

**EVENTS OF 1832**

**General Events of 1833**

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



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

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

<b>January</b>	<b>February</b>	<b>March</b>
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<b>April</b>	<b>May</b>	<b>June</b>
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<b>July</b>	<b>August</b>	<b>September</b>

**EVENTS OF 1834**

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THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1833. By R.T. Paine. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Hugh H. Brown.  
 This almanac really belongs to the Bickerstaff series, Bickerstaff's name appearing again next year.

Marshall Merriam, son of a [Concord](#) farmer, graduated from [Yale College](#).

James Baker died (this was not the [James Baker](#), farmer of Concord, whom Thoreau knew, nor was it his father).

Sam Staples moved to [Concord](#) with \$1.<sup>03</sup> in his pocket, spent the \$0.<sup>03</sup> for a drink at Bigelow's Tavern, and became a carpenter's apprentice on the Milldam.



After a bad crossing accident in England on the Leicester & Swannington railroad line, engineers began piecemeal to add what was known as a "steam trumpet" to their locomotives. Such a whistle had first been used on stationary engines in England. It did not produce a sound anything like the tones to which we are now accustomed, but a sound that was high, pure, shrill, and harsh. This hostile warning caused no nostalgia and possessing no overtones of wanderlust. Thus [Henry Thoreau](#) would note at [Walden Pond](#), that the whistle of the locomotive penetrated his woods summer and winter, sounding like the scream of a hawk sailing over some farmer's yard as the engine shouted its warning to get off the track.

[TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS](#)

Gulian Crommelin Verplanck (1786-1870)'s DISCOURSES AND ADDRESSES ON SUBJECTS OF AMERICAN HISTORY, ARTS, AND LITERATURE (New York: J. & J. Harper). A copy of this would be inscribed in ink on the front free endpaper "[Mr John Thoreau Jr.](#)" and, beneath that in pencil, "[Henry D. Thoreau](#)," would be presented in 1874 by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#) to the Concord Library, and is now in Special Collections at the [Concord Free Public Library](#).





THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF [WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE](#), ACCURATELY PRINTED FROM THE TEXT OF THE CORRECTED COPY LEFT BY THE LATE GEORGE STEEVENS, ESQ. WITH A GLOSSARY, AND NOTES, AND A SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE (Hartford, Connecticut: Andrus & Judd). This 2-volume set would be in the personal library of [David Henry Thoreau](#).<sup>1</sup>



**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, I**  
**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, II**

[Thoreau](#) would on April 21, 1835 supplement (or anticipate) his own personal set of the plays by obtaining from [Harvard Library](#) three volumes of a 15-volume London 1793 4th edition of [Dr. Samuel Johnson's](#) THE PLAYS OF [WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE](#). WITH THE CORRECTIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS OF VARIOUS COMMENTATORS. TO WHICH ARE ADDED, NOTES BY SAMUEL JOHNSON AND GEORGE STEEVENS. THE 4TH ED. REV. AND AUGM. (WITH A GLOSSARIAL INDEX) BY THE EDITOR OF DODSLEY'S COLLECTION OF OLD PLAYS (T. Longman, B. Law and son, [etc.]).

**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, I**  
**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, III**  
**WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, IV**

From these volumes [Thoreau](#) would use a snippet from *Anthony and Cleopatra* in REFORM PAPERS on page 12, snippets from *As You Like It* in A WEEK on pages 68, 248, and 341 and in CAPE COD on page 186, snippets from *Hamlet Prince of Denmark* in A WEEK on page 63 and in REFORM PAPERS on page 66, snippets from *Julius Caesar* in A WEEK on pages 41, 124, and 287, in EXTENDED ESSAYS AND MISCELLANIES on pages 70 and 72, in [WALDEN](#) on page 67, and in the JOURNAL for 1842-1844, a snippet from *King John* in REFORM PAPERS on page 66, a snippet from *I Henry IV* or *Henry V* in EXCURSIONS on page 5, a snippet from *King Lear* in A WEEK on page 282, snippets from *Macbeth* in EXCURSIONS on page 119 and in the JOURNAL for July 7, 1840, a snippet from *The Merchant of Venice* in the JOURNAL for September 1, 1843, a snippet from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in EXTENDED ESSAYS AND MISCELLANIES on page 74, snippets from *Richard III* in [WALDEN](#) on page 41, in EXCURSIONS on page 125, and in the JOURNAL for January 2, 1841, a snippet from *The Tempest* in CAPE COD on page 266, a snippet from *Twelfth Night* in the JOURNAL on January 3, 1843, a snippet from "Venus and Adonis" in the JOURNAL for June 19, 1843, and a snippet from "Sonnet 33" in A WEEK on pages 189-190.

1. You will observe that the closest Google Books has gotten to this 1833 edition is the 1837/1838 edition by the same Hartford, Connecticut publishing house.



1833

1833

**WALDEN:** Near the end of March, 1845, I borrowed an axe and went down to the woods by Walden Pond, nearest to where I intended to build my house, and began to cut down some tall arrowy white pines, still in their youth, for timber. It is difficult to begin without borrowing, but perhaps it is the most generous course thus to permit your fellow-men to have an interest in your enterprise. The owner of the axe, as he released his hold on it, said that it was the apple of his eye; but I returned it sharper than I received it. It was a pleasant hillside where I worked, covered with pine woods, through which I looked out on the pond, and a small open field in the woods where pines and hickories were springing up. The ice in the pond was not yet dissolved, though there were some open spaces, and it was all dark colored and saturated with water. There were some slight flurries of snow during the days that I worked there; but for the most part when I came out on to the railroad, on my way home, its yellow sand heap stretched away gleaming in the hazy atmosphere, and the rails shone in the spring sun, and I heard the lark and pewee and other birds already come to commence another year with us. They were pleasant spring days, in which the winter of man's discontent was thawing as well as the earth, and the life that had lain torpid began to stretch itself.


PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

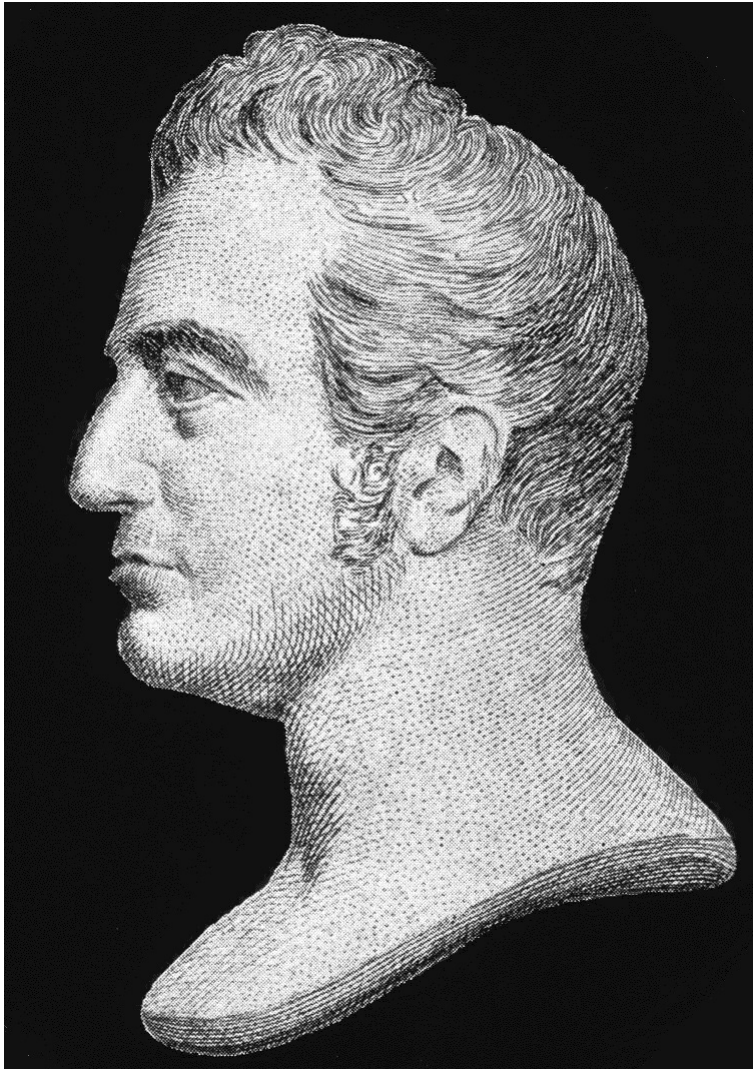
KING RICHARD III  
WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



1833

1833

 [Dr. John Abercrombie](#)'s THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE MORAL FEELINGS. This philosophical treatise like the author's previous one would eventually be found to have contained nothing of any originality.



**DR. JOHN ABERCROMBIE**

**WALDEN:** There are nowadays professors of philosophy, but not philosophers. Yet it is admirable to profess because it was once admirable to live. To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts, nor even to found a school, but so to love wisdom as to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity, and trust. It is to solve some of the problems of life, not only theoretically, but practically. The success of great scholars and thinkers is commonly a courtier-like success, not kingly, not manly. They make shift to live merely by conformity, practically as their fathers did, and are in no sense the progenitors of a nobler race of men. But why do men degenerate ever? What makes families run out? What is the nature of the luxury which enervates and destroys nations? Are we sure that there is none of it in our own lives? The philosopher is in advance of his age even in the outward form of his life. He is not fed, sheltered clothed, warmed, like his contemporaries. How can a man be a philosopher and not maintain his vital heat by better methods than other men?

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON

→ **Henry Thoreau**'s personal library had in it two volumes published in this year by Glazier, Masters & co. of Hallowell, Maine. They are the two volumes of the American printing of the 7th edition of **Professor Thomas Brown**'s LECTURES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND. BY THE LATE THOMAS BROWN, M.D. PROFESSOR OF MORAL PHILOSOPHY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. WITH A MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, BY DAVID WELSH, D.D., PROFESSOR OF CHURCH HISTORY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH. (What I have to offer you here, courtesy of Google Books, is the corresponding Scottish edition in one volume, printed at 78, Prince's Street in Edinburgh by William Tait.)

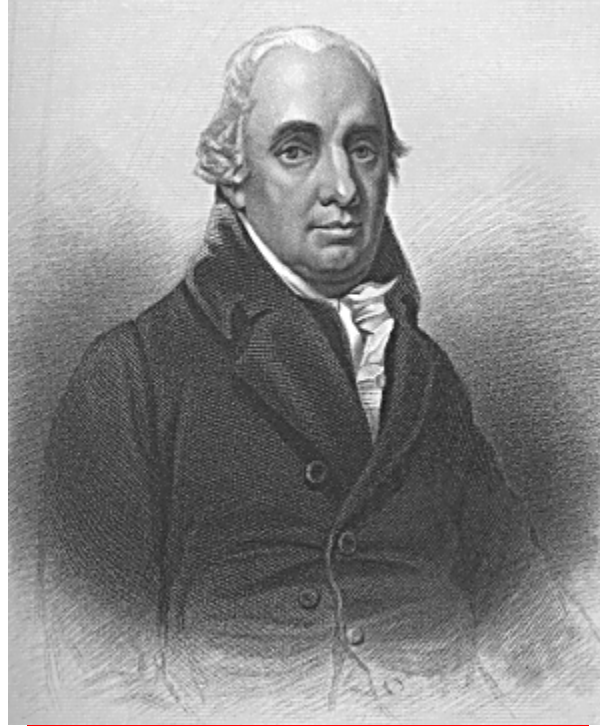


THOMAS BROWN'S LECTURES

1833

1833

[Thoreau](#)'s personal library also had in it two volumes published in this year by James Munroe and company of Cambridge, Massachusetts. They are the two volumes of the American printing of [Professor Dugald Stewart](#)'s ELEMENTS OF THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE HUMAN MIND.



**PROFESSOR DUGALD STEWART**

1833

1833



[Professor Lewis Caleb Beck](#)'s BOTANY OF THE NORTHERN AND MIDDLE STATES; OR A DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANTS FOUND IN THE UNITED STATES, NORTH OF VIRGINIA, ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE NATURAL SYSTEM WITH A SYNOPSIS OF THE GENERA ACCORDING TO THE LINNÆAN SYSTEM — A SKETCH OF THE RUDIMENTS OF [BOTANY](#), AND A GLOSSARY OF TERMS. BY LEWIS C. BECK, M.D. PROFESSOR OF CHEMISTRY AND NATURAL HISTORY IN RUTGERS COLLEGE, N.J.; MEMBER OF THE ROYAL PHYSICAL SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH; OF THE LINNÆAN SOCIETY OF PARIS; OF THE NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY OF MONTREAL; OF THE NEW-YORK LYCEUM; AND OF THE ALBANY INSTITUTE, &C (Albany: Printed by Webster and Skinners, Corner of State and North Pearl Streets).

## LEWIS CALEB BECK

([Henry Thoreau](#) would consult this volume during his trip to Minnesota, presumably because the more complete and more up-to-date 2d edition which he had been consulting was not there available to him.)



1833

1833

 Charles Sumner graduated from the Law School of [Harvard College](#).<sup>2</sup>



Leonhard Usteri had in 1830 produced at Berm an edition of Friedrich August Wolf's *VORLESUNGEN ÜBER DIE VIER ERSTEN GESÄNGE VON HOMER'S ILIAS*. At this point Professor of Greek Literature [Cornelius Conway Felton](#) provided an English-language annotation of Wolf's text of *HOMÉROU ILIAS*. THE ILIAD OF HOMER, FROM THE TEXT OF WOLF. GR. WITH ENGLISH NOTES AND FLAXMAN'S ILLUSTRATIVE DESIGNS. EDITED BY C.C. FELTON (2d edition. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co.), a volume that would be required at Harvard and would be found in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).

After preparing at the Concord Academy, [William Mackay Prichard](#), son of the [Concord](#) trader [Moses Prichard](#), earned school money during the winter by teaching school in Sterling, Massachusetts, and graduated in this year from [Harvard](#) with honors. He would go on to teach at the Walpole Academy in New Hampshire, and in New-York. [William Whiting, Jr.](#), son of the [Concord](#) carriagemaker [Colonel William Whiting](#), graduated in this same class.

WILLIAM MACKAY PRICHARD, son of Moses Prichard, was graduated in 1833.<sup>3</sup>

[WILLIAM WHITING](#) [of [Concord](#)], son of [Colonel William Whiting](#), was graduated [at [Harvard](#)] in 1833.<sup>4</sup>

2. Just in case you didn't know: Harvard Law School had been founded with money from the selling of slaves in the sugarcane fields of Antigua.

3. [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.)

4. Ibid.



# LAW SCHOOL.

## FACULTY OF LAW.

Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., *President.*  
 Hon. JOSEPH STORY, LL. D.  
 SIMON GREENLEAF, A. M.

## LAW STUDENTS.

### SENIOR CLASS.

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Campbell, James G., A. M., <i>Wash. Col.</i>	<i>Clarendon, Brunswick Co., N. C.</i>	Gr. 2
Churchill, Asaph, A. B.	<i>Milton,</i>	M. 15
Dutton, Francis Lowell, A. B.	<i>Boston,</i>	Gr. 3
Emerson, B. Frothingham, A. B., <i>Un. Col.</i>	<i>Hollis, N. H.</i>	M. 29
Hayes, John Lord, A. B., <i>Dart.</i>	<i>South Berwick, Me.</i>	D. 11
Howard, Volney E.,	<i>Norridgewock, Me.</i>	
Rand, John, A. B., <i>Bowd. Col.</i>	<i>Portland, Me.</i>	Mr. Newell's
Silsbee, Francis Henry, A. B.	<i>Salem,</i>	M. 25
Snaith, George,	<i>Boston, Eng.</i>	Gr. 4
Sumner, Charles, A. B. ( <i>Librarian</i> )	<i>Boston,</i>	Dane L. Coll. 4
Upton, Francis Henry,	<i>Bangor, Me.</i>	M. 13

[William Whiting, Jr.](#) would become a lawyer after teaching at Plymouth and [Concord](#), through studying law in Boston and attending the Law School of [Harvard](#).



[Manlius Stimson Clarke](#) matriculated, as his father had in 1786, at [Harvard](#). At the age of 15, [John Foster Williams Lane](#) returned from his study of the French and Italian languages in Europe and entered [Harvard](#)'s freshman class. He would attain a high rank of scholarship in his class and graduate in the same year as [Thoreau](#), with distinction.

**NEW "HARVARD MEN"**



1833

1833

Since [Francis Bowen](#) had to work his way through Phillips Exeter Academy and then through [Harvard](#), he was not able to graduate until the age of 22 –quite old for those days– but when he did take his degree, it was *summa cum laude* and he got a job teaching math at Phillips Exeter Academy. (Then he would teach math at Harvard.)

[William Henry Channing](#) graduated from the [Harvard Divinity School](#). [Benjamin Peirce](#) wrote the initial published history of [Harvard](#), and became a professor there.

At the [Divinity School](#), the following gentlemen completed their studies:

William Ebenezer Abbot (A.B. Bowdoin College)  
William Andrews  
William Henry Channing  
James Freeman Clarke  
Samuel Adams Devens  
Theophilus Pipon Doggett  
Samuel May  
Albert Clarke Patterson  
Chandler Robbins  
Samuel Dowse Robbins  
Linus Hall Shaw  
Henry Augustus Walker

1833

1833



[Henry Jacob Bigelow](#) would be [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s classmate at [Harvard College](#), until first receiving a "public admonition" and finally being dismissed from the college on April 24, 1837, the Saturday prior to the commencement in that year, for having been in possession of firearms and ammunition in his dormitory room and repeatedly discharging a firearm inside the room (MH-Ar Faculty Records UAIII 5.5.2.IX, 311). Evidently he was able to resume his studies, at Dartmouth College.



In 1795 a *Conservatoire des Artes et Métiers* had been established for France, and in this year that system of trade museums was introduced into [Germany](#) (the 1st efforts to accomplish anything of the kind in England would not come until 1837 with the Museum of Economic Geology, in 1848 with the Museum of Economic Botany at Kew, and in 1851 with the Museum of Practical Geology and the School of Mines).

At [Harvard](#), under instructor Hermann Bokum (who was filling the place left vacant by the departure of [Charles Follen](#)), [Thoreau](#) began four terms of study of the [German](#) language. Bokum had just come to Harvard from the University of Pennsylvania, where he had just prepared a new edition of BERNAYS' COMPENDIOUS GERMAN GRAMMAR, WITH A DICTIONARY OF PREFIXES AND AFFIXES, AND WITH ALTERNATIONS, ADDITIONS, AND REFERENCES TO AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE (60 pages; Philadelphia: Hogan and Thompson, 139½ Market Street, 1832). This, presumably, would have been used in





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Thoreau's classroom.<sup>5</sup>

## COMPENDIOUS GERMAN

[Heinrich Heine](#)'s *ZUR GESCHICHTE DER NEUREN SCHÖNEN LITERATUR IN DEUTSCHLAND* (PHILOSOPHY AND LITERATURE IN [GERMANY](#)). Also in this year, his *FRANZÖSISCHE ZUSTÄNDE* (FRENCH AFFAIRS).

Twelve year-old future philologist George Adler was brought to the USA from Leipzig, [Germany](#).

A projected uprising in the Piedmont was betrayed before it had begun, and a number of its idealistic and ruthless ringleaders committed suicide or were executed. The [Italian](#) government put a dead-or-alive price on [Giuseppe Mazzini](#)'s head, and he had to move to [Switzerland](#) to get out of the jurisdiction of the French police. In Switzerland he tried to raise an army to invade Savoy, but not enough young men were willing to die, so instead he founded organizations named Young [Germany](#), Young [Switzerland](#), Young Poland, and Young Europe.

5. Interestingly, both Charles Follen and Hermann Bokum would be instrumental in bringing the Christmas Tree tradition to America.



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In Russia, [Lev Nikolævich Tolstòy](#) was playing an invented game with his brothers. They had heard of the Moravian Christians and had gotten them mixed up with ants –*muravey* in Russian– and the boys were crawling around under an improvised tent pretending to be ant brothers. The game was that they would practice saying considerate things to each other and doing caring things for each other. Nikolai, the oldest brother, told the others that he had written the secret of human happiness, Christian Love, on a green stick and buried it in the woods near their home. Tolstòy would later comment that he had never in his life been as wise as he had been when he was five years old. Here is a photo of him, made not in this year of 1833 but later in his life, when he was a young student and no longer so wise, and on the next page is an idealized portrait of his hero:

HDT

WHAT?

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Let us not forget that [Tolstòy](#) said he was wiser when he was five years old than at any later, more hirsute or more wrinkled point in his life, for if, due to historical investigations and revisings, we were to lose [Henry Thoreau](#) as an apostle of nonviolence, then Tolstòy would have to stand alone beside his hero Yehoshua bar

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Yusef of Nazareth in Galilee — whether or not he ever managed to recover that green stick.




The excommunicant, in 1868

Lord of the communicants

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 [Professor Cornelius Conway Felton](#) prepared an edition of [HOMER](#), using the illustrations prepared by John Flaxman (1755-1826).



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

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

**Chapter 3 (1833-1837)** - [David Henry Thoreau](#) enters [Harvard College](#) (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 [Joseph] Lovering) English (8 terms under ET Channing, Giles, W&G Simmons)-grammar, rhetoric, logic, forensics, criticism, elocution, declamations, themes. Mental Philosophy (under Giles) [William Paley](#), Stewart. Natural Philosophy (under [Joseph] Lovering)-astronomy. Intellectual Philosophy (under Bowen) Locke, Say, Story. Theology (2 terms under H Ware)-Paley, [Charles 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 [[Francis](#)] [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.

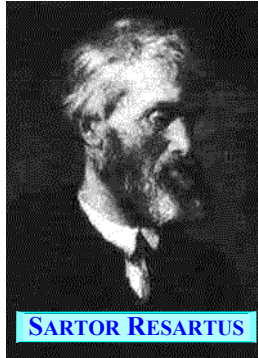
(Robert L. Luce, January-March 1986)



On a following screen is a list of textbooks that were to be used at [Harvard](#) for the school year 1833/1834, together with their list prices at the Brown, Shattuck, and Company bookstore, “Booksellers to the University.”



In this year and the following year, in England, after [Thomas Carlyle](#)’s having labored over his [SARTOR RESARTUS](#)<sup>6</sup> manuscript since the late 1820s, it achieved a distribution of sorts by being serialized in a [London](#) journal, [Fraser’s Magazine](#). Since this wasn’t readily available in Boston, [Waldo Emerson](#) would need to take out a subscription in order to read his new friend’s work.



SARTOR RESARTUS

### STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

Lee Sterrenburg points out in *A NARRATIVE OVERVIEW: THE MAKING OF THE CONCEPT OF THE GLOBAL “ENVIRONMENT” IN LITERATURE AND SCIENCE* that the word “environment” was first used in its current sense by Carlyle in this manuscript, at a point at which he was parodying the construct of the “economy of nature” and those who might espouse such a construct. Rather than construing human culture in the usual manner as a small part of a greater natural whole, nature being originary and human nature developing derivatively within it, Carlyle chose to construe human nature as the greater whole of which general nature was but a part. For Carlyle, our spirit is a play of Force which dissolves mere material and bears it along in its irresistible surge. Our human Spirit is primary and originary and controlling: “Earth’s mountains are leveled, and her seas filled up, in our passage: can the Earth, which is but dead and a vision, resist Spirits which have reality and are alive?” This spiritual vision of Carlyle’s eventually would become a new sort of human global imperialism.

It is one of those constructs which we would like to imagine that the spirit of young [David Henry Thoreau](#) found inherently offensive.

Note how carefully in this work the author masked his attitude toward change and permanence through a pretense that it amounted to a concern over the nature of space and time:

Fortunatus had a wishing Hat, which when he put on, and wished himself Anywhere, behold he was There. By this means had Fortunatus triumphed over Space, he had annihilated Space; for him there was no Where, but all was Here. Were a Hatter to establish himself, in the Wahngasse of Weissnichtwo, and make felts of this sort for all mankind, what a world we should have of it! Still stranger, should, on the opposite side of the street, another Hatter establish himself; and as his fellow-craftsman made Space-annihilating Hats, make Time-annihilating!

6. Perhaps it will be helpful to indicate what “Sartor Resartus” means. It offers three possible, somewhat overlapping translations: “the tailor retailored,” “the patcher patched,” and “clothes volume edited.” The volume deals with an elaborate analogy between Vesture, Body, and Spirit. As clothing is to the body, in covering it, and as the body is to the soul, constituting for it a habitat, so the world which we perceive is to be understood to stand in relation to a non-evident realm the animating spirit of which is Deity. Religious observances are to be compared, in accordance with such an analogy, with the old rags collected by Jewish rag pickers.

Adam's Roman Antiquities, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	§ 1.25
Bachi's Italian Grammar, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	1.40
" Scelta di Prose	-	-	-	-	-	1.40
" Teatro Scelto, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.06
" Portuguese Grammar,	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Butler's Analogy, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Barber's Elocutionist, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.67
" Grammar of Elocution, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.92
" Treatise on Gesture, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Cartas Marruecas, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Cleveland's Greek Antiquities, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Folsom's Livy, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Farrar's Astronomy, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	2.50
" Calculus,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
" Electricity,	-	-	-	-	-	2.33
" Mechanics,	-	-	-	-	-	2.67
" Optics,	-	-	-	-	-	2.00
" Topography,	-	-	-	-	-	1.33
" Trigonometry,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Follen's German Grammar, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.12
" " Reader,	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Graglia's Italian Dictionary, "	-	-	-	-	-	1.35
Homer's Iliad,	-	-	-	-	-	1.17
Horace, Gould's edition,	-	-	-	-	-	1.17
Josse's Spanish Grammar, Sales' edition,	-	-	-	-	-	1.12
Juvenal, Leverett's edition,	-	-	-	-	-	.67
Locke's Essay, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.75
Latin Classics used in the course of study; to wit: —						
M. Accius Plautus — Captivi,	-	-	-	-	-	.16
M. Tullius Cicero — De Claris Oratoribus,	-	-	-	-	-	.29
— De Officiis,	-	-	-	-	-	.33
Newman's Spanish Dictionary, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Nuttall's Botany, (cloth)	-	-	-	-	-	1.33
Nugent's French Dictionary,	-	-	-	-	-	.50
Paley's Evidences, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.50
" Moral Philosophy,	-	-	-	-	-	.60
Rowbotham's French Grammar, Surault's edition, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.65
Sales's Comedias Españolas, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
Say's Political Economy,	-	-	-	-	-	2.00
Smellie's Philosophy, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	1.50
Smyth's Algebra, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.83
Stewart's Philosophy, 2 vols. (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	3.00
Story's Commentaries, abridged, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	3.37
Tacitus, 2 vols. (fine paper)	-	-	-	-	-	1.00
Tytler's Elements of History, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.62
Walker's Geometry, (sheep)	-	-	-	-	-	.67
Webster's Chemistry, (boards)	-	-	-	-	-	3.00
Whately's Rhetoric, (cloth)	-	-	-	-	-	.75
" Logic,	-	-	-	-	-	.80
Xenophon's Anabasis,	-	-	-	-	-	1.00





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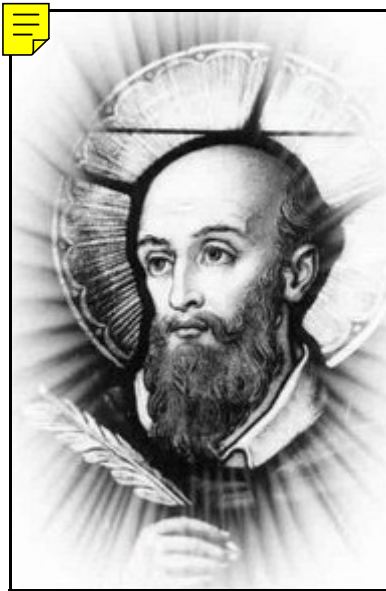
Of both would I purchase, were it with my last groschen; but chiefly of this latter. To clap-on your felt, and, simply by wishing that you were **Anywhere**, straightway to be **There**! Next to clap-on your other felt, and, simply by wishing that you were **Anywhen**, straightway to be **Then**! This were indeed the grander: shooting at will from the Fire-Creation of the World to its Fire-Consummation; here historically present in the First Century, conversing face to face with Paul and Seneca; there prophetically in the Thirty-first, conversing also face to face with other Pauls and Senecas, who as yet stand hidden in the depth of that late Time! Or thinkest thou it were impossible, unimaginable? Is the Past annihilated, then, or only past; is the Future non-extant, or only future? Those mystic faculties of thine, Memory and Hope, already answer: already through those mystic avenues, thou the Earth-blinded summonest both Past and Future, and communest with them, though as yet darkly, and with mute beckonings. The curtains of Yesterday drop down, the curtains of Tomorrow roll up; but Yesterday and Tomorrow both **are**. Pierce through the Time-element, glance into the Eternal. Believe what thou findest written in the sanctuaries of Man's Soul, even as all Thinkers, in all ages, have devoutly read it there: that Time and Space are not God, but creations of God; that with God as it is a universal **HERE**, so it is an everlasting **Now**.

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Publication, by S. Burdett & Company in Boston, of [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s [Harvard College](#) instructor in French and Spanish [Francis Sales](#), Esq.'s [Tomás de Iriarte y Oropesa](#)'s 1782 *FÁBULAS LITERARIAS, ETC.*, entitled *FÁBULAS LITERARIAS / DE D. TOMÁS DE IRIARTE CONTENIENDO / TODAS LAS FÁBULAS LITERARIAS PÓSTUMAS DEL AUTOR / REIMPRESO DE LA EDICIÓN DE MADRID DE 1830 / ACOMPAÑADO DE ESPLICACIONES EN INGLÉS DE CUANTOS VOCABLOS Y MODOS DE HABLAR QUE NO SE ENCUENTRAN EN EL DICCIONARIO DE NEUMANN Y BARETTI, / Y DE UNA TABLA QUE MUESTRA LA DIFFERENCIA ENTRE LA ORTOGRAVÍA AUTIGNA Y MODERNA. / EN / SEGUIDA SE HALLARÁ LA / OBRA MAESTRA DRAMÁTICA, / INTITULADA / EL SÍ DE LAS NIÑAS, / DE D. LEANDRO FERNANDEZ DE MORATIN. / REIMPRESA DE LA ULTIMA EDICIÓN CORREGIDA POR EL AUTOR ANTES DE SU FALLECIMIENTO. / PREPARADO PARA EL USO DE LAS ESQUELAS Y COLEGIOS EN LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS DE LA AMÉRICA SEPENTRIONAL. / POR F. SALES, / INSTRUCTOR DE FRANCES Y ESPAÑOL EN LA UNIVERSIDAD DE HARVARD CAMBRIGIA. / BOSTON: / PUBLICADO POR S. BURDETT Y CIA. / Y SE HALLA DE VENTA EN SU ALMACEN DE LIBRERÍA ESTRANGERA, CALLE DE LA CORTE, NO. 18. We see that in addition to the material by [Iriarte](#) the volume contains two selections from the works of [Ercilla](#). This volume would remain in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).<sup>7</sup>*



***FÁBULAS LITERARIAS, ETC.***



[Thomas Handasyd Perkins](#), James Perkins's brother, gave his house at 17 Pearl Street in [Boston](#) to the school for blind children.

**PERKINS INSTITUTE**

7. Since Sales would go on to present works by Cervantes, I find it plausible to suppose that Thoreau's references to Don Quixote, otherwise unsourced, might be from that source.



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[Professor Edward Hitchcock](#)'s REPORT ON THE [GEOLOGY](#), MINERALOGY, BOTANY, AND ZOOLOGY OF MASSACHUSETTS. MADE AND PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THAT STATE ... WITH A DESCRIPTIVE LIST OF THE SPECIMENS OF ROCKS AND MINERALS COLLECTED FOR THE GOVERNMENT... (his wife Orra White Hitchcock had prepared 8 drawings for inclusion in the atlas of this publication) (Amherst: Press of J.S. and C. Adams).

## GEOLOGY, ... OF MASS.

This study, which [Henry Thoreau](#) would have in his personal library, would spur the state of [New York](#) to begin its own such geological survey under a 4-person team: Lardner Vanuxem (1792-1848), [Ebenezer Emmons](#), William M. Mather (1804-1859), and Timothy Conrad (1803-1877). Conrad would move on, and would be replaced by James Hall (1811-1898).

Emmons was assigned the northern district of the state, including the largest part of the wild and then almost unknown Adirondack Mountains – indeed Emmons gave them that name and some of the fringe of settled land around them.

Emmons did a thorough piece of work, both on the "Primary" rocks of the mountains and on the almost flat-lying "Transition" strata that lie unconformably above and dip gently away in all directions. With his colleagues, especially Vanuxem and Hall, he established the stratigraphic sequence in these "Transition" strata, which quickly became the standard column for the pre-Carboniferous Paleozoic rocks of North America, definitively replacing the crude Wernerian subdivisions that Eaton had proposed in his Erie Canal traverse (1824). At Emmons' suggestion, the four geologists named this sequence the "New-York System" or the "New-York Transition System," and truly it is a better stratigraphic standard than the Cambrian to Devonian systems then being erected in the highly deformed rocks of Britain. Emmons was largely responsible for establishing the units in the lower part of the sequence, the Champlain division (now the Upper Cambrian and Ordovician).

Like his mentor Eaton, Emmons must have driven many times (by horse and buggy) from Williamstown to Troy and Albany, and he was evidently deeply impressed by the complicated rocks he saw along the route. They were in strong contrast to the nearly horizontal strata of the New York System, but not as massive and lacking in stratification as the "Primary" rocks. He tells us that at first he taught his students that these rocks were simply (greatly disturbed) "extensions eastward of the lower New York rocks"; i.e., of "Transition" rocks, as Eaton had thought, but, as his knowledge of the flat-lying "Transition" strata in northern New York grew, he abandoned this doctrine and concluded that they formed an independent system intermediate in age between the New York System and the "Primary," and he called in the Taconic System for the Taconic Range of mountains along the border between Massachusetts and New York, just west of Williamstown and southward as far as the northwestern corner of Connecticut.

Apparently, Emmons first told his colleagues about his new system in late 1839 or early 1840, probably when the New York State Survey geologists met to compare their results, and possibly also at the meeting of the Association of American



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Geologists in Philadelphia in April 1840.

**PIONEER OF SCIENCE**



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The 31 1/2 inch by 25 inch “Map of [Boston](#) and Its Vicinity From Actual Survey by John G. Hales” that had been engraved by Edward Gillingham on the basis of surveys done in 1819 was again republished by Nathan Hale with appropriate alterations.

[CARTOGRAPHY](#)

[MAPS OF BOSTON](#)

This offered an image of Waldron Pond ([Walden Pond](#)) and Sandy Pond (Flint’s Pond) in a Concord/Lincoln




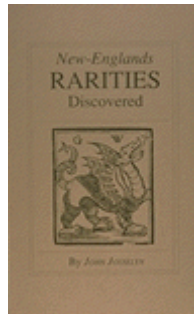
**1833**


woodland without altering the dimensions of that woodland:

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 [John Josselyn](#)'s early description of New-England, *NEW-ENGLANDS RARITIES DISCOVERED: IN BIRDS, BEASTS, FISHES, SERPENTS, AND PLANTS OF THAT COUNTRY...* (1672), was made accessible to [Henry Thoreau](#) by being reprinted in *COLLECTIONS OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY*.




 Mary Merrick Brooks's infant, Charles Augustus Brooks, died.

Nathan Brooks, who had been sharing the office space of a building on Main Street with Samuel Hoar, during this year relocated to the back room of the new Concord Bank building (the one which still stands on Main Street).

[John Keyes](#) again represented [Concord](#) in the Massachusetts Legislature.

[John Shepard Keyes](#), in Hurd's 1890 *HISTORY OF MIDDLESEX COUNTY*, described the work life of this attorney: "In the dark, dingy back-room of the bank building, where Mr. Brooks worked ... more stories have been told, more anecdotes repeated, more politics discussed than in any other room in the town if not of the county ... Indeed if those walls could repeat what was said there, it would be a history of [Concord](#), of Middlesex and Massachusetts, if not of the country and the world."

 What has been described in art books as Thomas Cole's "enduring oddity," the 19 <sup>3</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" X 16 <sup>1</sup>/<sub>8</sub>" oil on canvas which he entitled "The Titan's Goblet." A description that has been provided: "The community below seems indifferent to its presence. Another civilization inhabits the goblet itself." Had the painting been made in, say, 1858, my suspicion is that we would have books proclaiming that its inspiration obviously was [Henry Thoreau](#)'s *WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS*, and that the settlement at the base of the Titan's Goblet was the town of [Concord](#) with its renowned domes and battlements. (This embarrassment of a painting would be donated to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New-York in 1904 by Samuel Avery, Jr.)



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Publication, during this year and the following one, of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF [SIR WALTER SCOTT](#), by Conner & Cooke in New-York. Out of this collection [Henry Thoreau](#) would mention “Lady of the Lake” in his journal on May 21, 1839 and “Thomas the Rhymer” on September 28, 1843. There would be a mention in A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, and in EXCURSIONS there would be casual mention of a category that would include IVANHOE, QUENTIN DUNWARD, and THE TALISMAN. In [Rome](#), the painter Karl Briullov (Carlo Brullo) –who is said to have made himself the first internationally known Russian– completed his “The Last Day of [Pompeii](#)”:



Reportedly [Sir Walter Scott](#), after having stared at this Disneyish fantasia for all of an hour at the studio during the process of its composition, had declared it to be not so much a painting as an epic. (Part of this may have been politeness toward his host, of course, but surely a small part of this would have been the enormous doses of [opiates](#) that Scott was needing to rely upon in order to live in his pain-wracked body.)



The [Boston Society of Natural History](#) relocated from the room it had occupied at the [Boston](#) Athenaeum (in a mansion donated by James Perkins on Pearl Street) into a hall on the 3d floor of the new Savings Bank Building on Tremont Street, overlooking Boston Common. The shell collection of Dr. Amos Binney, Jr. and the mineral collection of Dr. Charles Thomas Jackson would be placed on exhibit.



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

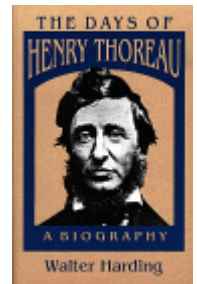
### "A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

**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.



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## "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)



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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).



At the age of 12, [Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#) was orphaned.

“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]

 The [Reverend Henry Root Colman](#)’s SERMONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS: PREACHED AT THE CHURCH IN BARTON SQUARE, SALEM, MASS. (Boston: Lilly, Wait and Company).

SERMONS ON SUBJECTS

 Discovery of the 1st [enzyme](#), [diastase](#), by [Anselme Payen](#).

 From this year into 1835, part of the route for the Trent Valley Canal was being surveyed. The survey would be completed in 1887 for the canal that runs from Trenton to Georgian Bay.

CARTOGRAPHY

 Richard Weston’s A JOURNEY WEST OF UTICA IN THE MID-1830S.

The 3-mile Carthage Railroad was founded, to connect the [Erie Canal](#) aqueduct with the village of Carthage.

The family of Martha L. White, en route to Michigan via the [Erie Canal](#), was delayed for a couple of days at Albany because of record spring rains.





In order to establish a claim to the region at the headwaters of the Merrimack River, a commission appointed by Governor John Endecott had carved their initials into a boulder about 12 feet long, 6 feet wide, and 4 feet thick at Aqueductan (now called "The Weirs"), the outlet of the lake region of New Hampshire into the Merrimack system, during August 1652:

EI SW  
WP IOHN  
ENDICUT  
Gov.  
IS II



"EI" was Edward Johnson, "SW" was Simon Willard, "IS" was John Sherman, and "II" was Jonathan Ince. The "WP" was not anyone's initials, but instead stood for "Worshipful," before "IOHN ENDICUT Gov."

At this point in time the channel at the outlet of the Winnepesaukee needed to be deepened in order to launch the steamer *Belknap* onto the lake system, and workmen noticed an eroded old inscription on this large boulder in the stream bed. A facsimile of the markings was made and is now at the New Hampshire Historical Society in Concord, New Hampshire.

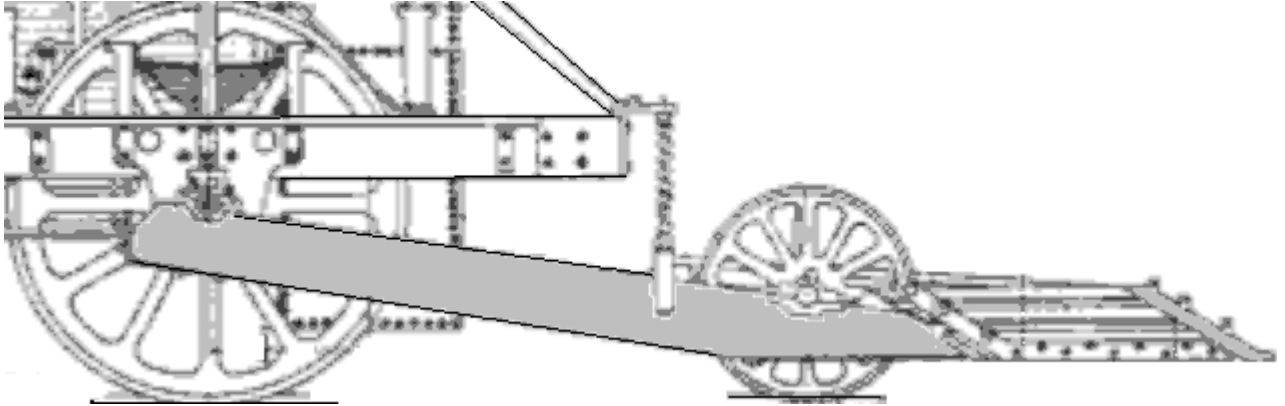
1833

1833

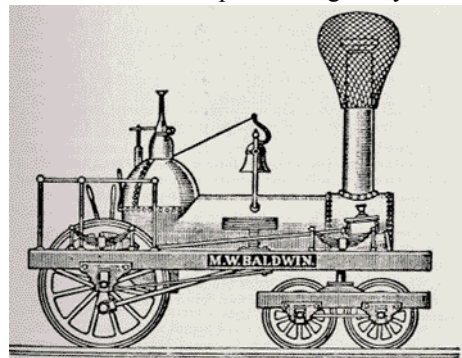
➡ [Fanny Kemble](#) was continuing her American tour with her father when in [Boston](#) she rode out to Quincy, ten miles, to view the technology of the first commercial railroad in the United States, and witnessed a terrible accident.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

It was in about this year that Engineer Isaac Dripps of the Camden and Amboy Railroad retrofitted his locomotive *John Bull*, which had been created in England with a cowcatching device designed by Charles Babbage, with an additional front-riding deflector riding upon its own set of wheels.




➡ *Old Ironsides* was officially clocked, on a measured one mile stretch of good solid track, at 58 seconds. I don't know whether that track was "level" meaning horizontal, or downhill "level" meaning without bumps and curves. The directors of the railroad voted to award the builder \$3,500.<sup>00</sup> of the \$4,000.<sup>00</sup> they had pledged, on grounds that they weren't completely satisfied. They had asked for a 5-ton locomotive and he had built them a 7-ton locomotive. This is not *Old Ironsides*, built in 1832, but *Ironsides*, which was constructed the company of Mathias W. Baldwin in Philadelphia during this year:





They would keep *Old Ironsides* in constant service for the next two decades and more. Mr. E.L. Miller of the South Carolina Canal and Railroad Company journeyed to Philadelphia and contracted with this clockmaker Baldwin whose locomotives weren't good enough for full payment, to construct a new locomotive that was to be even better than the British ones – and it was of course to be named the *E.L. Miller*.


1833


1833

 The first locomotive to provide shelter for the engine crew was the *Samuel P. Ingraham* bought by the Beaver Meadow Railroad. Cabs would not become standard equipment for several years, and were initially unpopular with passengers as the cab structure prevented the passengers from being able to watch the water gauge on the boiler. The mythos of this was that, so long as the passengers could observe the meniscus inside the glass tube, the boiler was not going to explode and scald them to death or cut them to pieces with its cast iron shrapnel. However unpopular engine cabs were with the customers, and however late they came to be incorporated into the engine design, we know that in New England winters it was common for members of the crew to lose fingers, toes, noses, ears to frostbite despite the intense radiant heat coming back from the firebox and boiler, and that it was common for these men to knock together various kinds of wind-shielding structures to make their winter ride endurable.

