to us by our Creator, as the best possible medium, through which to effect his great end. He made us innocent creatures, and placed us here on earth, and had we been content in that state, we should have remained mere machines. That being, which is the creature of another; if he is made complete at once, without the liberty of exercising free agency, is a mere machine. But contrary to all the rest of creation, the Creator made and endowed us with the power of electing for ourselves. He gave us passions – if we may call them passions – in order that we might seek after those things which we need, and which we had a right to experience and know. Yet, not without laying a restriction upon the immortal soul, saying, "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther;" as was the charge to our first parents, when placed in the garden. They were endowed with a soul, which was to be kept in subjection; which was to be kept under the divine direction in all its propensities, and not to allow them to exceed due bounds. Here is the probation of the soul; and the only possible one, by which it could rise out of an innocent state, into a virtuous and a glorious one: to be an inhabitant of Heaven; to be a communicant with its Creator, and the God of its existence and life.

Oh! my friends, how glorious the view – I say, how glorious the view, when we are brought to witness and to see how divine wisdom intended we should rise from a state of mere innocency, into a state of glorification, by a conquest over all its enemies, over every thing which could obtrude itself upon the soul, or divert



it from its proper duty.

We need not look outward to find a devil; we shall find enough in us. We read that there were seven devils cast out of Mary Magdalene. She had been a vile woman, who was given to multitude of evil propensities, by the indulgence of which, she was brought completely under the power of them. Her rational spirit became enlisted in the service of the passions; and seven propensities had been indulged in, till they became as devils to her. Here she went counter to the divine will. So now, Jesus quelled all these, and brought her into a sense of her desperate state. As she believed on him, and looked to him for help, – as she gave up to him, he banished the evil spirits from her soul – he bound the strong man armed, and cast him out; and as she was faithful, and sat down in humiliation at his feet, he spoiled all his goods. This produced a vacuum; and this vacuum was filled with the holy presence. The Lord Almighty came in, in lieu of it, to reign over all. And these were all the devils that were cast out; they were the passions which were inimical to man's happiness.

The leprosy was a disease, and such was the superstition of that day; such the darkness and ignorance, – that they were led to suppose, that there was some devil from without that had brought this disease upon them. This disease, and ready others, were cleansed from the people by Jesus. He took upon him to cleanse the people – he cured the lunatic. And what is lunacy? It is a failing in man, it is a disease, which was then, may be now, and even is, sometimes supposed to be, by the foolish and credulous a spirit – an evil spirit.

These things should show us our infirmity; and teach us to trust in the Lord our God, for salvation and strength; believing that if we in early life begin to attend to these things; to the divine law, and the visitations of the holy spirit, all these things would be banished. But for the want of this, our imperfections lead us to turn away from him, who alone can save us; and thus are we led astray and deluded.

This we must conclude if we believe the scriptures, and our own experience: "They that trust in the Lord, shall never be confounded." So that the great business of life, to the children of men is, to turn inward, to the witness of God, in their own souls. We have many demonstrations of this in the letter: but what does fine letter do? What has it ever done? It can do nothing. It is not a cause, but an effect. It might have a tendency, if we were willing-hearted, to attend to the divine grace, to push us to it; to direct us to it; but it can do nothing more. The grace of God is the only thing that can produce the salvation of the soul of man: "For by grace are ye saved, through faith." We must not expect that the grace of God will save us, without faith in its sufficiency. There is but one way that I ever found, and that is, to be obedient to its teachings, and attentive to its operation upon the mind. As we attend to it, it will open our understandings; we shall learn to know its excellency; and in proportion as we are attentive to it, we shall love it for its excellency and goodness. "For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves: it is the gift of God.

How then shall we undertake to give a brother or a father a



belief? If we do it, what wicked and presumptuous creatures we are, because we take the place of God. We assume the place of God when we tell our brother, this is the right way; my opinion is just right, and if thou do not come into it, thou art a heretic. A brother who does this, must be void of christian love; otherwise he would never assume such a stand. He has not that love which leads every one to do what lie thinks is right in the sight of his Heavenly Father. If they do not see as he does, it may be because they are not fit to see as he does. They are not prepared in their own hearts. They are not enough subjected, so as to bring them to experience what their brother has experienced; and yet in this darkness they would presume to rule their brother. Here is no brotherly love existing. Look at it now, if we should suppose that some one should say, "My brother, thou must be constrained to come into my views." The brother says: "Not so, but thou must come into my views," Here now, contention and discord would enter, and every evil work prevail: but on the contrary, were they under the influence of brotherly love, they would be willing to say, each to the other, "mind thy own business; thy Father hath given thee thy portion, and let it be what it may, be thou faithful. Do not mind me; I am not to be thy teacher; I am not to be an example to thee, any further than my example corresponds with what God commands thee to do." Let us encourage each other, in pursuing the path of duty, as laid out by our Heavenly Father; and none else does know it. As long as we believe in the light, and continue to walk in the light, our intentions become settled and firm; that we will do nothing but that which is right. We shall endeavour to pursue the right way in all things; to do all the good we can, and as little harm as possible, in the world. These are resolutions which the divine light brings the soul into, when it comes under its regulating influence. It brings the soul into its own nature, to do nothing but the right thing. This will be its steady aim. But as finite creatures, though we might have no other motive than that of doing good; yet it is possible we may mistake, and do all injury in our dealings with others. But when our motives are correct, and we suppose that we are doing the best thing; but through a want of previous knowledge we do that which injures another, yet if he knows the sincerity of our heart, and believes that we are always striving to do the best thing; it would make no uneasiness, no breach of brotherly love among us. Each one would continue to pursue his own straight course, with nothing in view, but to do all the good he could, and as little hurt as possible.

This is an excellent religion, when men are willing to come to it. These things have arisen from a view of the preciousness, the dignity, and majesty of divine love, as it has opened to me, since I stood up; although, I saw but little when I first to see, but to endeavour to lead our minds home, that we might be enabled to act with propriety towards one another; for I am clear, that it would be impossible for any thing to disturb our peace, however different our views, if we were acting under the influence of pure undefiled love. We should all harmonise and rejoice together, my beloved friends; we should become as one family of love; and should experience the testimony that "the Lord's children are taught of the Lord, and great is the peace



of these children." But when we look around and see how little righteousness there is among us, we are afraid to look; we see so many inconsistencies, we hardly dare look?-we are afraid to examine. That even when an individual under the best concern or exercise, is led to point out to us the enormities we are guilty of in this land, they seem ready to turn it behind their backs. Then what must be done? Let us "try all things; prove all things, and hold fast that which is good." Did we enter into a close investigation of the one great principle of actions - justice, we should see how far we are in the performance of our duty to our fellow creatures. For we must be just before we are generous. There can be no charity, no virtue, which has not justice for its foundation.

Let us then inquire, are we doing any thing that oppresses them; are we doing any thing that strengthens the hand of the oppressor? Look to it my friends. You know that the receiver and the thief are considered equal. He that receives stolen goods is just as guilty as the one who steals them. Now, how oppression reigns in our land; and how many goods there are which are even worse than stolen goods.

I appeal to your common sense, my friends, whether to make a man labour and bring forth to us his goods, is not worse than stealing. Therefore he that partakes of these stolen goods, is worse than the common thief. Our common understanding would dictate this to us, was it not for the prejudice of education and tradition. But when we become accustomed to any thing, however evil it may be, if it has been sanctioned by usage, we find it extremely difficult to abandon it; and particularly, where we are individually interested in it. We are not willing to believe it. We do not want to see these things, and turn our backs to a serious search. In this case it is not difficult to know our duty, because the matter is so clear and plain: and there cannot be an individual who is willing to stand as an upright man or woman, but would be willing, if possible, to know where they were falling short. For they that can strengthen the hand of the oppressor in the least degree, how can this divine love come in, and all their hearts, while they manifest a hatred to their fellow creatures? They who strengthen the hand of the oppressor, evidently manifest a hatred to the oppressed. There are many ways in which we oppress. This land is guilty of the oppression of human beings, and the crime lies as a dark cloud Upon the nation.

I consider it the duty of every individual to search into this subject. Oh! my friends, let us strike at the very bottom; and may we be led to go on hand in hand in the work. Let us join hand in hand in the resolution to do good; and we shall be stimulated, to do all that we can to put an end to this cruel oppression in our land. Where injustice now reigns, justice would come up in its dignity and power; and the oppressed would be relieved. The chains would be released from the necks of our fellow creatures; justice would be exalted, and come up to reign over all. We have hardly got our hands clear of our oppressed fellow creatures, and we sit down in ease, and keep encouraging those who are engaged in this cruel traffic. What is the difference whether I hold a slave, or purchase the produce of his labour from those who do? If I deal moderately with him,



would it not be better to hold him myself? – I say, would it not be better to keep one in a moderate way?

Look to this, my friends. I see the scales that are upon the eyes of the people; – their prejudices are such, that it requires something powerful to break the scales from off their eyes. But let us make the case our own, and then we shall begin to see through a more impartial medium. Now here are dear parents, the fathers and mothers of children. Suppose the tyrant should tear from you your dear sons and daughters, take them into the next county, put them under the iron yoke, and lash them every day, and deprive them of every liberty and enjoyment; and above all, the liberty of free agency, without which all other blessings are not worth enjoying; for nothing can be a blessing to a slave in this world. Look at it, my friends, and say, whether you could go over the line of a county, and traffic, and buy the produce of your tender offspring, who, through toil and bloodshed, had been compelled to labour at a tyrant's will. And is not the principle still the same, if we go a little further, and buy the produce of our fellow creatures, who are not so nearly connected? Are we not all brethren? Have we any better right to oppress one who is not our immediate brother or sister, than we have to oppress one that is?

Oh! that we might learn wisdom, before our iniquity becomes our ruin! I say there is a black cloud hanging over us, and I can see no advancement that we can make till this greatest of evils is removed. There are many other evils and acts of injustice in the line of commerce and trade with one another, where we impose on one. another, and do manifest injustice; but these are so trivial and small compared with this great one, that I have little hope of improving in this respect, till the greater evil is banished from our land. And how quick it might be effected, were justice to reign – if we were all willing to be just men and women.