 This year's currency inflation would be:<sup>8</sup>

	1830	\$111	£87.2
	1831	\$104	£95.9
	1832	\$103	£88.8
	1833	\$101	£83.4
	1834	\$103	£76.9
	1835	\$106	£78.1
	1836	\$112	£86.8
	1837	\$115	£89.0
	1838	\$112	£89.6
	1839	\$112	£96.1
	1840	\$104	£97.9

 Until 1846 [Professor George Long](#) would be engaged in the laborious task of preparing for the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge the 29 volumes of its PENNY CYCLOPÆDIA.

 HISTORY OF THE CHURCH FROM THE EARLIEST AGES TO THE REFORMATION. BY THE [REV. GEORGE WADDINGTON, M.A.](#) FELLOW OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE, AND PREBENDARY OF FERRING, IN THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHICHESTER. PUBLISHED UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE (London: Baldwin and Cradock, Paternoster Row; in two parts; a 2d edition of this would appear in 1835, revised, in 3 parts).


**HISTORY OF THE CHURCH**

8. Get a sense of what this amounts to in today's money, at: <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>



1833

1833

 [William Henry Harvey](#)'s "Div. II. Confervoideae. Div. III. Gloiocladeae," in [Professor William Jackson Hooker](#)'s edition of THE ENGLISH FLORA OF SIR JAMES EDWARD SMITH (London).

The British government was being persuaded to send along botanists on all their exploring expeditions. While [Professor Hooker](#)'s works were in progress his herbarium at Kew was receiving very substantial contributions from all regions of the earth. His status with the Royal Swedish Academy of Sciences was changed from that of just another "corresponding member," to that of foreign member.



1833

1833


William Hooker in this year produced a NEW POCKET PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK (but, this is not the same person as the Professor William Jackson Hooker above):





1833


1833

 [Richard Henry Horne](#) prepared a work entitled AN EXPOSITION OF THE FALSE MEDIUMS AND BARRIERS EXCLUDING MEN OF GENIUS FROM THE PUBLIC plumping for the establishment of a literary and artistic society for the permanent support of men of superior ability in all departments of human genius and knowledge.<sup>9</sup>

EXPOSITION  
OF  
THE FALSE MEDIUM  
And Barriers  
EXCLUDING MEN OF GENIUS  
FROM THE PUBLIC.

"What centuries of unjust deeds are here!"

LONDON:  
PUBLISHED BY  
EFFINGHAM WILSON, ROYAL EXCHANGE.  
1833.

 [Dr. Josiah Clark Nott](#) became a surgeon in Mobile, Alabama.

 The Reverend [Alexander Dyce](#)'s SPECIMENS OF BRITISH SONNETS.

**BRITISH SONNETS**

He completed an edition of James Shirley left unfinished by William Gifford.

**JAMES SHIRLEY**

9. The USSR would in fact attempt such a scheme — folks who have been granted what the Chinese nicely term “iron rice bowl” understandably have a tendency to be patriotic and loyal to a fault.



In the pages of [The Friend](#), or [Square Friend](#), a gazette of the Arch Street Yearly Meeting in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, there appeared an article signed by “S.A.” of New Paltz, which we take to have been [Friend Samuel Adams](#) of New Paltz Landing in Ulster County. This article purported to report remarks made by George Dillwyn during a sermon at Burlington, Pennsylvania, which speaker was passing along an account by another rather than making any claim of personal eyewitness:

*Robert Nisbet, who lived, at that time, at East Hoosack, about thirty miles distant, felt a concern to walk through the ten wilderness country, and sit with Friends at their week-day meeting. As they were sitting in meeting with their door open, they discovered an Indian peeping round the door-post. When he saw Friends sitting without word or deed, he stepped forward and took a full view of all that was in the house; then he and his company, placing their arms in a corner of the room, took seats with Friends and so remained till the meeting closed.*

*Zebulon Hoxie, one of the Friends present, then invited them to his house, put a cheese and what bread he had on the table, and invited them to help themselves: they did so and went quietly and harmlessly away.*

*Before their departure, however, Robert Nesbit, who could speak and understand the French tongue, had a conversation with their leader, in French.*

*He told Robert, that they surrounded the house, intending to destroy all that were in it; “but,” said he, “when we saw you sitting with your door open, and without weapons of defense, we had no disposition to hurt you – we would have fought for you.”*

*This party had human scalps with them.<sup>10</sup>*

10. The above hearsay would have to do, of course, with a fave [Quaker](#) kiddie story, “Fierce Feathers.” You might want to study about this because in some respects the tale has expanded and expanded until it has become quite problematic (even, in some tellings, markedly racist).

**“FIERCE FEATHERS”**  
**A SCHOLARLY ANALYSIS**

1833

1833



[Prideaux John Selby](#) joined the Berwickshire Naturalists' Club (he would be, twice, the group's president). He joined with Dr. Robert Graham, Professor of Medicine and Botany in the University of Edinburgh, Dr. Robert Kaye Greville, and others touring Sutherlandshire.

Volume II, "Water Birds" of Selby's ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ORNITHOLOGY:



BRITISH ORNITHOLOGY

1833

1833

→ The government of Earl Grey conveyed upon [William Godwin](#) the sinecure office of Yeoman Usher of the Exchequer, with an apartment in Palace Yard<sup>11</sup> and a yearly salary of £ 220.



→ For \$285, the city of Cleveland, Ohio purchased its 1st fire engine.

11. This was not the Old Palace Yard in which [Guy Fawkes](#) had been drawn and quartered but the New Palace Yard in which Titus Oates had been whipped and pilloried.



1833

1833



[Augustus A. Gould, M.D.](#) translated from French into English Jean-Baptiste de Monet, chevalier de Lamarck's work on conchology, as LAMARCK'S GENERA OF SHELLS, WITH A CATALOGUE OF SPECIES (Boston: Allen and Ticknor), and issued the very 1st edition of his often-republished textbook A SYSTEM OF NATURAL HISTORY; CONTAINING SCIENTIFIC AND POPULAR DESCRIPTIONS OF VARIOUS ANIMALS; CHIEFLY COMPILED FROM THE VARIOUS WORKS OF CUVIER, GRIFFITH, RICHARDSON, GEOFFREY, LACEPEDE, [BUFFON](#), GOLDSMITH, SHAW, MONTAGU, WILSON, LEWIS AND CLARKE, AUDUBON, AND OTHER WRITERS ON NATURAL HISTORY; ARRANGED ACCORDING TO THE CLASSIFICATION OF STARK. ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS (Boston: Carter, Hendee, & Co.; Brattleboro': Published by Peck & Wood).

## LAMARCK'S SHELLS

## GOULD'S NATURAL HISTORY

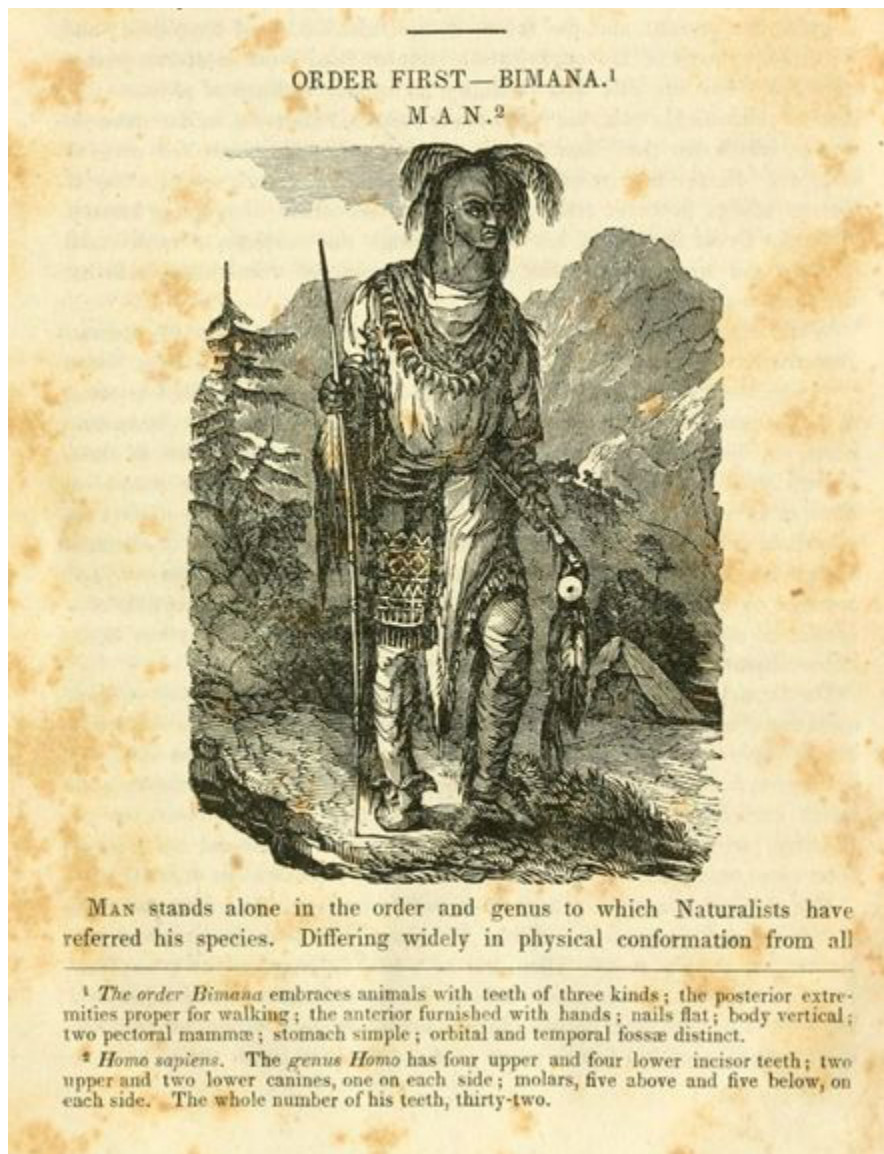


TABLE OF THE PROBABILITIES OF THE DURATION OF LIFE.

Age.			Duration of Life.			Age.			Duration of Life.			Age.			Duration of Life.		
Years.	Years.	Months.	Years.	Years.	Months.	Years.	Years.	Months.	Years.	Years.	Months.	Years.	Years.	Months.	Years.	Years.	Months.
0	8	0	29	28	6	58	12	3									
1	33	0	30	28	0	59	11	8									
2	38	0	31	27	6	60	11	1									
3	40	0	32	26	11	61	10	6									
4	41	0	33	26	3	62	10	0									
5	41	6	34	25	7	63	9	6									
6	42	0	35	25	0	64	9	0									
7	42	3	36	24	5	65	8	6									
8	41	6	37	23	10	66	8	0									
9	40	10	38	23	3	67	7	6									
10	40	2	39	22	8	68	7	0									
11	39	6	40	22	1	69	6	7									
12	38	9	41	21	6	70	6	2									
13	38	1	42	20	11	71	5	8									
14	37	5	43	20	4	72	5	4									
15	36	9	44	19	9	73	5	0									
16	36	0	45	19	3	74	4	9									
17	35	4	46	18	9	75	4	6									
18	34	8	47	18	2	76	4	3									
19	34	0	48	17	8	77	4	1									
20	33	5	49	17	2	78	3	11									
21	32	11	50	16	7	79	3	9									
22	32	4	51	16	0	80	3	7									
23	31	10	52	15	6	81	3	5									
24	31	3	53	15	0	82	3	3									
25	30	9	54	14	6	83	3	2									
26	30	2	55	14	0	84	3	1									
27	29	7	56	13	5	85	3	0									
28	29	0	57	12	10												

By this Table it appears, that it is reasonably to be expected, or, in other words, that we may lay an even wager, that an infant newly born, will live eight years longer; that an infant of one year, will live thirty-three years longer; that an infant of two years, will live thirty-eight years longer; that a man of twenty, will live thirty-three years and five months longer; that a man of thirty, will live twenty-eight years longer; and so proportionally of every other age.

THE GIGANTIC COCKROACH.<sup>1</sup>

THE above insect is the largest of its species, and is almost the size of a hen's egg. It is a native and plague of the warm parts of Asia, Africa, and South America. This, and indeed all the other species of cockroaches, are a race of pestiferous beings, equally noisome and mischievous to natives or strangers. These filthy and voracious insects fly out in the evening, plunder and defile all kinds of victuals, dressed and undressed, and damage all sorts of clothing, every thing made of leather, books, paper, and various other articles. They fly into the flame of candles, and sometimes into the dishes; and they are very fond of ink and of oil, into which they are apt to fall and perish. In this case, they soon turn most offensively putrid, so that a man might as well sit over the putrid body of a large animal, as write with the ink in which they have died. They often fly into the faces or bosoms of persons, and their legs being armed with sharp spines, the pricking excites a sudden horror not easily repressed. In old houses they swarm by myriads, making indescribably nasty every part where they harbor, which in the day time is in dark corners, behind all sorts of clothes, in trunks, boxes, and in short every place where they can lie concealed. In old timber and deal houses, when the family is retired at night to sleep, this insect, among its other disagreeable properties, has the power of making a noise which very much resembles a pretty smart knocking with the knuckle upon wainscoting; in the West Indies, it is therefore frequently known by the name of the drummer.

<sup>1</sup> *Blatta gigantea*. The order *Orthoptera*, to which this genus belongs, has elytra coriaceous, the margin of the one covering the margin of the other; mouth with mandibles; wings folded longitudinally, and sometimes behind transversely; metamorphosis semicomplete.



1833

1833

➡ Having survived middle school, [Friedrich Gerstäcker](#) was made an apprentice in Kassel. After a few months he absconded, returning to his mother’s home at Leipzig on foot to inform her that he was going to emigrate. He had learned, from [Daniel Defoe](#)’s ROBINSON CRUSOE and [James Fenimore Cooper](#)’s initial LEATHERSTOCKING TALES, approximately what sort of adventure awaited in the New World.

➡ [Henry William Herbert](#) started the American Monthly Magazine, which he and A.D. Patterson would edit until 1835 (meanwhile he was holding onto his day job, of teaching Greek in a New-York private school).

➡ [James David Forbes, FRS](#) was made Professor of Natural Philosophy at Edinburgh University.

➡ [John Foster](#)’s ESSAYS IN A SERIES OF LETTERS, ON THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS: ON A MAN WRITING MEMOIRS OF HIMSELF. ON DECISION OF CHARACTER. ON THE APPLICATION OF THE EPITHET ROMANTIC. ON SOME OF THE CAUSES BY WHICH EVANGELICAL RELIGION HAS BEEN RENDERED LESS ACCEPTABLE TO PERSONS OF CULTIVATED TASTE.... 5TH AMERICAN FROM THE 8TH LONDON EDITION (Boston: J. Loring). This volume would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#) (unfortunately, an electronic version of this year’s American edition does not yet exist, so all I have to show you behind the button below is the 5th London edition, of 1813).

**JOHN FOSTER’S ESSAYS**

➡ [Theodore Sedgwick Fay](#) “edited” two volumes of CRAYON SKETCHES. BY AN AMATEUR.<sup>12</sup> He got married (to someone whose name is not mentioned anywhere that I can find). He sailed for Europe (presumably accompanied by his bride, although the record makes no mention of this). The first product of this adventure would be THE MINUTE BOOK, A RECORD OF TRAVEL. Said travel would continue for three years.



The Handsome Bridegroom

12. The amateur in question supposedly had been named “William Cox” and supposedly had been a visiting Englishman, and these essays had originally been presented in the The New York Mirror, A Weekly Journal, Devoted to Literature and the Fine Arts under the initial “C.” However, I have no date of birth or date of demise, and doubt that this was anything more than a pseudonym.

**THE GAZETTE’S 10TH YEAR**

1833

1833

→ [William MacGillivray](#) illustrated Henry Witham’s THE INTERNAL STRUCTURE OF FOSSIL VEGETABLES FOUND IN THE CARBONIFEROUS AND OOLITIC DEPOSITS OF GREAT BRITAIN.



→ The 1st free public library in the United States was established, at Peterborough, [New Hampshire](#).

The 1st of the “Bridgewater Treatises on the Power Wisdom and Goodness of God as Manifested in the Adaptation of External Nature to the Moral and Intellectual Constitution of Man,” the Reverend Thomas Chalmers, D.D.’s ON THE ADAPTATION OF EXTERNAL NATURE TO THE MORAL AND INTELLECTUAL CONSTITUTION OF MAN.

**BRIDGEWATER TREATISES**

[Benjamin Dudley Emerson](#)’s THE FIRST-CLASS READER: A SELECTION IN READING, FROM THE STANDARD BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS, IN PROSE AND VERSE. FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. (Boston, Russell, Odiorne, and Metcalf: Philadelphia, Hogan & Thompson: New-York, N. & J. White: Mobile, Sidney Smith: Windsor, Vt.: Ide & Goddard).<sup>13</sup>

**THE FIRST-CLASS READER**

Suggestions to Teachers

Humility and Perseverance. An Allegory - - - - - N.Y. Mirror

Manners of Scottish Highlanders

The Village Grave-Yard - - - - - Greenwood

Rural Life in England - - - - - Irving

Flowers - - - - - Howitt

The elevated Character of Woman - - - - - Carter

Contemplation of the Starry Heavens - - - - - Chalmers

Mountains - - - - - Howitt

The Ocean - - - - - Drummond

The Blind Teacher - - - - - Griffin

Philip of Mount Hope - - - - - Exeter News Letter

Comparison between the Turks and Persians - - - - - Olivier

13. A copy of this would be found in the personal library of Henry David Thoreau. Since it was printed in 1833, it could not be a leftover from his own childhood education in Concord, and since it is not college-level reading, it could not be from his period as a college student. It would therefore be –most likely– a text used at the school of the Thoreau brothers in Concord? I hesitate to think that because in looking at the nature of the extracts in this volume, I am appalled, considering a large part of the materials as inappropriate to offer to any who might be misled.



Herculaneum and Pompeii - - - - - Kotzebte  
 Works of the Coral Insects - - - - - Universal Review  
 The Union of the States - - - - - D. Webster  
 Wild Horses - - - - - T. Flint  
 National Recollections of the Foundation of National Character - - - - - E. Everett  
 Passage of the Potomac through the Blue Ridge - - - - - Jefferson  
 The Emigrant's Abode in Ohio - - - - - T. Flint  
 Mont Blanc in the Gleam of Sunset - - - - - Griscom  
 Great Effects result from Little Causes - - - - - Porter  
 Mount Etna - - - - - London Encyclopædia  
 The Ivy - - - - - Drummond  
 The Pleasures of Religion - - - - - S. Smith  
 Sabbath Evening - - - - - Knox  
 Christmas in England - - - - - Irving  
 Sports of New Year's Day - - - - - Paulding  
 Anecdote of Sir Matthew Hale - - - - - Anon.  
 Scene from the Poor Gentleman  
 Troth and Falsehood. An Allegory - - - - - Johnson  
 The Escape - - - - - Miss Sedgwick  
 Escape from a Panther - - - - - Cooper  
 The Dead Sea - - - - - Scott  
 Reception of Columbus on his Return from Spain - - - - - Irving  
 Extract from the Lives of the Apostles - - - - - Greenwood  
 The Danger of a Military Spirit - - - - - Hopkinson  
 The Mystery of Life - - - - - Dewey  
 Close of Mr. Brougham's Speech on the Reform Bill  
 Revolutionary Anecdote - - - - - Anon.  
 Heroism of a Physician - - - - - Mad. De Genlis  
 Stop a Moment - - - - - Anon.  
 Funeral at Sea - - - - - Anon.  
 Imlac's Description of a Poet - - - - - Johnson  
 The Three Kingdoms of Nature - - - - - Bingley  
 Reflections on the Moslem Dominion in Spain - - - - - Irving  
 Surrender of Grenada hy the Moors to Ferdinand and Isabella - - - - - Ibid.  
 Early Recollections - - - - - New Monthly Magazine  
 The American in England - - - - - Irving  
 The Poetry of Ossian - - - - - Howitt  
 The Pleasures of Science - - - - - Brougham  
 Female Influence - - - - - Gannett  
 An Address to a Young Student - - - - - Knox  
 Studies of Nature - - - - - Mudie  
 The Love of our Country strengthened by the Observation of Nature - - - - - Ibid.  
 Hannah Lamond - - - - - Wilson  
 Fall and River of Niagara - - - - - T. Flint  
 Aurora Borealis  
 Anecdote of Washington - - - - - Anon.  
 Story of Grant and Macpherson - - - - - Anon.  
 Adversity and Prosperity. An Allegory - - - - - Moore  
 Moral Effects of Intemperance - - - - - Wayland  
 Adams and Jefferson - - - - - Wirt  
 Character of Martin Luther - - - - - Robertson  
 Character of Samuel Adams - - - - - Tudor  
 Public Faith - - - - - Ames  
 Christian Benevolence - - - - - Chalmers  
 The Unbeliever - - - - - Ibid.  
 Recollections of Palestine - - - - - N.A. Review





Character of Jesus contrasted with that of Mahomet - - - - - White  
 Valley of Jehoshaphat - - - - - Chateaubriand  
 A Scene nearly two Centuries ago on the Hudson - - - - - Irving  
 Objects of Reading - - - - - Christian Examiner  
 Horrors of War - - - - - Chalmers  
 The Effect of the Manners of the Athenians - - - - - Gillies  
 Account of the Plague in London - - - - - Galt  
 Rural Occupations favorable to Devotion - - - - - Buckminster  
 Description of the Speedwell Mine in England - - - - - Silliman  
 The Transport - - - - - Anon.  
 Reflections on the Return of Spring - - - - - Alison  
 Instability of Earthly Things - - - - - Hervey  
 Advice to the Young - - - - - Channing  
 Immortality the Reward of Virtue - - - - - Lindsay  
 Bring Flowers - - - - - Mrs. Hemans  
 The Burial Place - - - - - Bryant  
 The Incarnation - - - - - Milman  
 Roar of the Sea - - - - - Watt  
 Salmon River - - - - - Brainard  
 Time - - - - - Mardon  
 The Coral Insect - - - - - Mrs. Sigourney  
 Opening of the Sixth Seal - - - - - T. Gray, Jun.  
 To the Eagle - - - - - Percival  
 Passage of the Red Sea - - - - - Heber  
 Belshazzar - - - - - Croly  
 Christ in the Tempest - - - - - Whittier  
 Sabbath Morning - - - - - Pinney  
 The Knell of Time - - - - - Anon.  
 On Laying the Corner-Stone of the Monument of Mrs. Washington - - - - - Mrs. Sigourney  
 The Sunbeam - - - - - Mrs. Heman  
 Ode - - - - - Bird  
 A Hebrew Tale - - - - - Mrs. Sigourney  
 Weep not for the Dead - - - - - B.B. Thatcher  
 Night - - - - - Montgomery  
 Poetry - - - - - Percival  
 The Dying Boy - - - - - Anon.  
 Sonnet - - - - - Bryant  
 Sailor's Funeral - - - - - Mrs. Sigourney  
 New-England's Dead - - - - - Mc Lellan  
 Napoleon Dying - - - - - Macarthy  
 Hymn of the Moravian Nuns at the Consecration of Pulaski's Banner - - - - - Longfellow  
 The Child of Earth - - - - - Mrs. Norton  
 On visiting a Scene of Childhood - - - - - Blackwood's Magazine  
 Autumn Woods - - - - - Bryant  
 The Rivulet - - - - - Ibid.  
 The Evening Wind - - - - - Ibid.  
 Autumn - - - - - Longfellow  
 Scottish Public Worship - - - - - Grahame  
 To the North Star - - - - - Anon.  
 Daybreak - - - - - Dana  
 Alpine Flowers - - - - - Mrs. Sigourney  
 Incomprehensibility of God - - - - - Miss Townsend  
 Ruins of Babylon - - - - - Husenbeth  
 Darkness. A Dream - - - - - Byron  
 The Philosopher's Scales - - - - - Miss J. Taylor  
 A Mother's Death - - - - - Crabbe



A Voice from the Wine Press - - - - - Miss Gould  
 To-morrow - - - - - Cotton  
 Time - - - - - White  
 The Storm - - - - - Anon.  
 Twilight - - - - - Halleck  
 To Tranquillity - - - - - Coleridge  
 To a Cloud - - - - - Bryant  
 The Vulture of the Alps - - - - - Anon.  
 The Arctic Dove - - - - - Bowles  
 The Convict Ship - - - - - Hervey

**THE**  
**FIRST-CLASS READER:**  
**A SELECTION**  
**FOR EXERCISES IN READING,**  
**FROM**  
**STANDARD BRITISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS,**  
**IN PROSE AND VERSE.**

FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES.

BY B. D. EMERSON.

Late Principal of the Adams Grammar School, Boston



**BOSTON:**  
**RUSSELL, ODIORNE, AND METCALF.**  
 PHILADELPHIA, HOGAN & THOMPSON: NEW-YORK, N. & J. WHITE: MOBILE,  
 SIDNEY SMITH. WINDSOR, VT., IDE & GODDARD.

1833.

Emerson would be giving his Hampstead hometown in New Hampshire beaucoup money (evidently out of the proceeds for the many, many bestselling school textbooks he would create over a lifetime) — and let me tell you, those hometown folks would just really really be admiring him and respecting him for that:

The man who publishes a book for common school use wields a mighty influence. The character of his book operates upon the mind when it is most susceptible of bias. It is the duty of the people then to look into the



character of the instruments which aid in forming the most lasting impressions the youthful mind ever receives.

I believe no other town has the honor of being the birthplace of men whose school books have been so universally approved and adopted. This fact, together with the esteem with which we have always regarded them, must be my apology for alluding to what at first sight might not seem strictly appropriate to the occasion.

Our fathers had not the advantages which we enjoy. The town in 1750 contained but one district, and according to the terms of the vote the school was to be sustained only in the summer season. Its advantages could not, therefore, have been extensive. The great distance must have excluded most of the smaller children, and the duties of the farm and the dairy in the busiest season of the year must have deprived many of the elder children from attending. The first attempts in other parts of New England to establish schools were attended by similar inconveniences, and produced only the same limited advantages. But from this small germ has grown up around us our strongest bulwark of defense. It is the cause of our unexampled prosperity. In vain will bigotry and infidelity attempt to undermine our security while our system of common schools is cherished as one of the efficient aids to religion and national prosperity. The foundation of all prosperity is in an enlightened community. An ignorant people, though inhabiting the most favored land on earth, soon sinks into insignificance.

Our extended seacoast invites the merchant to traverse the ocean for trade with every clime. Our fertile valleys have given employment to the agriculturist. Our numerous waterfalls have attracted the enterprising manufacturer. "Cities spring up like exhalations under the magic touch of his wand, and the hum of machinery arises out of the midst of a thrifty, industrious and happy people." The majestic plains and rivers of the west have collected adventurers from every part of the world. Our country exhibits to other nations the unexampled rise and prosperity of a free, self-governed and educated people. The common school system has been one of the most effective means in producing these magic changes. Its benefits and its inevitable results are arguments which come directly home to the hearts and understandings of a great body of people. To the foresight and wisdom of the Pilgrim we are indebted for this rich legacy. With what care and anxiety then should we cherish it, so that we may hand it down to those who shall come after us, not only untarnished, but in our hands made the instrument of increased good.

Time forbids indulging in any further reflections to which so fruitful a subject invites our attention.


– Harriette Eliza Noyes, A MEMORIAL OF THE TOWN OF HAMPSTEAD, [NEW HAMPSHIRE](#). Boston: George B. Reed, 1899



*Harriette Eliza Noyes.*

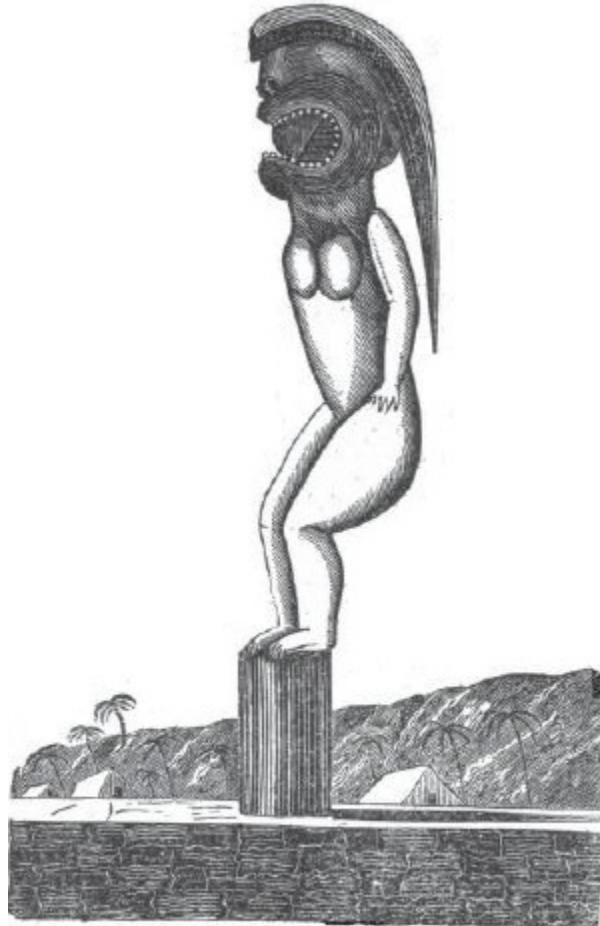
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 King Kamehameha III of Hawaii began a reign which would continue until 1854.

Volumes III and IV of the Reverend [William Ellis](#)'s POLYNESIAN RESEARCHES, DURING A RESIDENCE OF NEARLY EIGHT YEARS IN THE SOCIETY AND SANDWICH ISLANDS (London: Fisher, Son & Jackson, Newgate Street, M,DCCC, XXXIII; NEW-YORK: PRINTED AND PUBLISHED BY J. & J. HARPER, NO. 82 CLIFF-STREET. AND SOLD BY THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES).

POLYNESIAN RESEARCHES, III  
POLYNESIAN RESEARCHES, IV



*Hawaiian Idol.*



**A WEEK:** We are apt enough to be pleased with such books as Evelyn's *Sylva*, *Acetarium*, and *Kalendarium Hortense*, but they imply a relaxed nerve in the reader. Gardening is civil and social, but it wants the vigor and freedom of the forest and the outlaw. There may be an excess of cultivation as well as of anything else, until civilization becomes pathetic. A highly cultivated man, – all whose bones can be bent! whose heaven-born virtues are but good manners! The young pines springing up in the cornfields from year to year are to me a refreshing fact. We talk of civilizing the Indian, but that is not the name for his improvement. By the wary independence and aloofness of his dim forest life he preserves his intercourse with his native gods, and is admitted from time to time to a rare and peculiar society with Nature. He has glances of starry recognition to which our saloons are strangers. The steady illumination of his genius, dim only because distant, is like the faint but satisfying light of the stars compared with the dazzling but ineffectual and short-lived blaze of candles. The Society-Islanders had their day-born gods, but they were not supposed to be "of equal antiquity with the *akua fauau po*, or night-born gods." It is true, there are the innocent pleasures of country life, and it is sometimes pleasant to make the earth yield her increase, and gather the fruits in their season, but the heroic spirit will not fail to dream of remoter retirements and more rugged paths. It will have its garden-plots and its *parterres* elsewhere than on the earth, and gather nuts and berries by the way for its subsistence, or orchard fruits with such heedlessness as berries. We would not always be soothing and taming nature, breaking the horse and the ox, but sometimes ride the horse wild and chase the buffalo. The Indian's intercourse with Nature is at least such as admits of the greatest independence of each. If he is somewhat of a stranger in her midst, the gardener is too much of a familiar. There is something vulgar and foul in the latter's closeness to his mistress, something noble and cleanly in the former's distance. In civilization, as in a southern latitude, man degenerates at length, and yields to the incursion of more northern tribes,

"Some nation yet shut in  
With hills of ice."


PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

REV. WILLIAM ELLIS



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 The attorney at law [Stephen Elliott, Jr.](#) make himself a candidate for holy orders in the Episcopal Church.<sup>14</sup>



14. This is not the Professor [Stephen Elliott](#) of South Carolina, whose botany textbook Henry Thoreau would consult, but his son.

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[Thomas De Quincey](#) translated for to [Tait's Edinburgh Magazine](#)—a Scottish rival of [Blackwood's Magazine](#)—[Herr Professor Immanuel Kant](#)'s "Age of the Earth" (his analysis »*Die Frage, ob die Erde veralte, physikalisch erwogen*« had been based entirely upon walks in the district of Königsberg and had been offered as recently as 1754; the professor had arrived at an inference that the planet was aged approximately 6,000 years), and offered an assessment of Mrs Hannah More.



His son Julius De Quincey died at the age of three.

On two occasions taken to court by creditors, the author applied to the Bailie of the monastery of the Holy Rood for refuge at Holyrood, an acknowledged debtor's sanctuary five miles in circumference.



(The above is one of the brass markers placed in the cobblestone pavement, that served until 1880 to indicate the boundary in Holyrood Park within which on weekdays debtors were supposed to be secure from arrest. These debtors did, however, have the entire freedom of the town each Sunday so that they would be unimpeded in their attendance at the worship of their choice.)



After a trip to [Germany](#) to investigate educational techniques there, [Victor Cousin](#) wrote an educational bill which was sponsored by François Guizot and which brought about fundamental reform of the French educational system.

Comte de Chatauvillard of the Paris Jockey Club published *ESSAI SUR LE DUEL* (RULES FOR THE DUEL). The rules allowed duels to be fought only to first blood. Swordfights were to be preferred over pistol duels in part because this involved skill and in part because swords were somewhat less likely to be instantly deadly. Casualties actually were rare enough that the more sober middle-class Frenchmen would infer that they were being fought more for publicity than for honor.




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Adolph Spiess began offering Guts Muths's gymnastics in Switzerland. He would develop an entire pedagogical system surrounding his exercises, which he would introduce at Darmstadt, Hesse in 1848.

Seventy gymnasts from universities in Zurich, Basle, and Bern held a 4-day competition at Zurich. The "artistic" division featured running, jumping, and gymnastics, the "national" division fencing, weightlifting, and wrestling. In Schwingen wrestling, the wrestlers wore shirts and twilled hose and gripped each other, their right hand to the waistband and left hand to a knee band, extending their legs back as far as possible. The prizes were laurel crowns and paper diplomas, and were awarded by attractive young ladies.

A Society of Public Morals was established in New-York, to oppose not only drinking, gambling, and prostitution but also circuses, operas, puppet shows, juggling, dancing, cockfighting, and horseracing.

 [Professor Charles Davies](#)'s THE COMMON SCHOOL ARITHMETIC, PREPARED FOR THE USE OF ACADEMIES AND COMMON SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, AND ALSO FOR THE USE OF THE YOUNG GENTLEMEN WHO MAY BE PREPARING TO ENTER THE MILITARY ACADEMY AT WEST POINT.

 [John Gardner Wilkinson](#) returned from [Egypt](#) to England for his health.

A (subsequently disregarded) project for a "[Suez Canal](#)" across the Suez isthmus by Prosper Enfantin.

EGYPT

A second [aqueduct](#) over New York's Genesee River was begun.

English [canal](#) engineer William Weston died.

John Jervis became Engineer of the [Chenango Canal](#).

The [Carillon Canal](#) was completed.

A Canadian commission was formed to investigate a [Trent-Severn Waterway](#), to connect Lake Ontario with Georgian Bay.

William Gooding surveyed the [Erie and Wabash Canal](#).

The [Miami and Dayton Canal Company](#) secured another land grant from the US Government.

The US Congress appropriated \$25,000 to create a harbor near Chicago to serve as a terminus for the [Illinois and Michigan Canal](#).

The [Rochester Canal & Railway Company](#) blocked a scheme to build a rival rail line between Rochester and Charlotte, along the west side of the Genesee River.


The [Chemung Canal](#) was completed.


[New York](#)'s [Canal Commission](#) passed enabling legislation for building the [Chenango Canal](#) and hired John B. Jervis to supervise construction.





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 By this point [Alexander Culbertson](#) had established fur trade on the Upper Missouri. Back home in Pennsylvania, his 10-year-old brother [Thaddeus A. Culbertson](#) would read his letters describing western adventures.

 [George Combe](#) got married with Cecilia Siddons, a daughter of the actress Sarah Siddons.

 [Charles Dexter Cleveland](#) became Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the University of New-York (New-York University).

 By utilizing the purchased patent of [Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane](#), Henry Houldsworth and Sons obtained the £300 Sterling award that had been offered by the Scottish Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures for the manufacture of cashmere yarn in Scotland. In this timeframe Cochrane must have died, for his death is spoken of in some records as “premature.”

HDT

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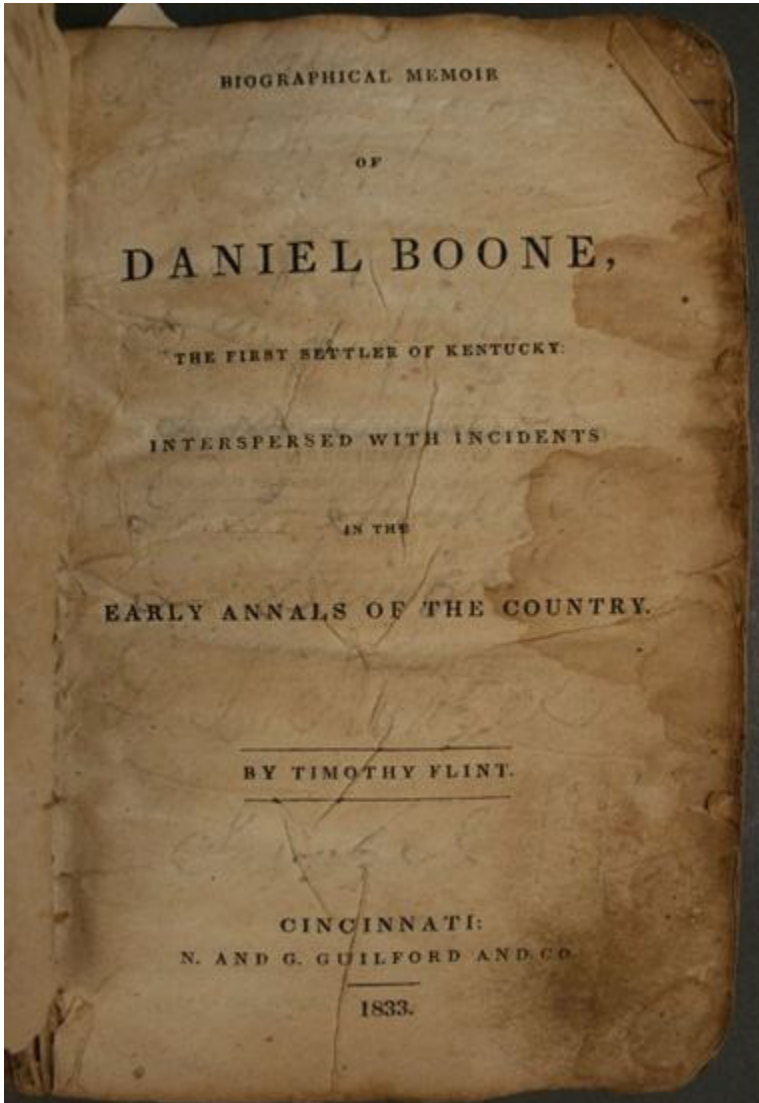
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The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#)'s INDIAN WARS IN THE WEST (Cincinnati), LECTURES UPON NATURAL HISTORY, GEOLOGY, CHEMISTRY, THE APPLICATION OF STEAM AND INTERESTING DISCOVERIES IN THE ARTS (Boston), and THE FIRST WHITE MAN OF THE WEST — LIFE AND EXPLOITS OF COL. DAN'L. BOONE, THE FIRST SETTLER OF KENTUCKY and a BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF DANIEL BOONE: THE FIRST SETTLER OF KENTUCKY INTERSPERSED WITH INCIDENTS IN THE EARLY ANNALS OF THE COUNTRY (N. and G. Guilford and Company. Stereotyped in 1834 by J.A. James, No. 1, Baker Street, Cincinnati).



In this he found an exceedingly complicated way to say simultaneously two simple things which are simply incompatible with each other, to wit that **we're no better than they are** and that **we should exterminate**



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them:



It is of little importance to inquire, which party was the aggressor.... Either this great continent, in the order of Providence, should have remained in the occupancy of half a million of savages, engaged in everlasting conflicts of their peculiar warfare with each other, or it must have become, as it has, the domain of civilized millions. It is in vain to charge upon the latter race results, which grew out of the law of nature, and the universal march of human events.

His GEORGE MASON, THE YOUNG BACKWOODSMAN of 1829 was republished in London as DON'T GIVE UP THE SHIP; OR, THE GOOD SON. The author went to New-York, where he would edit a few numbers of C.F. Hoffman's Knickerbocker Magazine between July of this year and February of the following year, and would commit to contribute a series of "Sketches of the Literature of the United States" to the London Athenaeum (he would make another trip to the western frontier and then wind up residing on his slave plantation "Lunenburg" near Alexandria, Louisiana while spending most of his summers in New England).



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→ [James Ellsworth De Kay](#)'s SKETCHES OF TURKEY IN 1831 AND 1832 BY AN AMERICAN, published anonymously. His impressions of Turkey and its institutions were favorable enough to draw howls of protest from those Americans who favored Greece in its ongoing struggle for independence from Turkish misrule.

Robert Walter Weir painted the gentlemen of the Greenwich Boat Club, up to their usual stormy-weather-homosociality-along-a-shore, striking nice poses in nice outfits while relaxing in each other's young-manly company. Our [James](#) has seated himself on a comfortable rock and is writing in the foreground.



The dog, I think, has the right attitude toward all this. Let us respect the dog's judgment.

→ [John Payne Collier](#) issued a 4th volume in supplementation of his new 3-volume edition of DODSLEY'S OLD PLAYS, entitled FIVE OLD PLAYS.

→ A revised edition of [Warren Colburn](#)'s SEQUEL to his FIRST LESSONS IN INTELLECTUAL ARITHMETIC of 1824.

→ [Doctor Walter Channing](#) had the honor of delivering the annual address to the Massachusetts Medical Society.

→ [Philip Karl Buttmann](#)'s son [Alexander Buttmann](#) (1813-1893) republished his father's presentation of Demosthenes's oration against Midias, *IN MUDIAM*. Boileau's translation into English of Professor Buttmann's intermediate Greek Grammar was published in London. An American translation appeared, by Professor Robinson.

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➡ [Elijah Hinsdale Burritt](#) and [Ann W. Watson Burritt](#) joined the First Church of New Britain, Connecticut.

➡ The Reverend Henry Forster Burder's LIFE OF THE [REVEREND GEORGE BURDER](#).

➡ From this year into 1835, [Professor Eugène Burnouf](#)'s *COMMENTAIRE SUR LE YAÇNA, L'UN DES LIVRES LITURGIQUES DES PARSES*.

➡ [Jean-Baptiste Say](#)'s *MÉLANGE ET CORRESPONDENCE D'ECONOMIE POLITIQUE*.

➡ Health somewhat impaired, the Reverend [Alexander Young, Jr.](#) of Boston sailed away on a grand tour of Europe.

On a visit to Europe, the [Reverend Charles Brooks](#) was exceedingly impressed at the Prussian system of education. On his return he would labor to establish boards of education and normal schools.

➡ Sarah Austen's 3-volume translation entitled CHARACTERISTICS OF [GOETHE](#).

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→ [William Benjamin Carpenter](#)'s attitudes toward human slavery were altered somewhat during a stay of a few months in the British West Indies (while he would remain averse to that institution, he was becoming more aware of practical difficulties attendant upon its gradual dissolution and more sympathetic with the problems of the British plantation-masters).



The republication in Boston of [William Carpenter](#)'s SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY; CONTAINING A DESCRIPTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE QUADRUPEDS, BIRDS, FISHES, INSECTS, REPTILES, SERPENTS, PLANTS, TREES, MINERALS, GEMS, AND PRECIOUS STONES, MENTIONED IN THE BIBLE (Lincoln, Edmands & Co. of Massachusetts; James B. Dow, Printer, 122 Washington-St.).<sup>15</sup>

**SCRIPTURE NATURAL HISTORY**

15. This publication was based upon the Reverend Dr. [Thaddeus Mason Harris](#), D.D. of Dorchester's 1821 volume A DICTIONARY OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BIBLE: OR, A DESCRIPTION OF ALL THE QUADRUPEDS, BIRDS, FISHES, REPTILES, AND INSECTS, TREES, PLANTS, FLOWERS, GUMS, AND PRECIOUS STONES, MENTIONED IN THE SACRED SCRIPTURES. COLLECTED FROM THE BEST AUTHORITIES, AND ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.