Are we to reason about consequences, when the divine light shows us our sins? If we leave off this sin, this or that will be the consequence; the tyrant may suffer by it; we shall be taking away his living. Is this good reasoning? What matter is it about the tyrant? We are called upon to do that which is right and just; and are not to consider what the consequence will be.

What if a thief should say to himself, "Now God calls on me to leave off this sin; but I have been stealing a great while, and if I leave off this sin, I shall have no way to live." What should we think of an individual who would undertake to reason with the Most High in this way? We know he could not find favour in his sight. When we have sufficient evidence, we need not look any higher. When our own understanding testifies to us that we are wrong, that we are unjust and unrighteous, shall we then wait for revelation? Why it would be casting an indignity upon him, who gives us these lesser means, to convince us with the clearest demonstration. Our own common sense is a sufficient evidence, and we need not look any higher. If we know an act to be unjust, no matter how we come by the knowledge; even if a child in the neighbourhood, should tell us of it, if we have evidence in ourselves that the child has spoken the truth, we have no need to look for higher evidence, because this may be the means under Heaven, by which our eyes should be opened.



Whenever we come to the knowledge of a truth, no matter by what means, it is time then for us to attend to it, and to leave off our injustice, if we are guilty of ally. It is enough that we are convinced, even if it were by an inanimate thing; or if we are brought to see as Balaam was, by means of an ass. We have to right to look any higher, when we are convinced that any thing is the truth, and nothing but the truth. – Well is it not so? Can we want to go any where to be informed of our duty in this matter? Can any people have a better view of a subject than we have of this? Could we know it better if we should ascend into Heaven? No. Not any thing in Heaven can make it plainer than it is. All revelation, and all that is rational, can prove no more; for our common sense proves indubitably that slavery is the most cruel and most wicked of all things. We have the most self-evident proof; and in the great day of account, We dare not make the plea, and say, the BIBLE did not reveal it to me. The question will be, didst thou not see it by the light of reason, that was communicated to thee? Did not thy common understanding convince thee? And still thou wouldst not believe! But we are not willing to believe unless the Almighty will convince us by some great miracle. We are like the Jews, when they would not believe the miracles of Jesus Christ. His disciples wanted him to bring down fire from Heaven. But he would not indulge them.

We know, to the utmost certainty what slavery is, and not any thing in Heaven can make it plainer, than it is. If we know it to be unjust, will we still wait for the Lord to tell us it is so? He will never do it; for he has already done it, by the means which he appointed for that purpose. But being unjust to man in our common way of life – being, too many of us, in the way of darkness, we can have fellowship with the works of darkness; although we are called out of it all.

I know not how to leave this subject, for my soul is in it. Oh! may it be our desire and our resolution, my friends, willingly to take up the cross and despise the shame; – although individuals may point the finger of scorn at us, and say it is a little thing – don't let us regard these things. We are not accountable to man, but to our Creator, who is doing every thing to make the way plain and intelligibly clear to us.

Can we have christian love, and strengthen the hand of an oppressor? Be sure we cannot, my friends. We are Void of it, because we delight in gratifying ourselves. Oh! may we, individually, sink deep into the-consideration. Try these things, my friends, and search for yourselves. I do not desire, as a brother, to impress my opinions upon you; but only to give you my views, and leave them as a mirror for you to look into. I would not have any turn to my views, merely because they are mine; but because they are convinced of the irresistible truth of them. If they do not see as I do, it does not break my love with my fellow creatures. I am thankful – and this is the very pearl of my life – that I feel and continue to feel, nothing but love to flow to every creature under Heaven. Oh! how precious it is. "Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things that God hath prepared for them that love him;" – that love him with that pure love, that hath all power, both in Heaven and in earth. Love is stronger than death, but jealousy is more cruel than the grave.



I have never known or witnessed any evidence of fallen angels, but those who are fallen men and women. I believe there never were any other on this earth. Those whom the Lord has called, and who have been made partakers of the good things and power of the world to come, these when they fall away and become apostates, are fallen angels. For what are angels, but messengers? As it is said: "He maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flame of fire."

Now we ought to take warning, my friends, till we become established. Not but that I believe there is an arriving at a state of establishment beyond falling. But few arrive at it for want of faithfulness. Many make a good beginning, but too few hold out to the end. It is not enough to begin well, and to run well for a while; but we must persevere. For it is only those who endure to the end, that shall be saved. Now, those whom the Lord has blessed, and who have advanced in some degree to be his people; and whom he has enabled by his grace to become useful in their day; do sometimes fall off. Are not these fallen angels? Oh! let us deeply consider these things. Ever remember that it is not enough to begin well. How many there were brought out of Egypt, through the wilderness, who, nevertheless: never entered into the promised land. They were afraid, they lost their confidence, when they came on the borders of Canaan. So it is with many who set out in the christian travel. They go on well for a while; but when their life and all is to be given up, they fail. When we enter the conflict, and our lives are ready to be taken from us, how many ten thousands there are, in the present day, who, like the Israelites, have rebelled against God, and turned away from their former confidence. Let me repeat it again. It is not enough to begin well: it is not enough to run well for a while, and to get through the wilderness, and in a good degree towards a state of establishment; because the greatest trim that we find, is at the end of the conflict; when we come to the point where all must be given up; where our lives must be considered as nothing to us. See our great example; he had his conflicts, his trials, and temptations; when his life and all was to be given up. How trying the scene! I how painful! He was brought to cry out, in anxious concern to his Father. Yea, in his prayer, he was brought to sweat, as it were, great drops of blood, and nature felt the desire to escape this suffering. "If it be possible, Father, let this cup pass from me." But see the example - "not my will, but thine be done." Oh! believe me, here in this trial many shrink back, and become as dead lights.