The young [William Benjamin Carpenter](#) (1813-1885) was not the British reviser of this volume. It was revised, instead, by the [William Carpenter](#) who was born in 1797 and would die in 1874, who was a self-educated British spiritualist and a member of the Rosicrucian Society. In its republication in Boston this volume was in addition amended and illustrated by an American educator, the Reverend [Gorham Dummer Abbott](#).



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→ [Edward George Earle Bulwer](#)'s ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH (New York: J. & J. Harper).



**ENGLAND AND THE ENGLISH**  
**BULWER-LYTTON, VOL. II**

(The author was serving as a Liberal member of Parliament representing the city of Lincoln. During this year he was reaching the height of his popularity with the novel GODOLPHIN.)

→ The Reverend [John Lauris Blake](#)'s AMERICAN UNIVERSAL GEOGRAPHY.



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→ King George IV gave [Charles Wilkins](#) the badge of the Royal Guelphic Order, and knighted him, in recognition of his services to Oriental scholarship.



→ [Asher Benjamin's](#) THE PRACTICE OF ARCHITECTURE. In this year he designed houses at 7 and 9 West Cedar Street in [Boston](#) (the one at 9 West Cedar Street would become his home).

→ [John James Audubon](#) and his family returned to New-York, where he would search out new subscribers and plan a trip to Labrador.

→ The all-black Phoenix Society of New-York instituted a library and a job bank.

Construction of fortifications was begun on Throgg's Neck overlooking Paumanok Long Island Sound.

Gideon Lee was elected mayor of New-York.

Irish actor Tyrone Power (a great-grandfather of our film actor) made his New-York debut.

The *Ann McKim*, the initial "clipper ship," intended to carry emigrants from New-York to San Francisco, slid down the ways in Baltimore.


The price of a seat on the New-York Stock Exchange increased from \$100 to \$150.

Through investments made in the real estate market in New-York, [Uriah Phillips Levy](#) had become wealthy. A great admirer of [Thomas Jefferson](#), he had donated a bronze statue of the president to the US Congress, which had been cast from a plaster master. He had this plaster statue patinated, and installed it in a building on Broadway Avenue where he charged admission to view it (with the proceeds used to buy bread distributed among the city's poor). Then he donated this patinated plaster statue to the New-York City Hall and received in return the Key to the City.

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I consider Thomas Jefferson to be one of the greatest men in history, the author of the Declaration and an absolute democrat. He serves as an inspiration to millions of Americans. He did much to mould our Republic in a form in which a man's religion does not make him ineligible for political or governmental life.<sup>16</sup>

 From this year until 1842, [Sir Archibald Alison](#) would be preparing ten volumes of a MODERN HISTORY OF EUROPE FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE FALL OF NAPOLEON, to explain the period from the outbreak of the French Revolution to the restoration of the Bourbons in such manner as to demonstrate unequivocally that God and God's Providence were on the side of the British Tories.

<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE I</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE II</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE III</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE IV</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE V</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE VI</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE VII</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE VIII</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE IX</b>
<b>HISTORY OF EUROPE X</b>
<b>ATLAS OF EUROPE</b>
<b>EUROPE ABRIDGED</b>



16. Fortunately this Jewish admirer of Jefferson never became aware of the animus the president had repeatedly expressed in regard to Jews and Judaism.

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Beginning in this year and continuing over a decade until 1843, progressive publication of section after section of [Louis Agassiz](#)'s *RECHERCHES SUR LES POISSONS FOSSILES*. In this work the number of named fossil fishes was raised to more than 1,700 species. On page 170 in the initial volume appeared the 1st use of the spindle diagram in biology. Here is how the situation has been presented by Stephen Jay Gould in "A Tale of Three Pictures":

### THE SCIENCE OF 1833

Successive theories often display the interesting property of incommensurability. They do not speak the same language; they do not parse the world into the same categories; they embody fundamentally different views about the nature of causality. The new is not simply more and better information heaped upon the explanatory structure of the old. In this sense, the history of theories is a successive replacement of mutually incompatible worldviews, not a stroll up the pathway of objective knowledge.... Louis Agassiz (1807-1873), the great Swiss zoologist who became America's premier naturalist, was the last great scientific creationist (I am writing this essay in the museum and laboratory that he opened in 1859). He built his career upon two fundamental achievements: the development of the theory of ice ages, and a monumental work on the classification and relationships of all fossil fishes. Agassiz summarized his fifteen-year project on fossil fishes with the first major example of an iconography that paleontologists have since adopted as canonical – the so-called spindle diagram.... Each group of organisms is drawn as a spindle, with varying widths through time representing a history of fluctuating diversity, and the ends of the spindle marking origin and extinction ... he chooses a topology of branching from a central stem in each of his four groups. This iconography embodies his biological theory of life's history as a tale of differentiation through time from simple and highly generalized archetypes. Life diversifies on an embryological model.... This view sounds so evolutionary that we wonder why Agassiz continued his lone holdout against Darwin to the death. But such a feeling only represents the chauvinism of later knowledge imposed upon a fundamentally different worldview. Differentiation from a common archetype need not imply a physical, evolutionary connection among successive forms. Suppose that differentiation is God's grand design for all developmental processes in nature. Embryology continues in physical continuity, but geological succession may feature a series of independently fashioned forms, linked together as incarnations of an ordered pattern of thought in their creator's mind. Agassiz depicted his creationist interpretation in the second striking feature of his iconography. The separate spindles in each of his four groups may converge lovingly toward one another, and towards the central or archetypal line, but they never join! And Agassiz knew exactly what he was doing, and why:

Nevertheless, I have not joined the lateral branches to the central trunks because I am convinced that they do not descend, one from the other, by pathways of direct procreation or successive transformation, but that they are materially independent, although forming in their



ensemble ... a systematic whole, whose connections must be sought in the creative intelligence of its author.

➡ Glass production improved, making it possible to manufacture sheets of up to 6 feet in length. (Before this point the largest piece of sheet glass available would have been 4 feet (in broad glass) or 4-5 feet (in crown glass).

GLASS WINDOWS

➡ In Massachusetts, James Allen attempted to rob John Fenno, Jr on the Salem turnpike. Fenno resisted and Allen shot him before fleeing the scene. Allen was later captured and jailed, where he wrote his autobiography, "The Highwayman." He later decided to send Fenno a copy of the book, due to his respect for the man who stood up for him — the twist being that, upon his death, the book was to be bound in his own skin.

➡ The beginning of a 3-year famine in Japan, destined to be even worse than the one which had occurred in 1783.

➡ Miss Elizabeth Palmer Peabody's key to the history of the Hebrews:

KEY TO HEBREW HISTORY

Her key to the history of the Greeks:

KEY TO GREEK HISTORY



➡ In a voyage to the islands of the South Seas, Friend Milo Calkins of the Nantucket Island whaler Independence had his mind opened up to an entirely different conception of the past, the present, and the future of humankind. "Many of my preconceived notions imbibed from my sectarian teachings were swept away and my faith in others badly shaken," he would write with frankness.



On St. Helena, a subscription offer for the setting up of a whale fishery attracted £1,000 of investment.

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➡ An attitude expressed in this year by [Friend Elizabeth Fry](#), toward Quakers in the arts, was: “My observation of human nature and the different things that affect it frequently leads me to regret that we as a Society so wholly give up delighting the ear by sound. Surely He who formed the ear and the heart would not have given these tastes and powers without some purpose for them.”<sup>17</sup>

➡ [Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney](#)'s LETTERS TO YOUNG LADIES, BY A LADY. At this point, because her husband's business was in difficulties, over his objection she admitted her authorship of the volume and abandoned anonymity in a quest for greater earning power from her writings.

THE SUNDAY LIBRARY FOR YOUNG PERSONS. EDITED BY THE REV. HENRY WARE, JR. VOL. II. THE LIFE OF JOHN HOWARD. LIVES OF PHILANTHROPISTS. VOLUME I. [JOHN HOWARD](#). BY MRS. JOHN FARRAR... (Cambridge: Brown, Shattuck, and Company. Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Co.).



17. Britain Yearly Meeting, QUAKER FAITH AND PRACTICE, (1994), from extract 21.30



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➡ The Female Anti-Slavery Society was founded at [Boston](#) by [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) and others.

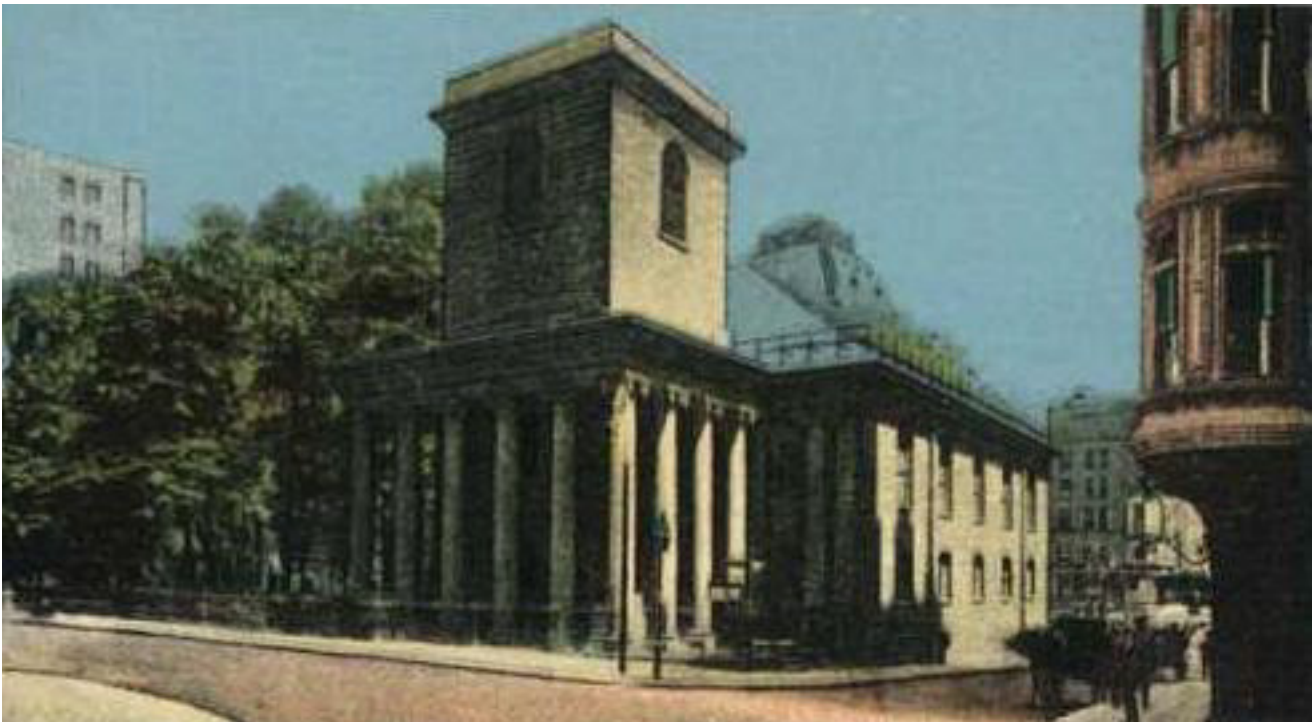
From this year until about 1838, Frederick Goddard Tuckerman would be attending the Boston Latin School.

[Charles Henry Appleton Dall](#) graduated from the Boston Latin School at the head of his class with honors in Latin, Greek, and mathematics.

**S V M M V S P R I M I**

While a student at [Harvard College](#) and divinity school, he would be directing the Sunday School at the Hollis Street Church in [Boston](#).

F.W.P. Greenwood's A HISTORY OF [KING'S CHAPEL](#) IN [BOSTON](#).



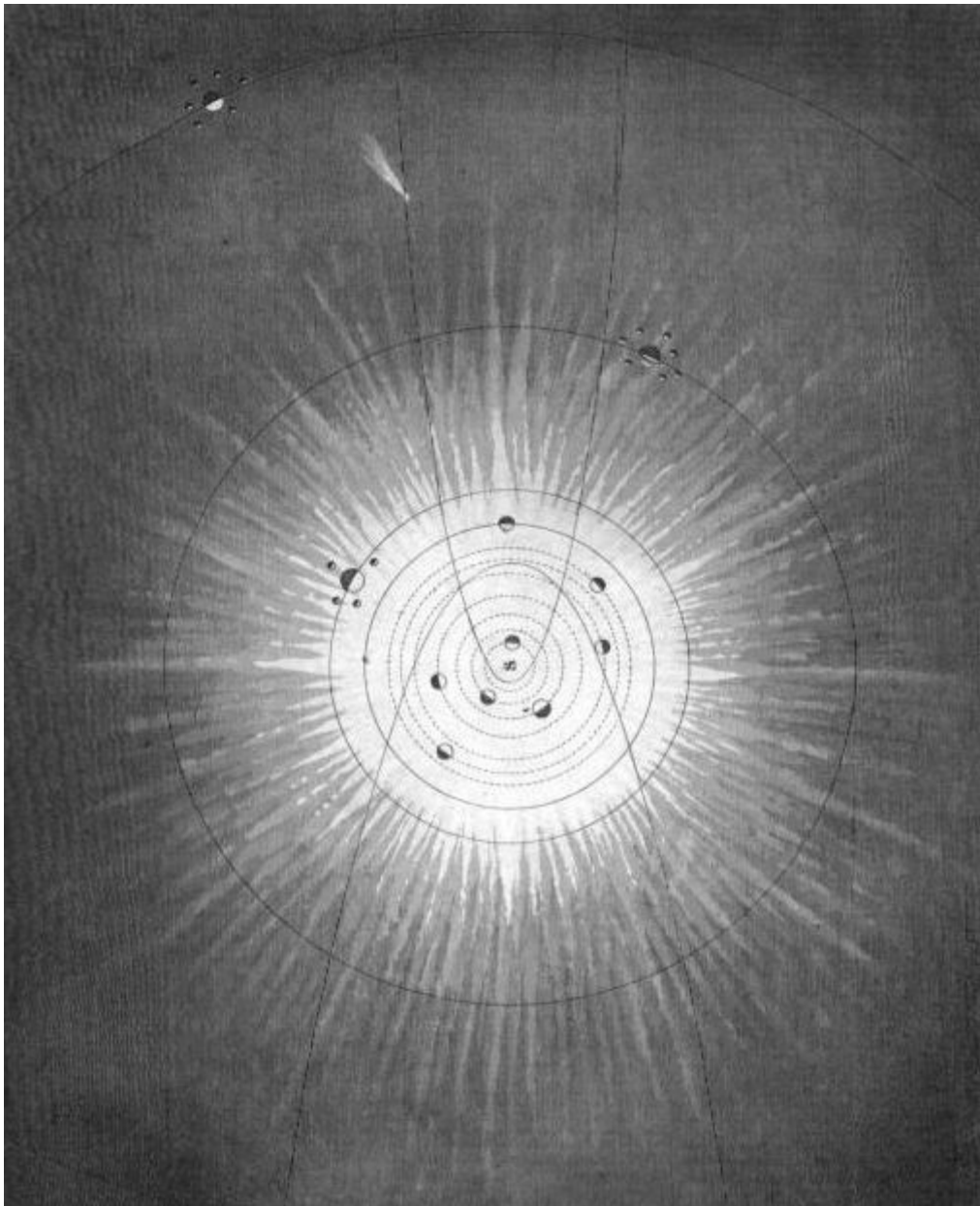
[Francis Joseph Grund](#)'s EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC ([Boston](#)).

**EXERCISES IN ARITHMETIC**

[Grund](#)'s POPULAR LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY ON A NEW PLAN: IN WHICH SOME OF THE LEADING PRINCIPLES OF THE SCIENCE ARE ILLUSTRATED BY ACTUAL COMPARISONS, INDEPENDENT OF THE USE OF NUMBERS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee & Co. 33 pages).

**LESSONS IN ASTRONOMY**

[Grund](#)'s ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY, WITH PRACTICAL EXERCISES, ILLUSTRATED BY ONE HUNDRED AND





1833

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FORTY ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD. FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS ([Boston](#): Carter, Hendee and Co.).

### ELEMENTS OF CHEMISTRY

(The above volume would be in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#).)



Seth Luther's AN ADDRESS ON THE RIGHT OF FREE SUFFRAGE was printed in [Providence](#). Luther, who had done time in a debtor's prison during the early 1820s, was going just apeshit over an idea of taxation without representation that he had retrieved out of obsolete Revolutionary-War rhetoric, and had begun beating the drum on behalf of "twelve thousand vassals" in [Rhode Island](#) who, because they lacked \$134 worth of real property, could not be "freemen" and could not, under that state's antique charter, be allowed to choose their own governors. The US Constitution, he averred, had guaranteed to us a republican form of government, so what ought we to do? Perhaps, he suggested with tongue in cheek, we might rewrite our [Declaration of Independence](#), to make it read "all men are created equal, except in [Rhode Island](#)." (Upon the failure of the Dorr Rebellion, this Luther would find himself once again in prison — and so much for empty rhetoric.)

[Richard Hildreth](#)'s A REPORT OF THE TRIAL OF THE REV. EPHRAIM K. AVERY, BEFORE THE SUPREME JUDICIAL COURT OF [RHODE ISLAND](#), ON AN INDICTMENT FOR THE MURDER OF SARAH MARIA CORNELL: CONTAINING A FULL STATEMENT OF THE TESTIMONY, TOGETHER WITH THE ARGUMENTS OF COUNSEL, AND THE CHARGE TO THE JURY: WITH A MAP (Russell, Odiorne and Co.).

### REV. EPHRAIM K. AVERY



William Makepeace Thackeray brought with a large heritage the [National Standard](#), but would lose his fortune a year later in Indian bank failures and other bad investments.

Suppose in a game of life - and it is but a twopenny game after all - you are equally eager of winning. Shall you be ashamed of



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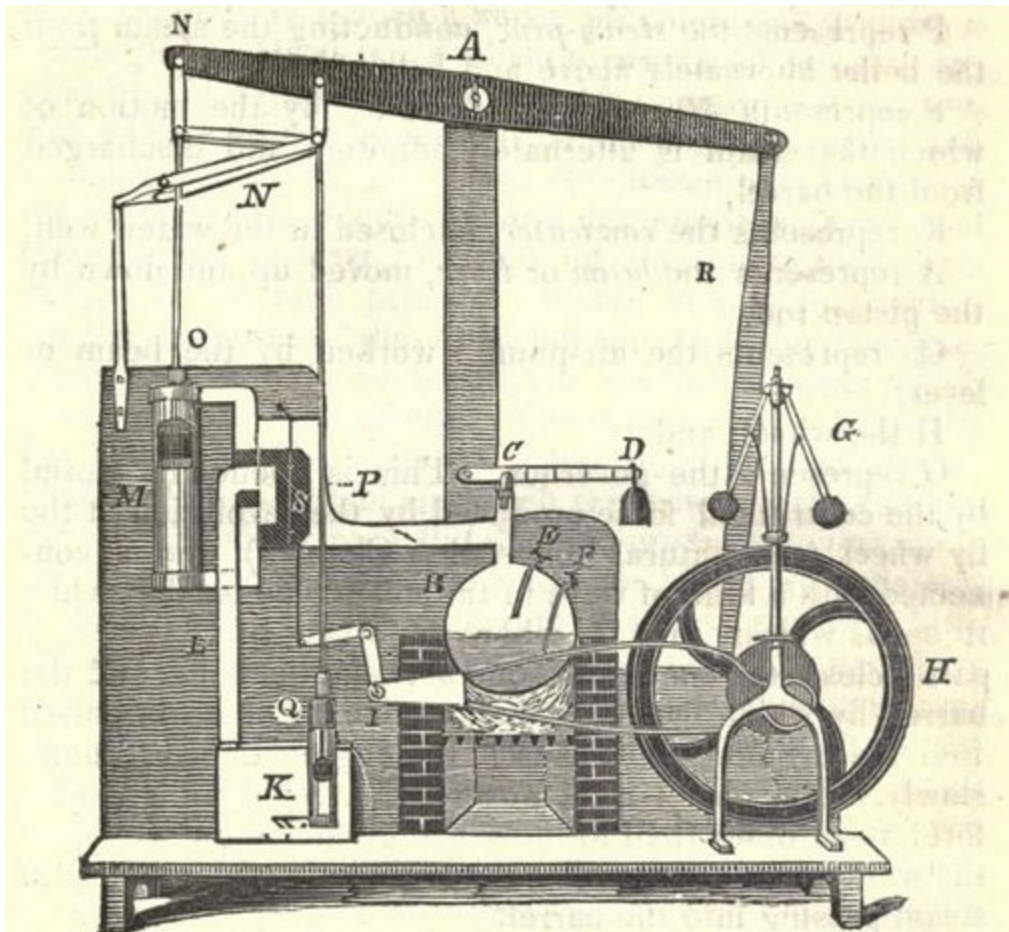


Fig. CXLI represents the connexion between the different parts of the engine we have just described.

B represents the *boiler*.

C represents the *safety valve*.

F, E are what mechanics call *steam* and *water gauges* respectively. They consist of hollow tubes provided with stop-cocks. The gauge F, as may be seen from the figure, has its lower end immersed in the water; but the gauge E, does not communicate with the surface of the liquid. When the stop-cock of the gauge E is opened, nothing but steam must rush forth, otherwise it is a sign that there is too much water in the boiler; but when the stop-cock of the gauge F is opened, no steam must pass, else it is a sign that the water is too high.

M represents the *cylinder* or *barrel*.


1833

1833

your ambition, or glory in it? – *AUTOUR DE MON CHAPEAU*, 1863





 According to [Dr. William Alcott](#)'s THE YOUNG MAN'S GUIDE, the cause of [tuberculosis](#) was the solitary vice, self-abuse ([masturbation](#)).

‘HE THAT SINNETH AGAINST GOD, DESTROYETH HIS OWN SOUL.’

DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS. 337

*A hint to some professors of religion.* *A dark catalogue*

chambers of drunkenness and debauchery; and, with the young man mentioned by Solomon, descended through them to those of death and hell.

It may be worth while for those sober minded and, otherwise, judicious Christians, who are in the habit of attending fashionable parties at late hours, and taking their ‘refreshments,’ to consider whether they may not be a means of keeping up, by their example, those more vulgar assemblies, with all their grossness, which I have been describing. Is it not obvious that what the *wine*, and the fruit, and the oysters, are to the more refined and Christian circles, what wine and fermented liquors may be to the more blunt sensibilities of body and mind, in youthful circles of another description? But if so, where rests the guilt? Or shall we bless the fountains, while we curse the stream they form?

SECTION III. *Diseases of Licentiousness.*

The importance of this and the foregoing section will be differently estimated by different individuals. They were not inserted, however, without consideration, nor without the approbation of persons who enjoy a large measure of public confidence. The young ought at least to know, briefly, to what a formidable host of maladies secret vice is exposed.

1. *Insanity.* The records of hospitals show that insanity, from solitary indulgence, is common. Tissot, Esquirol, Eberle, and others, give ample



testimony on this point. The latter, from a careful examination of the facts, assures us that in Paris the proportion of insane persons whose diseases may be traced to the source in question, is *one* in from *fifty-one* to *fifty-eight*, in the *lower classes*. In the higher classes it is *one* in *twenty-three*. In the insane Hospital of Massachusetts— I have it from authority which I cannot question,— the proportion is at least *one* in three or four. At present there are about twenty cases of the kind alluded to.

2. *Chorea Sancti Viti; or St. Vitus's dance.* This strange disease, in which the muscles of the body are not always at the command of the patient, and in which the head, the arms, the legs, and indeed every part which is made for muscular motion often jerks about in a very singular manner, is sometimes produced in the same way. Insanity and this disease are occasionally combined. I have known one young man in this terrible condition, and have read authentic accounts of others.

3. *Epilepsy.* Epileptic or *falling sickness fits*, as they are sometimes denominated, are another very common scourge of secret vice. How much they are to be dreaded almost every one can judge; for there are few who have not seen those who are afflicted with them. They usually weaken the mind, and sometimes entirely destroy it. I knew one epileptic individual who used to dread them more than death; and would gladly have preferred the latter.

Idiocy.	Palsy.	Apoplexy.	Blindness.	Hypochondria.
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4. *Idiotism.* Epilepsy, as I have already intimated, often runs on to idiotism; but sometimes the miserable young man becomes an idiot, without the intervention of any other obvious disease.

5. *Paralysis* or *Palsy*, is no uncommon punishment of this transgression. There are, however, several forms of this disease. Sometimes, a slight numbness of a single toe or finger is the first symptom of its approach; but at others a whole hand, arm, or leg is affected. In the present case, the first attacks are not very violent, as if to give the offender opportunity to return to the path of rectitude. Few, however, take the hint and return, till the chains of their slavery are riveted, and their health destroyed by this or some other form of disease. I have seen dissipated young men who complained of the numbness of a finger or two and the corresponding portion of the hand and wrist, who probably did not themselves suspect the cause; but I never knew the disorder permanently removed, except by a removal of the cause which produced it.

6. *Apoplexy.* This has occasionally happened; though more rarely.

7. *Blindness*, in some of its forms, especially of that form usually called *gutta serena*, should also be added to our dark catalogue. Indeed a weakness of sight is among the first symptoms that supervene on these occasions.

8. *Hypochondria.* This is as much a disease by

Consumption.	Peculiar form of this disease.
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itself as the small pox, though many regard it otherwise. The mind is diseased, and the individual has many imaginary sufferings, it is true; but the imagination would not be thus unnaturally awake, if there were no accompanying disturbance in the bodily functions. Hypochondria, in its more aggravated forms, is a very common result of secret vice.

9. *Phthisis*, or consumption, is still more frequently produced by the cause we are considering, than any other disease I have mentioned. And we know well the history of this disease; that, though slow in its progress, the event is certain. In this climate, it is one of the most destructive scourges of our race. If the ordinary diseases slay their thousands, consumption slays its tens of thousands. Its approach is gradual, and often unsuspected; and the decline to the grave sometimes unattended by any considerable suffering. Is it not madness to expose ourselves to its attacks for the shortlived gratifications of a moment?

There is indeed a peculiar form of this disease which, in the case in question, is more commonly produced than any other. It is called, in the language of physicians, *tubes dorsalis*, or *dorsal* consumption; because it is supposed to arise from the *dorsal* portion of the spinal marrow. This disease sometimes, it is true, attacks young married people, especially where they go *beyond* the bounds which the Author of nature intended; and it is



## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS. 341

its symptoms.	The sufferer's only hope of relief.
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occasionally produced by other causes entirely different; causes, too, which it would be difficult, if not impossible to prevent. Generally, however, it is produced by *solitary vice*.

The most striking symptom of this disease is described as being a 'sensation of ants, crawling from the head down along the spine;' but this sensation is not always felt, for sometimes in its stead there is, rather, a very great weakness of the small part of the back, attended with pain. This is accompanied with emaciation, and occasionally, though not always, with an irregular appetite. Indeed, persons affected with this disease generally have a good appetite. There is usually little fever, or at most only a slight heat and thirst towards evening, with occasional flushings of the face; and still more rarely, profuse perspirations in the latter part of the night. But the latter symptom belongs more properly to common consumption. The sight, as I have already mentioned, grows dim; they have pains in the head and sometimes ringing in the ears, and a loss of memory. Finally, the legs become weak, the kidneys and stomach suffer, and many other difficulties arise which I cannot mention in this work, followed often by an acute fever; and unless the abominable practice which produced all the mischief is abandoned, death follows. But when many of the symptoms which I have mentioned, are really fastened upon an individual, he has sustained an injury which

can never be wholly repaired. All he can hope is to prolong his days, and lengthen out his life—often a distressing one. A few well authenticated examples of persons who debased themselves by secret vice, will, I hope, satisfy those who doubt the evils of this practice.

One young man thus expressed his sufferings to his physician. 'My very great debility renders the performance of every motion difficult. That of my legs is often so great, that I can scarcely stand erect; and I fear to leave my chamber. Digestion is so imperfect that the food passes unchanged, three or four hours after it has been taken into the stomach. I am oppressed with phlegm, the presence of which causes pain; and the expectoration, exhaustion. This is a brief history of my miseries. Each day brings with it an increase of all my woes. Nor do I believe that any human creature ever suffered more. Without a special interposition of Divine Providence, I cannot support so painful an existence.'

Another thus writes; 'Were I not restrained by *sentiments of religion*,\* I should ere this have put

\* What inadequate ideas are sometimes entertained by young professors of religion, and even by those more advanced, in regard to the purity of character which is indispensable to the enjoyment of a world of bliss—a world whose very source, sum, end and essence, are *Infinite Purity* itself!

Since the first edition of this work was published, I

## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS.

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More examples of disease.

Looking to the grave for relief.

an end to my existence; which is the more insupportable as it is caused by myself.'

'I cannot walk two hundred paces,' says another 'without resting myself; my feebleness is extreme; I have constant pains in every part of the body, but particularly in the shoulders and chest. My appetite is good, but this is a misfortune, since what I eat causes pains in my stomach, and is vomited up. If I read a page or two, my eyes are filled with tears and become painful:— I often sigh involuntarily.'

A fourth says; 'I rest badly at night, and am much troubled with dreams. The lower part of my back is weak, my eyes are often painful, and my eyelids swelled and red., I have an almost constant cold; and an oppression at the stomach. In short, I had rather be laid in the silent tomb, and encounter that dreadful uncertainty, *hereafter*,

have received several letters of thanks for having ventured upon this long neglected, but important subject. Teachers, especially, have acknowledged their obligations, both in person and by correspondence. One teacher, in particular, a man of considerable experience, writes as follows:—

'The last chapter of the book, is by no means, in my view, the least important. I regret to say that many *religious* young men, through ignorance, are attached to the last mentioned vice. I could wish that what you have written could be carefully read by every *young* man, at least, in our land. Alas, dear sir, how little do mortals know, when they do not understand their physical structure!'



than remain in my present unhappy and degraded situation.'

The reader should remember that the persons whose miseries are here described, were generally sufferers from *hypochondria*. They had not advanced to the still more horrid stages of palsy, apoplexy, epilepsy, idiotism, St. Vitus's dance, blindness, or insanity. But they had gone so far, that another step in the same path, might have rendered a return impossible.

The reader will spare me the pain of presenting, in detail, any more of these horrid cases. I write for YOUNG MEN, the strength—the bone, muscle, sinew, and nerve—of our beloved country. I write for those who, — though some of them may have erred — are glad to be advised, and if they deem the advice good, are anxious to follow it. I write, too, in vain, if it be not for young men who will resolve on reformation, when they believe that their present and future happiness is at stake. And, lastly, I have not read correctly the pages in the book of human nature if I do not write for those who can, with God's help, keep every good resolution.

There are a few publications to which those who are awake to the importance of this subject, might safely be directed. One or two will be mentioned presently. It is true that their authors have, in some instances, given us the details of such cases of disease as occur but rarely. Still, what has happened,

## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS.

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Where the path of error may end.

One more warning.

in this respect, may happen again. And as no moderate drinker of fermented or spirituous liquors can ever know, with certainty, that if he continues his habit, he may not finally arrive at confirmed drunkenness, and the worst diseases which attend it, so no person who departs but once from rectitude in the matter before us, has any assurance that he shall not sooner or later suffer all the evils which they so faithfully describe.

When a young man, who is pursuing an unhappy course of solitary vice, threatened as we have seen by the severest penalties earth or heaven can impose, — begins to perceive a loss or irregularity of his appetite; acute pains in his stomach, especially during digestion, and constant vomitings; — when to this is added a weakness of the lungs, often attended by a dry cough, hoarse weak voice, and hurried or difficult breathing after using considerable exertion, with a general relaxation of the nervous system; — when these appearances, or symptoms, as physicians call them, take place — let him *beware!* for punishment of a severer kind cannot be distant.

I hope I shall have no reader to whom these remarks apply; but should it be otherwise, happy will it be for him if he takes the alarm, and walks not another step in the downward road to certain and terrible retribution. Happiest, however, is he who has never erred from the first; and who reads these pages as he reads of those awful scenes in

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Several works, on this subject.

An extract.

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nature, — the devastations of the lightning, the deluge, the tornado, the earthquake, and the volcano; as things to be lamented, and their horrors if possible mitigated or averted, but with which he has little personal concern.

Sympathizing, however, with his fellow beings — for though *fallen*, they still belong to the same family — should any reader who sees this work, wish to examine the subject still more intimately, I recommend to him a Lecture to Young Men, lately published in Providence. I would also refer him, to Rees' Cyclopaedia, art. *Physical Education*.

The article last referred to is so excellent, that I have decided on introducing, in this place, the closing paragraph. The writer had been treating the subject, much in the manner I have done, only at greater length, and had enumerated the diseases to which it leads, at the same time insisting on the importance of informing the young, in a proper manner, of their danger, wherever the urgency of the case required it. After quoting numerous passages of Scripture, which, in speaking of impurity, evidently include this practice, and denouncing it in severe terms, he closes with the following striking remarks,

‘There can be no doubt that God has forbidden it by the usual course of providence. Its moral effects, in destroying the purity of the mind, in swallowing up its best affections, and perverting its sensibilities into this depraved channel, are



## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS.

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Extract continued.

Contains judicious advice.

among its most injurious consequences; and are what render it so peculiarly difficult to eradicate the evil. In proportion as the habit strengthens the difficulty of breaking it, of course, increases; and while the tendency of the feelings to this point increases, the vigor of the mind to effect the conquest of the habit gradually lessens.

'We would tell him (the misguided young man, that whatever might be said in newspapers respecting the power of medicine in such cases, nothing could be done without absolute self-control; and that no medicine whatever could retrieve the mischiefs which the want of it had caused: and that the longer the practice was continued, the greater would be the bodily and mental evils it would inevitably occasion.

'We would then advise him to avoid all situations in which he found his propensities excited; and especially, as far as possible, all in which they had been gratified; to check the thoughts and images which excited them; to shun those associates, or at least that conversation, and those books, which have the same effect; to avoid all stimulating food and liquor; to sleep cool on a hard bed; to rise early, and at once; and to go to bed when likely to fall asleep at once; to let his mind be constantly occupied, though not exerted to excess; and to let his bodily powers be actively employed, every day, to a degree which will make a hard bed the place of sound repose.

Other forms of licentiousness do not escape punishment.

'Above all, we would urge him to impress his mind (at times when the mere thought of it would not do him harm) with a feeling of horror at the practice; to dwell upon its sinfulness and most injurious effects; and to cultivate, by every possible means, an habitual sense of the constant presence of a holy and heart-searching God, and a lively conviction of the awful effects of his displeasure.'

I should be sorry to leave an impression on any mind that other forms of licentiousness are innocent, or that they entail no evils on the constitution. I have endeavored to strike most forcibly, it is true, at solitary vice; but it was for this plain reason, that few of the young seem to regard it as any crime at all. Some even consider it indispensable to health. This belief I have endeavored to shake; with how much success, eternity only can determine.

Of the guilt of those forms of irregularity, in which *more* than one individual and sex are *necessarily* concerned, many of the young are already apprized. At least they are generally acquainted with the more prominent evils which result from what they call excess. Still if followed in what they deem moderation, and with certain precautions which could be named, not a few are ready to believe, at least in the moment of temptation, that there is no great harm in following their inclinations.

## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS.

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Excess.	Guilt far short of this.	A great mistake made.
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Now in regard to what constitutes excess, every one who is not moved by Christian principle, will of necessity, have his own standard, just as it is in regard to solitary vice, or the use of ardent spirits. And herein consists a part of the guilt. And it is not till this conviction of our constant tendency to establish an incorrect standard for ourselves, and to go, in the end, to the greatest lengths and depths and heights of guilt, can be well established in our minds, that we shall ever be induced to avoid the first steps in that road which may end in destruction; and to take as the only place of safety, the high ground of total abstinence.

But although the young are not wholly destitute of a sense of the evils of what they call excess, and of the shame of what is well known to be its frequent and formidable results, — so far as themselves are concerned, — yet they seem wholly ignorant of any considerable danger short of this. For so far are they from admitting that the force of conscience is weakened by every repeated known and wilful transgression, many think, (as I have already stated) promiscuous intercourse, where no matrimonial rights are invaded, if it be so managed as to exempt the parties immediately concerned from all immediate suffering both moral and physical, can scarcely be called a transgression, at all.

I wish it were practicable to extend these remarks far enough to show, as plain as noon-day light can make it, that every criminal act of this



Painful condition of a parent.      Prevention better than cure.

kind — I mean every instance of irregularity — not only produces evil to society generally, in the present generation, but also inflicts evil on those that follow. For to say nothing of those horrid cases where the infants of licentious parents not only inherit vicious dispositions, but ruined bodies — even to a degree, that in some instances excludes a possibility of the child's surviving many days; — there are other forms of disease often entailed on the young which as certainly consign the sufferer to an early grave, though the passage thither may be more tedious and lingering.

How must it wring the heart of a feeling young parent to see his first born child, which for any thing he knows, might have been possessed of a sound and vigorous body, like other children, enter the world with incipient scrofula, diseased joints or bones, and eruptive diseases, in some of their worst forms? Must not the sight sink him to the very dust? And would he not give worlds — had he worlds to give — to reverse those irreversible but inscrutable decrees of Heaven, which visit the sins of parents upon their descendants — ‘unto the third and fourth generation?’

But how easy is it, by timely reflection, and fixed moral principle, to prevent much of that disease which ‘worlds’ cannot wholly cure, when it is once inflicted!

I hazard nothing in saying, then — and I might appeal to the whole medical profession to sustain

## DISEASES OF LICENTIOUSNESS. 351

Recovery never complete. Fearful details. A desirable change.

me in my assertion — that no person whose system ever suffers, once, from those forms of disease which approach nearest to the character of special judgments of Heaven on sin or shame, can be sure of ever wholly recovering from their effects on his own person; and what is still worse, can ever be sure of being the parent of a child whose constitution shall be wholly untainted with disease, of one kind or another.

This matter is not often understood by the community generally; especially by the young. I might tell them of the diseased eyesight; the ulcerated—perhaps deformed—nose and ears, and neck; the discoloration, decay, and loss of teeth; the destruction of the palate, and the fearful inroads of disease on many other soft parts of the body; besides the softening and ulceration and decay and eventual destruction of the bones; and to crown all, the awfully offensive breath and perspiration; and I might entreat them to abstain, in the fear of God, from those abuses of the constitution which not unfrequently bring down upon them such severe forms of punishment.

A thorough knowledge of the human system and the laws to which all organized bodies are subjected, would, in this respect, do much in behalf of mankind; for such would be the change of public sentiment, that the sensual could not hold up their heads so boldly, as they now do, in the face of it. Happy for mankind when the vicious shall be

Study of Physiology. A caution. The best youthful guides

obliged, universally, to pass in review before this enlightened tribunal!

Young men ought to study physiology. It is indeed to be regretted that there are so few books on this subject adapted to popular use. But in addition to those recommended at page 316, there are portions of several works which may be read with advantage by the young. Such are some of the more intelligible parts of Richerand's *Physiology*, as at page 38 of the edition with Dr. Chapman's notes; and of the 'Outlines of Physiology,' and the 'Anatomical Class Book,' two works recently issued in Boston. It must, however, be confessed, that none of these works are sufficiently divested of technicalities, to be well adapted, as a whole, to the general reader. Physiology is one of those fountains at which it is somewhat dangerous to 'taste,' unless we 'drink deep;' on account of the tendency of superficial knowledge to empiricism. Still, I am fully of the opinion that even superficial knowledge, on this long neglected topic, is less dangerous both to the individual and to the community, than entire ignorance.

And after all, the best guides would be PARENTS. When will Heaven confer such favors upon us? When will parents become parents indeed? When will one father or mother in a hundred, exercise the true parental prerogative, and point out to those whom God has given them, as circumstances may from time to time demand, the most dangerous



Appeal to the young.

Physical education neglected.

rocks and whirlpools to which, in the voyage of life, they are exposed? When will every thing else be done for the young rather than that which ought never to be left undone?

Say not, young reader, that I am wandering. You may be a father. God grant that if you are, you may also act the parent. Let me beg you to resolve, and if necessary re-resolve. And not only resolve, but act. If you are ready to pronounce me enthusiastic on this subject, let me beg you to suspend your judgment till the responsibilities and the duties and the anxieties of a parent thicken round you.

It is painful to see — every where — the most unquestionable evidence that this department of education is unheeded. Do you ask how the evidence is obtained? I answer by asking you how the physician can discover, — as undoubtedly he can, — the progress of the drinker of spirituous liquors, by his eye, his features, his breath, nay his very perspiration. And do you think that the sons or daughters of sensuality, in any of its forms, and at any of its stages, can escape his observation?

But of what use is his knowledge, if he may not communicate it? What person would endure disclosures of this kind respecting himself or his nearest, perhaps his dearest and most valued friends? No! the physician's lips must be sealed, and his tongue dumb; and the young must go down to their graves, rather than permit him to make any effort to save them, lest offence should be given!

The subject is, however, gaining a hold on the community, for which none of us can be too thankful. I am acquainted with more than one parent, who is a parent indeed ; for there is no more reserve on these subjects, than any other. The sons do not hesitate to ask parental counsel and seek parental aid, in every known path of temptation. Heaven grant that such instances may be speedily multiplied. A greater work of reform can scarcely be desired or anticipated.

But I must draw to a close. Oh that the young were wise,<sup>2</sup> and that they would 'consider!' 'There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof is death.'

There is, then, but one course for the young. Let them do that which they know to be right, and avoid not only that which they are sure is wrong, but that also of which they have *doubts*. Let them do this, moreover, in the fear and love of God. In the language of a great statesman of the United States to his nephew, a little before his death, let me exhort you, to 'Give up property, *give up every thing — give up even life itself, rather than presume to do an immoral act.*' Let me remind you too, of the declaration of that Wisdom which is Infinite;—  
 •HE THAT SINNETH AGAINST GOD, DESTROYETH HIS OWN SOUL.'

END.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)



Gauss and Weber invented the electric telegraph.



A scheme was initiated, to erect a great stone phallus in honor of our nation’s founding father [George Washington](#), at an appropriate location in our nation’s capital.

This year produced the 1st use of the phrase “barking up the wrong tree.”

In this year Han Christian Anderson began to published his own fairy tales.



## Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1833-1839

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
<b>1833</b>	very strong	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	extremely poor
<b>1834</b>	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
<b>1835</b>	moderate	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	adequate	extremely poor
<b>1836</b>	moderate	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	2d year, very low
<b>1837</b>	strong	warm El Niño moderate +	adequate	drought	deficient	3d year, extremely poor
<b>1838</b>	strong	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	4th year, quite weak
<b>1839</b>	strong	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	5th year, very 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.

Elizabeth Oakes Smith, who had been contributing poems, sketches, and stories to [The Argus](#) both anonymously and over the signature “E,” acted as editor when her husband Seba Smith went to [Boston](#) to supervise the publication of THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MAJOR JACK DOWNING, a work in the [Rural Wit](#) tradition of New England. She wrote an unpublished autobiography at about this point which indicates that she was studying [Shakespeare](#), [Milton](#), Blackstone, Mill, etc. after the others of the family had retired to bed.

1833

1833



Samuel Ringgold Ward, having grown up on the streets of New-York, became a teacher in a school for black children in Newtown, Long Island.



He had the great honor to become the replacement for a previous escaped-slave teacher, “Jim Pembroke,” who was moving on, to New Haven, Connecticut (where he would be allowed to audit classes at [Yale College](#) and would become a pastor at the Temple Street Congregational Church — and would become very well known later in life as the Reverend Doctor James W.C. Pennington DD):

I grew up in the city of New York as do the children of poor parents in large cities too frequently. I was placed at a public school in Mulberry Street, taught by Mr. C.C. Andrew, and subsequently by Mr. Adams, a Quaker gentleman, from both of whom I received great kindness. Dr. A. Libolt, my last preceptor in that school, placed me under lasting obligations. Poverty compelled me to work, but inclination led me to study; hence I was enabled, in spite of poverty, to make some progress in necessary learning. Added to poverty, however, in the case of a black lad in that city, is the ever-present, ever-crushing Negro-hate, which hedges up his path, discourages his efforts, damps his ardour, blasts his hopes, and embitters his spirits. Some white persons wonder at and condemn the tone in which some of us blacks speak of our oppressors. Such persons talk as if they knew but little of human nature, and less of Negro character, else they would wonder rather that, what with slavery and Negro-hate, the mass of us are not either depressed into idiocy or excited into demons. What class of whites, except the Quakers, ever spoke of their oppressors or wrongdoers as mildly as we do? This peculiarly American spirit (which Englishmen easily enough imbibe, after they have resided a few days in the United States) was ever at my elbow. As a servant, it denied me a seat at the table with my white fellow servants; in the sports of childhood and youth, it was ever disparagingly reminding me of my colour and origin; along the streets it ever pursued, ever ridiculed, ever abused me. If I sought redress, the very complexion I wore was pointed out as the best reason for my

seeking it in vain; if I desired to turn to account a little learning, in the way of earning a living by it, the idea of employing a black clerk was preposterous – too absurd to be seriously entertained. I never knew but one coloured clerk in a mercantile house. Mr. W.L. Jeffers was lowest clerk in a house well known in Broad Street, New York; but he never was advanced a single grade, while numerous white lads have since passed up by him, and over him, to be members of the firm. Poor Jeffers, till the day of his death, was but one remove above the porter. So, if I sought a trade, white apprentices would leave if I were admitted; and when I went to the house of God, as it was called, I found all the Negro-hating usages and sentiments of general society there encouraged and embodied in the Negro pew, and in the disallowing Negroes to commune until all the whites, however poor, low, and degraded, had done. I know of more than one coloured person driven to the total denial of all religion, by the religious barbarism of white New Yorkers and other Northern champions of the slaveholder.