Oh! may we be encouraged to faithfulness: Oh! may we be led in due time, to see our own insufficiency, and to cry out, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me." These things we must go through, if we continue to the end. If we persevere in faithfulness, we must be brought to the time in which all must be given up: yea, the death of the cross must be our experience. Therefore, let us take courage and persevere on, whether life or death, let us keep our eye single to the divine light, to our holy leader, and he will carry us through, over all, to name the name of that great and adorable name. Let us, therefore, in confidence of this, be willing to thank God and take courage.

 December 9, Thursday: The revolutionary forces of Peru led by Antonio José de Sucre decisively defeated the forces of their Spanish overlords near Ayacucho, southeast of Lima. The Spanish would be thrown out of the American mainland, in the north, in the central region, and in the south. Spain still would retain control, however, over two major islands of the West Indies: Cuba and Puerto Rico.

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

5th day 9th of 12 M / This morning before meeting a season of feeling - & at meeting a season of some favour - tho' thought which I wished to be clear of would intrude upon me. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 10, Friday: [George MacDonald](#) was born in Huntly.

 December 11, Saturday: Die Erscheinung D.229, a song by Franz Schubert to words of Kosegarten, was published in the Album musicale, Vienna.

 December 12, Sunday: [Felicia Dorothea Hemans](#)'s "The Vespers of Palermo" was staged at Covent Garden.

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

1st day 12 of 12 M / In the mornng Meeting after a Short testimony from D Dennis our frd D Buffum was very lively & caringly[?] engaged in testimony on the necessity of our walking in the straight & Narrow way which leads to life & peace - Silent in the Afternoon & a measure of favour extended in both meetings for which I desire to be thankful Cousin Henry Gould set the eveing with us. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

5th day 16th 12 M 1824 / A very solid quiet & I believe favoured Meeting, but my mind poor & destitute. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1824

1824

 December 18, Saturday: New-York mayor Philip Hone decided to back the [Delaware and Hudson Canal](#).

 Supply and demand. During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Bella Dolores*, master Guerrero, on its only known [Middle Passage](#), was arriving at its destination port of Havana, Cuba with an unknown number of fresh [slaves](#) on board.





Yet another [servile insurrection](#) was in this year being put down in Jamaica:

1640-1713	seven slave revolts in the islands of the British West Indies
1655	With Jamaica in transition between Spanish control and English control, some 1,500 slaves escaped into the mountains to form maroon communities.
1656	Juan de Bolas led many of the escaped slaves in the maroon communities of the mountains of Jamaica down to the plains and the coast with a deal in which the English granted pardon and freedom. Many maroons, however, would elect to remain in the mountains.
1668	“Lobby’s rebellion” on Jamaica — several hundred black slaves escaped to the mountains.
1725-1740	1st Maroon War on Jamaica
March 1, 1738-1739	The 1st Maroon War on Jamaica ended in a treaty guaranteeing freedom for the maroons, the deal being that henceforward they would capture and turn in for a reward any new slave or bond-laborer escapees.
1760	slave uprising on Jamaica
1776	slave uprising on Jamaica
1784	slave uprising on Jamaica
1795-1796	2d Maroon War on Jamaica
1823	slave uprising on Jamaica
1824	slave uprising on Jamaica
1831	slave uprising on Jamaica

There appears below a record of [manumissions](#) on Jamaica, an island upon which until this date a £100 bond had been required by the churchwardens as security against a manumittee becoming a parish object of charity. The Act “for the removing of impediments to the manumission of Slaves by Owners having only a limited interest,” in this year in which yet another slave uprising was being suppressed, stipulated that “Whereas it is now required by law, in all cases of manumission by deed, that a Bond should be given to the Churchwardens of the parish for payment of an annuity of £5 for the maintenance of any slave intended to be manuminised, and such bond is in many cases unnecessary. Be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid That it shall not be necessary to give such a bond to the churchwardens, provided that in lieu thereof the Slave, intended to be manuminised, shall be produced to the magistrates and Vestry of the Parish where such Slave shall reside, or it shall be otherwise shown to their satisfaction that the manumission is not given for the purpose of relieving the Owner from the obligation of maintaining an Aged or infirm Slave, a certificate thereof shall be given by the Vestry, and shall be annexed to, and entered in the Secretary’s Office with the Deed of Manumission.” Each such deed paper received in the Secretary’s Office required a 5/- Stamp, and the Office receipt required an additional stamp worth 2/6. The fee for recording of deeds, whether manumissions or otherwise, was 2/6 a sheet (a sheet consisting of 160 words), and therefore of course the charge for recording a manumission depended upon the number of words the Instrument contained.