However, at the age of sixteen I found a friend in George Atkinson Ward, Esq., from whom I received encouragement to persevere, in spite of Negro-hate. In 1833 I became a clerk of Thomas L. Jennings, Esq., one of the most worthy of the coloured race; subsequently my brother and I served David Ruggles, Esq., then of New York, late of Northampton, Massachusetts, now no more.

In 1833 it pleased God to answer the prayers of my parents, in my conversion. My attention being turned to the ministry, I was advised and recommended by the late Rev. G. Hogarth, of Brooklyn, to the teachership of a school for coloured children, established by the munificence of the late Peter Remsen, Esq., of New Town, N.Y. The most distinctive thing I can say of myself, in this my first attempt at the profession of a pedagogue, is that I succeeded Mr., now the Rev. Dr., Pennington.



1833

1833



Some daring carpenter of the soul rushed in where angels fear to tread, and constructed a church in [Chicago](#) entirely out of standard 2x12 joists and standard 2x4 partition studs. This method of construction would gradually begin to replace the older post-and-beam method of home construction in which wall components were shaped and fitted and pegged, on the spot individually.



Americans' technologies of building in the first decades of the 19th Century had evolved gradually from those of their 17th- and 18th-Century ancestors and for the most part would have been recognizable to earlier generations of housewrights. But a radically new way of putting buildings together appeared in the early 1830s, probably first developed by carpenters struggling to keep pace with the rapid growth of the settlement of [Chicago](#) on the tree-poor [Illinois](#) prairie. "Balloon framing" replaced the massive timber frame with a structural skin of numerous light, weight-bearing members, later standardized as two-by-fours, which were simply nailed together, not intricately joined. Carpenters could put up a balloon frame more quickly and could use much smaller-dimensioned lumber. Balloon framing was adopted first by builders in fast-growing Western cities and commercial towns, for whom speed and economizing on materials were highly important. It was slower to arrive in older, Eastern cities and took even longer to arrive in the countryside, where it did not really begin to replace the old ways until after 1860. Eventually rapid construction with lighter lumber triumphed almost everywhere; traditional timber framing and log construction had almost disappeared by the end of the nineteenth century.



[Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) was elected by the [French](#) Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres as the successor to M Dacier. His wife Elisa Dillon Guizot died, leaving a newborn son, Maurice Guillaume Guizot.

Great Britain and [France](#) renewed the agreement they had entered into in 1831 giving one another a limited right to board and search one another's commercial shipping along the East and West coasts of Africa, and on the coasts of the West Indies and Brazil, in suppression of the [slave-trade](#) (BRITISH AND FOREIGN STATE PAPERS, 1830-1, page 641 ff; 1832-3, page 286 ff).

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	



Two news items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- Work on Charles Babbage’s Calculational Engine was halted by disagreements with the contractor Joseph Clement and slowness in paying bills.
- The 1st typewriting machine to utilize individual typebars which converged at a common printing point was conceived and built by Xavier Progin, a Frenchman. The device incorporated a primitive form of proportional spacing, since different widths were assigned to capitals versus lower-case letters. Since the operator could look down through the keys and see the typed copy, this was also the 1st device to enable “visible writing,” but at that time and later there was real controversy with some holding that visibility would be a great advantage over nonvisibility, but others holding that nonvisibility would be a great advantage over visibility.



“If you wish to make an apple pie from scratch,  
 you must first invent the universe.”  
 — Carl Sagan



In Rhode Island, John Brown Francis was in charge.

Near Cumberland, one Sunday during this year, a couple of Bostonians fought a duel. After one of the duelists sustained a wound to the knee the party returned into Massachusetts, where dueling was illegal. Sheriff Amos Cook, Jr., and Fenner Brown, sent to Boston to arrest the parties, returned emptyhanded. The bullet that caused this injury was recovered and became a souvenir at Cumberland Hill. A memory of this incident has been preserved in the placename “Duel Hollow,” about a mile north of Cumberland Hill.


Thomas Hamilton visited Rhode Island.

THOMAS HAMILTON



Richard Turner, in a speech before an English temperance society, used the word “teetotal” for the 1st time. His intent was to redraw the line of moral propriety, which conventionally was between beer/cider/wine versus hard liquor, instead between non-alcoholic versus alcoholic beverages. Popular just-so stories have grown up, that Turner was recommending tea as an alternative to alcohol, and that on the pledge cards at the meeting, the listeners were being urged to mark the letter “T” indicating Total Abstinence from All Forms of Alcohol. “Teetotal” was coinage involving reduplication of a sound for extra emphasis, more or less along the lines of the idiomatic phrase “trouble with a capital T.”




 [Joseph Leidy](#), at the age of about 10, was sent to the Classical Academy, a private day-school conducted by the Reverend William Mann, Methodist, to study English and read Latin (Historia Sacra, Viri Romie, and Virgil) – presumably Greek as well. There were then three schools in the vicinity. Mr. Collom and Mr. Livensetter charging \$3 a quarter per scholar and the Reverend Mann \$12. During this period a Mrs. Burris, a widow of color, was taking in laundry for her support while her son Cyrus Burris earned money by serving the runner for Joseph’s father’s hat shop — for delivering a hat to the home of a purchaser, he would be paid 6 or 12 cents depending on the distance. The boys of these schools, divided by the economic standing of their families, fought when they met in the street, so the Leidys engaged Cyrus Burris to accompany Joseph to school and when botanizing, and the two boys became buddies despite their color difference. Joseph became intrigued by minerals and plants when an itinerant lecturer from the “Universal Lyceum” was allowed to discourse at the school and show specimens.


The rates for board and tuition at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#) had been cut down from \$100 per year per scholar to \$50, but due to increasing expenses were raised in this year to \$60 for [Quakers](#) (plus, for non-Friends, a surcharge).

Wanting money for general purposes, the [Rhode Island](#) state government dipped into its handy school fund — a forced loan.

The Orthodox Friends of Pennsylvania created a “school for advanced learning,” known now as Haverford College. This institution was for males and offered an education based upon Latin, Greek, science, ancient history, and literature.

QUAKER EDUCATION

 The “wad,” of Keswick in England, where high-quality [plumbago](#) had originally been discovered, was by this point in time being pretty much exhausted.

 Captain John Ross returned from the frozen northlands and was knighted.


### Arctic Explorations


Date	Explorer	Nation	Discovery
1501	Gaspar Corte Real	Portuguese	Newfoundland
1536	Jacques Cartier	French	St. Lawrence River, Gaspé Peninsula
1553	Richard Chancellor	English	White Sea
1556	Stephen Burrough	English	Kara Sea
1576	Martin Frobisher	English	Frobisher Bay
1582	Humphrey Gilbert	English	Newfoundland
1587	John Davis	English	Davis Strait
1597	Willem Barents	Dutch	Spitsbergen, Novaya Zemyla
1611	<a href="#">Henry Hudson</a>	English	Hudson Bay


### Arctic Explorations

Date	Explorer	Nation	Discovery
1616	William Baffin	English	Ellesmere and Devon Islands
1632	Thomas James	English	James Bay
1741	Vitus Bering	Russian	Alaska
1772	<a href="#">Samuel Hearne</a>	English	Coppermine River to the Arctic Ocean
1779	James Cook	British	Vancouver Island, Nootka Sound
1793	<a href="#">Alexander Mackenzie</a>	English	Bella Coola River to the Pacific
1825	Edward Parry	British	Cornwallis, Bathurst, Melville Islands
1833	John Ross	British	North Magnetic Pole
1845	John Franklin	British	King William Island
1854	Robert McClure	British	Banks Island, Viscount Melville Sound

THE FROZEN NORTH

 [Noah Webster](#)'s THE NEW AMERICAN SPELLING BOOK FOR THE USE OF PRIMARY SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. He would have modernized health into "helth," breath into "breth," tongue into "tung," month into "munth," and improvement into "improovment," which of course would have constituted a great improovment.

 Friedrich Adolphe Wilde, a physician, devised a diaphragm contraceptive device.

 Paulina Kellogg gave up her plan to become a missionary in order to get married with [Francis Wright](#), a merchant. She and her husband would be temperance activists, abolition activists, women's rights activists, etc.

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS

1833

1833



The Sikh warrior Ranjit Singh took the Mountain of Light “Kohinoor” diamond as booty during a campaign in [Afghanistan](#). Ranjit Singh would crown himself the ruler of Punjab and on his deathbed would will the Kohinoor to the great god Juggernaut at a Hindu temple in Orissa. The British administrators of the will would disregard Singh’s bequest — which might have spoiled the fun millennia-long game of keep-away.



**WALDEN:** White Pond and Walden are great crystals on the surface of the earth, Lakes of Light. If they were permanently congealed, and small enough to be clutched, they would, perchance, be carried off by slaves, like precious stones, to adorn the heads of emperors; but being liquid, and ample, and secured to us and our successors forever, we disregard them, and run after the diamond of Kohinoor. They are too pure to have a market value; they contain no muck. How much more beautiful than our lives, how much more transparent than our characters, are they! We never learned meanness of them. How much fairer than the pool before the farmer’s door, in which his ducks swim! Hither the clean wild ducks come. Nature has no human inhabitant who appreciates her. The birds with their plumage and their notes are in harmony with the flowers, but what youth or maiden conspires with the wild luxuriant beauty of Nature? She flourishes most alone, far from the towns where they reside. Talk of heaven! ye disgrace earth.



The area of administration of [Henry Rowe Schoolcraft](#) as Indian agent was considerably increased, with new headquarters at Mackinac.

At Fort Snelling in the [Minnesota](#) Territory, [Seth Eastman](#) got married “in Indian form” with the daughter of [Marpiyawicasta Cloud Man](#), [Wakaninajinwin](#) Stands Sacred (or, Stands Like a Spirit) who had borne him a child (initially known of course as “Winona,” meaning “firstborn girlchild,” in accordance with Dakotah practice) who would be christened [Mary Nancy Eastman](#) (this child would because of her involvement with Christianity be called “Holy Spirit woman,” and would additionally be known as [Wakantankanwin](#) Goddess).<sup>18</sup> The bride was herself baptized under the christening name “Lucy.” Some of the children of this racial mingling, according to a book, would become “noted and useful characters” — imagine that, folks!<sup>19</sup>

(This seems to have been a parting gesture, since from 1833 to 1840 [Eastman](#) would be teaching drawing, useful in mapmaking, at the West Point Military Academy.)

Amazingly, although the white man was an artist, we have no artistic depictions by him of his bride or his child! What we do have is two rough sketches and a portrait sketch done later, in 1851, of the teenage halfbreed Mary Nancy or Goddess, by another white artist, Frank Blackwell Mayer:



Professor Benjamin Silliman, Sr. added a 76-page supplement entitled “Consistency of Geology with Sacred History” to the 4th London Edition of Bakewell’s INTRODUCTION TO [GEOLOGY](#), in defense of the conceit that the formation of the earth had occurred essentially as described in the BOOK OF *GENESIS*. The publications of Lyell would render this silliness unacceptable among geologists in Europe. Such attitudes would also be relinquished, some decades later, in America, when Professor Silliman’s student [Edward Hitchcock](#), who had become a professor at Amherst College and was head of the geological survey in Massachusetts, finally would adopt the view that *GENESIS* had not been intended by God to provide an adequate summary for our education, of the particulars and details of His origination of the universe. (The text of Bakewell would be republished with Silliman’s 1833 supplement to it by Arno Press in 1978 in a series on the HISTORY OF [GEOLOGY](#) selected by distinguished historians of that science.)

HISTORY OF THE BIBLE

18. This daughter “Mary Nancy” would marry in her tribe and bear five children, dying at the birth of the youngest, later known as Charles. After adopting Christianity, her red husband and two of their sons would also take the Eastman name. Mary Nancy Eastman’s eldest son, the Reverend John Marpiyawaku Kida Eastman, would become a Presbyterian missionary at Flandreau, South Dakota. Her 2d son, Dr. Charles Eastman, would make himself the 1st Native American to obtain certification as a medical doctor (he would earn his MD degree at Boston University). While practicing medicine Dr. Eastman also would work for Native American rights. He would author a memoir, INDIAN BOYHOOD, and several other popular books about his experience of Indian cultures, some of which would be translated and published in Europe.

19. It may surprise you that the commandant at the local military fortress, Fort Snelling, would permit such a miscegenation. If so, you should come to grips with the fact that such miscegenation, so long as it was by white men upon red women rather than by red men upon white women, was in fact part of the US military’s objective for the region. To appreciate this, you should take the time now to peruse the report on native populations that had been prepared for our War Department in 1822 by the Reverend Jedediah Morse.



1833

1833





In the period from 1833 to 1849, out of some 660 fires per year in London, about 170 would be attributed to accidents involving candles. This would be in fact the primary category of home fire. The 1st professional brigade, the London Fire Establishment, was formed, with this being paid for by insurance companies.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



"The only lesson of history is that there are no lessons of history."

- A.J.P. Taylor

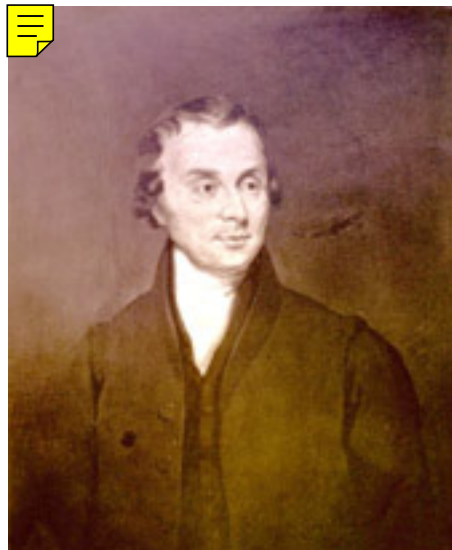


Friend Luke Howard's THE CLIMATE OF LONDON: DEDUCED FROM METEOROLOGICAL OBSERVATIONS MADE IN THE METROPOLIS AND AT VARIOUS PLACES AROUND IT / BY LUKE HOWARD appeared in a 2d, much enlarged and improved edition, as three volumes rather than two, in which the observations were continued to the year MDCCCXXX; illustrated by engravings on wood and copper (London: Harvey and Darton, J. and A. Arch, Longman, Hatchard, S. Highley [and] R. Hunter, 1833). Friend Luke by this point recognized that human cities were capable of significantly altering the local weather. One impact of cities on the weather, what we now term "smog," he termed "city fog," and this is how he described the London atmosphere of January 10, 1812:

...the sky, where any light pervaded it, showed the aspect of bronze. Such is, occasionally, the effect of the accumulation of smoke between two opposite gentle currents, or by means of a misty calm. I am informed that the fuliginous cloud was visible, in this instance, for a distance of forty miles.

This is how he described the smog above London on January 16, 1826:

At one o'clock yesterday afternoon the fog in the city was as dense as we ever recollect to have known it. Lamps and candles were lighted in all shops and offices, and the carriages in the street dared not exceed a foot pace. At the same time, five miles from town the atmosphere was clear and unclouded with a brilliant sun.






1833


1833


By this point, it would appear, Friend Luke had acquired a rudimentary understanding of what in the 20th Century our TV news weatherpeople would come to speak of as “fronts,” and was able to provide a detailed description of the sort of cloudiness and precipitation changes which typically accompany the replacement of a warmer air mass by a cooler one, or of a cooler air mass by a warmer one:


...if fine hail should fall after a period of damp, sultry weather during which thunderclouds with lightning gather gradually, to be followed by large hail and, finally, rain, and it after this a cold westerly or northerly wind begins to blow, then I would be quite certain that the latter, as a cold body, had suddenly replaced *en masse* the warm air which was there before the beginning of the thunderstorm.

## HOWARD PUBLICATIONS

 Publication of P. Gaskell’s *THE MANUFACTURING POPULATION OF ENGLAND, ITS MORAL, SOCIAL, AND PHYSICAL CONDITIONS, ... WITH AN EXAMINATION OF INFANT LABOUR*. Publication of Caroline Bowles’s *TALES OF THE FACTORIES*. There was an immense working-class demonstration at Coldbath Fields in [London](#). In Parliament, the 1st Factory Act passed, restricting ages and hours of children and adults employed in textile factories.

 In [London](#), Madame Tussaud’s waxworks began to be exhibited in the former Horse Bazaar on Gray’s Inn Road.

 In [London](#), Kensal Green Cemetery opened.

 On Trafalgar Square in [London](#), a building was begun that in 1838 would be dedicated as the National Gallery.

1833


1833

 In [London](#), Hungerford Market re-opened.



LONDON



 Charles Dickens's first writings had been journalistic. Son to a family beleaguered by debt, a factory worker at the age of 12, he had taught himself shorthand and in 1831 had begun a career as a reporter in the House of Commons. At this point he began publishing sketches of [London](#) life in [Monthly Magazine](#).

ATTITUDES ON DICKENS

1833

1833



The Pony Express began between [Washington DC](#) and New-York. It was found to require 24 changes of horse to make this journey of 227 miles at a constant gallop, covering the distance in 20 hours.

Water was piped throughout the newly rebuilt [White House](#) in [Washington DC](#), using drilled-out logs. (That's a cold water supply — hot running water would not become available for another two decades.)



1833

1833



The notes made by [Klemens Brentano](#) of the testimony of [Sister Anne Catherine Emmerich](#) appeared as THE DOLOROUS PASSION OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST ACCORDING TO THE MEDITATIONS OF ANNE CATHERINE EMMERICH (never mind that this writing seemed Antisemitic).



CATHOLICISM

ANTISEMITISM



The town of [Ipswich](#) dealt with the need of its paupers for an alms-house: “There were thirty-six in the alms-house. Of these was one insane and another non compos. It is calculated that they have maintained themselves this year, and earned 150 dollars towards paying the interest. The average ages of the thirty-six were seventy-one years, and of twelve among them eighty-five years and a half, making one thousand and twenty-seven years. The purchasing and continuing of this establishment is sound economy for the town and mercy for the poor. These, having stated employment, and wholesome and regular food as well as clothing, are more happy in mind and more healthy in body. Such of them as are slaves to vicious indulgences have something else to occupy their attention, at least for a part of the time, besides the gratification of their evil propensities. While much is thus well done for their bodies, should not the inquiry be made, whether enough has been done for their souls? The poor, however they become so, whether by adversity or crime, are the Providential care of the public, who are bound to provide for their spiritual as well as temporal necessities.”

There were three public houses at [Ipswich](#):



These, when well kept, are the home of the traveller. But when they are resorted to by the idle, intemperate, and licentious of the place where they are situated, and thus become lures to draw the young from virtue and lead them to perdition, they are public nuisances, and no eye of authority should wink at their abominations, but every energy should be put forth for their immediate suppression.



1833

1833

➡ Abner Kneeland published his Philosophical Creed: “I believe ... that God and Nature, so far as we can attach any rational idea to either, are synonymous terms. Hence, I am not an Atheist, but a Pantheist; that is, instead of believing there is no God, I believe that in the abstract, all is God; ... it is in God we live, move, and have our being; and that the whole duty of man consists in living as long as he can, and in promoting as much happiness as he can while he lives.”



➡ The Reverend [Beriah Green](#)'s SERMONS AND DISCOURSES, WITH A FEW ESSAYS AND ADDRESSES was published at Utica, New York.

➡ THE NATURAL HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF SELBORNE / BY [GILBERT WHITE](#). A NEW ED. / WITH NOTES BY SEVERAL EMINENT AUTHORS, AND AN ENLARGEMENT OF THE NATURALIST'S CALENDAR. London.

[THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE](#): OBSERVATIONS ON VARIOUS PARTS OF NATURE: AND THE NATURALIST'S CALENDAR / BY THE LATE GILBERT WHITE; WITH NOTES, BY THOMAS BROWN. Edinburgh: Published for the Proprietors by James Chambers.

[THE NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE](#): OBSERVATIONS ON VARIOUS PARTS OF NATURE AND THE NATURALIST'S CALENDAR / BY GILBERT WHITE; WITH ADDITIONS BY SIR WILLIAM JARDINE. New ed. / with eighteen engravings by Branston. London: Whittaker, Treacher.<sup>20</sup>

Colley was hired by Bateman to collect orchids in the Demerara region of British Guiana. Sixty species were returned alive from this expedition.

Drummond finally reached Texas after spending his first season collecting mainly in the Ohio Valley. He contracted cholera and barely recovered.

BOTANIZING

➡ The Dower Act, in England, all but abolished the “widow's thirds” rule under which a widow had a right of dower to the income from approximately one third of her deceased husband's lands. After this point, it would be necessary for a bride's family to negotiate any such “jointure” intended to support their daughter should she become a widow, and “portions” to support any children of the union should they be orphaned.

20. The Reverend White's NATURAL HISTORY OF SELBORNE is only the 4th most reprinted book in the English language.

1833

1833

➡ The trapper Joseph Walker was greatly surprised when he came to an edge in the Sierra Nevada mountains and looked down, down into a grand, deep, steep-sided and flat-bottomed valley, to be renamed by the white man as Yosemite Valley.

➡ John Godman's RAMBLES OF A NATURALIST.

➡ It became possible in the British Isles to donate the bodies of persons who died in the workhouses to anatomists for dissection.

➡ William Gladstone was elected as the MP for Newark (Tory).

➡ Prose by Isabel Hill.

➡ Odes by Letitia Landon.

➡ Felicia Hemans, HYMNS ON THE WORKS OF NATURE FOR THE USE OF CHILDREN, published; "Woman and Fame" written.

➡ Henry Alford, POEMS AND POETICAL FRAGMENTS.

➡ Alfred Domett, POEMS.

➡ G.P.R. James, MARY OF BURGUNDY, DARNLEY.

➡ Charles Lamb, THE LAST ESSAYS OF ELIA.

➡ Alfred Bunn gained control of both Drury Lane and Covent Gardens.

➡ Founding of the Manchester Statistical Society.

➡ Michael Faraday not only described the laws of "electrolysis" but was able to produce aluminum by this process. He wrote "On Electrical Decomposition," which would be published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society in 1834. In letters between himself and William Whewell, the electrochemical terms electrode, anode, cathode, and electrolyte were introduced.



1833

1833



The Reverend [Richard Chenevix Trench](#) became a deacon.

1833

1833

→ [John Adolphus Etzler](#)'s THE PARADISE WITHIN THE REACH OF ALL MEN, WITHOUT LABOR, BY POWERS OF NATURE AND MACHINERY had been published in Pittsburgh and was in all the American bookstores,



PARADISE WITHIN REACH

telling the people who wanted to believe this sort of stuff and who were able to buy and read books –which of course was, mainly, white people, since there were no schools for red people and since black people had long been punished for attempting to learn to write and now were even being punished for attempting to learn to read as well– that they could have utopia if they would merely organize to achieve it. So it really didn't matter in the great scheme of things if some poor populations of people had to be sacrificed, or left behind, in the great march forward into the beautiful future. And August Friedrich Pott, advancing the white Aryan myth of an *Urfolk* which had advanced westward out of Asia to vitalize the West, declared that

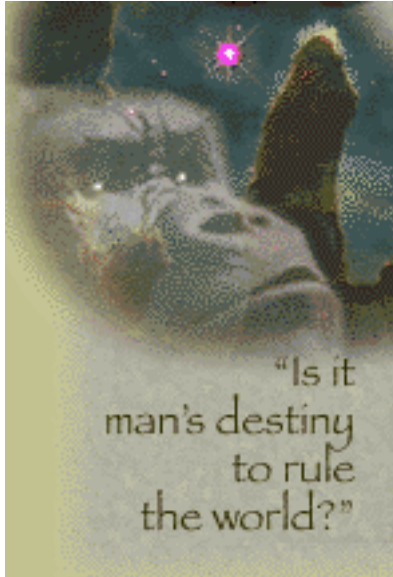
Ex oriente lux: the march of culture, in its general lines, has always followed the sun's course.



Clearly, religious leaders who desired to “pull a Bishop [George Berkeley](#)” for the 19th Century, and publicists like [Horace Greeley](#) and authors like [Henry Thoreau](#) who believed that they needed to speak of westering,



and popular writers like [William Cullen Bryant](#) whose “The Prairies,” written after his first visit to Illinois in 1832, had just hit the bookstores, were going to need to be exceedingly careful so as not being misunderstood by their audiences to be recommending empire, or civilizationism, or ethnic chauvinism, or the myth of Nordic racial superiority.<sup>21</sup>



With missionary zeal, Etzler traveled in Pennsylvania and Ohio off and on for the next seven years (the period referred to in TWO VISIONS OF J.A. ETZLER) as a kind of itinerant secular evangelist preaching the possibility of a new kind of Millennium to be brought about through human reason and effort. Not surprisingly, his views on economic and social reform were rejected; and “the more they were rejected ... the more strident and offensive became his rhetorical appeals.”

FUTURE-WORSHIP



Beginnings of the [Oxford](#) Movement (until 1841) for revival within the Church of England. Were symbols going to be enough? John Henry, Cardinal Newman began TRACTS FOR THE TIMES.

21. A factoid of interest to those of us who find this sort of thing interesting is that neither Bishop Berkeley nor Editor Greeley exercised any such caution, never went on record with a disclaimer about westering, never distanced themselves from authors such as Etzler and Pott and Flint. Only [Thoreau](#) did so:



*It is perfectly heathenish -a filibustering toward heaven by the great western route. No; they may go their way to their manifest destiny, which I trust is not mine.*

And he is remembered fondly for having had the courage and foresight to do so, say I with tongue in cheek.



*Etzler is known today almost solely through the review of his book written by Henry David Thoreau, the influential writer and critic. Thoreau was fascinated by Etzler's ideas ...*



1833

1833



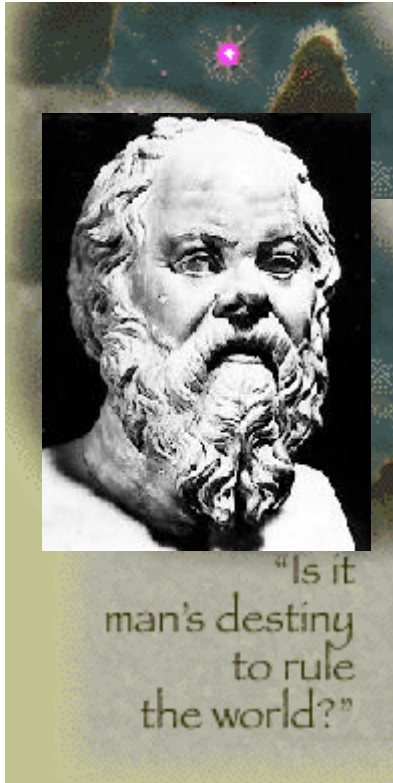
The Congregational Church of Massachusetts was no longer to be supported by public moneys, an arrangement which had been referred to as the "Standing Order."



French grapes were planted in California.



Schleiermacher's ON THE WORTH OF [SOCRATES](#) AS A PHILOSOPHER was translated.



The Reverend George Grimston Cookman was transferred from Philadelphia to [Maryland](#). He would twice be Chaplain to the US House of Representatives in the District of Columbia district of Maryland.



In Montevideo, Uruguay's National University of the Republic was founded, and in Philadelphia the [Religious Society of Friends](#) founded Haverford College.

[Professor Richard Harlan](#) was one of three Americans to attend the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. He presented a paper on the fossil reptiles of the United States.

PALEONTOLOGY

**THE SCIENCE OF 1833**

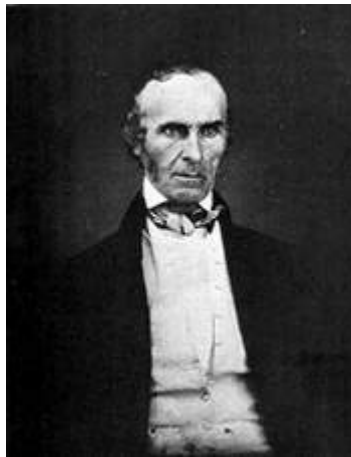
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➔ [Elizur Wright, Junior](#) would go to New-York upon being appointed secretary to the American Anti-Slavery Society.

[Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) published, at his own expense, while serving in the Massachusetts legislature, a pamphlet titled “Justice and Expediency”:

*In 1833 I printed at my own expense, an edition of my first pamphlet, "Justice and Expediency." With the exception of a few dollars from the "Democratic Review" and "Buckingham's Magazine," I received nothing for my poems and literary articles. Indeed, my pronounced views on Slavery made my name too unpopular for a publisher's uses.*



He represented the Commonwealth of Massachusetts at the 1st meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>22</sup>

*In 1833 I was a delegate to the first National Anti-Slavery Convention, at Philadelphia. I was one of the Secretaries of the Convention and signed its Declaration.*

He prepared a poem about Toussaint L'Ouverture, who in 1791 as a slave on the plantation “de Libertas,” had not begun to participate in the revolution until he had aided the white owner M. Bayou and his family to escape to [Baltimore](#).<sup>23</sup>

22. [Friend John](#) would later indicate that drafting and signing the resolutions of this convention meant more to him than having his name on any of his books.

*Strictly speaking, Whittier did not care much for literature.*



'T WAS night. The tranquil moonlight smile  
 With which Heaven dreams of Earth, shed down  
 Its beauty on the Indian isle, —  
 On broad green field and white-walled town;  
 And inland waste of rock and wood,  
 In searching sunshine, wild and rude,  
 Rose, mellowed through the silver gleam,  
 Soft as the landscape of a dream.  
 All motionless and dewy wet,  
 Tree, vine, and flower in shadow met:  
 The myrtle with its snowy bloom,  
 Crossing the nightshade's solemn gloom, —

The white cecropia's silver rind  
 Relieved by deeper green behind,  
 The orange with its fruit of gold,  
 The lithe paullinia's verdant fold,  
 The passion-flower, with symbol holy,  
 Twining its tendrils long and lowly,  
 The rhexias dark, and cassia tall,  
 And proudly rising over all,  
 The kingly palm's imperial stem,  
 Crowned with its leafy diadem,  
 Star-like, beneath whose sombre shade,  
 The fiery-winged cucullo played!

How lovely was thine aspect, then,  
 Fair island of the Western Sea!  
 Lavish of beauty, even when  
 Thy brutes were happier than thy men,  
 For they, at least, were free!  
 Regardless of thy glorious clime,  
 Unmindful of thy soil of flowers,

23. William Wordsworth would address a sonnet to L'Ouverture during his confinement in France:

Toussaint! — thou most unhappy man of men!  
 Whether the whistling rustic tends his plough  
 Within thy hearing, or thou liest now  
 Buried in some deep dungeon's earless den;  
 O miserable chieftain! — where and when  
 Wilt thou find patience? — Yet, die not, do thou  
 Wear rather in thy bonds a cheerful brow;  
 Though fallen thyself, never to rise again,  
 Live and take comfort. Thou hast left behind  
 Powers that will work for thee; air, earth, and skies, —  
 There's not a breathing of the common wind  
 That will forget thee; thou hast great allies.  
 Thy friends are exultations, agonies,  
 And love, and man's unconquerable mind.

The toiling negro sighed, that Time  
 No faster sped his hours.  
 For, by the dewy moonlight still,  
 He fed the weary-turning mill,  
 Or bent him in the chill morass,  
 To pluck the long and tangled grass,  
 And hear above his scar-worn back  
 The heavy slave-whip's frequent crack:  
 While in his heart one evil thought  
 In solitary madness wrought,  
 One baleful fire surviving still  
 The quenching of the immortal mind,  
 One sterner passion of his kind,

Which even fetters could not kill,  
 The savage hope, to deal, erelong,  
 A vengeance bitterer than his wrong!

Hark to that cry! long, loud, and shrill,  
 From field and forest, rock and hill,  
 Thrilling and horrible it rang,  
 Around, beneath, above;  
 The wild beast from his cavern sprang,  
 The wild bird from her grove!  
 Nor fear, nor joy, nor agony  
 Were mingled in that midnight cry;  
 But like the lion's growl of wrath,  
 When falls that hunter in his path  
 Whose barbed arrow, deeply set,  
 Is rankling in his bosom yet,  
 It told of hate, full, deep, and strong,  
 Of vengeance kindling out of wrong;  
 It was as if the crimes of years —  
 The unrequited toil, the tears,  
 The shame and hate, which liken well  
 Earth's garden to the nether hell—  
 Had found in nature's self a tongue,  
 On which the gathered horror hung;  
 As if from cliff, and stream, and glen  
 Burst on the startled ears of men  
 That voice which rises unto God,  
 Solemn and stern, —the cry of blood!  
 It ceased, and all was still once more,  
 Save ocean chafing on his shore,  
 The sighing of the wind between  
 The broad banana's leaves of green,  
 Or bough by restless plumage shook,  
 Or murmuring voice of mountain brook.

Brief was the silence. Once again  
 Pealed to the skies that frantic yell,  
 Glowed on the heavens a fiery stain,  
 And flashes rose and fell;  
 And painted on the blood-red sky,  
 Dark, naked arms were tossed on high;  
 And, round the white man's lordly hall,  
 Trod, fierce and free, the brute he made;  
 And those who crept along the wall,  
 And answered to his lightest call  
 With more than spaniel dread,  
 The creatures of his lawless beck,  
 Were trampling on his very neck!  
 And on the night-air, wild and clear,  
 Rose woman's shriek of more than fear;  
 For bloodied arms were round her thrown,  
 And dark cheeks pressed against her own!

Then, injured Afric! for the shame  
 Of thy own daughters, vengeance came



Full on the scornful hearts of those,  
Who mocked thee in thy nameless woes,  
And to thy hapless children gave  
One choice,—pollution or the grave!

Where then was he whose fiery zeal  
Had taught the trampled heart to feel,  
Until despair itself grew strong,  
And vengeance fed its torch from wrong?  
Now, when the thunderbolt is speeding;  
Now, when oppression's heart is bleeding;  
Now, when the latent curse of Time  
Is raining down in fire and blood,  
That curse which, through long years of crime,

Has gathered, drop by drop, its flood, —  
Why strikes he not, the foremost one,  
Where murder's sternest deeds are done?

He stood the aged palms beneath,  
That shadowed o'er his humble door,  
Listening, with half-suspended breath,  
To the wild sounds of fear and death,  
Toussaint L'Ouverture!  
What marvel that his heart beat high!  
The blow for freedom had been given,  
And blood had answered to the cry  
Which Earth sent up to Heaven!  
What marvel that a fierce delight  
Smiled grimly o'er his brow of night,  
As groan and shout and bursting flame  
Told where the midnight tempest came,  
With blood and fire along its van,  
And death behind! he was a Man!

Yes, dark-souled chieftain! if the light  
Of mild Religion's heavenly ray  
Unveiled not to thy mental sight  
The lowlier and the purer way,  
In which the Holy Sufferer trod,  
Meekly amidst the sons of crime;  
That calm reliance upon God  
For justice in His own good time;  
That gentleness to which belongs  
Forgiveness for its many wrongs,  
Even as the primal martyr, kneeling  
For mercy on the evil-dealing;  
Let not the favored white man name  
Thy stern appeal, with words of blame.

Has he not, with the light of heaven  
Broadly around him, made the same?  
Yea, on his thousand war-fields striven,  
And gloried in his ghastly shame?  
Kneeling amidst his brother's blood,  
To offer mockery unto God,  
As if the High and Holy One  
Could smile on deeds of murder done!  
As if a human sacrifice  
Were purer in His holy eyes,  
Though offered up by Christian hands,  
Than the foul rites of Pagan lands!

.....  
Sternly, amidst his household band,  
His carbine grasped within his hand,  
The white man stood, prepared and still,  
Waiting the shock of maddened men,  
Unchained, and fierce as tigers, when  
The horn winds through their caverned hill.



And one was weeping in his sight,  
 The sweetest flower of all the isle,  
 The bride who seemed but yesternight  
 Love's fair embodied smile.  
 And, clinging to her trembling knee,  
 Looked up the form of infancy,  
 With tearful glance in either face  
 The secret of its fear to trace.

"Ha! stand or die!" The white man's eye  
 His steady musket gleamed along,  
 As a tall Negro hastened nigh,  
 With fearless step and strong.

"What, ho, Toussaint!" A moment more,  
 His shadow crossed the lighted floor.  
 "Away!" he shouted; "fly with me,  
 The white man's bark is on the sea;  
 Her sails must catch the seaward wind,  
 For sudden vengeance sweeps behind.  
 Our brethren from their graves have spoken,  
 The yoke is spurned, the chain is broken;  
 On all the hills our fires are glowing,  
 Through all the vales red blood is flowing!  
 No more the mocking White shall rest  
 His foot upon the Negro's breast;  
 No more, at morn or eve, shall drip  
 The warm blood from the driver's whip:  
 Yet, though Toussaint has vengeance sworn  
 For all the wrongs his race have borne,  
 Though for each drop of Negro blood  
 The white man's veins shall pour a flood;  
 Not all alone the sense of ill  
 Around his heart is lingering still,  
 Nor deeper can the white man feel  
 The generous warmth of grateful zeal.  
 Friends of the Negro! fly with me,  
 The path is open to the sea:  
 Away, for life!" He spoke, and pressed  
 The young child to his manly breast,  
 As, headlong, through the cracking cane,  
 Down swept the dark insurgent train,  
 Drunken and grim, with shout and yell  
 Howled through the dark, like sounds from hell.

Far out, in peace, the white man's sail  
 Swayed free before the sunrise gale.

Cloud-like that island hung afar,  
 Along the bright horizon's verge,  
 O'er which the curse of servile war  
 Rolled its red torrent, surge on surge;  
 And he, the Negro champion, where  
 In the fierce tumult struggled he?  
 Go trace him by the fiery glare  
 Of dwellings in the midnight air,  
 The yells of triumph and despair,  
 The streams that crimson to the sea!

Sleep calmly in thy dungeon-tomb,  
 Beneath Besançon's alien sky,  
 Dark Haytien! for the time shall come,  
 Yea, even now is nigh,  
 When, everywhere, thy name shall be  
 Redeemed from color's infamy;  
 And men shall learn to speak of thee  
 As one of earth's great spirits, born  
 In servitude, and nursed in scorn,  
 Casting aside the weary weight



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And fetters of its low estate,  
In that strong majesty of soul  
Which knows no color, tongue, or clime,  
Which still hath spurned the base control  
Of tyrants through all time!  
Far other hands than mine may wreath  
The laurel round thy brow of death,  
And speak thy praise, as one whose word  
A thousand fiery spirits stirred,  
Who crushed his foeman as a worm,  
Whose step on human hearts fell firm:  
Be mine the better task to find  
A tribute for thy lofty mind,  
Amidst whose gloomy vengeance shone  
Some milder virtues all thine own,  
Some gleams of feeling pure and warm,  
Like sunshine on a sky of storm,  
Proofs that the Negro's heart retains  
Some nobleness amid its chains, —  
That kindness to the wronged is never  
Without its excellent reward,  
Holy to human-kind and ever  
Acceptable to God.

In 1874 [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would reminisce about “The Anti-Slavery Convention of 1833” (published originally in Whittier’s “Prose Works,” the following is merely an excerpt — he reviews how the convention’s “Declaration of Sentiments” came into being and his narrative evokes the earnest and solemn nature of the occasion):

Committees were chosen to draft a constitution for a national Anti-Slavery Society, nominate a list of officers, and prepare a declaration of principles to be signed by the members. Dr. A.L. Cox of New York, while these committees were absent, read something from my pen eulogistic of William Lloyd Garrison; and Lewis Tappan and Amos A. Phelps, a Congregational clergyman of Boston, afterwards one of the most devoted laborers in the cause, followed in generous commendation of the zeal, courage, and devotion of the young pioneer. The president, after calling James McCrummell, one of the two or three colored members of the convention, to the chair, made some eloquent remarks upon those editors who had ventured to advocate emancipation. At the close of his speech a young man rose to speak, whose appearance at once arrested my attention. I think I have never seen a finer face and figure; and his manner, words, and bearing were in keeping. “Who is he?” I asked of one of the Pennsylvania delegates. “Robert Purvis, of this city, a colored man,” was the answer. He began by uttering his heart-felt thanks to the delegates who had convened for the deliverance of his people. He spoke of Garrison in terms of warmest eulogy, as one who had stirred the heart of the nation, broken the tomb-like slumber of the Church, and compelled it to listen to the story of the slave’s wrongs. He closed by declaring that the friends of colored Americans would not be forgotten. “Their memories,” he said, “will be cherished when pyramids and monuments shall have crumbled in dust. The flood of time, which is sweeping away the refuge of lies, is bearing on the advocates of our cause to a glorious immortality.”

The committee on the constitution made their report, which after discussion was adopted. It disclaimed any right or intention of interfering, otherwise than by persuasion and Christian exhortation, with slavery as it existed in the States, but



affirming the duty of Congress to abolish it in the District of Columbia and Territories, and to put an end to the domestic slave-trade. A list of officers of the new society was then chosen: Arthur Tappan, of New York, president, and Elizur Wright, Jr., William Lloyd Garrison, and A.L. Cox, secretaries. Among the vice-presidents was Dr. Lord, of Dartmouth College, then professedly in favor of emancipation, but who afterwards turned a moral somersault, a self-inversion which left him ever after on his head instead of his feet. He became a querulous advocate of slavery as a divine institution, and denounced woe upon the abolitionists for interfering with the will and purpose of the Creator. As the cause of freedom gained ground, the poor man's heart failed him, and his hope for Church and State grew fainter and fainter. A sad prophet of the evangel of slavery, he testified in the unwilling ears of an unbelieving generation, and died at last, despairing of a world which seemed determined that Canaan should no longer be cursed, nor Onesimus sent back to Philemon.

The committee on the declaration of principles, of which I was a member, held a long session discussing the proper scope and tenor of the document. But little progress being made, it was finally decided to intrust the matter to a sub-committee, consisting of William Lloyd Garrison, S.J. May, and myself; and, after a brief consultation and comparison of each other's views the drafting of the important paper was assigned to the former gentleman. We agreed to meet him at his lodgings in the house of a colored friend early the next morning. It was still dark when we climbed up to his room, and the lamp was still burning by the light of which he was writing the last sentence of the declaration. We read it carefully, made a few verbal changes, and submitted it to the large committee, who unanimously agreed to report it to the convention.

The paper was read to the convention by Dr. Atlee, chairman of the committee, and listened to with the profoundest interest. Commencing with a reference to the time, fifty-seven years before, when, in the same city of Philadelphia, our fathers announced to the world their [Declaration of Independence](#),—based on the self-evident truths of human equality and rights,—and appealed to arms for its defence, it spoke of the new enterprise as one "without which that of our fathers is incomplete," and as transcending theirs in magnitude, solemnity, and probable results as much "as moral truth does physical force." It spoke of the difference of the two in the means and ends proposed, and of the trifling grievances of our fathers compared with the wrongs and sufferings of the slaves, which it forcibly characterized as unequalled by any others on the face of the earth. It claimed that the nation was bound to repent at once, to let the oppressed go free, and to admit them to all the rights and privileges of others; because, it asserted, no man has a right to enslave or imbrute his brother; because liberty is inalienable; because there is no difference in principle between slave-holding and man-stealing, which the law brands as piracy; and because no length of bondage can invalidate man's claim to himself, or render slave laws anything but "an audacious usurpation."