1824

1824

We note that the ages of these persons receiving [manumission](#) are never placed on the record:

Date of Release	Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May 28, 1796	Robert Davison	Pally Ohlson & her 2 children, Peg, William	10 shillings
January 1, 1800	Thomas Goldwin, Power of Attorney	Bessy al Bessy Foxen	£65
June 15, 1805	Caleb Powell	Mary Powell	10 shillings
June 25, 1805	Charles Rose Ellis	Charlotte & her 6 children, Elizabeth Dodd, Jane Dodd, Nancy Dodd, Charlotte Dodd, John, Sarah	£700
April 1, 1807	Sarah Baird	Bessy	10 shillings
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	James Allan	£110
July 2, 1811	John Morant Power of Attorney	John Allan	£139 11/-
October 8, 1812	Mary Richards	Hannah Richards & child, Mary Payne Golden	£160
March 20, 1813	William Henry Parker	Edward Cragie, Maria Williams	£90
June 4, 1813	Robert Jacobs	Joe al Joseph Jacobs Diamond	10 shillings
June 4, 1813	Henry Glassford Power of Attorney	Henry Palmer Moore	£160
August 16, 1814	Executors of Thomas Matthews's will	Henry	no value
July 27, 1815	Mary Taylor	Frank	£80
July 25, 1815	Edward Bullock	Ann al Mary Ann	£90
January 16, 1816	Trustees of Vere Free School	Mary Ann Shand & her child Margaret Ann Kohler	£140
February 1, 1816	Mary Douglas	Patrick Douglas	10 shillings
April 2, 1816	Catherine Denniss	William Norman	£50
November 25, 1817	Francis Elliott	Charles Clarke	10 shillings
March 10, 1817	Thomas Prescott	Julian Kein	10 shillings
June 4, 1817	Thomas Anderson	Thomas Anderson, Daniel Anderson	no value
July 2, 1817	Jacob Lopez Fonseca & ux.	Mary Lalote	£32
June 3, 1817	William Jno James & Hugh James	Eleanor Hackett & 2 children - Samuel, Malcolm Facey, James Malcolm Facey	£200
March 10, 1818	Mary Edwards	Sophia Jones & her unnamed female child	£120
April 3, 1818	William Rhodes James	Frances Samuels	£120
April 21, 1818	George Russell	Alexander Bruce	£60
April 27, 1818	Lawrence Hunter & ux.	Mary Goodwin	£140
May 7, 1818	Henry Cerf	Amelia	£60
June 11, 1818	Ann Dudley	William Brooks	10 shillings



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
July 1, 1818			Rebecca Cohall	William Hall	10 shillings
August 1, 1818			David Boyd & ux.	Anne Hood	£160
August 22, 1818			John McGillivray	Robert Ann Mary	10 shillings
December 16, 1818			Executors of James Codrington	Sally McDonald	£100
December 23, 1818			John Woff	Susannah Johnston Woff	no value
October 4, 1819			Richard Jackson	Thomas Jennings	£180
January	19	1819	Mary Adelaide Caross	Margaret Saratine	10 shillings
April	27	1819	George Russell	Mary Bruce	£50
September	10	1819	John Goldson Budd	Eliza Goldson Budd	10 shillings
April	23	1819	Mary Williams et al	Louisa Miller	£100
February	1	1819	John Miller	Frances Miller, Henry Miller Andrew Miller	£50
March	1	1819	William Thomas Barnes	Edward Bennett	10 shillings
August	16	1819	Mary Gale Robertson & al	Benjamin	£140
May	1	1819	George Robert Johnson Jr.	Polly Gordon	10 shillings
?	?	1819	William Gale	Quaco	10 shillings
September 15, 1820			Bienvenida Judah et al	Elizabeth Bryan, Beatrice, Betsy & her child Henry	10 shillings
April	18	1820	George Harral	James Wright	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Georgette Denis Pellon	Marie Pierre Sucrinne	no value
May	19	1820	Kean Osborn Esq., & al	Patrick Kelly, Another slave	valued £150
January	18	1820	James [Sh]ipair	Morther Willis	£5
February	24	1821	Richard Ellis	Harry Day	£300
October	17	1820	David McNish	David, William	no value
November	20	1820	Henry Portlock Roberts	Mary Hancock & child Maria Pearce	10 shillings
April	3	1821	Robert Crasswell Gabay & ux.	William Murray	£50
December	30	1820	According to the will of Sarah Nibbs Gordon	Kitty al Catherine Gordon	no value
January	23	1821	Ann Moss	Jane Gardner, Tammy Seaton, Eleanor Love-more, William Dawson, John Wysenburg, Charles Lovemore	10 shillings
September	22	1820	Henry Oneal	John Ellis	10 shillings
November	27	1820	Edward Tyrrell	Mary Tyrrell, Edward Tyrell	£50
April	5	1820	Mary Hunter	Lucy Porter & her 6 children, Robert Bradley, Elizabeth Jump, Ann Jump, Henry Jump, William Jump, Mary Hunter, Edward Marshall	no value



1824

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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
May	19	1820	Sarah Spence	Thomas Farquharson	10 shillings
September	1	1820	Robert Waugh	John Brown	£100 Sterling
August	10	1820	Isaac Nunes Da Costa jr.	Alfred al. Alfred Moore	10 shillings
March	3	1820	Thomas Samson	Quaco	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Elizabeth Messum	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Ruthy Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Nancy Lambert	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Sarah Huggins	10 shillings
March	3	1820	do	Frances Samson	10 shillings
January	1	1820	John Kelly	Jane Roberts	10 shillings
December	30	1820	Guethoncoeur Boisquehonene	Margaret	10 shillings
October	17	1820	Sarah Cole	Sarah Ann James	£180
December	18	1820	Ann Sarah Bailey Mytin	Catherine Thomas	£18
September	21	1820	Ruth Austin	Alick Lawrence	10 shillings
June	8	1820	Benjamin Scott	Fanny al Frances Davis	£80
August	1	1820	Rachael Thomas	Maria Freeman & child, Mary Baker, Freeman	10 shillings
May	19	1820	Kean Coburn & ux.	James Knight	no value
August	16	1820	James Mackean Smith	James Baircliffe	10 shillings
January	30	1821	Ann Clark Gott	Robert al Jn. Russell Cruikshank	10 shillings
September	7	1820	John Russell	Eliza Clarke	10 shillings
May	20	1820	Edmund Francis Green	Mary Hamilton & her child Nancy	£160
November	1	1820	Robert Allwood & ux	Susanna Miller	£5 Sterling
December	14	1820	Janett Bogle	James Hay	£160 Cy.
December	14	1820	George N Darley	Diana Thomson	£60
September	28	1820	James Fraser	Nelly al Eleanor Fraser	no value
November	10	1820	Rachael Whitehead	Isabella al Isabella Roe	10 shillings
September	16	1820	Thomas Freeman	Thomas Handley Brook	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Alexander McCallum	Alexander Gray	£140
October	6	1820	William Reeves	Ann Charlton	10 shillings
August	18	1820	Timothy Banton Mullings	William Mullings	£140
January	12	1821	Alexander Menzies & ux.	Elizabeth Burke	10 shillings
December	11	1820	Sarah Beal Willacy	Lisbon	10 shillings



1824

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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
February	10	1820	George Allan	Elizabeth Price	10 shillings
March	15	1820	Margaret Grant	June Hall	10 shillings
January	30	1821	Sarah Mitchell Sansom	Harry al Harry Henrey	10 shillings
January	27	1821	Geremiah Weakes & ux.	Elizabeth Hall	£90
March	22	1821	John McDorman	George Gardner	10 shillings
January	12	1821	Eleanor Good	Rose	£40
January	20	1821	Mary Hall	Eleanor Bartell Ballantine	£140
February	10	1821	Susanna Gall	Patience & Susanna Thomas	no value
February	23	1821	Hon. James Lewis	Mary Brue	no value
February	10	1821	John Hill Berry	Mary Ann Hill Berry & 3 children, John Hill Berry, William Hill Berry, George Hill Berry	10 shillings
February	23	1821	Do	Lucy Jones	no value
July	1	1821	Mary Hunter	William Shea, John Marshall	no value
February	23	1821	Martha Fisher	Jemmy al James Fisher, John Fisher	£30
September	26	1821	Elizabeth Truxton & Bency Wilson	Mimba al Phillis Thomas & child Ann Dorman al Ann Hope	10 shillings
February	8	1821	Samuel Walker & ux. & al	Abigail Stormer	£25
April	2	1820	Sir Simon Horton Clarke, Bart. Power of Attorney	Elizabeth McDonald & children, James Lobban, Alexander Lobban, Mary Lobban, Margaret Lobban	£315
January	2	1821	William Henry Hall	Edward Neilson	£50
June	12	1820	Sir Home Popham	July	£100
March	6	1821	Alexander Ackman & ux.	Eleanor Carter Spalding	£140
July	?	1820	Jasper Taylor Hall Power of Attorney	William Wright, Eliza Tierney, Jenny Wright, Mary Clannside	no value
March	10	1820	John Lewis	Kate	10 shillings
February	22	1820	Melchior Graham	Eliza Cross & 3 children, Elizabeth, Mary, William George	no value
March	11	1821	Rebecca Stewart	Thomas Stewart, Rebecca Murray	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Andrew Bogle	Aimable	10 shillings
March	13	1821	William Smith Cruikshank	William Smith Cruikshank, Frances Smith Sadler	10 shillings
March	20	1821	Rose Roche	Richard Hughes	no value
March	12	1821	Rev. F.I.H. Rodrigues de Araeys	Marie Noel & son, Alphonse	no value