It maintained that no compensation should be given to planters



emancipating slaves, because that would be a surrender of fundamental principles. "Slavery is a crime, and is, therefore, not an article to be sold"; because slave-holders are not just proprietors of what they claim; because emancipation would destroy only nominal, not real, property; and because compensation, if given at all, should be given to the slaves. It declared any "scheme of expatriation" to be "delusive, cruel, and dangerous." It fully recognized the right of each state to legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery within its limits, and conceded that Congress, under the present national compact, had no right to interfere, though still contending that it had the power, and should exercise it, "to suppress the domestic slave-trade between the several states," and "to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction." After clearly and emphatically avowing the principles underlying the enterprise, and guarding with scrupulous care the rights of persons and states under the Constitution, in prosecuting it, the declaration closed with these eloquent words: -

We also maintain that there are at the present time the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free states to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of their tremendous physical force to fasten the galling fetters of tyranny upon the limbs of millions in the Southern states; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave-holder to vote on three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the South for its protection; and they seize the slave who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal and full of danger. It must be broken up.

These are our views and principles, - these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the overruling justice of God, we plant ourselves upon the [Declaration of Independence](#) and the truths of divine revelation as upon the everlasting rock.

We shall organize anti-slavery societies, if possible, in every city, town, and village in our land.

We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of remonstrance, of warning, of entreaty and rebuke.

We shall circulate unsparingly and extensively anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen over that of the slaves, by giving a preference to their productions; and We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.



Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, justice, reason, humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the help of the Lord against the mighty, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country and of the friends of liberty all over the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will do all that in us lies, consistently with this declaration of our principles, to overthrow the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth, to deliver our land from its deadliest curse, to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon, and to secure to the colored population of the United States all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men and as Americans, come what may to our persons, our interests, or our reputations, whether we live to witness the triumph of justice, liberty, and humanity, or perish untimely as martyrs in this great, benevolent, and holy cause.

The reading of the paper was followed by a discussion which lasted several hours. A member of the Society of Friends moved its immediate adoption. "We have," he said, "all given it our assent: every heart here responds to it. It is a doctrine of Friends that these strong and deep impressions should be heeded." The convention, nevertheless, deemed it important to go over the declaration carefully, paragraph by paragraph. During the discussion one of the spectators asked leave to say a few words. A beautiful and graceful woman, in the prime of life, with a face beneath her plain cap as finely intellectual as that of Madame Roland, offered some wise and valuable suggestions, in a clear, sweet voice, the charm of which I have never forgotten. It was Lucretia Mott, of Philadelphia. The president courteously thanked her, and encouraged her to take a part in the discussion. On the morning of the last day of our session the declaration, with its few verbal amendments, carefully engrossed on parchment, was brought before the convention. Samuel J. May rose to read it for the last time. His sweet, persuasive voice faltered with the intensity of his emotions as he repeated the solemn pledges of the concluding paragraphs. After a season of silence, David Thurston, of Maine, rose as his name was called by one of the secretaries, and affixed his name to the document. One after another passed up to the platform, signed, and retired in silence. All felt the deep responsibility of the occasion: the shadow and forecast of a lifelong struggle rested upon every countenance.

Our work as a convention was now done. President Green arose to make the concluding address. The circumstances under which it was uttered may have lent it an impressiveness not its own; but, as I now recall it, it seems to me the most powerful and eloquent speech to which I have ever listened. He passed in review the work that had been done, the constitution of the new society, the declaration of sentiments, and the union and earnestness



which had marked the proceedings. His closing words will never be forgotten by those who heard them:—

Brethren, it has been good to be here. In this hallowed atmosphere I have been revived and refreshed. This brief interview has more than repaid me for all that I have ever suffered. I have here met congenial minds. I have rejoiced in sympathies delightful to the soul. Heart has beat responsive to heart, and the holy work of seeking to benefit the outraged and despised has proved the most blessed employment.

But now we must retire from these balmy influences, and breathe another atmosphere. The chill hoar frost will be upon us. The storm and tempest will rise, and the waves of persecution will dash against our souls. Let us be prepared for the worst. Let us fasten ourselves to the throne of God as with hooks of steel. If we cling not to him, our names to that document will be but as dust.

Let us court no applause, indulge in no spirit of vain boasting. Let us be assured that our only hope in grappling with the bony monster is in an Arm that is stronger than ours. Let us fix our gaze on God, and walk in the light of his countenance. If our cause be just, — and we know it is, — his omnipotence is pledged to its triumph. Let this cause be entwined around the very fibres of our hearts. Let our hearts grow to it, so that nothing but death can sunder the bond.

He ceased, and then, amidst a silence broken only by the deep-drawn breath of emotion in the assembly, lifted up his voice in a prayer to Almighty God, full of fervor and feeling, imploring his blessing and sanctification upon the convention and its labors. And with the solemnity of this supplication in our hearts we clasped hands in farewell, and went forth each man to his place of duty, not knowing the things that should befall us as individuals, but with a confidence never shaken by abuse and persecution in the certain triumph of our cause.

➡ To encourage a [silk](#) industry in Massachusetts, and to encourage the waves of immigrants to remain rather than moving further toward the West, the legislature began to offer a bounty of \$1 for each pound of raw silk reeled within the commonwealth, and a penny for each mulberry tree planted. One advantage of silk manufacture, it was noted patriotically and frankly in [The Hampshire Gazette](#), was that much of the labor could be obtained on the cheap from women and children. In 1836 the state would disburse \$71.<sup>37</sup> in such silk bounties, and in 1838 it would disburse \$350.<sup>52</sup>

➡ At this point 11 years of age, [Johann Mendel](#) was enrolled in the Piarist secondary school in Leipnik, a neighboring village of Heinzendorf. Here, as in primary school, he would exhibit great academic ability.

[GREGOR MENDEL](#)

➡ It would have been in about this year that [Herman Melville](#) was forced from school, by family finances, and into a job as a clerk at his Uncle Peter's bank.

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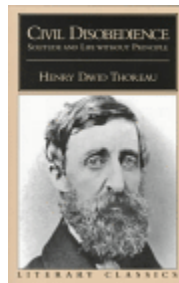
A stone jail was erected in the rear of the courthouse of Auburn, [New York](#). When a state investigative team toured the women’s quarters of the prison, it was appalled at the conditions it discovered there.

Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)) moved, with Elijah Pierson and the [Reverend Robert Matthew \(the Prophet Matthias\)](#), to a utopian commune called Zion Hill in Sing Sing, [New York](#).



However, Pierson would soon be murdered, and in the resultant disruption of the commune she would lose all her personal belongings — at which point she would return to New-York and start over again as a servant, for the next eight or nine years — until her mystical experiences would again draw her into testimony.<sup>24</sup>

[Silvio Pellico](#)’s *LE ME PRIGIONI* was translated into English, leading us toward Thoreau’s “This is the whole history of ‘My Prisons’.”



RESISTANCE TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT

24. The builders of the penitentiary that came to be known as Sing Sing after the town it was near had intended that it be referred to as the Mount Pleasant State Prison — but such an institution would not long support the irony of such a name.

READ "MY PRISONS"



1833

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→ Friend [Sarah Helen Power Whitman](#) had married a “wellborn Bostonian” writer who had helped her get some pieces published and who had introduced her to [Boston](#) intellectual society. In this year her husband died. They had had no children. The widow would return to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and publish essays promoting a range of Transcendentalist ideas, along with some poetry. She would become interested in spiritualism, seances, mesmerism, and other metaphysical topics of the time.



1833

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 In France, [Adrien-Emmanuel Rouquette](#) received his baccalaureate.




He travel in Europe for awhile and then return to New Orleans, to settle at Bayou Lacombe where would be near another settlement of Choctaw tribespeople.







 Nathan Johnson attended the 4th National Convention for the Improvement of Free People of Color in Philadelphia with black merchant Richard Johnson, evidently not related to him but also from [New Bedford](#), and was named one of four honorary members. Abraham Shadd was elected president of the Convention. At the age of 10, his mulatto daughter [Mary Ann Shadd](#) began attending the [Quaker](#) Boarding School run by Miss Phoebe Darlington in West Chester, Pennsylvania. She would take a six-year course.



Costumes of Philadelphia Quakers



The Reverend James Freeman Clarke took his first pastorate at a [Unitarian](#) church in Louisville, Kentucky,



till 1840. While in Kentucky he would put out a magazine named the [Western Messenger](#), which would print works by his friends [Waldo Emerson](#), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), and Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes.

Article III of the Massachusetts Constitution of 1780 had provided for the creation of an institutional “Publick religion.” In this year, aspects of this which had proved to be unworkable were removed by constitutional amendment, although much of the establishment of a state religion was allowed to remain intact. According to the thesis of Richard Eddy Sykes, *MASSACHUSETTS UNITARIANISM AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A RELIGIOUS SOCIAL SYSTEM IN TRANSITION, 1780-1870* (U of Minnesota Thesis, 1966, page 173), the development of [Unitarian](#) was significantly slowed down by this change in the law respecting establishment of religion. Previously, the new Unitarian churches had been able to tax all the inhabitants of their parish, regardless of whether or not they were members. The new arrangement brought this income source to an end: “The [separation of church and state](#) in Massachusetts was perhaps the most significant event in American Unitarian history. The event itself, and the change in attitudes which accompanied it, fundamentally altered the conditions under which Unitarianism flourished. As a result, it changed from a growing movement to a staggering denomination, only gradually and painfully adapting to the new voluntary nature of American religious social systems. Attitudes which developed before 1833 still dominate the Unitarian movement today, and retard its growth, though the origin of these attitudes is seldom recognized.” When the new Constitution of the federal government had come along, and with it a Bill of Rights and a 1st Amendment, this establishment of State Religion had been, like marriage licences and murder convictions, entirely unaffected.

The establishment of a state religion was simply one of those powers reserved by the existing state governments that had not been abandoned to the new federal layer of government. This had been considered to be a sensitive area to be left under local control and not to be meddled in, in any fashion, by the officials in the newly created federal layer. Actually, our several controversies about secular government have been controversies which arose considerably later in our historical trajectory as a nation: The hands-off warning of the 1st Amendment meant that the feds could not prohibit, for instance, Massachusetts from continuing to give legislative appropriations to the Harvard Divinity School. The effective disestablishment of the State Religion of Massachusetts came about only when the state legislature, in this year, was upset that the dominant teaching at Harvard had become Unitarian rather than Trinitarian. That was heresy — so the conservatives reacted by cutting off the flow of tax dollars.



Benjamin Lundy would write about meeting an escaped [slave](#) in San Antonio de Bexar, in the [Tejas](#) district of [Mejico](#). Much to the surprise of white Americans, former slaves were doing well in their new communities south of the border.

In [North Carolina](#), Wake Forest College was founded. The Reverend Doctor Furman addressed a lengthy communication to the Governor of [North Carolina](#), expressing the sentiments of the [Baptist](#) church and clergy on the subject of [slavery](#). The general idea was: “The right of holding [slaves](#) is clearly established in the Holy Scriptures, both by precept and example.”



“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

Soon thereafter the good reverend went to Judgment and his personal property was advertised for sale as follows:

NOTICE. On the first Monday of February next, will be put up at public auction, before the court-house, the following property, belonging to the estate of the late Rev. Dr. FURMAN, viz: – A plantation or tract of land, on and in the Wateree Swamp. A tract of the first quality of fine land, on the waters of Black River. A lot of land in the town of Camden. A LIBRARY of a miscellaneous character, chiefly THEOLOGICAL. TWENTY-SEVEN NEGROES, some of them very prime. Two mules, one horse, and an old wagon.

An extract from [The Observer](#), a religious paper edited in Lowell, Massachusetts by the [Reverend Daniel S. Southmayd](#):

We have been among the [slaves](#) at the south. We took pains to make discoveries in respect to the evils of slavery. We formed our sentiments on the subject of the cruelties exercised towards the slaves from having witnessed them. We now affirm that we never saw a man, who had never been at the south, who thought



as much of the cruelties practiced on the slaves, as we **know** to be a fact.

A slave whom I loved for his kindness and the amiableness of his disposition, and who belonged to the family where I resided, happened to stay out **fifteen minutes longer** than he had permission to stay. It was a mistake – it was **unintentional**. But what was the penalty? He was sent to the house of correction with the order that he should have **thirty lashes upon his naked body with a knotted rope!!!** He was brought home and laid down in the stoop, in the back of the house, in **the sun, upon the floor**. And there he lay, with more the appearance of a rotten carcass than a living man, for four days before he could do more than move. And who was this inhuman being calling God's property his own, and ruing it as he would not have dared to use a beast? You may say he was a tiger – one of the more wicked sort, and that we must not judge others by him. **He was a professor of that religion which will pour upon the willing slaveholder the retribution due to his sin.**

We wish to mention another fact, which our own eyes saw and our own ears heard. We were called to evening prayers. The family assembled around the altar of their accustomed devotions. There was one female **slave** present, who belonged to another master, but who had been hired for the day and tarried to attend family worship. The precious BIBLE was opened, and nearly half a chapter had been read, when the eye of the master, who was reading, observed that the new female servant, instead of being seated like his own slaves, **flat upon the floor**, was standing in a stooping posture upon her feet. He told her to sit down on the floor. She said it was not her custom at home. He ordered her again to do it. She replied that her master did not require it. Irritated by this answer, he repeatedly **struck her upon the head with the very Bible he held in his hand**. And not content with this, he seized his cane and **caned her down stairs most unmercifully**. He then returned to resume his profane work, but we need not say that **all** the family were not there. Do you ask again, who was this wicked man? **He was a professor of religion!!**



There were a number of antislavery movements, which at times made for strange bedfellows. There was a racist anti-black anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of white persons, which sought to do away with slavery in order to benefit the soul of the white owner, and also in order to destroy the economic basis of the black life of the time, and basically these people believed that black people should not exist, or at least, should not exist here where we white people exist, and that white slaveholders should not exist, or at least, should not be a part of the society which we decent white folks inhabit. In distinct opposition to these folks, there was an anti-slavery movement, made up primarily of persons of color, which sought improved conditions of life for persons of color, ameliorations both material and spiritual. To cut across the division created by two such contrasting motivational patterns, there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons who sought gradual, step-by-step, piecemeal practical improvements, new good amelioration following new good amelioration, a building process, and there was an anti-slavery movement made up of persons like [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Arthur Tappan, and Lewis Tappan who demanded immediate utter freedom and emancipation regardless of the personal or social cost, a tear-it-all-down-and-start-over project, and who were willing to see great harm done to real people if only the result would be some change in the wording of a law, written on paper somewhere. There was an Old Abolitionism which was racist, and an Old Abolitionism which was paternalist. There was a New Abolitionism which was Evangelical and millennialist and sought utter total top-down changes in society, and there was a New Abolitionism which was immanentist



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and which demanded utter total bottom-up personal transformation, within each individual soul. In Ohio, Shiperd Stewart and Philo Penfield Stewart (a student minister) established Oberlin College (more properly, the Oberlin Collegiate Institute), creating a town of Oberlin, Ohio (one of the last settlements to be created in Lorain County), as our nation's 1st coeducational institution of higher learning (Oberlin College would be in fact the 1st in the US of A to admit either girls or persons of color on an equal basis with the white boys). The first home of the town was a log cabin put up by Peter Pindar Pease just north of the historic elm. The Pease family became the first Oberlin colonists. The first business, a sawmill, was established at what is now the southeast corner of Vine and Main Streets. It would be owned and operated by the college, at first, to forestall any type of greed or cheating that might derive from the profit motive, the college would be owning and operating all local businesses. (However, this sawmill would become such a financial burden to the college that eventually it would be sold to a private individual, thus setting a precedent for more private ownership of businesses in the town.) The first college building was constructed: "Oberlin Hall," a boarding house for 40 students, was located approximately where the Ben Franklin store now stands. This building included classrooms for study — and would function as a church on Sundays. Its basement quarters were reserved for the college's professors. (Oberlin Hall would be used by the college until 1854, when it would be sold to be turned into a retail outlet. It would burn down in 1886.)





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According to Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE of 1845:

[M]y master attended a Methodist camp-meeting held in the Bay-side, Talbot county, and there experienced religion. I indulged a faint hope that his conversion would lead him to emancipate his slaves, and that, if he did not do this, it would, at any rate, make him more kind and humane. I was disappointed in both these respects. It neither made him to be humane to his slaves, nor to emancipate them. If it had any effect on his character, it made him more cruel and hateful in all his ways; for I believe him to have been a much worse man after his conversion than before. Prior to his conversion, he relied upon his own depravity to shield and sustain him in his savage barbarity; but after his conversion, he found religious sanction and support for his slaveholding cruelty. He made the greatest pretensions to piety. His house was the house of prayer. He prayed morning, noon, and night. He very soon distinguished himself among his brethren, and was soon made a class-leader and exhorter. His activity in revivals was great, and he proved himself an instrument in the hands of the church in converting many souls. His house was the preachers' home. They used to take great pleasure in coming there to put up; for while he starved us, he stuffed them. We have had three or four preachers there at a time. The names of those who used to come most frequently while I lived there, were Mr. Storcks, Mr. Ewery, Mr. Humphry, and Mr. Hickey. I have also seen Mr. George Cookman at our house. We slaves loved Mr. Cookman. We believed him to be a good man. We thought him instrumental in getting Mr. Samuel Harrison, a very rich slaveholder, to emancipate his slaves; and by some means got the impression that he was laboring to effect the emancipation of all the slaves. When he was at our house, we were sure to be called in to prayers. When the others were there, we were sometimes called in and sometimes not. Mr. Cookman took more notice of us than either of the other ministers. He could not come among us without betraying his sympathy for us, and, stupid as we were, we had the sagacity to see it.



Under the British Parliament's 3&4 Will IV c. 73 (An act for the abolition of slavery throughout the British colonies, for promoting the industry of the manumitted slaves, and for compensating the persons hitherto entitled to the services of such slaves; the so-called "Emancipation act"), [slavery](#) had been abolished in British colonies as of August 1, 1834 with the exceptions of India and [St. Helena](#). The some 800,000 former slaves were until 1840 to be held as compulsory "apprentices," indentured servants, and their former owners were to be compensated to the tune of over £20,000,000.

One out of every five slaves on the island of [St. Helena](#) had been purchased by the East India Company during the previous year, and granted [manumission](#) papers. During this year an additional one out of every five would be put through this process. By the completion of this buy-out program the government would have processed a total of 614 individuals for a grand sum total expenditure of £28,062. 17s. Od.

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➡ The [slaveholder](#) James Gillespie Birney returned to Danville, Kentucky and devoted himself wholly to the antislavery cause. In the following year he would put his money where his mouth was, freeing his own [slaves](#).<sup>25</sup>



➡ The Nonimportation Act banned any further commercial transportation of [slaves](#) into Kentucky.

➡ An ardent abolitionist, [Myron Holley](#) began publishing the Rochester, New York [Freeman](#).

➡ William Wells Brown would have been about 19 years of age during this year, so I am taking the liberty of introducing the following undated material from his NARRATIVE at this point, for lack of any more precise guidelines:

I WAS sent home, and was glad enough to leave the service of one who was tearing the husband from the wife, the child from the mother, and the sister from the brother – but a trial more severe and heart-rending than any which I had yet met with awaited me. My dear sister had been sold to a man who was going to Natchez, and was lying in jail awaiting the hour of his departure. She had expressed her determination to die, rather than go to the far south, and she was put in jail for safekeeping. I went to

25. Legally, there was a distinction between a slaveowner and a slaveholder. The owner of a slave might rent the custody and use of that slave out for a year, in which case the distinction would arise and be a meaningful one in law, since the other party to such a transaction would be the holder but not the owner. However, in this Kouroo database, I will ordinarily be deploying the term “slaveholder” as the normative term, as we are no longer all that concerned with the making of such fine economic distinctions but are, rather, concerned almost exclusively with the human issues involved in the enslavement of other human beings. I use the term “slaveholder” in preference to “slaveowner” not only because no human being can **really** own another human being but also because it is important that slavery never be defined as the legal ownership of one person by another — in fact not only had human slavery existed before the first such legislation but also it has continued long since we abolished all legal deployment of the term “slave.”



the jail the same day that I arrived, but as the jailer was not in I could not see her.

I went home to my master, in the country, and the first day after my return he came where I was at work, and spoke to me very politely. I knew from his appearance that something was the matter. After talking to me about my several journeys to New Orleans with Mr. Walker, he told me that he was hard pressed for money, and as he had sold my mother and all her children except me, he thought it would be better to sell me than any other one, and that as I had been used to living in the city, he thought it probable that I would prefer it to a country life. I raised up my head, and looked him full in the face. When my eyes caught his he immediately looked to the ground. After a short pause, I said,

"Master, mother has often told me that you are a near relative of mine, and I have often heard you admit the fact; and after you have hired me out, and received, as I once heard you say, nine hundred dollars for my service – after receiving this large sum, will you sell me to be carried to New Orleans or some other place?"

"No," said he, "I do not intend to sell you to a negro trader. If I had wished to have done that, I might have sold you to Mr. Walker for a large sum, but I would not sell you to a negro trader. You may go to the city, and find you a good master."

"But," said I, "I cannot find a good master in the whole city of St. Louis."

"Why?" said he.

"Because there are no good masters in the state."

"Do you not call me a good master?"

"If you were you would not sell me."

"Now I will give you one week to find a master in, and surely you can do it in that time."

The price set by my evangelical master upon my soul and body was the trifling sum of fine hundred dollars. I tried to enter into some arrangement by which I might purchase my freedom; but he would enter into no such arrangement.

I set out for the city with the understanding that I was to return in a week with some one to become my new master. Soon after reaching the city, I went to the jail, to learn if I could once more see my sister; but could not gain admission. I then went to mother, and learned from her that the owner of my sister intended to start for Natchez in a few days.

I went to the jail again the next day, and Mr. Simonds, the keeper, allowed me to see my sister for the last time. I cannot give a just description of the scene at that parting interview. Never, never can be erased from my heart the occurrences of that day! When I entered the room where she was, she was seated in one corner, alone. There were four other women in the same room, belonging to the same man. He had purchased them, he said, for his own use. She was seated with her face towards the door where I entered, yet she did not look up until I walked up to her. As soon as she observed me she sprung up, threw her arms around my neck, leaned her head upon my breast, and, without uttering a word, burst into tears. As soon as she recovered herself sufficiently to speak, she advised me to take mother, and try to get out of [slavery](#). She said there was no hope for herself –



that she must live and die a slave. After giving her some advice, and taking from my finger a ring and placing it upon hers, I bade her farewell forever, and returned to my mother, and then and there made up my mind to leave for Canada as soon as possible.

I had been in the city nearly two days, and as I was to be absent only a week, I thought best to get on my journey as soon as possible. In conversing with mother, I found her unwilling to make the attempt to reach a land of liberty, but she counselled me to get my liberty if I could. She said, as all her children were in slavery, she did not wish to leave them. I could not bear the idea of leaving her among those [pirates](#), when there was a prospect of being able to get away from them. After much persuasion I succeeded in inducing her to make the attempt to get away.

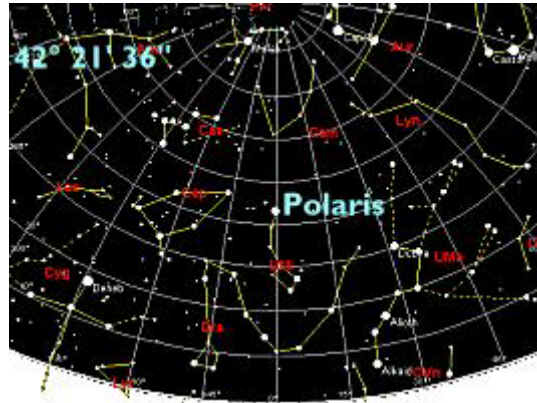
The time fixed for our departure was the next night. I had with me a little money that I had received, from time to time, from gentlemen for whom I had done errands. I took my scanty means and purchased some dried beef, crackers and cheese, which I carried to mother, who had provided herself with a bag to carry it in. I occasionally thought of my old master, and of my mission to the city to find a new one. I waited with the most intense anxiety for the appointed time to leave the land of slavery, in search of a land of liberty.

The time at length arrived, and we left the city just as the clock struck nine. We proceeded to the upper part of the city, where I had been two or three times during the day, and selected a skiff to carry us across the river. The boat was not mine, nor did I know to whom it did belong; neither did I care. The boat was fastened with a small pole, which, with the aid of a rail, I soon loosened from its moorings. After hunting round and finding a board to use as an oar, I turned to the city, and bidding it a long farewell, pushed off my boat. The current running very swift, we had not reached the middle of the stream before we were directly opposite the city.

We were soon upon the [Illinois](#) shore, and, leaping from the boat, turned it adrift, and the last I saw of it it was going down the river at good speed. We took the main road to Alton, and passed through just at daylight, when we made for the woods, where we remained during the day. Our reason for going into the woods was, that we expected that Mr. Mansfield (the man who owned my mother) would start in pursuit of her as soon as he discovered that she was missing. He also knew that I had been in the city looking for a new master, and we thought probably he would go out to my master's to see if he could find my mother, and in so doing, Dr. Young might be led to suspect that I had gone to Canada to find a purchaser.

We remained in the woods during the day, and as soon as darkness overshadowed the earth, we started again on our gloomy way,

having no guide but the North Star. We continued to travel by



night, and secrete ourselves in the woods by day; and every night, before emerging from our hiding-place, we would anxiously look for our friend and leader – the North Star. And in the language of Pierpont we might have exclaimed,

“Star of the North! while blazing day  
 Pours round me its full tide of light,  
 And hides thy pale but faithful ray,  
 I, too, lie hid, and long for night.  
 For night; – I dare not walk at noon,  
 Nor dare I trust the faithless moon,  
 Nor faithless man, whose burning lust  
 For gold hath riveted my chain;  
 No other leader can I trust  
 But thee, of even the starry train;  
 For, all the host around thee burning,  
 Like faithless man, keep turning, turning.

In the dark top of southern pines  
 I nestled, when the driver’s horn  
 Called to the field, in lengthening lines,  
 My fellows, at the break of morn.  
 And there I lay, till thy sweet face  
 Looked in upon my ‘hiding place,’  
 Star of the North!  
 Thy light, that no poor slave deceiveth,  
 Shall set me free.”

As we travelled towards a land of liberty, my heart would at times leap for joy. At other times, being, as I was, almost constantly on my feet, I felt as though I could travel no further. But when I thought of slavery, with its democratic whips – its republican chains – its evangelical blood-hounds, and its religious slave-holders – when I thought of all this paraphernalia of American democracy and religion behind me, and the prospect of liberty before me, I was encouraged to press forward, my heart was strengthened, and I forgot that I was tired or hungry.

On the eighth day of our journey, we had a very heavy rain, and in a few hours after it commenced we had not a dry thread upon our bodies. This made our journey still more unpleasant. On the tenth day, we found ourselves entirely destitute of provisions, and how to obtain any we could not tell. We finally resolved to stop at some farm-house, and try to get something to eat. We had no sooner determined to do this, than we went to a house, and





asked them for some food. We were treated with great kindness, and they not only gave us something to eat, but gave us provisions to carry with us. They advised us to travel by day and lie by at night. Finding ourselves about one hundred and fifty miles from St. Louis, we concluded that it would be safe to travel by daylight, and did not leave the house until the next morning. We travelled on that day through a thickly settled country, and through one small village. Though we were fleeing from a land of oppression, our hearts were still there. My dear sister and two beloved brothers were behind us, and the idea of giving them up, and leaving them forever, made us feel sad. But with all this depression of heart, the thought that I should one day be free, and call my body my own, buoyed me up, and made my heart leap for joy. I had just been telling my mother how I should try to get employment as soon as we reached Canada, and how I intended to purchase us a little farm, and how I would earn money enough to buy sister and brothers, and how happy we would be in our own FREE HOME – when three men came up on horseback, and ordered us to stop.

I turned to the one who appeared to be the principal man, and asked him what he wanted. He said he had a warrant to take us up. The three immediately dismounted, and one took from his pocket a handbill, advertising us as runaways, and offering a reward of two hundred dollars for our apprehension and delivery in the city of St. Louis. The advertisement had been put out by Isaac Mansfield and John Young.

While they were reading the advertisement, mother looked me in the face, and burst into tears. A cold chill ran over me, and such a sensation I never experienced before, and I hope never to again. They took out a rope and tied me, and we were taken back about six miles, to the house of the individual who appeared to be the leader. We reached there about seven o'clock in the evening, had supper, and were separated for the night. Two men remained in the room during the night. Before the family retired to rest, they were all called together to attend prayers. The man who but a few hours before had bound my hands together with a strong cord, read a chapter from the Bible, and then offered up prayer, just as though God had sanctioned the act he had just committed upon a poor, panting, fugitive slave.

The next morning a blacksmith came in, and put a pair of handcuffs<sup>26</sup> on me, and we started on our journey back to the land of whips, chains and Bibles. Mother was not tied, but was closely watched at night. We were carried back in a wagon, and after four days' travel, we came in sight of St. Louis. I cannot describe my feelings upon approaching the city.

As we were crossing the ferry, Mr. Wiggins, the owner of the ferry, came up to me, and inquired what I had been doing that I was in chains. He had not heard that I had run away. In a few minutes we were on the Missouri side, and were taken directly to the jail. On the way thither, I saw several of my friends, who gave me a nod of recognition as I passed them. After reaching the jail, we were locked up in different apartments.

I HAD been in jail but a short time when I heard that my master

26. It was apparently a rather ordinary practice to use iron handcuffs to subdue an unruly person of color. According to the journal of [Friend Thomas B. Hazard](#) or Hafsard or Hasard of [Kingston, Rhode Island](#), also known as "Nailer Tom," at one point he was asked to fashion a pair of handcuffs with which to confine a crazy negress named Patience.



was sick, and nothing brought more joy to my heart than that intelligence. I prayed fervently for him – not for his recovery, but for his death. I knew he would be exasperated at having to pay for my apprehension, and knowing his cruelty, I feared him. While in jail, I learned that my sister Elizabeth, who was in prison when we left the city, had been carried off four days before our arrival.

I had been in jail but a few hours when three negro-traders, learning that I was secured thus for running away, came to my prison-house and looked at me, expecting that I would be offered for sale. Mr. Mansfield, the man who owned mother, came into the jail as soon as Mr. Jones, the man who arrested us, informed him that he had brought her back. He told her that he would not whip her, but would sell her to a negro-trader, or take her to New Orleans himself. After being in jail about one week, master sent a man to take me out of jail, and send me home. I was taken out and carried home, and the old man was well enough to sit up. He had me brought into the room where he was, and as I entered, he asked me where I had been? I told him I had acted according to his orders. He had told me to look for a master, and I had been to look for one. He answered that he did not tell me to go to Canada to look for a master. I told him that as I had served him faithfully, and had been the means of putting a number of hundreds of dollars into his pocket, I thought I had a right to my liberty. He said he had promised my father that I should not be sold to supply the New Orleans market, or he would sell me to a negro-trader.

I was ordered to go into the field to work, and was closely watched by the overseer during the day, and locked up at night. The overseer gave me a severe whipping on the second day that I was in the field. I had been at home but a short time, when master was able to ride to the city; and on his return he informed me that he had sold me to Samuel Willi, a merchant tailor. I knew Mr. Willi. I had lived with him three or four months some years before, when he hired me of my master.

Mr. Willi was not considered by his servants as a very bad man, nor was he the best of masters. I went to my new home, and found my new mistress very glad to see me. Mr. Willi owned two servants before he purchased me – Robert and Charlotte. Robert was an excellent white-washer, and hired his time from his master, paying him one dollar per day, besides taking care of himself. He was known in the city by the name of Bob Music. Charlotte was an old woman, who attended to the cooking, washing, &c. Mr. Willi was not a wealthy man, and did not feel able to keep many servants around his house; so he soon decided to hire me out, and as I had been accustomed to service in steamboats, he gave me the privilege of finding such employment.

I soon secured a situation on board the steamer Otto, Capt. J.B. Hill, which sailed from St. Louis to Independence, Missouri. My former master, Dr. Young, did not let Mr. Willi know that I had run away, or he would not have permitted me to go on board a steamboat. The boat was not quite ready to commence running, and therefore I had to remain with Mr. Willi. But during this time, I had to undergo a trial for which I was entirely unprepared. My mother, who had been in jail since her return until the present time, was now about being carried to New Orleans, to die



on a cotton, sugar, or rice plantation!  
I had been several times to the jail, but could obtain no interview with her. I ascertained, however, the time the boat in which she was to embark would sail, and as I had not seen mother since her being thrown into prison, I felt anxious for the hour of sailing to come. At last, the day arrived when I was to see her for the first time after our painful separation, and, for aught that I knew, for the last time in this world!  
At about ten o'clock in the morning I went on board of the boat, and found her there in company with fifty or sixty other slaves. She was chained to another woman. On seeing me, she immediately dropped her head upon her heaving bosom. She moved not, neither did she weep. Her emotions were too deep for tears. I approached, threw my arms around her neck, kissed her, and fell upon my knees, begging her forgiveness, for I thought myself to blame for her sad condition; for if I had not persuaded her to accompany me, she would not then have been in chains. She finally raised her head, looked me in the face, (and such a look none but an angel can give!) and said, "My dear son, you are not to blame for my being here. You have done nothing more nor less than your duty. Do not, I pray you, weep for me. I cannot last long upon a cotton plantation. I feel that my heavenly Master will soon call me home, and then I shall be out of the hands of the slave-holders!"  
I could bear no more – my heart struggled to free itself from the human form. In a moment she saw Mr. Mansfield coming toward that part of the boat, and she whispered into my ear, "My child, we must soon part to meet no more this side of the grave. You have ever said that you would not die a slave; that you would be a freeman. Now try to get your liberty! You will soon have no one to look after but yourself!" and just as she whispered the last sentence into my ear, Mansfield came up to me, and with an oath, said, "Leave here this instant; you have been the means of my losing one hundred dollars to get this wench back" – at the same time kicking me with a heavy pair of boots. As I left her, she gave one shriek, saying, "God be with you!" It was the last time that I saw her, and the last word I heard her utter. I walked on shore. The bell was tolling. The boat was about to start. I stood with a heavy heart, waiting to see her leave the wharf. As I thought of my mother, I could but feel that I had lost

—"the glory of my life,  
My blessing and my pride!  
I half forgot the name of slave,  
When she was by my side."

The love of liberty that had been burning in my bosom had well-nigh gone out. I felt as though I was ready to die. The boat moved gently from the wharf, and while she glided down the river, I realized that my mother was indeed

"Gone – gone – sold and gone,  
To the rice swamp, dank and lone!"

After the boat was out of sight I returned home; but my thoughts were so absorbed in what I had witnessed, that I knew not what I was about half of the time. Night came, but it brought no sleep to my eyes. In a few days, the boat upon which I was to work



being ready, I went on board to commence. This employment suited me better than living in the city, and I remained until the close of navigation; though it proved anything but pleasant. The captain was a drunken, profligate, hard-hearted creature, not knowing how to treat himself, or any other person. The boat, on its second trip, brought down Mr. Walker, the man of whom I have spoken in a previous chapter, as hiring my time. He had between one and two hundred slaves, chained and manacled. Among them was a man that formerly belonged to my old master's brother, Aaron Young. His name was Solomon. He was a preacher, and belonged to the same church with his master. I was glad to see the old man. He wept like a child when he told me how he had been sold from his wife and children. The boat carried down, while I remained on board, four or five gangs of slaves. Missouri, though a comparatively new state, is very much engaged in raising slaves to supply the southern market. In a former chapter, I have mentioned that I was once in the employ of a slave-trader, or driver, as he is called at the south. For fear that some may think that I have misrepresented a slave-driver, I will here give an extract from a paper published in a slave-holding state, Tennessee, called the "Millennial Trumpeter."

"Droves of negroes, chained together in dozens and scores, and hand-cuffed, have been driven through our country in numbers far surpassing any previous year, and these vile slave-drivers and dealers are swarming like buzzards around a carrion. Through this county, you cannot pass a few miles in the great roads without having every feeling of humanity insulted and lacerated by this spectacle, nor can you go into any county or any neighborhood, scarcely, without seeing or hearing of some of these despicable creatures, called negro-drivers.

"Who is a negro-driver? One whose eyes dwell with delight on lacerated bodies of helpless men, women and children; whose soul feels diabolical raptures at the chains, and hand-cuffs, and cart-whips, for inflicting tortures on weeping mothers torn from helpless babes, and on husbands and wives torn asunder forever!"

Dark and revolting as is the picture here drawn, it is from the pen of one living in the midst of slavery. But though these men may cant about negro-drivers, and tell what despicable creatures they are, who is it, I ask, that supplies them with the human beings that they are tearing asunder? I answer, as far as I have any knowledge of the state where I came from, that those who raise slaves for the market are to be found among all classes, from Thomas H. Benton down to the lowest political demagogue who may be able to purchase a woman for the purpose of raising stock, and from the doctor of divinity down to the most humble lay member in the church.

It was not uncommon in St. Louis to pass by an auction-stand, and behold a woman upon the auction-block, and hear the seller crying out, "How much is offered for this woman? She is a good cook, good washer, a good, obedient servant. She has got



religion!" Why should this man tell the purchasers that she has religion? I answer, because in Missouri, and as far as I have any knowledge of slavery in the other states, the religious teaching consists in teaching the slave that he must never strike a white man; that God made him for a slave; and that, when whipped, he must not find fault – for the Bible says, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes!" And slave-holders find such religion very profitable to them.

After leaving the steamer Otto, I resided at home, in Mr. Willi's family, and again began to lay plans for making my escape from slavery. The anxiety to be a freeman would not let me rest day or night. I would think of the northern cities that had heard so much about; – of Canada, where so many of my acquaintances had found a refuge. I would dream at night that I was in Canada, a freeman, and on waking in the morning, weep to find myself so sadly mistaken.

"I would think of Victoria's domain,  
And in a moment I seemed to be there!  
But the fear of being taken again,  
Soon hurried me back to despair."

Mr. Willi treated me better than Dr. Young ever had; but instead of making me contented and happy, it only rendered me the more miserable, for it enabled me better to appreciate liberty. Mr. Willi was a man who loved money as most men do, and without looking for an opportunity to sell me, he found one in the offer of Captain Enoch Price, a steamboat owner and commission merchant, living in the city of St. Louis. Captain Price tendered seven hundred dollars, which was two hundred more than Mr. Willi had paid. He therefore thought best to accept the offer. I was wanted for a carriage driver, and Mrs. Price was very much pleased with the captain's bargain. His family consisted of himself, wife, one child, and three servants, besides myself, – one man and two women.

Mrs. Price was very proud of her servants, always keeping them well dressed, and as soon as I had been purchased, she resolved to have a new carriage. And soon one was procured, and all preparations were made for a turn-out in grand style, I being the driver.

One of the female servants was a girl some eighteen or twenty years of age, named Maria. Mrs. Price was very soon determined to have us united, if she could so arrange matters. She would often urge upon me the necessity of having a wife, saying that it would be so pleasant for me to take one in the same family! But getting married, while in slavery, was the last of my thoughts; and had I been ever so inclined, I should not have married Maria, as my love had already gone in another quarter. Mrs. Price soon found out that her efforts at this match-making between Maria and myself would not prove successful. She also discovered (or thought she had) that I was rather partial to a girl named Eliza, who was owned by Dr. Mills. This induced her at once to endeavor the purchase of Eliza, so great was her desire to get me a wife!

Before making the attempt, however, she deemed it best to talk to me a little upon the subject of love, courtship, and marriage. Accordingly, one afternoon she called me into her room – telling



me to take a chair and sit down. I did so, thinking it rather strange, for servants are not very often asked thus to sit down in the same room with the master or mistress. She said that she had found out that I did not care enough about Maria to marry her. I told her that was true. She then asked me if there was not a girl in the city that I loved. Well, now, this was coming into too close quarters with me! People, generally, don't like to tell their love stories to everybody that may think fit to ask about them, and it was so with me. But, after blushing a while and recovering myself, I told her that I did not want a wife. She then asked me if I did not think something of Eliza. I told her that I did. She then said that if I wished to marry Eliza, she would purchase her if she could. I gave but little encouragement to this proposition, as I was determined to make another trial to get my liberty, and I knew that if I should have a wife, I should not be willing to leave her behind; and if I should attempt to bring her with me, the chances would be difficult for success. However, Eliza was purchased, and brought into the family.

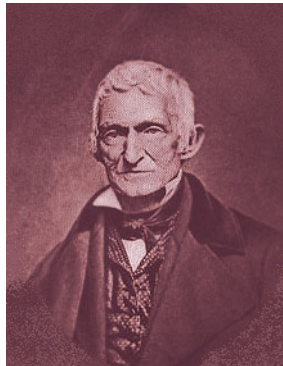
➡ Some **Catholic** French-Canadians had migrated at this point to Lewiston, Maine and Southbridge, Massachusetts.

CANADA

➡ To further his study of medicine, Oliver Wendell Holmes went to Paris, where he would remain for three years.

➡ Britain recognized Haiti.

➡ Samuel Hoar obtained another term as a Massachusetts senator.



1833

1833



The publication of [Alexander von Humboldt](#)'s TRAVELS AND RESEARCHES, which [Waldo Emerson](#) would purchase and read.



[James Fenimore Cooper](#)'s THE BORDERERS, OR, THE WEPT OF WISH-TON-WISH: A TALE, about "[King Phillip's War](#)", was published in London.

[Cooper](#)'s THE HEADSMAN; OR, THE ABBAYE DES VIGNERONS. A TALE. BY THE AUTHOR OF "THE BRAVO", &C. &C. Henry Thoreau would make an entry about this tale, as published in Philadelphia by Carey, Lea, & Blanchard, in his miscellaneous Reading Notes for about 1835 (however, what we have below, behind these three buttons courtesy of Google Books, is the equivalent 1833 edition produced in London).

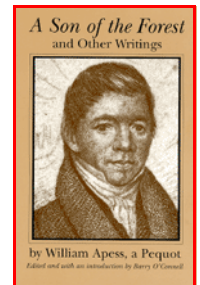
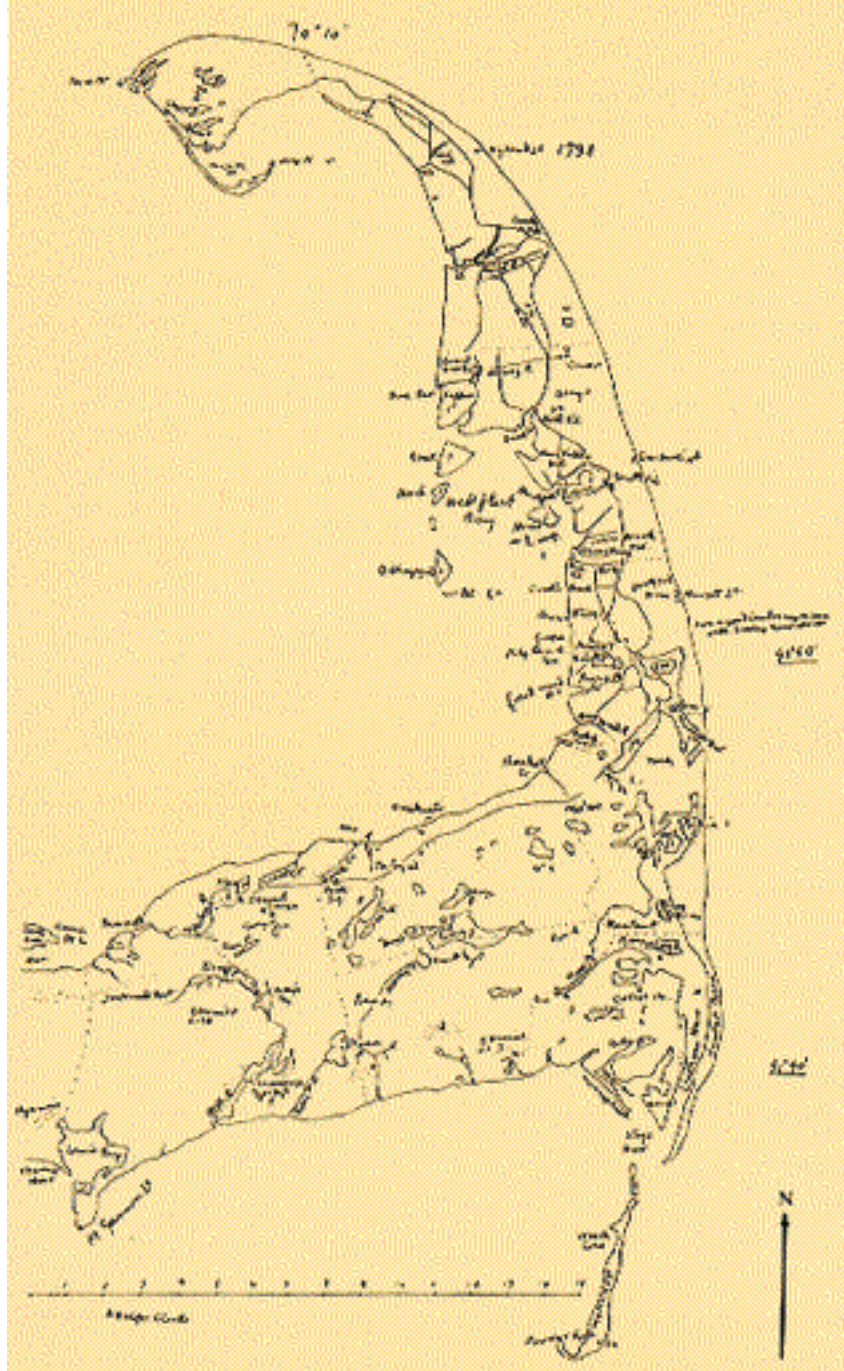
**COOPER'S HEADSMAN, I**  
**COOPER'S HEADSMAN, II**  
**COOPER'S HEADSMAN, III**

1833

1833



The Reverend William Apess was at the Mashpee reservation (“plantation”) on [Cape Cod](#) during the “Mashpee Revolt” and was one of those taken into custody for disturbing the peace. He would be sentenced to 30 days in jail and to a heavy fine but his THE EXPERIENCES OF FIVE CHRISTIAN INDIANS OF THE PEQUOT TRIBE; OR, AN INDIAN’S LOOKING-GLASS FOR THE WHITE MAN would achieve publication in Boston.