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
February	21	1821	Samuel Rogers	Ider Brown, Ororo Brown & her 2 children,, Colly Brown, Godfrey Brown	10 shillings
March	30	1821	Leah Phoinning	Sarah Dias Phoinning	10 shillings
March	17	1821	John Escoffery	John Valleau	10 shillings
November	20	1820	Mary Gambel	Mary Ann Carter	10 shillings
March	14	1821	Bryan Edwards, p attornies.	Laetitia	£140
March	24	1821	Eleanor Hughes Willacy	Mary	10 shillings
March	1	1821	Mary Eliza Davis	Leah Ann Thomas	10 shillings
March	9	1821	William Rainsford	Benjamin Fenby	£100
March	19	1821	Alexander McCallum	Ann McCallum	no value
March	29	1821	Mary Taylor	Hazzard al William Bartholomew	£100
April	2	1821	Frances Cross	Robert Higgins	10 shillings
August	29	1820	Charlotte McPherson & others	Ann Gylliatt & 7 children, Rosy Ann Gylliatt, John Anderson, Samuel Anderson, Jeanette Anderson, Mary Anderson, James Anderson, Robert Anderson	£700
September	29	1820	Thomas Napier	Eleanor al Eleanor Thomas	10 shillings
?	?	1820	Gracey Halhead	Margian Halhead	10 shillings
October	6	1820	Jane Williamson	Margaret Williamson	£140
March	21	1821	Patrick McDonnell & wife	Mary Watson	10 shillings
September	20	1820	Elizabeth Hammond	William Hammond	10 shillings
April	21	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Jean Baptiste Cadou	10 shillings
April	13	1821	Charlotte G. Bullock	Kitty Bullock	10 shillings
December	23	1820	William Davis	Lucretia White	10 shillings
February	1	1821	William Grant	Elizabeth Thayter & 2 children, James Grant, Edward Grant	10 shillings
February	1	1821	Exors of Alexander Kinlock according to will	Elizabeth Kinlock & child, Helen Kinlock	£150
April	21	1821	Susanna Edwards	James Lamb	£42
April	29	1821	William Laws	John Harris	10 shillings
February	12	1821	Janet Brown	Edward Ashley	no value
May	3	1821	Exor Of Adelaide Penaud according to will	Adelaide Bethsy	no value
February	14	1821	Milbrough Elrington Power of Attorney	Molly al Mary Spencer	50/-
March	24	1821	Thomas Nicholson Swigle	Frances Millward Hammond	no value



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Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
June	8	1820	James Minot	Faithful	10 shillings
May	13	1821	Hon. James Lee	Edward James Lee	10 shillings
May	10	1821	Elizabeth Perkins	John Dormont	10 shillings
March	26	1821	Charles Duke Bailey	Sarah Blake, Jane Dawkins, George Dawkins	10 shillings
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	Rachael Harriot	£300
November	10	1821	Louis Horace de Jannon & ux	Nerine	no value
November	22	1820	Stephen Denton Power of Attorney	John Pool	10 shillings
April	18	1820	Andrew White	James Gillespie	10 shillings
August	5	1820	Mary Field Stevenson	Mary Ann Lynch	10 shillings
January	24	1820	Samuel Dare	William Bell	no value
August	5	1820	William Bonaby	Cassander al Susannah, Williams Bonaby	10 shillings
May	12	1821	James Smith	William Selby	no value
November	11	1820	Ann Barton & others	Louisa Phillips Bayley	10 shillings
April	3	1821	John Williams	Mary	10 shillings
June	2	1821	Elizabeth Reid	Jennett James	10 shillings
January	20	1820	Robert Alexander	Jonathan Worrall	10 shillings
February	3	1821	Judith Waters	Eleanor Tingling Hammonds	£33
April	27	1821	James Johnston	Margaret Hay, John Hay	£200
April	11	1821	James Johnston	Sappho & 2 children, James Hay, William Hay	£260
January	22	1821	James Hunt	Jack al John Sewell	£110
January	27	1821	William Finlay & wife	Margaret Johnson	£80
March	30	1821	Robert Thomas Downer	Alexander, George, Jane, Sarah, Richard	£200
April	11	1821	Esther Da Costa	Cecelia Anderson	£32
March	28	1821	Executor of Lewis Mazel according to will	Edmond	no value
March	21	1821	Elizabeth Sarah Ann Taylor	Hannah Jones	£5
April	17	1821	William Frankson & al	Thomazina Moore	10 shillings
April	4	1821	Mary Lewis	Henry Bryan	10 shillings
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Rebecca Huntington	£140
February	15	1821	Andrew Arcedeckne Power of Attorney	Catherine Sim & child, Jessie Grant	£260
January	10	1821	Charles Seymore Cockburn	John Burnside	£200
April	6	1821	Jean Baptiste Cadou	Julie	no value

Date of Release			Name of Manumitter	Person(s) Manumitted	Cost of Redemption
November	11	1821	Sarah McQuestin	Memory	10 shillings
July	15	1829	George Preston	William Hunt	10 shillings

December 19, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 19th of 12 M / In the forenoon three testimonies generally very good. – Silent in the Afternoon – Poor Day to me –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The London Times reported that “A wonderful instrument called the [stethoscope](#), invented a few months ago ... is now in complete vogue in Paris.”