**It would appear that this was traced by Thoreau himself.**




The 1st two volumes of [Professor Charles Lyell](#)'s THE PRINCIPLES OF [GEOLOGY](#): AN ATTEMPT TO EXPLAIN THE FORMER CHANGES OF THE EARTH'S SURFACE BY REFERENCE TO CAUSES NOW IN OPERATION were



PALEONTOLOGY

republished in a 2d edition, with the addition of a 3d volume dealing with the successive formations of the earth's crust. By 1872, eleven editions of this work would appear, each with important revisions and additions. Lyell divided the "Secondary" and "Tertiary" rock-layer categories of Giovanni Arduino into the following periods: Newer Pliocene, Older Pliocene, Myocene, Eocene, Cretaceous, Jurassic, Triassic, and Carboniferous. This reclassification would lead eventually to the modern paleontological timescale: Quaternary, Pliocene, Myocene, Oligocene, Eocene, Paleocene, Cretaceous, Jurassic, Triassic, Permian, Carboniferous, Devonian, Silurian, Ordovician, Cambrian, and Precambrian.

**THE SCIENCE OF 1833**

Gideon Mantell named the genus Hylaeosaurus, which [Richard Owen](#) would in 1842 include in the family Dinosauria. (He had discovered it in the previous year,  and in this year he announced his discovery in his GEOLOGY OF THE SOUTHEAST OF ENGLAND.) On a nearby screen is what the beast would be made out to have looked like in a woodcut during Thoreau's lifetime, based upon a concrete reconstruction on the grounds of the relocated Crystal Palace south of London.

BIOLOGY

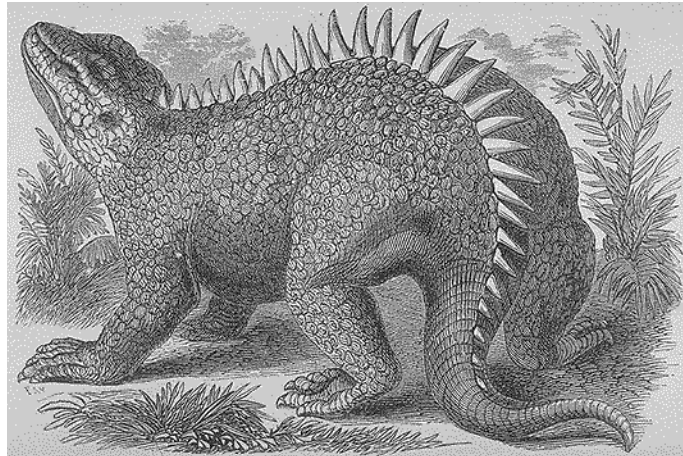
Having considered the history of the controversy between "[Neptunism](#)" and "[Plutonism](#)" as offered to [Henry Thoreau](#) at Harvard by way of [Professor Amos Eaton](#)'s A GEOLOGICAL AND AGRICULTURAL SURVEY ... and as offered to Thoreau after college by way of [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;..., Professor Thorson passes on to Lyell's "[Uniformitarianism](#)" as offered to Thoreau in THE PRINCIPLES OF [GEOLOGY](#) .... What Thorson asserts his vision to be –his vision that has now resulted in his WALDEN'S SHORE– is that **uniformitarianism** (1) led to **unconformities** (2), that in turn led Thoreau to (3) his WALDEN emphasis on a bedrock he terms "*point d'appui*":



By the late 1830s, however, neptunism lay in ruins, thanks to Charles Lyell's upgrade (1830) of James Playfair's upgrade (1802) of James Hutton's upgrade (1795) of his earlier published lectures (1783-1788) gathered as the THEORY OF THE EARTH WITH PROOFS & ILLUSTRATIONS. Hutton's theory was based on original field observations made at the scale of cliffs and mountains, rather than on inherited theories involving the origin of crystals. It held that landscapes are endlessly created and destroyed during episodes of vigorous mountain building that alternated with more protracted and passive episodes of erosion. During times of landscape *construction*, the sedimentary residues of the previous age are re-crystallized and re-melted by geothermal heat and re-raised as highlands. This made Hutton an obligate plutonist, even though this meta-process covered only the first half of his theory. The second half came during *deconstruction*, when these crystalline highlands were laid low by weathering processes within the soil, and by the flushing of the residues to the sea



by rivers. As Playfair summed up, "the decay of one part" is "subservient to the restoration of another, and gives stability to the whole." Unconformities were key to the system, being the boundaries between the rock-generating and rock-destroying hemicycles of the full cycle, referred to by Hutton as a "revolution." Using Hutton's term in its proper context, Thoreau described two unconformities in his JOURNAL, both of which became covertly significant in the final version of WALDEN ... a semi-scientific book written by a semi-scientific author living in the semi-scientific nineteenth century.<sup>27</sup>



27. Thoreau's "revolutions" were at the contact between the Andover Granite and the overlying glacial sediments, and between the glacial sediments and the overlying "alluvion."



1833

1833

→ Sylvanus Thayer, known as “the Father of West Point,” was sent by the US government to strengthen the earthwork fortifications constructed on Georges Island, just to the north of the shipping channel into Boston Harbor known as Nantasket Roads, by the French during the revolutionary war. The granite Fort Warren that was begun would not be complete until 1869.<sup>28</sup>



The [Boston](#) Asylum for Boys was moved to Thompson Island.



The Reverend Eleazer Mather Porter Wells (the director of the Boston House of Reformation whose personal guidance and example to the approximately 100 boys there had caused the French penologists Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont to rate it as the best in America) resigned, in part due to a dispute with the Boston city council over the “leniency” with which he had been treating his charges. Only if they were guilty of serious misconduct would he chain his boys in solitary confinement on bread and water! From this point forward, under more careful administrators, the House of Reformation would become a site of brutalization. Escaping from this juvenile prison would become known as “eloping.”

→ The British government advanced to [Harriet Martineau](#) the sum of £600 and opened its records to her so that she could create a series of stories depicting the corruptness of the system of poor relief. The moral of these just-so stories was to be that the deserving poor rapidly became, when helped in any way in their helplessness, hopelessly shiftless, hopelessly indolent, hopelessly deprived — they became transformed into the undeserving poor. What data served this cynical political agenda was to be utilized, what did not serve it was to be ignored. This would prepare the way, it was hoped, for a new Poor Law for 1834, one with a wise Malthusian agenda and flashes of Benthamite inspiration. The 1st of the 10 volumes of the author’s POOR LAWS AND PAUPERS ILLUSTRATED appeared.

FAMINE



28. Each block of the Quincy granite used for the 10-foot-thick walls required two man-days of labor to cut and face by hand. The stoneworkers were paid about \$48 per month, a quite decent salary for such exceedingly heavy work.

1833

1833



Use of the fantastical theory of Captain John Cleves Symmes of the earth as hollow, and open at the poles, by [Edgar Allan Poe](#) in MS. FOUND IN A BOTTLE.





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

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

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

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

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

1833

1833

➡ When officials of the [Chinese](#) court suggested that the prohibition of [opium](#) be dropped as ineffective, this proposal was rejected by the emperor. Unhappy with the lack of growth in the [China](#) market in general, the British government took over control of the [China](#) trade from the East [India](#) Company. The [Chinese](#) vigorously enforced its anti-[opium](#) policy by ordering the executions of all smokers and dealers.

➡ The monopoly of the British East [India](#) Company, on the supplying of [opium](#) to [China](#), expired. However, the Brits continued to sell the bulk of the opium purchased in China, perhaps because their supplies from Patna were regarded as a cut above the Portuguese supplies from Malwa and the American supplies from Turkey. At this time opium was the most valuable single trade commodity in the world.<sup>29</sup> During the years 1828-1836 China shipped away \$38,000,000 worth of silver due to its trade deficit, and yet without opium its trade deficit would have been a substantial surplus.

➡ The English built their first steam-powered warship.

STEAMBOATS

➡ The first percussion arm was accepted by the US military.

FIREARMS

➡ August Canfield of Paterson NJ obtained the first patent in the USA for an all-iron bridge. His bridge was an impractical affair consisting of a truss hung from a horizontal suspension rod anchored in the abutments, and any number of these failure-prone structures would be erected during the next 50 years or so.

BRIDGE DESIGN

➡ Desiring to complete long runs on its 135-mile track after the fall of night, the South Carolina Canal & Railroad Company began to push two small flatcars in front of the locomotive, with the floor of the leading car covered with sand, and with a bonfire of pitch pine burning on top of this sand. I'm not sure whether the intent was for the engineer to see ahead along the tracks, or to make the train more visible to people walking along the tracks, or possibly both.<sup>30</sup>

➡ Walter Henry commented on the dangerous attractiveness of [Niagara Falls](#) to our [tourists](#): "There are others so constituted as to be fascinated by the spectacle to such a dangerous and overpowering extent, as to feel a strong desire to throw themselves into the abyss."<sup>31</sup>

SUICIDE

➡ The child-queen Isabel II assumed the throne of Spain.

29. The economics of illegal drug traffic can easily become just overwhelming. For instance, the marijuana grown illegally in northern California now has a greater market value than the rest of the agricultural commodities grown in California all lumped together — despite the fact that California produces like a 10th of the entire amount of food consumed in the US.

30. We don't know when the first headlight was added to a locomotive. We only know that night travel was at first uncommon, and that the first headlight was used prior to 1837 because the *Alert* was constructed in that year with an approximation of a headlight as original equipment.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

31. One may speculate that there must have been some sort of linkage between the 19th-Century concept of [the sublime](#) and repressed forbidden thoughts of [suicide](#). Otherwise, it would be difficult to explain their great preoccupation with the sublime.



The 2nd child of the slave woman Harriet Jacobs with Samuel Tredwell Sawyer was a daughter, Louisa Matilda. Plantation owners in the South routinely were using the threat of selling the children of slaves as a means of controlling behavior. In INCIDENTS IN THE LIFE OF A SLAVE GIRL, Jacobs would explain how her owner, Dr. James Norcom, had constantly threatened that he would sell her children unless she became his mistress.

I saw a mother lead seven children to the auction book. She knew that some of them would be taken from her; but they took all. The children were sold to a slave-trader, and the mother was bought by a man in her own town. Before night her children were all far away. She begged the trader to tell her where he intended to take them; this he refused to do. How could he, when he knew he would sell them, one by one, wherever he could command the highest price? I met the mother in the street, and her wild, haggard face lives today in my mind. She wrung her hands in anguish, and exclaimed, "Gone! All gone! Why don't God kill me?" Slavery is terrible for men; but it is far more terrible for women.



Alfred, Lord Tennyson's "A Dream of Fair Women":

"Do you care to dance?"

"One usually does at a ball."

Her amazed look and quick answer caused Laurie to repair his error as fast as possible.

"I meant the first dance. May I have the honor?"

"I can give you one if I put off the Count. He dances devinely, but he will excuse me, as you are an old friend," said Amy, hoping that the name would have a good effect, and show Laurie that she was not to be trifled with.

"Nice little boy, but rather a short Pole to support —

*A daughter of the gods,  
Devinely tall, and most devinely fair"*

was all the satisfaction she got, however.

IPHIGENIA

Henry Hallam's eldest son, Arthur Henry Hallam (the "A.H.H." of "In Memoriam") died at the age of 22.



Charles King Whipple studied medicine in Salem, Massachusetts.



1833

1833

➡ [Benjamin Disraeli](#)'s novel ALROY, and his "Rise of Iskander."

➡ Robert Browning's PAULINE.



➡ Elizabeth Barrett's translation of PROMETHEUS BOUND.



➡ [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) published his POEMS AND PROSE WRITINGS.

➡ Friend Amelia Opie's LAYS FOR THE DEAD.



➡ In [India](#), Maria Jane Jewsbury died of the [cholera](#). There was an outbreak in Columbus, Ohio. There was a 2d epidemic in Rochester, New York.

1833

1833




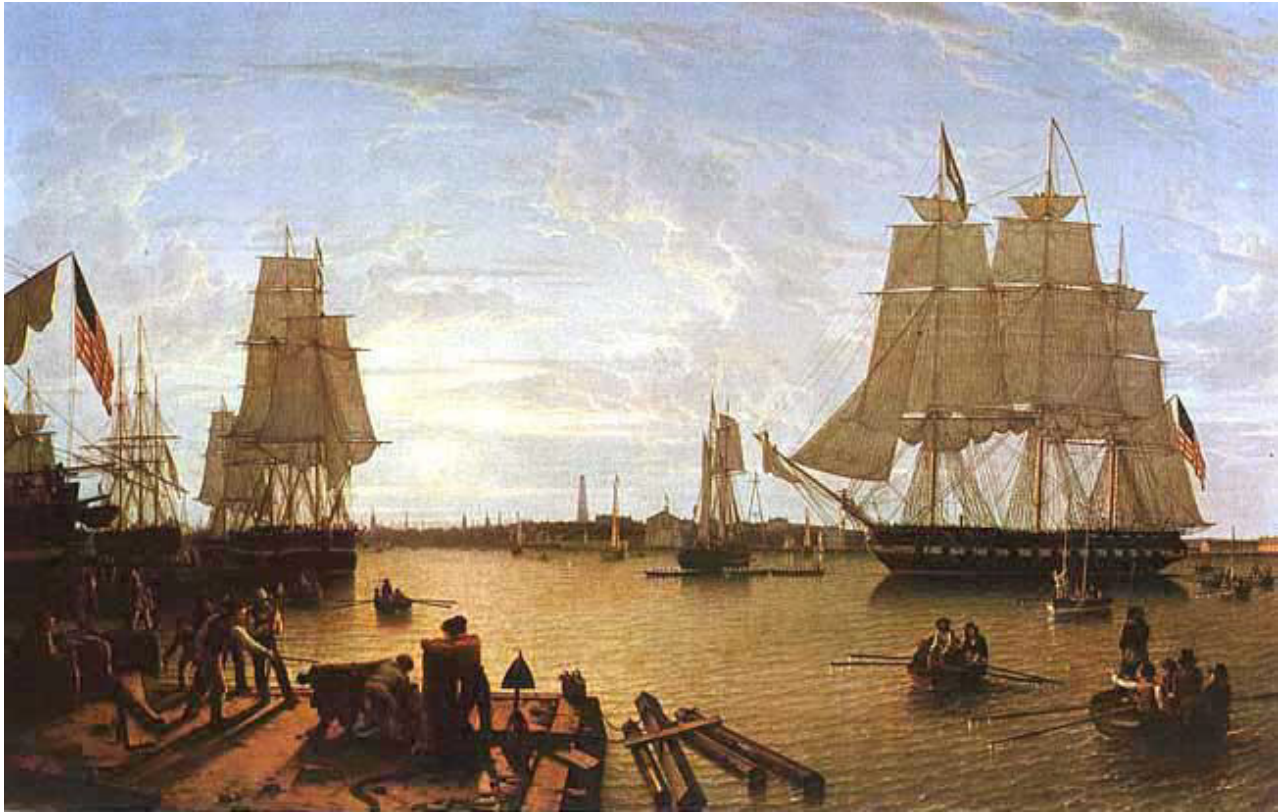
At the annual meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, out of a feeling that the term “philosopher” was becoming both too wide and too lofty, Professor William Whewell of Trinity College, Cambridge, who from 1828 to 1832 had been making his mark in mineralogy and would from 1838 to 1855 be practicing as a professor of moral philosophy, coined, by analogy with the title “artist,” a comparison title “scientist.” This new job-title he offered as a description of “the students of the knowledge of the material world collectively.” –This novel naming would be opposed, for a good many years, by others such as Thomas Henry Huxley, and would take awhile to come into general use. It would not be until 1862 that the older rubric “natural philosopher,” under which Whewell had been functioning while classifying his mineral specimens, would quite fade from use.




1833

1833

 Robert Salmon's luminous painting "Boston Harbor from Constitution Wharf" offered a view of Charlestown which now hangs in the US Naval Academy Museum in Annapolis, [Maryland](#).




 A moderately liberal draft for a new federal constitution proposed [Lucerne](#) as the federal capital of [Switzerland](#). Conservative politicians, mainly from Central Switzerland, were unwilling to accept the proposal.

 Probable date of a new translation of Madame de Stael's novel as CORINNE; OR, ITALY.

1833

1833

 With financing from the government, the first major landfill project was begun in [Boston](#). This was the filling in of South Cove to create the district known as the South End.



[Harvey D. Parker](#) opened Parker’s Restaurant in the basement of 4 Court Square.<sup>32</sup>



➡ In Salem, Massachusetts, the Essex Historical Society helped form the Essex County Natural History Society.

➡ The first American community service for white blind people was formed, under the direction of Doctor [Samuel Gridley Howe](#) (he would become the husband of [Julia Ward Howe](#)).<sup>33</sup>

➡ During this year and the next, not having learned his lesson with the failed General Repository, Andrews Norton founded and edited a second unsuccessful journal, the Select Journal of Foreign Periodical Literature.

➡ The idiom “all wrath” was in use, meaning “everything,” as witness these comments in J.K. Paulding’s BANKS OF THE OHIO:

I could eat like all wrath.  
I’ll be down on him like all wrath anyhow.

32. At this establishment one might for 12½¢ (which in the currency of the time would be one nine-pence Spanish silver coin), boiled, fried, or scrambled eggs, lobster salad, welsh rarebit, or the house soup. For two of those coins, which is to say, 25¢, one might have lobster, or lobster salad, and for three, which is to say, 37½¢, green turtle soup, the boiled halibut, the broiled mutton, the corned beef, the roast chicken, tenderloin steak, a dozen oysters on the half shell, or green goose, with a variety of vegetables and bread and butter. The tableware was solid silver (up to the point at which the civil war tripled the price of silver, necessitating a changeover to plated ware).

33. This facility would be renamed the Perkins Institute for the Blind because Thomas H. Perkins donated his home. Thoreau would apply to Dr. Howe for a job as an assistant teacher there on March 9, 1841 but would not be selected.





1833

1833

Also, per the following, “person of color” had by this point become established in the vocabulary of white Americans as a polite substitute for “Negro,” etc.:

“Well, as I was saying, the nigger” – “I think he might call um gemman of choler,” muttered blackey.



The First Amendment to the Federal Constitution, passed in 1791, signaled two important changes in the relationship between government and religion in America: the erosion of the traditional colonial church establishment system, and the redefinition of the term "religion" in public discourse. The first change did not come easily, and the second has often been ignored. Neither was a natural consequence of the Revolution, and both proved to be somewhat less authoritative than they might have been. Certainly the First Amendment did not settle the question of religion and government in America. Instead, it opened a long dialogue -sometimes a heated argument- that has lasted now for almost two centuries. Why this might be the case is suggested in one of the amendment's anomalies. Although it dispensed with the religion question in only sixteen words, the two words that are most commonly used in discussing it -"church" and "state"- are found nowhere in its text... Connecticut, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire refused to abandon the old state church tradition immediately. Despite vitriolic criticism from Baptists and milder complaints from Anglicans, (who now were becoming Episcopalians), these colonies retained their establishment of state churches. The 1780 Massachusetts constitution authorized "towns, parishes, precincts, and other bodies politic" to levy taxes "for the institution of the public worship of God, and for the support and maintenance of public Protestant teachers of piety, religion, and morality." Reminiscent of an earlier century, it even authorized legislation demanding compulsory church attendance, although it stipulated "no subordination of any one sect or denomination to the other." Connecticut also authorized taxes for the support of Christian churches, and New Hampshire rationalized previous local practice by providing a constitutional authorization for local levies to support "Christian" churches, without preferring one denomination over another... The complex colonial pattern of state churches encouraged revolutionary leaders to broaden but not to discard government support for religion in northern and southern colonies alike. The new establishment schemes in Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New Hampshire allowed some Christian dissenters to escape parish taxes but denied exemptions for atheists and the unchurched. Even Baptists could find government coercion useful. Although Isaac Backus and other Baptist leaders bitterly criticized New England's coercive church establishments, individual congregations sometimes used the courts to collect dues from nonpaying members just as Congregational and Presbyterian congregations did. They found the century-long custom of coercive government support for Christianity more persuasive than abstract principles against it... Congressman Samuel Livermore from New Hampshire well expressed the intention of the amendment: "that Congress shall make no laws touching religion, or infringing the rights of conscience." In short, the amendment meant what it said and said what it meant. The federal government should not legislate on religious matters and should leave individuals alone in their pursuit of religious truth... Only Connecticut and Massachusetts sustained multiple establishments after independence, though their byzantine complexity increasingly drained away the grandeur that state support for Christianity was designed to provide. In both states complicated certificate systems that relieved dissenting Presbyterians, Baptists, Quakers, and Episcopalians from parish church rates stimulated mistakes, misunderstandings, and arguments. Congregations vied for tax support or tax exemptions, then sued adherents who did not pay their promised dues. Fissures inside the established congregations, however, not outside agitation, caused the abandonment of multiple establishment.



**CONTINUED ON NEXT SCREEN**



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**CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS SCREEN [Emphasis added]**

Congregationalist-Unitarian schisms sent established church litigants to court for over three decades, and government support for Protestantism degenerated into unseemly brawls for control of church buildings and tax receipts. Connecticut voters approved a new constitution in 1818 that **finally abolished the multiple establishment altogether. Massachusetts voters did not amend their constitution to do so until 1833 and then only after a bitter contest that saw supporters of establishment decry the thorough collapse of morality and public order in an increasingly tendentious republic.**

JANUARY

➡ January: [Anonymous, by [Bronson Alcott](#)], “Maternal Influence,” [Annals of Education](#), III, pages 16-24.

➡ January: Rebecca Theresa Reed’s SIX MONTHS IN A CONVENT sold 10,000 copies in its first week and, in all, would sell some 200,000 copies. The [Catholic](#) Mother Superior of the [Ursuline Convent](#) would issue her own book in rebuttal of the allegations made.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

➡ Early in the year: Initial publication of what would become a bestselling textbook, GEOGRAPHY OF THE HEAVENS by [Elijah Hinsdale Burritt](#). The author had intended the title to be URANOGRAPHY but his publisher in Hartford, Connecticut refused to allow this.

ASTRONOMY

➡ January-July: [Dr. Asa Gray](#) taught science at the Utica Gymnasium.

➡ January: Birth of [James Deas Nott](#).

At last, some theorizing about human skin colors that is [racial](#) without being [racialist](#)! The origin of “Gloger’s Rule,” according to which melanin pigment in the skin affects its ability to manufacture vitamin D. A darker complexion impedes accumulation of too much vitamin D in the tropics, while a lighter complexion allows extra vitamin D production in marginally sunny climates. Too much vitamin D can cause hypervitaminosis symptoms. Too little can cause bone malformation, and a woman with a deformed pelvis can easily die during childbirth.

“GLOGER’S RULE”

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January: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Amistad Habanera*, master Fernandez, M., on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



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January: [Prudence Crandall](#), headmistress of the Canterbury, Connecticut female academy, visited [Boston](#), [Providence](#), New-York, and New Haven to recruit 20 students of color, and sought the counsel of [William Lloyd Garrison](#). When she returned to Canterbury she announced that she had decided to do without the white students and instead educate free young black women: “Young Ladies and Little Misses of Color.” The town fathers of course went apeshit.



When the school reopened, some of its students were from out of state, from for instance such foreign municipalities as Boston and Philadelphia. The Selectmen of the town responded by declaring: “Open this door, and New England will become the Liberia of America.”<sup>34</sup> Merchants refused to sell supplies. The town doctor refused to treat the students. The local church refused to admit the students. Manure was thrown into their drinking water. Rocks were thrown at the school building while these “young ladies and little misses of color” were inside. The local authorities began to threaten the application of a local “vagrancy” ordinance, a law that would provide such visitors with ten lashes of the whip (to my knowledge, however, not one of these young ladies of color ever was actually whipped in accordance with this “vagrancy” idea, the idea of torturing

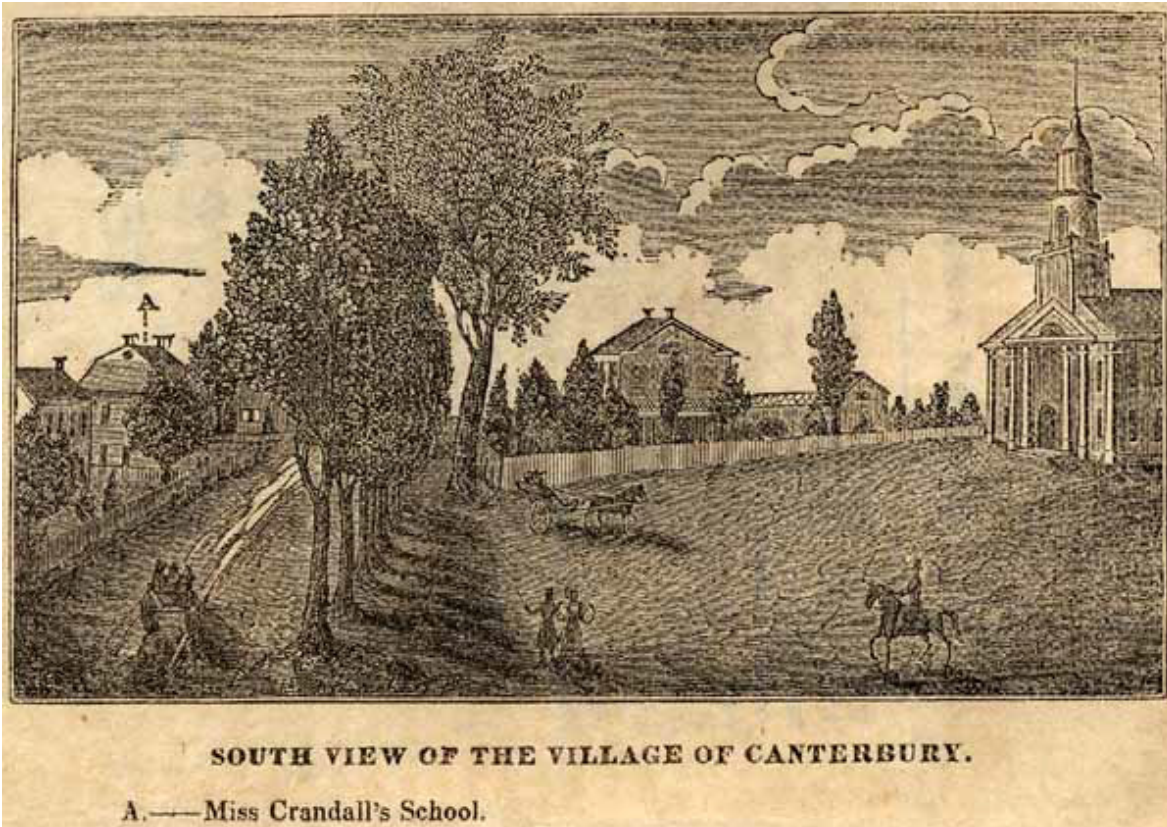
34. Had, through the efforts of Prudence, New England become the Liberia of America — this is what its currency would have looked like:



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them being, apparently, merely a nasty threat).



January 1, Tuesday: The initial issue of Knickerbocker Magazine was published, in New-York.

Sidney Smith began publishing Rochester, New York's Evening Advertiser (he would soon turn it into a morning newspaper, to distinguish it from its afternoon rival the Daily Advertiser).

Concert Piece op.113 for clarinet, basset horn and piano by Felix Mendelssohn was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

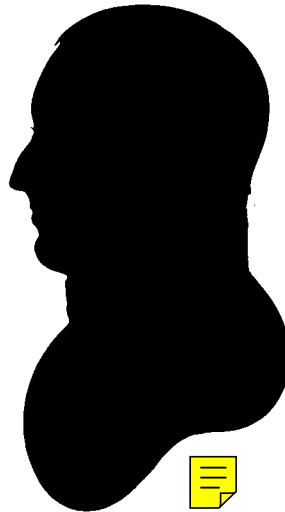
Leitch Ritchie began a Library of Romance series (Smith and Elder).

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal about his work at the Quaker Yearly Meeting Boarding School in Providence, Rhode Island:

*1st M 1833 / My old Book being full, at the end of the Month [12th Month, December 1832] I have concluded to make a new one for the purpose of occasional journalizing, concluding I may be less frequent in my entrys in it than for many years heretofore. — I do not feel quite satisfied to omit it altogether. — There is much of a Sameness in my daily round since I have been attached to the Yearly Meeting boarding School where we have now lived over four Years & how much longer we shall be here is uncertain - Another week may decide that we take a residence else where - & at present I am not anxious about it, tho' I may acknowledge, our being here has been very*

advantageous to us in a pecuniary point of view & our outward circumstances much improved for which I desire to be thankful, & believe I am really & even humbly so. —In the course of this M we have had diverse good Meetings, & I have been out to Johnson with Wm Almy to attend the funeral of a widow Waterman Aged 88 Years, & tho' some trials await me it has been a time of favour.  
\_\_35

“MOSES BROWN SCHOOL”



➡ January 2, Wednesday: Il furioso nell'isola di San Domingo, a melodramma by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti after an anonymous play on the Don Quixote story, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome. It was an immediate success.

Waldo Emerson to his journal, at sea:

Sailed from Boston for Malta Dec. 25, 1832 in Brig Jasper, Capt Ellis, 236 tons laden with logwood, mahogany, tobacco, sugar, coffee, beeswax, cheese, &c.

➡ January 3, Thursday: Great Britain seized control of the Falkland Islands by landing troops and ejecting the Argentine administrators.

Karl Bodmer boarded a steamboat at Mount Vernon, Indiana, bound for New Orleans.

35. Stephen Wanton Gould Diary, 1833-1836: The Gould family papers are stored under control number 2033 at the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections of Cornell University Library, Box 9 Folder 15: January 1, 1833-August 28, 1836; also on microfilm, see Series 7

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→ January 5, Saturday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) petitioned his employers in Weimar that he no longer be obligated to don the uniform of a servant (they would graciously respond that, whenever he gave performances outside Weimar, he might feel free to attire himself however he pleased).

→ January 7, Monday: Tanze fur den Berliner Kunstlerball for orchestra by Otto Nicolai were performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

→ January 8, Tuesday: New-York businessman and philanthropist Lewis Tappan wrote to his skeptic brother Benjamin Tappan in Steubenville, Ohio to alert him to the possibility of eternal damnation.

On the 41st birthday of the musician who was inspiring its formation, Lowell Mason, the Boston Academy of Music was organized.

→ January 9, Wednesday: Land was purchased in New-York for the construction of a Custom House. (Watch out, Boston, for just as the port of Salem could be replaced by the port of Boston, by offering larger anchorages and better facilities, the port of Boston could be replaced by the port of New York, by offering readier access to the interior of the continent!)

→ January 10, Thursday: “Die erste Walpurgisnacht,” a cantata for chorus and orchestra by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) to words of [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#), was performed publicly for the first time, in Berlin. The press was mixed.

→ January 12, Saturday: Samuel B. Woodward opened the doors of the State Lunatic Hospital at Worcester, Massachusetts (now named Worcester State Hospital). The 1st patient would arrive on January 19th.<sup>36</sup>

PSYCHOLOGY

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



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January 13, Sunday: Clara Wieck played her Caprices en forme de valse pour le piano op.2 for the initial time, in a private concert given in her father's house. She also played what might be the 1st performance of any solo piano music by Robert Schumann, two of the op.3 studies after [Nicolò Paganini](#).



President Andrew Jackson provided a full and succinct explanation for his federalism in terms of the considerable contempt he held toward weakness: "nothing must be permitted to weaken our government at home or abroad."



HMS *Beagle*, south of 48° off False Cape Horn, was being "Sorely Tried." After 4PM, between the Ildefonsos and Diego Ramirez, it had a sea roller heel it well over, breaking over its quarter and poop decks. Its bowsprit was sprung, its lee-quarter gig was carried away, and some netting and one of the ship's barometers. "Mr. Darwin's collections, in the poop and forecabin on deck, were much injured." After the vessel had righted itself and the water had poured off its deck, the crew brought it to anchor under shelter of the land in Wind Bound Bay, where [Charles Darwin](#) wrote in his journal:

The gale does not abate: if the Beagle was not an excellent sea-boat & our tackle in good condition, we should be in distress. A less gale has dismasted & foundered many a good ship.

The worst part of the business is our not exactly knowing our position: it has an awkward sound to hear the officers repeatedly telling the look out man to look well to leeward. – Our horizon was limited to a small compass by the spray carried by the wind: – the sea looked ominous, there was so much foam that it resembled a dreary plain covered by patches of drifted snow. – Whilst we were heavily labouring, it was curious to see how the Albatross with its widely expanded wings, glided right up the wind.

At noon the storm was at its height; & we began to suffer; a great sea struck us & came on board; the after tackle of the quarter boat gave way & an axe being obtained they were instantly obliged to cut away one of the beautiful whale-boats. – the same sea filled our decks so deep, that if another had followed it is not difficult to guess the result. – It is not easy to imagine what a state of confusion the decks were in from the great body of water. – At last the ports were knocked open & she again rose buoyant to the sea. – In the evening it moderated & we made out Cape Spencer (near Wigwam cove), & running in, anchored behind false Cape Horn. – As it was dark there was difficulty in finding a place; but as the men & officers from constant wet were much tired, the anchor was "let go" in the unusual depth of 47 fathoms. – The luxury of quiet water after being involved in such a warring of the elements is indeed great. – It could have been no ordinary one, since Capt. FitzRoy considers it the worst gale he was ever in. – It is a disheartening reflection; that it is now 24 days since doubling Cape Horn, since which there has been constant bad weather, & we are now not much above 20 miles from it.



January 16, Wednesday: At Lincoln, the Reverend Ebenezer Newhall was installed as minister.







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On the 16th of January, 1833, the Rev. Ebenezer Newhall, a native of New Ipswich, New Hampshire, and recently a minister at Oxford, was installed over this society. The introductory prayer on the occasion was by the Rev. Mr. Gilbert, of Newton; sermon by the Rev. Mr. Nelson, of Leicester; installing prayer by the Rev. Mr. Hurlburt, of Sudbury; charge by the Rev. Mr. Allen, of Shrewsbury; right hand of fellowship by the Rev. Mr. Demond, the late pastor; and the address to the people by the Rev. Mr. Harding, of Waltham.<sup>37</sup>

 January 17, Thursday: Michael Faraday read to the Royal Society in London a paper “Relation by Measure of Common and Voltaic Electricity” announcing the basic laws of electrolysis.


Richard Wagner moved from Leipzig to Wurzburg, to be chorus director and coach for his brother Albert.


 January 19, Saturday: Ferdinand Herold died of [tuberculosis](#) in Paris at the age of 41.

(Which is to say, per the literature published in this year by [Dr. William Alcott](#), that he had [masturbated](#) himself to death.)

 January 20, Sunday: On this day and the following one, the *Jasper*, conveying [Waldo Emerson](#), was passing through the Straits of Gibraltar.

The composer Ferdinand Herold having just died, this day’s performance of his successful opera “Le pre aux clercs” was cancelled.

 January 21, Monday: Senator Wilkins, chair of the US Senate’s Judiciary Committee, introduced a mundane bill about collecting duties on imports, but did so in a manner that would seem to raise questions as to whether the US Constitution amounted to a mere compact between sovereign states, or amounted, on the other hand, to much more than that — a social compact entered into by all the individual human citizens.

 January 22, Tuesday: The Berlin Singakademie elected Karl Runghagen as its director, rather than [Felix Mendelssohn](#), by a vote of 148 over 88 (presumably Mendelssohn’s age and ethnicity were being held against him).

In the US Senate, John C. Calhoun submitted the following three resolutions:<sup>38</sup>

“**Resolved**, That the people of the several States composing these United States are united as parties to a constitutional compact, to which the people of each State acceded as a separate sovereign community, each binding itself by its own particular ratification; and that the union, of which the said compact is the bond, is a union **between the States** ratifying the same.

37. [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.)

38. 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).



**Resolved**, That the people of the several States thus united by the constitutional compact, in forming that instrument, and in creating a general government to carry into effect the objects for which they were formed, delegated to that government, for that purpose, certain definite powers, to be exercised jointly, reserving, at the same time, each State to itself, the residuary mass of powers, to be exercised by its own separate government; and that whenever the general government assumes the exercise of powers not delegated by the compact, its acts are unauthorized, and are of no effect; and that the same government is not made the final judge of the powers delegated to it, since that would make its discretion, and not the Constitution, the measure of its powers; but that, as in all other cases of compact among sovereign parties, without any common judge, each has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress.

**Resolved**, That the assertions, that the people of these United States, taken collectively as individuals, are now, or ever have been, united on the principle of the social compact, and, as such, are now formed into one nation or people, or that they have ever been so united in any one stage of their political existence; that the people of the several States composing the Union have not, as members thereof, retained their sovereignty; that the allegiance of their citizens has been transferred to the general government; that they have parted with the right of punishing treason through their respective State governments; and that they have not the right of judging in the last resort as to the extent of the powers reserved, and of consequence of those delegated,—are not only without foundation in truth, but are contrary to the most certain and plain historical facts, and the clearest deductions of reason; and that all exercise of power on the part of the general government, or any of its departments, claiming authority from such erroneous assumptions, must of necessity be unconstitutional, — must tend, directly and inevitably, to subvert the sovereignty of the States, to destroy the federal character of the Union, and to rear on its ruins a consolidated government, without constitutional check or limitation, and which must necessarily terminate in the loss of liberty itself.”

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➡ January 26, Saturday: [Barnard Hanbury](#) died in London. The Reverend Hanbury had been Rector of Chignal cum Mashbury in Essex, and a Fellow of the Royal Society. Recently he had been serving as Domestic Chaplain to H.R.H. Prince Augustus Frederick, Duke of Sussex (1773-1843), a son of King George III and Charlotte of Mecklenburg-Strelitz.



➡ January 28, Monday: [Charles George Gordon](#) was born in Woolwich, near [London](#).

FEBRUARY

February: In Salem, Massachusetts, there was a public confrontation between the New England Anti-Slavery Society (let's set them free) and the American Colonization Society (let's get rid of them).

February: Maria W. Stewart, the lady who had the previous September delivered a public address in the Franklin Hall in Boston (to our knowledge the very 1st time ever that an American woman had spoken in public before a group, let alone an American woman of color), attempted to speak at the African Masonic Lodge in Boston. Her topic this time was not "Religion and the Pure Principles of Morality, The Sure Foundation on Which We Must Build" but the very non-specific "An Address Delivered at the African Masonic Hall." Incautiously, she attempted to persuade her audience that the black man had not been sufficiently outspoken on the discrimination issue, and that possibly the reason for this inadequacy was, he feared to offend his white friends.

*"Have the sons of Africa no souls?"*

Evidently her audience was locked and loaded to reject this, as they had provided themselves with rotten tomatoes with which to pelt her as she attempted to express her hypothesis. She would need to leave town.

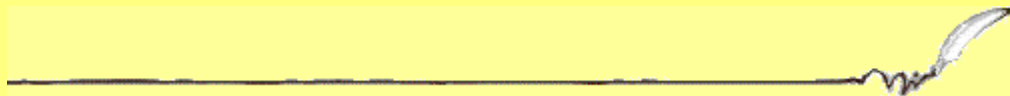
Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*2nd M 1833 / This has been a Month of Some trial both of body & mind - I have been quite sick for one thing, & besides some trying & provings of mind, perhaps rather uncommonly so for me, who have had so Smooth a passage thro' life, but I desire to cultivate a thankful disposition for present & past good & for the future trust in Him who hath sugnally helped me thus far on lifes journey. -*

February 1, Friday: The Reverend George Waddington was presented by his college to the perpetual curacy of St. Mary the Great, Cambridge.

February 2, Saturday: The *Jasper*, conveying Waldo Emerson, cast anchor at Malta.


*So here we are in Malta ... the Quarantine roads for a fortnight ... imprisoned for poor dear Europe's health lest it should suffer prejudice from the unclean sands & mountains of America.*






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 February 3, Sunday: Prince Otto, son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, arrived in Athens to take the crown of Greece.


[Hector Berlioz](#) wrote his father to ask permission to marry Harriet Smithson (permission would be refused).

John Field gave his final concert in Paris, at Salons Pape.


 February 4, Monday: Commander [George Back](#) secured his appointment to lead the expedition to rescue John Ross by way of the Thlew-ee-choh or Great Fish River.


The Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having been pleased to lend your services to this office, that you may conduct an expedition now preparing to proceed to the Polar Sea in search of Captain Ross, you are hereby required and directed to undertake this service, placing yourself for the purpose at the disposition of the Governor and committee of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have undertaken to furnish you with the requisite resources and supplies.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

 February 5, Tuesday: New York State confirmed a boundary surveyed by its agents Benjamin Franklin Butler, Peter A. Gray, and Henry Seymour, and New Jersey agents Lucius K.C. Elmer, Theodore Freylinghuysen, and James Parker, as the common border between the two states.

Queen Marie Amalie of France granted an audience to [Vincenzo Bellini](#).


 February 6, Wednesday: 18-year-old Prince Otto, son of King Ludwig I of Bavaria, became King Othon I of Greece under regency. Spyridon Ioannou Trikoupis became President of the Ministerial Council of Greece.

 February 8, Friday: According to an army report in the Freeman's Journal and Daily Commercial Advertiser of Dublin, Ireland Captain Thoreau's company was stationed at Port Royal on the island of Jamaica.


[CAPTAIN JOHN THOREAU](#)

 February 11, Monday: [Nancy Staines](#) died in [New Hampshire](#).

 February 12, Tuesday: The revised and completed Symphony in G Minor by [Robert Schumann](#) was performed completely for the initial time, in Schneeberg southeast of Zwickau.

 February 13, Wednesday: Responding to a request from the music critic Ludwig Rellstab for a biographical sketch, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) replied that nothing noteworthy has happened in his life other than his birth.

From Natchitoches, Louisiana, [Sam Houston](#) wrote to Andrew Jackson about prospects for [Texas](#).

 February 16, Saturday: In the US Senate, John C. Calhoun spoke in opposition to the duties-on-imports bill, and in support of the three resolutions he had introduced on January 22d. Senator [Daniel Webster](#) then spoke:



HDT

WHAT?

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Mr. President,— The gentleman from South Carolina has admonished us to be mindful of the opinions of those who shall come after us. We must take our chance, Sir, as to the light in which posterity will regard us. I do not decline its judgment, nor withhold myself from its scrutiny. Feeling that I am performing my public duty with singleness of heart and to the best of my ability, I fearlessly trust myself to the country, now and hereafter, and leave both my motives and my character to its decision.

The gentleman has terminated his speech in a tone of threat and defiance towards this bill, even should it become a law of the land, altogether unusual in the halls of Congress. But I shall not suffer myself to be excited into warmth by his denunciation of the measure which I support. Among the feelings which at this moment fill my breast, not the least is that of regret at the position in which the gentleman has placed himself. Sir, he does himself no justice. The cause which he has espoused finds no basis in the Constitution, no succor from public sympathy, no cheering from a patriotic community. He has no foothold on which to stand while he might display the powers of his acknowledged talents. Every thing beneath his feet is hollow and treacherous. He is like a strong man struggling in a morass: every effort to extricate himself only sinks him deeper and deeper. And I fear the resemblance may be carried still farther; I fear that no friend can safely come to his relief, that no one can approach near enough to hold out a helping hand, without danger of going down himself, also, into the bottomless depths of this Serbonian bog.