“The advent of the stethoscope made it possible to unify tuberculosis.”

– [Doctor Jacalyn Duffin](#)



December 21, Tuesday: A black seaman, Anthony Perez, was [hanged](#) for murder in Massachusetts.

December 22, Wednesday: [Edward Everett](#) orated at Plymouth, Massachusetts. This would be published by Cummings, Hilliard & Company at 134 Washington Street in Boston and we infer that this publication likely is the source for a declamation that 13-year-old [David Henry Thoreau](#) would perform at the [Concord Academy](#) in 1830.

EVERETT AT PLYMOUTH

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

4th day 22 of 12 M / Last evening I recd a long letter from my Ancient frd [Moses Brown](#) & this Afternoon one from my friend Thomas Thompson of Liverpool. – There seem like a brook by the way – or refreshment in a dry season. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December 23, Thursday: Per the journal of [Albert Gallatin](#)'s son James as recorded in THE DIARY OF JAMES GALLATIN:

Monsieur Pascault has recovered wonderfully and insists upon having a dinner of all the family on the 31st. He says it will be his last year, and he wants to have them all around him. I am sorry I will be away from my father and mother, but my duty is by my wife. We expect our child in the New Year.



Headman Pushmataha of the Choctaw Nation died in [Washington DC](#).

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

5th day 23 of 12 M / Hannah Dennis was twice engaged in testimony & a few words from Anne. - My mind in that state as not to proffit. - Oh how poor I am. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 24, Friday: Carl August Peter Cornelius was born in Mainz, fourth of six children born to Carl Joseph Gerhard Cornelius and Friederike Schradtko, both actors.

The initial American social fraternity, Chi Phi (XΦ), was founded at the College of New-Jersey.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY



December 26, Sunday: In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

12th M 26th (1st day) / Hannah Dennis & Anne Dennis & Father Rodman were all engaged in testimony - Silent in the Afternoon.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 27, Monday: [Hector Berlioz](#)'s Messe en Grande Symphonie was rehearsed in the Church of St. Roch. The parts of the score prepared by the children of the choir were, however, so riddled with errors that the musicians were forced to give up. A performance planned for the following day would be cancelled.



December 29, Wednesday: In upstate [New York](#), the trustees of the Rensselaer School held their initial meeting and set tuition at \$25 a term.



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

5th day 30 of 12 M / Yesterday afternoon I went to [Portsmouth](#) part of the distance I rode & walked the rest to Uncle Stantons, where I found my mother well & lodged

This morning walked to meeting, the first was a season of uncommon favour, the Silence was to be felt & the appearance of H Dennis both in supplication & testimony were Solemn & impressive. Anne said a few words & Ruth Freeborn was also much favoured in testimony & was particularly comfortable to Friends as she is just emerging from a long state of depression both in body & mind. -The last Meeting had but little buisness - I rode in David Buffums carriage to Rich Mitchells to dinner & from thence Home -

I bear in Solemn remembrance that I am this day 43 Years of Age - I awoke before day light & remembered it the first thing -& my mind has ruminated on the subject at times all day -Surely I have great cause to be thankful for the many mercys & favours & deliverances that I have had in the course of my life -& have with shamefacedness to acknowledge my poor returns of faithfulness & dedication of heart to Him who hath evidently

*preserved me thro' many trials unknown to any mortal but myself.
 – Yet have I confidence to trust in his power, thro' the
 Mediation of Jesus Christ, & desire to offer unto him
 Thanksgiving & praise for the past & humbly implore a
 continuance of Mercy. –
 Our dear Young friends Wing Russell & Joseph Tillinghast from
 New Bedford set the evening with us*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December 31, Friday: Great Britain recognized the independence of Buenos Aires, Mexico, and Colombia.

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

*6th day 31 of 12 M 1824 / Wing Russell & J Tillinghast hast dined
 with us, they are well engaged young men & I feel nearly united
 to them in Religious fellowship
 These closes the Year & in closing it, my heart is humbled under
 a sense of the goodness of God, in that he has preseerved me
 thus long. --*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

General Events of 1824

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 1825



1824

1824



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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: July 6, 2015

ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in 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.

January							February							March						
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
				1	2	3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7		1	2	3	4	5	6
4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	14	15	16	17	18	19	20
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	21	22	23	24	25	26	27
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29							28	29	30	31			
April							May							June						
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
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4	5	6	7	8	9	10	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
25	26	27	28	29	30		23	24	25	26	27	28	29	27	28	29	30			
							30	31												
July							August							September						
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
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4	5	6	7	8	9	10	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
11	12	13	14	15	16	17	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
18	19	20	21	22	23	24	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
25	26	27	28	29	30	31	29	30	31					26	27	28	29	30		
October							November							December						
Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa	Su	Mo	Tu	We	Th	Fr	Sa
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10	11	12	13	14	15	16	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	12	13	14	15	16	17	18
17	18	19	20	21	22	23	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	19	20	21	22	23	24	25
24	25	26	27	28	29	30	28	29	30					26	27	28	29	30	31	
31																				