The honorable gentleman has declared, that on the decision of the question now in debate may depend the cause of liberty itself. I am of the same opinion; but then, Sir, the liberty which I think is staked on the contest is not political liberty, in any general and undefined character, but our own well-understood and long-enjoyed **American** liberty.

Sir, I love Liberty no less ardently than the gentleman himself, in whatever form she may have appeared in the progress of human history. As exhibited in the master states of antiquity, as breaking out again from amidst the darkness of the Middle Ages, and beaming on the formation of new communities in modern Europe, she has, always and everywhere, charms for me. Yet, Sir, it is our own liberty, guarded by constitutions and secured by union, it is that liberty which is our paternal inheritance, it is our established, dear-bought, peculiar American liberty, to which I am chiefly devoted, and the cause of which I now mean, to the utmost of my power, to maintain and defend.

Mr. President, if I considered the constitutional question now before us as doubtful as it is important, and if I supposed that its decision, either in the Senate or by the country, was likely to be in any degree influenced by the manner in which I might now discuss it, this would be to me a moment of deep solicitude. Such a moment has once existed. There has been a time, when, rising in this place, on the same question, I felt, I must confess, that something for good or evil to the Constitution of the country might depend on an effort of mine. But circumstances are changed. Since that day, Sir, the public opinion has become awakened to this great question; it has grasped it; it has



reasoned upon it, as becomes an intelligent and patriotic community, and has settled it, or now seems in the progress of settling it, by an authority which none can disobey, the authority of the people themselves.

I shall not, Mr. President, follow the gentleman, step by step, through the course of his speech. Much of what he has said he has deemed necessary to the just explanation and defence of his own political character and conduct. On this I shall offer no comment. Much, too, has consisted of philosophical remark upon the general nature of political liberty, and the history of free institutions; and upon other topics, so general in their nature as to possess, in my opinion, only a remote bearing on the immediate subject of this debate.

But the gentleman's speech made some days ago, upon introducing his resolutions, those resolutions themselves, and parts of the speech now just concluded, may, I presume, be justly regarded as containing the whole South Carolina doctrine. That doctrine it is my purpose now to examine, and to compare it with the Constitution of the United States. I shall not consent, Sir, to make any new constitution, or to establish another form of government. I will not undertake to say what a constitution for these United States ought to be. That question the people have decided for themselves; and I shall take the instrument as they have established it, and shall endeavor to maintain it, in its plain sense and meaning, against opinions and notions which, in my judgment, threaten its subversion.

The resolutions introduced by the gentleman were apparently drawn up with care, and brought forward upon deliberation. I shall not be in danger, therefore, of misunderstanding him, or those who agree with him, if I proceed at once to these resolutions, and consider them as an authentic statement of those opinions upon the great constitutional question by which the recent proceedings in South Carolina are attempted to be justified.

These resolutions are three in number.

The third seems intended to enumerate, and to deny, the several opinions expressed in the President's proclamation, respecting the nature and powers of this government. Of this third resolution, I purpose, at present, to take no particular notice. The first two resolutions of the honorable member affirm these propositions, viz.:-

1. That the political system under which we live, and under which Congress is now assembled, is a **compact**, to which the people of the several States, as separate and sovereign communities, are **the parties**.

2. That these sovereign parties have a right to judge, each for itself, of any alleged violation of the Constitution by Congress; and, in case of such violation, to choose, each for itself, its own mode and measure of redress.

It is true, Sir, that the honorable member calls this a "constitutional" compact; but still he affirms it to be a compact between sovereign States. What precise meaning, then, does he attach to the term **constitutional**? When applied to compacts between sovereign States, the term **constitutional** affixes to the word **compact** no definite idea. Were we to hear of a constitutional league or treaty between England and France,



or a constitutional convention between Austria and Russia, we should not understand what could be intended by such a league, such a treaty, or such a convention. In these connections, the word is void of all meaning; and yet, Sir, it is easy, quite easy, to see why the honorable gentleman has used it in these resolutions. He cannot open the book, and look upon our written frame of government, without seeing that it is called a **constitution**. This may well be appalling to him. It threatens his whole doctrine of compact, and its darling derivatives, nullification and secession, with instant confutation. Because, if he admits our instrument of government to be a **constitution**, then, for that very reason, it is not a compact between sovereigns; a constitution of government and a compact between sovereign powers being things essentially unlike in their very natures, and incapable of ever being the same. Yet the word **constitution** is on the very front of the instrument. He cannot overlook it. He seeks, therefore, to compromise the matter, and to sink all the substantial sense of the word, while he retains a resemblance of its sound. He introduces a new word of his own, viz. **compact**, as importing the principal idea, and designed to play the principal part, and degrades **constitution** into an insignificant, idle epithet, attached to **compact**. The whole then stands as a "**constitutional compact**"! And in this way he hopes to pass off a plausible gloss, as satisfying the words of the instrument. But he will find himself disappointed. Sir, I must say to the honorable gentleman, that, in our American political grammar, CONSTITUTION is a noun substantive; it imports a distinct and clear idea of itself; and it is not to lose its importance and dignity, it is not to be turned into a poor, ambiguous, senseless, unmeaning adjective, for the purpose of accommodating any new set of political notions. Sir, we reject his new rules of syntax altogether. We will not give up our forms of political speech to the grammarians of the school of nullification. By the Constitution, we mean, not a "constitutional compact," but, simply and directly, the Constitution, the fundamental law; and if there be one word in the language which the people of the United States understand, this is that word. We know no more of a constitutional compact between sovereign powers, than we know of a **constitutional** indenture of copartnership, a **constitutional** deed of conveyance, or a **constitutional** bill of exchange. But we know what the **Constitution** is; we know what the plainly written fundamental law is; we know what the bond of our Union and the security of our liberties is; and we mean to maintain and to defend it, in its plain sense and unsophisticated meaning.

The sense of the gentleman's proposition, therefore, is not at all affected, one way or the other, by the use of this word. That proposition still is, that our system of government is but a **compact** between the people of separate and sovereign States. Was it Mirabeau, Mr. President, or some other master of the human passions, who has told us that words are things? They are indeed things, and things of mighty influence, not only in addresses to the passions and high-wrought feelings of mankind, but in the discussion of legal and political questions also; because a just conclusion is often avoided, or a false one reached, by the adroit substitution of one phrase, or one word, for another. Of



this we have, I think, another example in the resolutions before us.

The first resolution declares that the people of the several States "**acceded**" to the Constitution, or to the constitutional compact, as it is called. This word "accede," not found either in the Constitution itself, or in the ratification of it by any one of the States, has been chosen for use here, doubtless, not without a well-considered purpose.

The natural converse of **accession** is **secession**; and, therefore, when it is stated that the people of the States acceded to the Union, it may be more plausibly argued that they may secede from it. If, in adopting the Constitution, nothing was done but acceding to a compact, nothing would seem necessary, in order to break it up, but to secede from the same compact. But the term is wholly out of place. **Accession**, as a word applied to political associations, implies coming into a league, treaty, or confederacy, by one hitherto a stranger to it; and **secession** implies departing from such league or confederacy. The people of the United States have used no such form of expression in establishing the present government. They do not say that they **accede** to a league, but they declare that they **ordain** and **establish** a Constitution, Such are the very words of the instrument itself; and in all the States, without an exception, the language used by their conventions was, that they "**ratified the Constitution**"; some of them employing the additional words "assented to" and "adopted," but all of them "ratifying."

There is more importance than may, at first sight, appear, in the introduction of this new word, by the honorable mover of these resolutions. Its adoption and use are indispensable to maintain those premises from which his main conclusion is to be afterwards drawn. But before showing that, allow me to remark, that this phraseology tends to keep out of sight the just view of a previous political history, as well as to suggest wrong ideas as to what was actually done when the present Constitution was agreed to. In 1789, and before this Constitution was adopted, the United States had already been in a union, more or less close, for fifteen years. At least as far back as the meeting of the first Congress, in 1774, they had been in some measure, and for some national purposes, united together. Before the Confederation of 1781, they had declared independence jointly, and had carried on the war jointly, both by sea and land; and this not as separate States, but as one people. When, therefore, they formed that Confederation, and adopted its articles as articles of perpetual union, they did not come together for the first time; and therefore they did not speak of the States as **acceding** to the Confederation, although it was a league, and nothing but a league, and rested on nothing but plighted faith for its performance. Yet, even then, the States were not strangers to each other; there was a bond of union already subsisting between them; they were associated, united States; and the object of the Confederation was to make a stronger and better bond of union. Their representatives deliberated together on these proposed Articles of Confederation, and, being authorized by their respective States, finally "**ratified and confirmed**" them. Inasmuch as they were already in union, they did not speak of **acceding** to the new





Articles of Confederation, but of **ratifying and confirming** them; and this language was not used inadvertently, because, in the same instrument, **accession** is used in its proper sense, when applied to Canada, which was altogether a stranger to the existing union. "Canada," says the eleventh article, "**acceding** to this Confederation, and joining in the measures of the United States, shall be admitted into the Union."

Having thus used the terms **ratify** and **confirm**, even in regard to the old Confederation, it would have been strange indeed, if the people of the United States, after its formation, and when they came to establish the present Constitution, had spoken of the States, or the people of the States, as **acceding** to this Constitution. Such language would have been ill-suited to the occasion. It would have implied an existing separation or disunion among the States, such as never has existed since 1774. No such language, therefore, was used. The language actually employed is, **adopt, ratify, ordain, establish**.

Therefore, Sir, since any State, before she can prove her right to dissolve the Union, must show her authority to undo what has been done, no State is at liberty to **secede**, on the ground that she and other States have done nothing but **accede**. She must show that she has a right to **reverse** what has been **ordained**, to **unsettle** and **overthrow** what has been **established**, to **reject** what the people have **adopted**, and to **break up** what they have **ratified**; because these are the terms which express the transactions which have actually taken place. In other words, she must show her right to make a revolution.

If, Mr. President, in drawing these resolutions, the honorable member had confined himself to the use of constitutional language, there would have been a wide and awful *hiatus* between his premises and his conclusion. Leaving out the two words **compact** and **accession**, which are not constitutional modes of expression, and stating the matter precisely as the truth is, his first resolution would have affirmed that **the people of the several States ratified this Constitution, or form of government**. These are the very words of South Carolina herself, in her act of ratification. Let, then, his first resolution tell the exact truth; let it state the fact precisely as it exists; let it say that the people of the several States ratified a constitution, or form of government, and then, Sir, what will become of his inference in his second resolution, which is in these words, viz. "that, as in all other cases of compact among sovereign parties, each has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress"? It is obvious, is it not, Sir? that this conclusion requires for its support quite other premises; it requires premises which speak of **accession** and of **compact** between sovereign powers; and, without such premises, it is altogether unmeaning.

Mr. President, if the honorable member will truly state what the people did in forming this Constitution, and then state what they must do if they would now undo what they then did, he will unavoidably state a case of revolution. Let us see if it be not so. He must state, in the first place, that the people of the several States adopted and ratified this Constitution, or form of government; and, in the next place, he must state that they have a right to undo this; that is to say, that they have a right



to discard the form of government which they have adopted, and to break up the Constitution which they have ratified. Now, Sir, this is neither more nor less than saying that they have a right to make a revolution. To reject an established government, to break up a political constitution, is revolution.

I deny that any man can state accurately what was done by the people, in establishing the present Constitution, and then state accurately what the people, or any part of them, must now do to get rid of its obligations, without stating an undeniable case of the overthrow of government. I admit, of course, that the people may, if they choose, overthrow the government. But, then, that is revolution. The doctrine now contended for is, that, by **nullification**, or **secession**, the obligations and authority of the government may be set aside or rejected, without revolution. But that is what I deny; and what I say is, that no man can state the case with historical accuracy, and in constitutional language, without showing that the honorable gentleman's right, as asserted in his conclusion, is a revolutionary right merely; that it does not and cannot exist under the Constitution, or agreeably to the Constitution, but can come into existence only when the Constitution is overthrown. This is the reason, Sir, which makes it necessary to abandon the use of constitutional language for a new vocabulary, and to substitute, in the place of plain historical facts, a series of assumptions. This is the reason why it is necessary to give new names to things, to speak of the Constitution, not as a constitution, but as a compact, and of the ratifications by the people, not as ratifications, but as acts of accession.

Sir, I intend to hold the gentleman to the written record. In the discussion of a constitutional question, I intend to impose upon him the restraints of constitutional language. The people have ordained a Constitution; can they reject it without revolution? They have established a form of government; can they overthrow it without revolution? These are the true questions. Allow me now, Mr. President, to inquire further into the extent of the propositions contained in the resolutions, and their necessary consequences.

Where sovereign communities are parties, there is no essential difference between a compact, a confederation, and a league. They all equally rest on the plighted faith of the sovereign party. A league, or confederacy, is but a subsisting or continuing treaty.

The gentleman's resolutions, then, affirm, in effect, that these twenty-four United States are held together only by a subsisting treaty, resting for its fulfilment and continuance on no inherent power of its own, but on the plighted faith of each State; or, in other words, that our Union is but a league; and, as a consequence from this proposition, they further affirm that, as sovereigns are subject to no superior power, the States must judge, each for itself, of any alleged violation of the league; and if such violation be supposed to have occurred, each may adopt any mode or measure of redress which it shall think proper.

Other consequences naturally follow, too, from the main proposition. If a league between sovereign powers have no limitation as to the time of its duration, and contain nothing



making it perpetual, it subsists only during the good pleasure of the parties, although no violation be complained of. If, in the opinion of either party, it be violated, such party may say that he will no longer fulfil its obligations on his part, but will consider the whole league or compact at an end, although it might be one of its stipulations that it should be perpetual. Upon this principle, the Congress of the United States, in 1798, declared null and void the treaty of alliance between the United States and France, though it professed to be a perpetual alliance.

If the violation of the league be accompanied with serious injuries, the suffering party, being sole judge of his own mode and measure of redress, has a right to indemnify himself by reprisals on the offending members of the league; and reprisals, if the circumstances of the case require it, may be followed by direct, avowed, and public war.

The necessary import of the resolution, therefore, is, that the United States are connected only by a league; that it is in the good pleasure of every State to decide how long she will choose to remain a member of this league; that any State may determine the extent of her own obligations under it, and accept or reject what shall be decided by the whole; that she may also determine whether her rights have been violated, what is the extent of the injury done her, and what mode and measure of redress her wrongs may make it fit and expedient for her to adopt. The result of the whole is, that any State may secede at pleasure; that any State may resist a law which she herself may choose to say exceeds the power of Congress; and that, as a sovereign power, she may redress her own grievances, by her own arm, at her own discretion. She may make reprisals; she may cruise against the property of other members of the league; she may authorize captures, and make open war.

If, Sir, this be our political condition, it is time the people of the United States understood it. Let us look for a moment to the practical consequences of these opinions. One State, holding an embargo law unconstitutional, may declare her opinion, and withdraw from the Union. **She** secedes. Another, forming and expressing the same judgment on a law laying duties on imports, may withdraw also. **She** secedes. And as, in her opinion, money has been taken out of the pockets of her citizens illegally, under pretence of this law, and as she has power to redress their wrongs, she may demand satisfaction: and, if refused, she may take it with a strong hand. The gentleman has himself pronounced the collection of duties, under existing laws, to be nothing but robbery. Robbers, of course, may be rightfully dispossessed of the fruits of their flagitious crimes; and therefore, reprisals, impositions on the commerce of other States, foreign alliances against them, or open war, are all modes of redress justly open to the discretion and choice of South Carolina; for she is to judge of her own rights, and to seek satisfaction for her own wrongs, in her own way.

But, Sir, a **third** State is of opinion, not only that these laws of imposts are constitutional, but that it is the absolute duty of Congress to pass and to maintain such laws; and that, by omitting to pass and maintain them, its constitutional obligations would be grossly disregarded. She herself



relinquished the power of protection, she might allege, and allege truly, and gave it up to Congress, on the faith that Congress would exercise it. If Congress now refuse to exercise it, Congress does, as she may insist, break the condition of the grant, and thus manifestly violate the Constitution; and for this violation of the Constitution, **she** may threaten to secede also. Virginia may secede, and hold the fortresses in the Chesapeake. The Western States may secede, and take to their own use the public lands. Louisiana may secede, if she choose, form a foreign alliance, and hold the mouth of the Mississippi. If one State may secede, ten may do so, twenty may do so, twenty-three may do so. Sir, as these secessions go on, one after another, what is to constitute the United States? Whose will be the army? Whose the navy? Who will pay the debts? Who fulfil the public treaties? Who perform the constitutional guaranties? Who govern this District and the Territories? Who retain the public property?

Mr. President, every man must see that these are all questions which can arise only **after a revolution**. They presuppose the breaking up of the government. While the Constitution lasts, they are repressed; they spring up to annoy and startle us only from its grave.

The Constitution does not provide for events which must be preceded by its own destruction. SECESSION, therefore, since it must bring these consequences with it, is REVOLUTIONARY, and NULLIFICATION is equally REVOLUTIONARY. What is revolution? Why, Sir, that is revolution which overturns, or controls, or successfully resists, the existing public authority; that which arrests the exercise of the supreme power; that which introduces a new paramount authority into the rule of the State. Now, Sir, this is the precise object of nullification. It attempts to supersede the supreme legislative authority. It arrests the arm of the executive magistrate. It interrupts the exercise of the accustomed judicial power. Under the name of an ordinance, it declares null and void, within the State, all the revenue laws of the United States. Is not this revolutionary? Sir, so soon as this ordinance shall be carried into effect, **a revolution** will have commenced in South Carolina. She will have thrown off the authority to which her citizens have heretofore been subject. She will have declared her own opinions and her own will to be above the laws and above the power of those who are intrusted with their administration. If she makes good these declarations, she is revolutionized. As to her, it is as distinctly a change of the supreme power as the American Revolution of 1776. That revolution did not subvert government in all its forms. It did not subvert local laws and municipal administrations. It only threw off the dominion of a power claiming to be superior, and to have a right, in many important respects, to exercise legislative authority. Thinking this authority to have been usurped or abused, the American Colonies, now the United States, bade it defiance, and freed themselves from it by means of a revolution. But that revolution left them with their own municipal laws still, and the forms of local government. If Carolina now shall effectually resist the laws of Congress; if she shall be her own judge, take her remedy into her own hands, obey the laws of the Union when she pleases and



disobey them when she pleases, she will relieve herself from a paramount power as distinctly as the American Colonies did the same thing in 1776. In other words, she will achieve, as to herself, a revolution.

But, Sir, while practical nullification in South Carolina would be, as to herself, actual and distinct revolution, its necessary tendency must also be to spread revolution, and to break up the Constitution, as to all the other States. It strikes a deadly blow at the vital principle of the whole Union. To allow State resistance to the laws of Congress to be rightful and proper, to admit nullification in some States, and yet not expect to see a dismemberment of the entire government, appears to me the wildest illusion, and the most extravagant folly. The gentleman seems not conscious of the direction or the rapidity of his own course. The current of his opinions sweeps him along, he knows not whither. To begin with nullification, with the avowed intent, nevertheless, not to proceed to secession, dismemberment, and general revolution, is as if one were to take the plunge of Niagara, and cry out that he would stop half-way down. In the one case, as in the other, the rash adventurer must go to the bottom of the dark abyss below, were it not that that abyss has no discovered bottom.

Nullification, if successful, arrests the power of the law, absolves citizens from their duty, subverts the foundation both of protection and obedience, dispenses with oaths and obligations of allegiance, and elevates another authority to supreme command. Is not this revolution? And it raises to supreme command four-and-twenty distinct powers, each professing to be under a general government, and yet each setting its laws at defiance at pleasure. Is not this anarchy, as well as revolution? Sir, the Constitution of the United States was received as a whole, and for the whole country. If it cannot stand altogether, it cannot stand in parts; and if the laws cannot be executed everywhere, they cannot long be executed anywhere. The gentleman very well knows that all duties and imposts must be uniform throughout the country. He knows that we cannot have one rule or one law for South Carolina, and another for other States. He must see, therefore, and does see, and every man sees, that the only alternative is a repeal of the laws throughout the whole Union, or their execution in Carolina as well as elsewhere. And this repeal is demanded because a single State interposes her veto, and threatens resistance! The result of the gentleman's opinion, or rather the very text of his doctrine, is, that no act of Congress can bind all the States, the constitutionality of which is not admitted by all; or, in other words, that no single State is bound, against its own dissent, by a law of imposts. This is precisely the evil experienced under the old Confederation, and for remedy of which this Constitution was adopted. The leading object in establishing this government, an object forced on the country by the condition of the times and the absolute necessity of the law, was to give to Congress power to lay and collect imposts **without the consent of particular States**. The Revolutionary debt remained unpaid; the national treasury was bankrupt; the country was destitute of credit; Congress issued its requisitions on the States, and the States neglected them; there was no power of





coercion but war, Congress could not lay imposts, or other taxes, by its own authority; the whole general government, therefore, was little more than a name. The Articles of Confederation, as to purposes of revenue and finance, were nearly a dead letter. The country sought to escape from this condition, at once feeble and disgraceful, by constituting a government which should have power, of itself, to lay duties and taxes, and to pay the public debt, and provide for the general welfare; and to lay these duties and taxes in all the States, without asking the consent of the State governments. This was the very power on which the new Constitution was to depend for all its ability to do good; and without it, it can be no government, now or at any time. Yet, Sir, it is precisely against this power, so absolutely indispensable to the very being of the government, that South Carolina directs her ordinance. She attacks the government in its authority to raise revenue, the very main-spring of the whole system; and if she succeed, every movement of that system must inevitably cease. It is of no avail that she declares that she does not resist the law as a revenue law, but as a law for protecting manufactures. It is a revenue law; it is the very law by force of which the revenue is collected; if it be arrested in any State, the revenue ceases in that State; it is, in a word, the sole reliance of the government for the means of maintaining itself and performing its duties.

Mr. President, the alleged right of a State to decide constitutional questions for herself necessarily leads to force, because other States must have the same right, and because different States will decide differently; and when these questions arise between States, if there be no superior power, they can be decided only by the law of force. On entering into the Union, the people of each State gave up a part of their own power to make laws for themselves, in consideration, that, as to common objects, they should have a part in making laws for other States. In other words, the people of all the States agreed to create a common government, to be conducted by common counsels. Pennsylvania, for example, yielded the right of laying imposts in her own ports, in consideration that the new government, in which she was to have a share, should possess the power of laying imposts on all the States. If South Carolina now refuses to submit to this power, she breaks the condition on which other States entered into the Union. She partakes of the common counsels, and therein assists to bind others, while she refuses to be bound herself. It makes no difference in the case, whether she does all this without reason or pretext, or whether she sets up as a reason, that, in her judgment, the acts complained of are unconstitutional. In the judgment of other States, they are not so. It is nothing to them that she offers some reason or some apology for her conduct, if it be one which they do not admit. It is not to be expected that any State will violate her duty without some plausible pretext. That would be too rash a defiance of the opinion of mankind. But if it be a pretext which lies in her own breast, if it be no more than an opinion which she says she has formed, how can other States be satisfied with this? How can they allow her to be judge of her own obligations? Or, if she may judge of her obligations, may



they not judge of their rights also? May not the twenty-three entertain an opinion as well as the twenty-fourth? And if it be their right, in their own opinion, as expressed in the common council, to enforce the law against her, how is she to say that her right and her opinion are to be every thing, and their right and their opinion nothing?

Mr. President, if we are to receive the Constitution as the text, and then to lay down in its margin the contradictory commentaries which have been, and which maybe, made by different States, the whole page would be a polyglot indeed. It would speak with as many tongues as the builders of Babel, and in dialects as much confused, and mutually as unintelligible. The very instance now before us presents a practical illustration. The law of the last session is declared unconstitutional in South Carolina, and obedience to it is refused. In other States, it is admitted to be strictly constitutional. You walk over the limit of its authority, therefore, when you pass a State line. On one side it is law, on the other side a nullity; and yet it is passed by a common government, having the same authority in all the States.

Such, Sir, are the inevitable results of this doctrine. Beginning with the original error, that the Constitution of the United States is nothing but a compact between sovereign States; asserting, in the next step, that each State has a right to be its own sole judge of the extent of its own obligations, and consequently of the constitutionality of laws of Congress; and, in the next, that it may oppose whatever it sees fit to declare unconstitutional, and that it decides for itself on the mode and measure of redress,—the argument arrives at once at the conclusion, that what a State dissents from, it may nullify; what it opposes, it may oppose by force; what it decides for itself, it may execute by its own power; and that, in short, it is itself supreme over the legislation of Congress, and supreme over the decisions of the national judicature; supreme over the constitution of the country, supreme over the supreme law of the land. However it seeks to protect itself against these plain inferences, by saying that an unconstitutional law is no law, and that it only opposes such laws as are unconstitutional, yet this does not in the slightest degree vary the result; since it insists on deciding this question for itself; and, in opposition to reason and argument, in opposition to practice and experience, in opposition to the judgment of others, having an equal right to judge, it says, only, "Such is my opinion, and my opinion shall be my law, and I will support it by my own strong hand. I denounce the law; I declare it unconstitutional; that is enough; it shall not be executed. Men in arms are ready to resist its execution. An attempt to enforce it shall cover the land with blood. Elsewhere it may be binding; but here it is trampled underfoot."

This, Sir, is practical nullification.

And now, Sir, against all these theories and opinions, I maintain,—

1. That the Constitution of the United States is not a league, confederacy, or compact between the people of the several States in their sovereign capacities; but a government proper, founded on the adoption of the people, and creating direct relations



between itself and individuals.

2. That no State authority has power to dissolve these relations; that nothing can dissolve them but revolution; and that, consequently, there can be no such thing as secession without revolution.

3. That there is a supreme law, consisting of the Constitution of the United States, and acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and treaties; and that, in cases not capable of assuming the character of a suit in law or equity, Congress must judge of, and finally interpret, this supreme law so often as it has occasion to pass acts of legislation; and in cases capable of assuming, and actually assuming, the character of a suit, the Supreme Court of the United States is the final interpreter.

4. That an attempt by a State to abrogate, annul, or nullify an act of Congress, or to arrest its operation within her limits, on the ground that, in her opinion, such law is unconstitutional, is a direct usurpation on the just powers of the general government, and on the equal rights of other States; a plain violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary in its character and tendency.

Whether the Constitution be a compact between States in their sovereign capacities, is a question which must be mainly argued from what is contained in the instrument itself. We all agree that it is an instrument which has been in some way clothed with power. We all admit that it speaks with authority. The first question then is, What does it say of itself? What does it purport to be? Does it style itself a league, confederacy, or compact between sovereign States? It is to be remembered, Sir, that the Constitution began to speak only after its adoption. Until it was ratified by nine States, it was but a proposal, the mere draught of an instrument. It was like a deed drawn, but not executed. The Convention had framed it; sent it to Congress, then sitting under the Confederation; Congress had transmitted it to the State legislatures; and by these last it was laid before conventions of the people in the several States. All this while it was inoperative paper. It had received no stamp of authority, no sanction; it spoke no language. But when ratified by the people in their respective conventions, then it had a voice, and spoke authentically. Every word in it had then received the sanction of the popular will, and was to be received as the expression of that will. What the Constitution says of itself, therefore, is as conclusive as what it says on any other point. Does it call itself a "compact"? Certainly not. It uses the word **compact** but once, and that is when it declares that the States shall enter into no compact. Does it call itself a "league," a "confederacy," a "subsisting treaty between the States"? Certainly not. There is not a particle of such language in all its pages. But it declares itself a CONSTITUTION. What is a **constitution**? Certainly not a league, compact, or confederacy, but **a fundamental law**. That fundamental regulation which determines the manner in which the public authority is to be executed, is what forms the **constitution** of a state. Those primary rules which concern the body itself, and the very being of the political society, the form of government, and the manner in which power is to be exercised,—all, in a word, which form together the **constitution of a state**,—these are the fundamental



laws. This, Sir, is the language of the public writers. But do we need to be informed, in this country, what a **constitution** is? Is it not an idea perfectly familiar, definite, and well settled? We are at no loss to understand what is meant by the constitution of one of the States; and the Constitution of the United States speaks of itself as being an instrument of the same nature. It says this **Constitution** shall be the law of the land, any thing in any State **constitution** to the contrary notwithstanding. And it speaks of itself, too, in plain contradistinction from a confederation; for it says that all debts contracted, and all engagements entered into, by the United States, shall be as valid under this **Constitution** as under the **Confederation**. It does not say, as valid under this **compact**, or this league, or this confederation, as under the former confederation, but as valid under this **Constitution**.

This, then, Sir, is declared to be a **constitution**. A constitution is the fundamental law of the state; and this is expressly declared to be the supreme law. It is as if the people had said, "We prescribe this fundamental law," or "this supreme law," for they do say that they establish this Constitution, and that it shall be the supreme law. They say that they **ordain and establish** it. Now, Sir, what is the common application of these words? We do not speak of **ordaining** leagues and compacts. If this was intended to be a compact or league, and the States to be parties to it, why was it not so said? Why is there found no one expression in the whole instrument indicating such intent? The old Confederation was expressly called a **league**, and into this league it was declared that the States, as States, severally entered. Why was not similar language used in the Constitution, if a similar intention had existed? Why was it not said, "the States enter into this new league," "the States form this new confederation," or "the States agree to this new compact"? Or why was it not said, in the language of the gentleman's resolution, that the people of the several States acceded to this compact in their sovereign capacities? What reason is there for supposing that the framers of the Constitution rejected expressions appropriate to their own meaning, and adopted others wholly at war with that meaning?

Again, Sir, the Constitution speaks of that political system which is established as "the government of the United States." Is it not doing strange violence to language to call a league or a compact between sovereign powers a **government**? The government of a state is that organization in which the political power resides. It is the political being created by the constitution or fundamental law. The broad and clear difference between a government and a league or compact is, that a government is a body politic; it has a will of its own; and it possesses powers and faculties to execute its own purposes. Every compact looks to some power to enforce its stipulations. Even in a compact between sovereign communities, there always exists this ultimate reference to a power to insure its execution; although, in such case, this power is but the force of one party against the force of another; that is to say, the power of war. But a **government** executes its decisions by its own supreme authority. Its use of force in compelling obedience to its own enactments is not war. It contemplates no opposing party



having a right of resistance. It rests on its own power to enforce its own will; and when it ceases to possess this power, it is no longer a government.

Mr. President, I concur so generally in the very able speech of the gentleman from Virginia near me [Mr. Rives], that it is not without diffidence and regret that I venture to differ with him on any point. His opinions, Sir, are redolent of the doctrines of a very distinguished school, for which I have the highest regard, of whose doctrines I can say, what I can also say of the gentleman's speech, that, while I concur in the results, I must be permitted to hesitate about some of the premises. I do not agree that the Constitution is a compact between States in their sovereign capacities. I do not agree, that, in strictness of language, it is a compact at all. But I do agree that it is founded on consent or agreement, or on compact, if the gentleman prefers that word, and means no more by it than voluntary consent or agreement. The Constitution, Sir, is not a contract, but the result of a contract; meaning by contract no more than assent. Founded on consent, it is a government proper. Adopted by the agreement of the people of the United States, when adopted, it has become a Constitution. The people have agreed to make a Constitution; but when made, that Constitution becomes what its name imports. It is no longer a mere agreement. Our laws, Sir, have their foundation in the agreement or consent of the two houses of Congress. We say, habitually, that one house proposes a bill, and the other agrees to it; but the result of this agreement is not a compact, but a law. The law, the statute, is not the agreement, but something created by the agreement; and something which, when created, has a new character, and acts by its own authority. So the Constitution of the United States, founded in or on the consent of the people, may be said to rest on compact or consent; but it is not itself the compact, but its result. When the people agree to erect a government, and actually erect it, the thing is done, and the agreement is at an end. The compact is executed, and the end designed by it attained. Henceforth, the fruit of the agreement exists, but the agreement itself is merged in its own accomplishment; since there can be no longer a subsisting agreement or compact **to form** a constitution or government, after that constitution or government has been actually formed and established.

It appears to me, Mr. President, that the plainest account of the establishment of this government presents the most just and philosophical view of its foundation. The people of the several States had their separate State governments; and between the States there also existed a Confederation. With this condition of things the people were not satisfied, as the Confederation had been found not to fulfil its intended objects. It was **proposed**, therefore, to erect a new, common government, which should possess certain definite powers, such as regarded the prosperity of the people of all the States, and to be formed upon the general model of American constitutions. This proposal was assented to, and an instrument was presented to the people of the several States for their consideration. They approved it, and agreed to adopt it, as a Constitution. They executed that agreement; they adopted the Constitution as a Constitution, and henceforth it must stand as a Constitution until it shall be





altogether destroyed. Now, Sir, is not this the truth of the whole matter? And is not all that we have heard of compact between sovereign States the mere effect of a theoretical and artificial mode of reasoning upon the subject? a mode of reasoning which disregards plain facts for the sake of hypothesis?

Mr. President, the nature of sovereignty or sovereign power has been extensively discussed by gentlemen on this occasion, as it generally is when the origin of our government is debated. But I confess myself not entirely satisfied with arguments and illustrations drawn from that topic. The sovereignty of government is an idea belonging to the other side of the Atlantic. No such thing is known in North America. Our governments are all limited. In Europe, sovereignty is of feudal origin, and imports no more than the state of the sovereign. It comprises his rights, duties, exemptions, prerogatives, and powers. But with us, all power is with the people. They alone are sovereign; and they erect what governments they please, and confer on them such powers as they please. None of these governments is sovereign, in the European sense of the word, all being restrained by written constitutions. It seems to me, therefore, that we only perplex ourselves when we attempt to explain the relations existing between the general government and the several State governments, according to those ideas of sovereignty which prevail under systems essentially different from our own.

But, Sir, to return to the Constitution itself; let me inquire what it relies upon for its own continuance and support. I hear it often suggested, that the States, by refusing to appoint Senators and Electors, might bring this government to an end. Perhaps that is true; but the same may be said of the State governments themselves. Suppose the legislature of a State, having the power to appoint the governor and the judges, should omit that duty, would not the State government remain unorganized? No doubt, all elective governments may be broken up by a general abandonment, on the part of those intrusted with political powers, of their appropriate duties. But one popular government has, in this respect, as much security as another. The maintenance of this Constitution does not depend on the plighted faith of the States, as States, to support it; and this again shows that it is not a league. It relies on individual duty and obligation.

The Constitution of the United States creates direct relations between this government and individuals. This government may punish individuals for treason, and all other crimes in the code, when committed against the United States. It has power, also, to tax individuals, in any mode, and to any extent; and it possesses the further power of demanding from individuals military service. Nothing, certainly, can more clearly distinguish a government from a confederation of states than the possession of these powers. No closer relations can exist between individuals and any government.

On the other hand, the government owes high and solemn duties to every citizen of the country. It is bound to protect him in his most important rights and interests. It makes war for his protection, and no other government in the country can make war.



It makes peace for his protection, and no other government can make peace. It maintains armies and navies for his defence and security, and no other government is allowed to maintain them. He goes abroad beneath its flag, and carries over all the earth a rational character imparted to him by this government, and which no other government can impart. In whatever relates to war, to peace, to commerce, he knows no other government. All these, Sir, are connections as dear and as sacred as can bind individuals to any government on earth. It is not, therefore, a compact between States, but a government proper, operating directly upon individuals, yielding to them protection on the one hand, and demanding from them obedience on the other.

There is no language in the whole Constitution applicable to a confederation of States. If the States be parties, as States, what are their rights, and what their respective covenants and stipulations? And where are their rights, covenants, and stipulations expressed? The States engage for nothing, they promise nothing. In the Articles of Confederation, they did make promises, and did enter into engagements, and did plight the faith of each State for their fulfilment; but in the Constitution there is nothing of that kind. The reason is, that, in the Constitution, it is the **people** who speak, and not the States. The people ordain the Constitution, and therein address themselves to the States, and to the legislatures of the States, in the language of injunction and prohibition. The Constitution utters its behests in the name and by authority of the people, and it does not exact from States any plighted public faith to maintain it. On the contrary, it makes its own preservation depend on individual duty and individual obligation. Sir, the States cannot omit to appoint Senators and Electors. It is not a matter resting in State discretion or State pleasure. The Constitution has taken better care of its own preservation. It lays its hand on individual conscience and individual duty. It incapacitates any man to sit in the legislature of a State, who shall not first have taken his solemn oath to support the Constitution of the United States. From the obligation of this oath, no State power can discharge him. All the members of all the State legislatures are as religiously bound to support the Constitution of the United States as they are to support their own State constitution. Nay, Sir, they are as solemnly sworn to support it as we ourselves are, who are members of Congress.

No member of a State legislature can refuse to proceed, at the proper time, to elect Senators to Congress, or to provide for the choice of Electors of President and Vice-President, any more than the members of this Senate can refuse, when the appointed day arrives, to meet the members of the other house, to count the votes for those officers, and ascertain who are chosen. In both cases, the duty binds, and with equal strength, the conscience of the individual member, and it is imposed on all by an oath in the same words. Let it then never be said, Sir, that it is a matter of discretion with the States whether they will continue the government, or break it up by refusing to appoint Senators and to elect Electors. They have no discretion in the matter. The members of their legislatures cannot avoid doing either, so often as the time arrives, without a direct violation of their duty and their oaths; such a violation as



would break up any other government.

Looking still further to the provisions of the Constitution itself, in order to learn its true character, we find its great apparent purpose to be, to unite the people of all the States under one general government, for certain definite objects, and, to the extent of this union, to restrain the separate authority of the States. Congress only can declare war; therefore, when one State is at war with a foreign nation, all must be at war. The President and the Senate only can make peace; when peace is made for one State, therefore, it must be made for all.

Can any thing be conceived more preposterous, than that any State should have power to nullify the proceedings of the general government respecting peace and war? When war is declared by a law of Congress, can a single State nullify that law, and remain at peace? And yet she may nullify that law as well as any other. If the President and Senate make peace, may one State, nevertheless, continue the war? And yet, if she can nullify a law, she may quite as well nullify a treaty.

The truth is, Mr. President, and no ingenuity of argument, no subtilty of distinction can evade it, that, as to certain purposes, the people of the United States are one people. They are one in making war, and one in making peace; they are one in regulating commerce, and one in laying duties of imposts. The very end and purpose of the Constitution was, to make them one people in these particulars; and it has effectually accomplished its object. All this is apparent on the face of the Constitution itself. I have already said, Sir, that to obtain a power of direct legislation over the people, especially in regard to imposts, was always prominent as a reason for getting rid of the Confederation, and forming a new Constitution. Among innumerable proofs of this, before the assembling of the Convention, allow me to refer only to the report of the committee of the old Congress, July, 1785.

But, Sir, let us go to the actual formation of the Constitution; let us open the journal of the Convention itself, and we shall see that the very first resolution which the Convention adopted was, "THAT A NATIONAL GOVERNMENT OUGHT TO BE ESTABLISHED, CONSISTING OF A SUPREME LEGISLATURE, JUDICIARY, AND EXECUTIVE." This itself completely negatives all idea of league, and compact, and confederation. Terms could not be chosen more fit to express an intention to establish a national government, and to banish for ever all notion of a compact between sovereign States.

This resolution was adopted on the 30th of May, 1787. Afterwards, the style was altered, and, instead of being called a national government, it was called the government of the United States; but the substance of this resolution was retained, and was at the head of that list of resolutions which was afterwards sent to the committee who were to frame the instrument.

It is true, there were gentlemen in the Convention, who were for retaining the Confederation, and amending its Articles; but the majority was against this, and was for a national government. Mr. Patterson's propositions, which were for continuing the Articles of Confederation with additional powers, were submitted to the Convention on the 15th of June, and referred to the



committee of the whole. The resolutions forming the basis of a national government, which had once been agreed to in the committee of the whole, and reported, were recommitted to the same committee, on the same day. The Convention, then, in committee of the whole, on the 19th of June, had both these plans before them; that is to say, the plan of a confederacy, or compact, between States, and the plan of a national government. Both these plans were considered and debated, and the committee reported, "That they do not agree to the propositions offered by the honorable Mr. Patterson, but that they again submit the resolutions formerly reported." If, Sir, any historical fact in the world be plain and undeniable, it is that the Convention deliberated on the expediency of continuing the Confederation, with some amendments, and rejected that scheme, and adopted the plan of a national government, with a legislature, an executive, and a judiciary of its own. They were asked to preserve the league; they rejected the proposition. They were asked to continue the existing compact between States; they rejected it. They rejected compact, league, and confederation, and set themselves about framing the constitution of a national government; and they accomplished what they undertook.

If men will open their eyes fairly to the lights of history, it is impossible to be deceived on this point. The great object was to supersede the Confederation by a regular government; because, under the Confederation, Congress had power only to make requisitions on States; and if States declined compliance, as they did, there was no remedy but war against such delinquent States. It would seem, from Mr. Jefferson's correspondence, in 1786 and 1787, that he was of opinion that even this remedy ought to be tried. "There will be no money in the treasury," said he, "till the confederacy shows its teeth"; and he suggests that a single frigate would soon levy, on the commerce of a delinquent State, the deficiency of its contribution. But this would be war; and it was evident that a confederacy could not long hold together, which should be at war with its members. The Constitution was adopted to avoid this necessity. It was adopted that there might be a government which should act directly on individuals, without borrowing aid from the State governments. This is clear as light itself on the very face of the provisions of the Constitution, and its whole history tends to the same conclusion. Its framers gave this very reason for their work in the most distinct terms. Allow me to quote but one or two proofs, out of hundreds. That State, so small in territory, but so distinguished for learning and talent, Connecticut, had sent to the general Convention, among other members, Samuel Johnston and Oliver Ellsworth. The Constitution having been framed, it was submitted to a convention of the people of Connecticut for ratification on the part of that State; and Mr. Johnston and Mr. Ellsworth were also members of this convention. On the first day of the debates, being called on to explain the reasons which led the Convention at Philadelphia to recommend such a Constitution, after showing the insufficiency of the existing confederacy, inasmuch as it applied to States, as States, Mr. Johnston proceeded to say:—

"The Convention saw this imperfection in attempting to legislate for States in their political capacity, that



the coercion of law can be exercised by nothing but a military force. They have, therefore, gone upon entirely new ground. They have formed one new nation out of the individual States. The Constitution vests in the general legislature a power to make laws in matters of national concern; to appoint judges to decide upon these laws; and to appoint officers to carry them into execution. This excludes the idea of an armed force. The power which is to enforce these laws is to be a legal power, vested in proper magistrates. The force which is to be employed is the energy of law; and this force is to operate only upon individuals who fail in their duty to their country. This is the peculiar glory of the Constitution, that it depends upon the mild and equal energy of the magistracy for the execution of the laws."

In the further course of the debate, Mr. Ellsworth said:-

"In republics it is a fundamental principle, that the majority govern, and that the minority comply with the general voice. How contrary, then, to republican principles, how humiliating, is our present situation! A single State can rise up, and put a **veto** upon the most important public measures. We have seen this actually take place; a single State has controlled the general voice of the Union; a minority, a very small minority, has governed us. So far is this from being consistent with republican principles, that it is, in effect, the worst species of monarchy.

"Hence we see how necessary for the Union is a coercive principle. No man pretends the contrary. We all see and feel this necessity. The only question is, Shall it be a coercion of law, or a coercion of arms? There is no other possible alternative. Where will those who oppose a coercion of law come out? Where will they end? A necessary consequence of their principles is a war of the States one against another. I am for coercion by law; that coercion which acts only upon delinquent individuals. This Constitution does not attempt to coerce sovereign bodies, States, in their political capacity. No coercion is applicable to such bodies, but that of an armed force. If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity. But this legal coercion singles out the guilty individual, and punishes him for breaking the laws of the Union."

Indeed, Sir, if we look to all contemporary history, to the numbers of the Federalist, to the debates in the conventions, to the publications of friends and foes, they all agree, that a change had been made from a confederacy of States to a different system; they all agree, that the Convention had formed a Constitution for a national government. With this result some were satisfied, and some were dissatisfied; but all admitted that the thing had been done. In none of these various productions and publications did any one intimate that the new





Constitution was but another compact between States in their sovereign capacities. I do not find such an opinion advanced in a single instance. Everywhere, the people were told that the old Confederation was to be abandoned, and a new system to be tried; that a proper government was proposed, to be founded in the name of the people, and to have a regular organization of its own. Everywhere, the people were told that it was to be a government with direct powers to make laws over individuals, and to lay taxes and imposts without the consent of the States. Everywhere, it was understood to be a popular Constitution. It came to the people for their adoption, and was to rest on the same deep foundation as the State constitutions themselves. Its most distinguished advocates, who had been themselves members of the Convention, declared that the very object of submitting the Constitution to the people was, to preclude the possibility of its being regarded as a mere compact. "However gross a heresy," say the writers of the Federalist, "it may be to maintain that a party to a **compact** has a right to revoke that **compact**, the doctrine itself has had respectable advocates. The possibility of a question of this nature proves the necessity of laying the foundations of our national government deeper than in the mere sanction of delegated authority. The fabric of American empire ought to rest on the solid basis of THE CONSENT OF THE PEOPLE." Such is the language, Sir, addressed to the people, while they yet had the Constitution under consideration. The powers conferred on the new government were perfectly well understood to be conferred, not by any State, or the people of any State, but by the people of the United States. Virginia is more explicit, perhaps, in this particular, than any other State. Her convention, assembled to ratify the Constitution, "in the name and behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known, that the powers granted under the Constitution, **being derived from the people of the United States**, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression."

Is this language which describes the formation of a compact between States? or language describing the grant of powers to a new government, by the whole people of the United States?

Among all the other ratifications, there is not one which speaks of the Constitution as a compact between States. Those of Massachusetts and New Hampshire express the transaction, in my opinion, with sufficient accuracy. They recognize the Divine goodness "in affording THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES an opportunity of entering into an explicit and solemn compact with each other, **by assenting to and ratifying a new Constitution.**" You will observe, Sir, that it is the PEOPLE, and not the States, who have entered into this compact; and it is the PEOPLE of all the United States. These conventions, by this form of expression, meant merely to say, that the people of the United States had, by the blessing of Providence, enjoyed the opportunity of establishing a new Constitution, **founded in the consent of the people**. This consent of the people has been called, by European writers, the **social compact**; and, in conformity to this common mode of expression, these conventions speak of that assent, on which the new Constitution was to rest, as an explicit and solemn compact, not which the States had



entered into with each other, but which the **people** of the United States had entered into.

Finally, Sir, how can any man get over the words of the Constitution itself?— "WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION." These words must cease to be a part of the Constitution, they must be obliterated from the parchment on which they are written, before any human ingenuity or human argument can remove the popular basis on which that Constitution rests, and turn the instrument into a mere compact between sovereign States.

The second proposition, Sir, which I propose to maintain, is, that no State authority can dissolve the relations subsisting between the government of the United States and individuals; that nothing can dissolve these relations but revolution; and that, therefore, there can be no such thing as **secession** without revolution. All this follows, as it seems to me, as a just consequence, if it be first proved that the Constitution of the United States is a government proper, owing protection to individuals, and entitled to their obedience.

The people, Sir, in every State, live under two governments. They owe obedience to both. These governments, though distinct, are not adverse. Each has its separate sphere, and its peculiar powers and duties. It is not a contest between two sovereigns for the same power, like the wars of the rival houses in England; nor is it a dispute between a government *de facto* and a government *de jure*. It is the case of a division of powers between two governments, made by the people, to whom both are responsible. Neither can dispense with the duty which individuals owe to the other; neither can call itself master of the other: the people are masters of both. This division of power, it is true, is in a great measure unknown in Europe. It is the peculiar system of America; and, though new and singular, it is not incomprehensible. The State constitutions are established by the people of the States. This Constitution is established by the people of all the States. How, then, can a State secede? How can a State undo what the whole people have done? How can she absolve her citizens from their obedience to the laws of the United States? How can she annul their obligations and oaths? How can the members of her legislature renounce their own oaths? Sir, secession, as a revolutionary right, is intelligible; as a right to be proclaimed in the midst of civil commotions, and asserted at the head of armies, I can understand it. But as a practical right, existing under the Constitution, and in conformity with its provisions, it seems to me to be nothing but a plain absurdity; for it supposes resistance to government, under the authority of government itself; it supposes dismemberment, without violating the principles of union; it supposes opposition to law, without crime; it supposes the violation of oaths, without responsibility; it supposes the total overthrow of government, without revolution.

The Constitution, Sir, regards itself as perpetual and immortal. It seeks to establish a union among the people of the States, which shall last through all time. Or, if the common fate of things human must be expected at some period to happen to it, yet that catastrophe is not anticipated.



The instrument contains ample provisions for its amendment, at all times; none for its abandonment, at any time. It declares that new States may come into the Union, but it does not declare that old States may go out. The Union is not a temporary partnership of States. It is the association of the people, under a constitution of government, uniting their power, joining together their highest interests, cementing their present enjoyments, and blending, in one indivisible mass, all their hopes for the future. Whatsoever is steadfast in just political principles; whatsoever is permanent in the structure of human society; whatsoever there is which can derive an enduring character from being founded on deep-laid principles of constitutional liberty and on the broad foundations of the public will,—all these unite to entitle this instrument to be regarded as a permanent constitution of government.

In the next place, Mr. President, I contend that there is a supreme law of the land, consisting of the Constitution, acts of Congress passed in pursuance of it, and the public treaties. This will not be denied, because such are the very words of the Constitution. But I contend, further, that it rightfully belongs to Congress, and to the courts of the United States, to settle the construction of this supreme law, in doubtful cases. This is denied; and here arises the great practical question, **Who is to construe finally the Constitution of the United States?** We all agree that the Constitution is the supreme law; but who shall interpret that law? In our system of the division of powers between different governments, controversies will necessarily sometimes arise, respecting the extent of the powers of each. Who shall decide these controversies? Does it rest with the general government, in all or any of its departments, to exercise the office of final interpreter? Or may each of the States, as well as the general government, claim this right of ultimate decision? The practical result of this whole debate turns on this point. The gentleman contends that each State may judge for itself of any alleged violation of the Constitution, and may finally decide for itself, and may execute its own decisions by its own power. All the recent proceedings in South Carolina are founded on this claim of right. Her convention has pronounced the revenue laws of the United States unconstitutional; and this decision she does not allow any authority of the United States to overrule or reverse. Of course she rejects the authority of Congress, because the very object of the ordinance is to reverse the decision of Congress; and she rejects, too, the authority of the courts of the United States, because she expressly prohibits all appeal to those courts. It is in order to sustain this asserted right of being her own judge, that she pronounces the Constitution of the United States to be but a compact, to which she is a party, and a sovereign party. If this be established, then the inference is supposed to follow, that, being sovereign, there is no power to control her decision; and her own judgment on her own compact is, and must be, conclusive.

I have already endeavored, Sir, to point out the practical consequences of this doctrine, and to show how utterly inconsistent it is with all ideas of regular government, and how soon its adoption would involve the whole country in revolution



and absolute anarchy. I hope it is easy now to show, Sir, that a doctrine bringing such consequences with it is not well founded; that it has nothing to stand on but theory and assumption; and that it is refuted by plain and express constitutional provisions. I think the government of the United States does possess, in its appropriate departments, the authority of final decision on questions of disputed power. I think it possesses this authority, both by necessary implication and by express grant.

It will not be denied, Sir, that this authority naturally belongs to all governments. They all exercise it from necessity, and as a consequence of the exercise of other powers. The State governments themselves possess it, except in that class of questions which may arise between them and the general government, and in regard to which they have surrendered it, as well by the nature of the case as by clear constitutional provisions. In other and ordinary cases, whether a particular law be in conformity to the constitution of the State is a question which the State legislature or the State judiciary must determine. We all know that these questions arise daily in the State governments, and are decided by those governments; and I know no government which does not exercise a similar power.

Upon general principles, then, the government of the United States possesses this authority; and this would hardly be denied were it not that there are other governments. But since there are State governments, and since these, like other governments, ordinarily construe their own powers, if the government of the United States construes its own powers also, which construction is to prevail in the case of opposite constructions? And again, as in the case now actually before us, the State governments may undertake, not only to construe their own powers, but to decide directly on the extent of the powers of Congress. Congress has passed a law as being within its just powers; South Carolina denies that this law is within its just powers, and insists that she has the right so to decide this point, and that her decision is final. How are these questions to be settled?

In my opinion, Sir, even if the Constitution of the United States had made no express provision for such cases, it would yet be difficult to maintain, that, in a Constitution existing over four-and-twenty States, with equal authority over all, **one** could claim a right of construing it for the whole. This would seem a manifest impropriety; indeed, an absurdity. If the Constitution is a government existing over all the States, though with limited powers, it necessarily follows, that, to the extent of those powers, it must be supreme. If it be not superior to the authority of a particular State, it is not a national government. But as it is a government, as it has a legislative power of its own, and a judicial power coextensive with the legislative, the inference is irresistible that this government, thus created **by** the whole and **for** the whole, must have an authority superior to that of the particular government of any one part. Congress is the legislature of all the people of the United States; the judiciary of the general government is the judiciary of all the people of the United States. To hold, therefore, that this legislature and this judiciary are subordinate in authority to the legislature and judiciary of a



single State, is doing violence to all common sense, and overturning all established principles. Congress must judge of the extent of its own powers so often as it is called on to exercise them, or it cannot act at all; and it must also act independent of State control, or it cannot act at all.

The right of State interposition strikes at the very foundation of the legislative power of Congress. It possesses no effective legislative power, if such right of State interposition exists; because it can pass no law not subject to abrogation. It cannot make laws for the Union, if any part of the Union may pronounce its enactments void and of no effect. Its forms of legislation would be an idle ceremony, if, after all, any one of four-and-twenty States might bid defiance to its authority. Without express provision in the Constitution, therefore, Sir, this whole question is necessarily decided by those provisions which create a legislative power and a judicial power. If these exist in a government intended for the whole, the inevitable consequence is, that the laws of this legislative power and the decisions of this judicial power must be binding on and over the whole. No man can form the conception of a government existing over four-and-twenty States, with a regular legislative and judicial power, and of the existence at the same time of an authority, residing elsewhere, to resist, at pleasure or discretion, the enactments and the decisions of such a government. I maintain, therefore, Sir, that, from the nature of the case, and as an inference wholly unavoidable, the acts of Congress and the decisions of the national courts must be of higher authority than State laws and State decisions. If this be not so, there is, there can be, no general government.

But, Mr. President, the Constitution has not left this cardinal point without full and explicit provisions. First, as to the authority of Congress. Having enumerated the specific powers conferred on Congress, the Constitution adds, as a distinct and substantive clause, the following, viz.: "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof." If this means any thing, it means that Congress may judge of the true extent and just interpretation of the specific powers granted to it, and may judge also of what is necessary and proper for executing those powers. If Congress is to judge of what is necessary for the execution of its powers, it must, of necessity, judge of the extent and interpretation of those powers.

And in regard, Sir, to the judiciary, the Constitution is still more express and emphatic. It declares that the judicial power shall extend to all **cases** in law or equity arising under the Constitution, laws of the United States, and treaties; that there shall be **one** Supreme Court, and that this Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction of all these cases, subject to such exceptions as Congress may make. It is impossible to escape from the generality of these words. If a case arises under the Constitution, that is, if a case arises depending on the construction of the Constitution, the judicial power of the United States extends to it. It reaches **the case, the question**; it attaches the power of the national judicature to the **case**





itself, in whatever court it may arise or exist; and in this **case** the Supreme Court has appellate jurisdiction over all courts whatever. No language could provide with more effect and precision than is here done, for subjecting constitutional questions to the ultimate decision of the Supreme Court. And, Sir, this is exactly what the Convention found it necessary to provide for, and intended to provide for. It is, too, exactly what the people were universally told was done when they adopted the Constitution. One of the first resolutions adopted by the Convention was in these words, viz.: "That the jurisdiction of the national judiciary shall extend to cases which respect **the collection of the national revenue**, and questions which involve the national peace and harmony." Now, Sir, this either had no sensible meaning at all, or else it meant that the jurisdiction of the national judiciary should extend to these questions, **with a paramount authority**. It is not to be supposed that the Convention intended that the power of the national judiciary should extend to these questions, and that the power of the judicatures of the States should also extend to them, **with equal power of final decision**. This would be to defeat the whole object of the provision. There were thirteen judicatures already in existence. The evil complained of, or the danger to be guarded against, was contradiction and repugnance in the decisions of these judicatures. If the framers of the Constitution meant to create a fourteenth, and yet not to give it power to revise and control the decisions of the existing thirteen, then they only intended to augment the existing evil and the apprehended danger by increasing still further the chances of discordant judgments. Why, Sir, has it become a settled axiom in politics that every government must have a judicial power coextensive with its legislative power? Certainly, there is only this reason, namely, that the laws may receive a uniform interpretation and a uniform execution. This object cannot be otherwise attained. A statute is what it is judicially interpreted to be; and if it be construed one way in New Hampshire, and another way in Georgia, there is no uniform law. One supreme court, with appellate and final jurisdiction, is the natural and only adequate means, in any government, to secure this uniformity. The Convention saw all this clearly; and the resolution which I have quoted, never afterwards rescinded, passed through various modifications, till it finally received the form which the article now bears in the Constitution.

It is undeniably true, then, that the framers of the Constitution intended to create a national judicial power, which should be paramount on national subjects. And after the Constitution was framed, and while the whole country was engaged in discussing its merits, one of its most distinguished advocates, Mr. Madison, told the people that it **was true, that, in controversies relating to the boundary between the two jurisdictions, the tribunal which is ultimately to decide is to be established under the general government**. Mr. Martin, who had been a member of the Convention, asserted the same thing to the legislature of Maryland, and urged it as a reason for rejecting the Constitution. Mr. Pinckney, himself also a leading member of the Convention, declared it to the people of South Carolina. Everywhere it was admitted, by friends and foes, that this power



was in the Constitution. By some it was thought dangerous, by most it was thought necessary; but by all it was agreed to be a power actually contained in the instrument. The Convention saw the absolute necessity of some control in the national government over State laws. Different modes of establishing this control were suggested and considered. At one time, it was proposed that the laws of the States should, from time to time, be laid before Congress, and that Congress should possess a negative over them. But this was thought inexpedient and inadmissible; and in its place, and expressly as a substitute for it, the existing provision was introduced; that is to say, a provision by which the federal courts should have authority to overrule such State laws as might be in manifest contravention of the Constitution. The writers of the Federalist, in explaining the Constitution, while it was yet pending before the people, and still unadopted, give this account of the matter in terms, and assign this reason for the article as it now stands. By this provision Congress escaped the necessity of any revision of State laws, left the whole sphere of State legislation quite untouched, and yet obtained a security against any infringement of the constitutional power of the general government. Indeed, Sir, allow me to ask again, if the national judiciary was not to exercise a power of revision on constitutional questions over the judicatures of the States, why was any national judicature erected at all? Can any man give a sensible reason for having a judicial power in this government, unless it be for the sake of maintaining a uniformity of decision on questions arising under the Constitution and laws of Congress, and insuring its execution? And does not this very idea of uniformity necessarily imply that the construction given by the national courts is to be the prevailing construction? How else, Sir, is it possible that uniformity can be preserved?

Gentlemen appear to me, Sir, to look at but one side of the question. They regard only the supposed danger of trusting a government with the interpretation of its own powers. But will they view the question in its other aspect? Will they show us how it is possible for a government to get along with four-and-twenty interpreters of its laws and powers? Gentlemen argue, too, as if, in these cases, the State would be always right, and the general government always wrong. But suppose the reverse,—suppose the State wrong (and, since they differ, some of them must be wrong),—are the most important and essential operations of the government to be embarrassed and arrested, because one State holds the contrary opinion? Mr. President, every argument which refers the constitutionality of acts of Congress to State decision appeals from the majority to the minority; it appeals from the common interest to a particular interest; from the counsels of all to the counsel of one; and endeavors to supersede the judgment of the whole by the judgment of a part.

I think it is clear. Sir, that the Constitution, by express provision, by definite and unequivocal words, as well as by necessary implication, has constituted the Supreme Court of the United States the appellate tribunal in all cases of a constitutional nature which assume the shape of a suit, in law or equity. And I think I cannot do better than to leave this



part of the subject by reading the remarks made upon it in the convention of Connecticut, by Mr. Ellsworth; a gentleman, Sir, who has left behind him, on the records of the government of his country, proofs of the clearest intelligence and of the deepest sagacity, as well as of the utmost purity and integrity of character. "This Constitution," says he, "defines the extent of the powers of the general government. If the general legislature should, at any time, overleap their limits, the judicial department is a constitutional check. If the United States go beyond their powers, if they make a law which the Constitution does not authorize, it is void; and the judiciary power, the national judges, who, to secure their impartiality, are to be made independent, will declare it to be void. On the other hand, if the States go beyond their limits, if they make a law which is a usurpation upon the general government, the law is void; and upright, independent judges will declare it to be so." Nor did this remain merely matter of private opinion. In the very first session of the first Congress, with all these well-known objects, both of the Convention and the people, full and fresh in his mind, Mr. Ellsworth, as is generally understood, reported the bill for the organization of the judicial department, and in that bill made provision for the exercise of this appellate power of the Supreme Court, in all the proper cases, in whatsoever court arising; and this appellate power has now been exercised for more than forty years, without interruption, and without doubt.

As to the cases, Sir, which do not come before the courts, those political questions which terminate with the enactments of Congress, it is of necessity that these should be ultimately decided by Congress itself. Like other legislatures, it must be trusted with this power. The members of Congress are chosen by the people, and they are answerable to the people; like other public agents, they are bound by oath to support the Constitution. These are the securities that they will not violate their duty, nor transcend their powers. They are the same securities that prevail in other popular governments; nor is it easy to see how grants of power can be more safely guarded, without rendering them nugatory. If the case cannot come before the courts, and if Congress be not trusted with its decision, who shall decide it? The gentleman says, each State is to decide it for herself. If so, then, as I have already urged, what is law in one State is not law in another. Or, if the resistance of one State compels an entire repeal of the law, then a minority, and that a small one, governs the whole country.

Sir, those who espouse the doctrines of nullification reject, as it seems to me, the first great principle of all republican liberty; that is, that the majority **must** govern. In matters of common concern, the judgment of a majority **must** stand as the judgment of the whole. This is a law imposed on us by the absolute necessity of the case; and if we do not act upon it, there is no possibility of maintaining any government but despotism. We hear loud and repeated denunciations against what is called **majority government**. It is declared, with much warmth, that a majority government cannot be maintained in the United States. What, then, do gentlemen wish? Do they wish to establish a **minority** government? Do they wish to subject the will of the



many to the will of the few? The honorable gentleman from South Carolina has spoken of absolute majorities and majorities concurrent; language wholly unknown to our Constitution, and to which it is not easy to affix definite ideas. As far as I understand it, it would teach us that the absolute majority may be found in Congress, but the majority concurrent must be looked for in the States; that is to say, Sir, stripping the matter of this novelty of phrase, that the dissent of one or more States, as States, renders void the decision of a majority of Congress, so far as that State is concerned. And so this doctrine, running but a short career, like other dogmas of the day, terminates in nullification.

If this vehement invective against **majorities** meant no more than that, in the construction of government, it is wise to provide checks and balances, so that there should be various limitations on the power of the mere majority, it would only mean what the Constitution of the United States has already abundantly provided. It is full of such checks and balances. In its very organization, it adopts a broad and most effective principle in restraint of the power of mere majorities. A majority of the people elects the House of Representatives, but it does not elect the Senate. The Senate is elected by the States, each State having, in this respect, an equal power. No law, therefore, can pass, without the assent of the representatives of the people, and a majority of the representatives of the States also. A majority of the representatives of the people must concur, and a majority of the States must concur, in every act of Congress; and the President is elected on a plan compounded of both these principles. But having composed one house of representatives chosen by the people in each State, according to their numbers, and the other of an equal number of members from every State, whether larger or smaller, the Constitution gives to majorities in these houses thus constituted the full and entire power of passing laws, subject always to the constitutional restrictions and to the approval of the President. To subject them to any other power is clear usurpation. The majority of one house may be controlled by the majority of the other; and both may be restrained by the President's negative. These are checks and balances provided by the Constitution, existing in the government itself, and wisely intended to secure deliberation and caution in legislative proceedings. But to resist the will of the majority in both houses, thus constitutionally exercised, to insist on the lawfulness of interposition by an extraneous power; to claim the right of defeating the will of Congress, by setting up against it the will of a single State,—is neither more nor less, as it strikes me, than a plain attempt to overthrow the government. The constituted authorities of the United States are no longer a government, if they be not masters of their own will; they are no longer a government, if an external power may arrest their proceedings; they are no longer a government, if acts passed by both houses, and approved by the President, may be nullified by State vetoes or State ordinances. Does any one suppose it could make any difference, as to the binding authority of an act of Congress, and of the duty of a State to respect it, whether it passed by a mere majority of both houses, or by three fourths of each, or the unanimous vote



of each? Within the limits and restrictions of the Constitution, the government of the United States, like all other popular governments, acts by majorities. It can act no otherwise. Whoever, therefore, denounces the government of majorities, denounces the government of his own country, and denounces all free governments. And whoever would restrain these majorities, while acting within their constitutional limits, by an external power, whatever he may intend, asserts principles which, if adopted, can lead to nothing else than the destruction of the government itself.

Does not the gentleman perceive, Sir, how his argument against majorities might here be retorted upon him? Does he not see how cogently he might be asked, whether it be the character of nullification to practise what it preaches? Look to South Carolina, at the present moment. How far are the rights of minorities there respected? I confess, Sir, I have not known, in peaceable times, the power of the majority carried with a higher hand, or upheld with more relentless disregard of the rights, feelings and principles of the minority;—a minority embracing, as the gentleman himself will admit, a large portion of the worth and respectability of the State;—a minority comprehending in its numbers men who have been associated with him, and with us, in these halls of legislation; men who have served their country at home and honored it abroad; men who would cheerfully lay down their lives for their native State, in any cause which they could regard as the cause of honor and duty; men above fear, and above reproach, whose deepest grief and distress spring from the conviction, that the present proceedings of the State must ultimately reflect discredit upon her. How is this minority, how are these men, regarded? They are enthralled and disfranchised by ordinances and acts of legislation; subjected to tests and oaths, incompatible, as they conscientiously think, with oaths already taken, and obligations already assumed; they are proscribed and denounced as recreants to duty and patriotism, and slaves to a foreign power. Both the spirit which pursues them, and the positive measures which emanate from that spirit, are harsh and proscriptive beyond all precedent within my knowledge, except in periods of professed revolution.

It is not, Sir, one would think, for those who approve these proceedings to complain of the power of majorities.

Mr. President, all popular governments rest on two principles, or two assumptions:—

First, That there is so far a common interest among those over whom the government extends, as that it may provide for the defence, protection, and good government of the whole, without injustice or oppression to parts; and

Secondly, That the representatives of the people, and especially the people themselves, are secure against general corruption, and may be trusted, therefore, with the exercise of power.

Whoever argues against these principles argues against the practicability of all free governments. And whoever admits these, must admit, or cannot deny, that power is as safe in the hands of Congress as in those of other representative bodies. Congress is not irresponsible. Its members are agents of the people, elected by them, answerable to them, and liable to be





displaced or superseded, at their pleasure; and they possess as fair a claim to the confidence of the people, while they continue to deserve it, as any other public political agents.

If, then, Sir, the manifest intention of the Convention, and the contemporary admission of both friends and foes, prove any thing; if the plain text of the instrument itself, as well as the necessary implication from other provisions, prove any thing; if the early legislation of Congress, the course of judicial decisions, acquiesced in by all the States for forty years, prove any thing,—then it is proved that there is a supreme law, and a final interpreter.

My fourth and last proposition, Mr. President, was, that any attempt by a State to abrogate or nullify acts of Congress is a usurpation on the powers of the general government and on the equal rights of other States, a violation of the Constitution, and a proceeding essentially revolutionary. This is undoubtedly true, if the preceding propositions be regarded as proved. If the government of the United States be trusted with the duty, in any department, of declaring the extent of its own powers, then a State ordinance, or act of legislation, authorizing resistance to an act of Congress, on the alleged ground of its unconstitutionally, is manifestly a usurpation upon its powers. If the States have equal rights in matters concerning the whole, then for one State to set up her judgment against the judgment of the rest, and to insist on executing that judgment by force, is also a manifest usurpation on the rights of other States. If the Constitution of the United States be a government proper, with authority to pass laws, and to give them a uniform interpretation and execution, then the interposition of a State, to enforce her own construction, and to resist, as to herself, that law which binds the other States, is a violation of the Constitution.

If that be revolutionary which arrests the legislative, executive, and judicial power of government, dispenses with existing oaths and obligations of obedience, and elevates another power to supreme dominion, then nullification is revolutionary. Or if that be revolutionary the natural tendency and practical effect of which are to break the Union into fragments, to sever all connection among the people of the respective States, and to prostrate this general government in the dust, then nullification is revolutionary.

Nullification, Sir, is as distinctly revolutionary as secession; but I cannot say that the revolution which it seeks is one of so respectable a character. Secession would, it is true, abandon the Constitution altogether; but then it would profess to abandon it. Whatever other inconsistencies it might run into, one, at least, it would avoid. It would not belong to a government, while it rejected its authority. It would not repel the burden, and continue to enjoy the benefits. It would not aid in passing laws which others are to obey, and yet reject their authority as to itself. It would not undertake to reconcile obedience to public authority with an asserted right of command over that same authority. It would not be in the government, and above the government, at the same time. But though secession may be a more respectable mode of attaining the object than nullification, it is not more truly revolutionary. Each, and



both, resist the constitutional authorities; each, and both, would sever the Union and subvert the government.

Mr. President, having detained the Senate so long already, I will not now examine at length the ordinance and laws of South Carolina. These papers are well drawn for their purpose. Their authors understood their own objects. They are called a peaceable remedy, and we have been told that South Carolina, after all, intends nothing but a lawsuit. A very few words, Sir, will show the nature of this peaceable remedy, and of the lawsuit which South Carolina contemplates.

In the first place, the ordinance declares the law of last July, and all other laws of the United States laying duties, to be absolutely null and void, and makes it unlawful for the constituted authorities of the United States to enforce the payment of such duties. It is therefore, Sir, an indictable offence, at this moment, in South Carolina, for any person to be concerned in collecting revenue under the laws of the United States. It being declared, by what is considered a fundamental law of the State, unlawful to collect these duties, an indictment lies, of course, against any one concerned in such collection; and he is, on general principles, liable to be punished by fine and imprisonment. The terms, it is true, are, that it is unlawful "to enforce the payment of duties"; but every custom-house officer enforces payment while he detains the goods in order to obtain such payment. The ordinance, therefore, reaches everybody concerned in the collection of the duties.

This is the first step in the prosecution of the peaceable remedy. The second is more decisive. By the act commonly called the *replevin* law, any person whose goods are seized or detained by the collector for the payment of duties may sue out a writ of *replevin*, and, by virtue of that writ, the goods are to be restored to him. A writ of *replevin* is a writ which the sheriff is bound to execute, and for the execution of which he is bound to employ force, if necessary. He may call out the *posse*, and must do so, if resistance be made. This *posse* may be armed or unarmed. It may come forth with military array, and under the lead of military men. Whatever number of troops may be assembled in Charleston, they may be summoned, with the governor, or commander-in-chief, at their head, to come in aid of the sheriff. It is evident, then, Sir, that the whole military power of the State is to be employed, if necessary, in dispossessing the custom-house officers, and in seizing and holding the goods, without paying the duties. This is the second step in the peaceable remedy.

Sir, whatever pretences may be set up to the contrary, this is the direct application of force, and of military force. It is unlawful, in itself, to *replevy* goods in the custody of the collectors. But this unlawful act is to be done, and it is to be done by power. Here is a plain interposition, by physical force, to resist the laws of the Union. The legal mode of collecting duties is to detain the goods till such duties are paid or secured. But force comes, and overpowers the collector and his assistants, and takes away the goods, leaving the duties unpaid. There cannot be a clearer case of forcible resistance to law. And it is provided that the goods thus seized shall be held against any attempt to retake them, by the same force which



seized them.

Having thus dispossessed the officers of the government of the goods, without payment of duties, and seized and secured them by the strong arm of the State, only one thing more remains to be done, and that is, to cut off all possibility of legal redress; and that, too, is accomplished, or thought to be accomplished. The ordinance declares, **that all judicial proceedings, founded on the revenue laws** (including, of course, proceedings in the courts of the United States), **shall be null and void**. This nullifies the judicial power of the United States. Then comes the test-oath act. This requires all State judges and jurors in the State courts to swear that they will execute the ordinance, and all acts of the legislature passed in pursuance thereof. The ordinance declares, that no appeal shall be allowed from the decision of the State courts to the Supreme Court of the United States; and the replevin act makes it an indictable offence for any clerk to furnish a copy of the record, for the purpose of such appeal.

The two principal provisions on which South Carolina relies, to resist the laws of the United States, and nullify the authority of this government, are, therefore, these:-

1. A forcible seizure of goods, before duties are paid or secured, by the power of the State, civil and military.
2. The taking away, by the most effectual means in her power, of all legal redress in the courts of the United States; the confining of judicial proceedings to her own State tribunals; and the compelling of her judges and jurors of these her own courts to take an oath, beforehand, that they will decide all cases according to the ordinance, and the acts passed under it; that is, that they will decide the cause one way. They do not swear to **try** it, on its own merits; they only swear to **decide** it as nullification requires.

The character, Sir, of these provisions defies comment. Their object is as plain as their means are extraordinary. They propose direct resistance, by the whole power of the State, to laws of Congress, and cut off, by methods deemed adequate, any redress by legal and judicial authority. They arrest legislation, defy the executive, and banish the judicial power of this government. They authorize and command acts to be done, and done by force, both of numbers and of arms, which, if done, and done by force, are clearly acts of rebellion and treason. Such, Sir, are the laws of South Carolina; such, Sir, is the peaceable remedy of nullification. Has not nullification reached, Sir, even thus early, that point of direct and forcible resistance to law to which I intimated, three years ago, it plainly tended?

And now, Mr. President, what is the reason for passing laws like these? What are the oppressions experienced under the Union, calling for measures which thus threaten to sever and destroy it? What invasions of public liberty, what ruin to private happiness, what long list of rights violated, or wrongs unredressed, is to justify to the country, to posterity, and to the world, this assault upon the free Constitution of the United States, this great and glorious work of our fathers? At this very moment, Sir, the whole land smiles in peace, and rejoices in plenty. A general and a high prosperity pervades the country;



and, judging by the common standard, by increase of population and wealth, or judging by the opinions of that portion of her people not embarked in these dangerous and desperate measures, this prosperity overspreads South Carolina herself.

Thus happy at home, our country, at the same time, holds high the character of her institutions, her power, her rapid growth, and her future destiny, in the eyes of all foreign states. One danger only creates hesitation; one doubt only exists, to darken the otherwise unclouded brightness of that aspect which she exhibits to the view and to the admiration of the world. Need I say, that that doubt respects the permanency of our Union? and need I say, that that doubt is now caused, more than any thing else, by these very proceedings of South Carolina? Sir, all Europe is, at this moment, beholding us, and looking for the issue of this controversy; those who hate free institutions, with malignant hope; those who love them, with deep anxiety and shivering fear.

The cause, then, Sir, the cause! Let the world know the cause which has thus induced one State of the Union to bid defiance to the power of the whole, and openly to talk of secession. Sir, the world will scarcely believe that this whole controversy, and all the desperate measures which its support requires, have no other foundation than a difference of opinion upon a provision of the Constitution, between a majority of the people of South Carolina, on one side, and a vast majority of the whole people of the United States, on the other. It will not credit the fact, it will not admit the possibility, that, in an enlightened age, in a free, popular republic, under a constitution where the people govern, as they must always govern under such systems, by majorities, at a time of unprecedented prosperity, without practical oppression, without evils such as may not only be pretended, but felt and experienced,—evils not slight or temporary, but deep, permanent, and intolerable,—a single State should rush into conflict with all the rest, attempt to put down the power of the Union by her own laws, and to support those laws by her military power, and thus break up and destroy the world's last hope. And well the world may be incredulous. We, who see and hear it, can ourselves hardly yet believe it. Even after all that had preceded it, this ordinance struck the country with amazement. It was incredible and inconceivable that South Carolina should plunge headlong into resistance to the laws on a matter of opinion, and on a question in which the preponderance of opinion, both of the present day and of all past time, was so overwhelmingly against her. The ordinance declares that Congress has exceeded its just power by laying duties on imports, intended for the protection of manufactures. This is the opinion of South Carolina; and on the strength of that opinion she nullifies the laws. Yet has the rest of the country no right to its opinion also? Is one State to sit sole arbitress? She maintains that those laws are plain, deliberate, and palpable violations of the Constitution; that she has a sovereign right to decide this matter; and that, having so decided, she is authorized to resist their execution by her own sovereign power; and she declares that she will resist it, though such resistance should shatter the Union into atoms. Mr. President, I do not intend to discuss the propriety of these



laws at large; but I will ask, How are they shown to be thus plainly and palpably unconstitutional? Have they no countenance at all in the Constitution itself? Are they quite new in the history of the government? Are they a sudden and violent usurpation on the rights of the States? Sir, what will the civilized world say, what will posterity say, when they learn that similar laws have existed from the very foundation of the government, that for thirty years the power was never questioned, and that no State in the Union has more freely and unequivocally admitted it than South Carolina herself?

To lay and collect duties and imposts is an **express power** granted by the Constitution to Congress. It is, also, an **exclusive power**; for the Constitution as expressly prohibits all the States from exercising it themselves. This express and exclusive power is unlimited in the terms of the grant, but is attended with two specific restrictions: first, that all duties and imposts shall be equal in all the States; second, that no duties shall be laid on exports. The power, then, being granted, and being attended with these two restrictions, and no more, who is to impose a third restriction on the general words of the grant? If the power to lay duties, as known among all other nations, and as known in all our history, and as it was perfectly understood when the Constitution was adopted, includes a right of discriminating while exercising the power, and of laying some duties heavier and some lighter, for the sake of encouraging our own domestic products, what authority is there for giving to the words used in the Constitution a new, narrow, and unusual meaning? All the limitations which the Constitution intended, it has expressed; and what it has left unrestricted is as much a part of its will as the restraints which it has imposed.

But these laws, it is said, are unconstitutional on account of the **motive**. How, Sir, can a law be examined on any such ground? How is the motive to be ascertained? One house, or one member, may have one motive; the other house, or another member, another. One motive may operate to-day, and another to-morrow. Upon any such mode of reasoning as this, one law might be unconstitutional now, and another law, in exactly the same words, perfectly constitutional next year. Besides, articles may not only be taxed for the purpose of protecting home products, but other articles may be left free, for the same purpose and with the same motive. A law, therefore, would become unconstitutional from what it omitted, as well as from what it contained. Mr. President, it is a settled principle, acknowledged in all legislative halls, recognized before all tribunals, sanctioned by the general sense and understanding of mankind, that there can be no inquiry into the motives of those who pass laws, for the purpose of determining on their validity. If the law be within the fair meaning of the words in the grant of the power, its authority must be admitted until it is repealed. This rule, everywhere acknowledged, everywhere admitted, is so universal and so completely without exception, that even an allegation of fraud, in the majority of a legislature, is not allowed as a ground to set aside a law.

But, Sir, is it true that the motive for these laws is such as is stated? I think not. The great object of all these laws is, unquestionably, revenue. If there were no occasion for revenue,





the laws would not have been passed; and it is notorious that almost the entire revenue of the country is derived from them. And as yet we have collected none too much revenue. The treasury has not been more reduced for many years than it is at the present moment. All that South Carolina can say is, that, in passing the laws which she now undertakes to nullify, **particular imported articles were taxed, from a regard to the protection of certain articles of domestic manufacture, higher than they would have been had no such regard been entertained.** And she insists, that, according to the Constitution, no such discrimination can be allowed; that duties should be laid for revenue, and revenue only; and that it is unlawful to have reference, in any case, to protection. In other words, she denies the power of DISCRIMINATION. She does not, and cannot, complain of excessive taxation; on the contrary, she professes to be willing to pay any amount for revenue, merely as revenue; and up to the present moment there is no surplus of revenue. Her grievance, then, that plain and palpable violation of the Constitution which she insists has taken place, is simply the exercise of the power of DISCRIMINATION. Now, Sir, is the exercise of this power of discrimination plainly and palpably unconstitutional?

I have already said, the power to lay duties is given by the Constitution in broad and general terms. There is also conferred on Congress the whole power of regulating commerce, in another distinct provision. Is it clear and palpable, Sir, can any man say it is a case beyond doubt, that, under these two powers, Congress may not justly **discriminate**, in laying duties, **for the purpose of countervailing the policy of foreign nations, or of favoring our own home productions?** Sir, what ought to conclude this question for ever, as it would seem to me, is, that the regulation of commerce and the imposition of duties are, in all commercial nations, powers avowedly and constantly exercised for this very end. That undeniable truth ought to settle the question; because the Constitution ought to be considered, when it uses well-known language, as using it in its well-known sense. But it is equally undeniable, that it has been, from the very first, fully believed that this power of discrimination was conferred on Congress; and the Constitution was itself recommended, urged upon the people, and enthusiastically insisted on in some of the States, for that very reason. Not that, at that time, the country was extensively engaged in manufactures, especially of the kinds now existing. But the trades and crafts of the seaport towns, the business of the artisans and manual laborers,—those employments, the work in which supplies so great a portion of the daily wants of all classes,—all these looked to the new Constitution as a source of relief from the severe distress which followed the war. It would, Sir, be unpardonable, at so late an hour, to go into details on this point; but the truth is as I have stated. The papers of the day, the resolutions of public meetings, the debates in the contentions, all that we open our eyes upon in the history of the times, prove it.

Sir, the honorable gentleman from South Carolina has referred to two incidents connected with the proceedings of the Convention at Philadelphia, which he thinks are evidence to show



that the power of protecting manufactures by laying duties, and by commercial regulations, was not intended to be given to Congress. The first is, as he says, that a power to protect manufactures was expressly proposed, but not granted. I think, Sir, the gentleman is quite mistaken in relation to this part of the proceedings of the Convention. The whole history of the occurrence to which he alludes is simply this. Towards the conclusion of the Convention, after the provisions of the Constitution had been mainly agreed upon, after the power to lay duties and the power to regulate commerce had both been granted, a long list of propositions was made and referred to the committee, containing various miscellaneous powers, some or all of which it was thought might be properly vested in Congress. Among these was a power to establish a university; to grant charters of incorporation; to regulate stage-coaches on the post-roads, and also the power to which the gentleman refers, and which is expressed in these words: "To establish public institutions, rewards, and immunities, for the promotion of agriculture, commerce, trades, and manufactures." The committee made no report on this or various other propositions in the same list. But the only inference from this omission is, that neither the committee nor the Convention thought it proper to authorize Congress "to establish public institutions, rewards, and immunities," for the promotion of manufactures, and other interests. The Convention supposed it had done enough,—at any rate, it had done all it intended,—when it had given to Congress, in general terms, the power to lay imposts and the power to regulate trade. It is not to be argued, from its omission to give more, that it meant to take back what it had already given. It had given the impost power; it had given the regulation of trade; and it did not deem it necessary to give the further and distinct power of establishing public institutions.

The other fact, Sir, on which the gentleman relies, is the declaration of Mr. Martin to the legislature of Maryland. The gentleman supposes Mr. Martin to have urged against the Constitution, that it did not contain the power of protection. But if the gentleman will look again at what Mr. Martin said, he will find, I think, that what Mr. Martin complained of was, that the Constitution, by its prohibitions on the States, had taken away from the States themselves the power of protecting their own manufactures by duties on imports. This is undoubtedly true; but I find no expression of Mr. Martin intimating that the Constitution had not conferred on Congress the same power which it had thus taken from the States.

But, Sir, let us go to the first Congress; let us look in upon this and the other house, at the first session of their organization.

We see, in both houses, men distinguished among the framers, friends, and advocates of the Constitution. We see in both, those who had drawn, discussed, and matured the instrument in the Convention, explained and defended it before the people, and were now elected members of Congress, to put the new government into motion, and to carry the powers of the Constitution into beneficial execution. At the head of the government was WASHINGTON himself, who had been President of the Convention; and in his cabinet were others most thoroughly acquainted with



the history of the Constitution, and distinguished for the part taken in its discussion. If these persons were not acquainted with the meaning of the Constitution, if they did not understand the work of their own hands, who can understand it, or who shall now interpret it to us?

Sir, the volume which records the proceedings and debates of the first session of the House of Representatives lies before me. I open it, and I find that, having provided for the administration of the necessary oaths, the very first measure proposed for consideration is, the laying of imposts; and in the very first committee of the whole into which the House of Representatives ever resolved itself, on this its earliest subject, and in this its very first debate, the duty of so laying the imposts as to encourage manufactures was advanced and enlarged upon by almost every speaker, and doubted or denied by none. The first gentleman who suggests this as the clear duty of Congress, and as an object necessary to be attended to, is Mr. Fitzsimons, of Pennsylvania; the second, Mr. White, of VIRGINIA; the third, Mr. Tucker, of SOUTH CAROLINA.

But the great leader, Sir, on this occasion, was Mr. Madison. Was **he** likely to know the intentions of the Convention and the people? Was **he** likely to understand the Constitution? At the second sitting of the committee, Mr. Madison explained his own opinions of the duty of Congress, fully and explicitly. I must not detain you, Sir, with more than a few short extracts from these opinions, but they are such as are clear, intelligible, and decisive. "The States," says he, "that are most advanced in population, and ripe for manufactures, ought to have their particular interest attended to, in some degree. While these States retained the power of making regulations of trade, they had the power to cherish such institutions. By adopting the present Constitution, they have thrown the exercise of this power into other hands; they must have done this with an expectation that those interests would not be neglected here." In another report of the same speech, Mr. Madison is represented as using still stronger language; as saying that, the Constitution having taken this power away from the States and conferred it on Congress, it would be a **fraud** on the States and on the people were Congress to refuse to exercise it.

Mr. Madison argues, Sir, on this early and interesting occasion, very justly and liberally, in favor of the general principles of unrestricted commerce. But he argues, also, with equal force and clearness, for certain important exceptions to these general principles. The first, Sir, respects those manufactures which had been brought forward under encouragement by the State governments. "It would be cruel," says Mr. Madison, "to neglect them, and to divert their industry into other channels; for it is not possible for the hand of man to shift from one employment to another without being injured by the change." Again: "There may be some manufactures which, being once formed, can advance towards perfection without any adventitious aid; while others, for want of the fostering hand of government, will be unable to go on at all. Legislative provision, therefore, will be necessary to collect the proper objects for this purpose; and this will form another exception to my general principle." And again: "The next exception that occurs is one on which great



stress is laid by some well-informed men, and this with great plausibility; that each nation should have, within itself, the means of defence, independent of foreign supplies; that, in whatever relates to the operations of war, no State ought to depend upon a precarious supply from any part of the world. There may be some truth in this remark; and therefore it is proper for legislative attention."

In the same debate, Sir, Mr. Burk, from SOUTH CAROLINA, supported a duty on hemp, for the express purpose of encouraging its growth on the strong lands of South Carolina. "Cotton," he said, "was also in contemplation among them, and, if good seed could be procured, he hoped might succeed." Afterwards, Sir, the cotton was obtained, its culture was protected, and it did succeed. Mr. Smith, a very distinguished member from the SAME STATE, observed: "It has been said, and justly, that the States which adopted this Constitution expected its administration would be conducted with a favorable hand. The manufacturing States wished the encouragement of manufactures, the maritime States the encouragement of ship-building, and the agricultural States the encouragement of agriculture."

Sir, I will detain the Senate by reading no more extracts from these debates. I have already shown a majority of the members of SOUTH CAROLINA, in this very first session, acknowledging this power of protection, voting for its exercise, and proposing its extension to their own products. Similar propositions came from Virginia; and, indeed, Sir, in the whole debate, at whatever page you open the volume, you find the power admitted, and you find it applied to the protection of particular articles, or not applied, according to the discretion of Congress. No man denied the power, no man doubted it; the only questions were, in regard to the several articles proposed to be taxed, whether they were fit subjects for protection, and what the amount of that protection ought to be. Will gentlemen, Sir, now answer the argument drawn from these proceedings of the first Congress? Will they undertake to deny that that Congress did act on the avowed principle of protection? Or, if they admit it, will they tell us how those who framed the Constitution fell, thus early, into this great mistake about its meaning? Will they tell us how it should happen that they had so soon forgotten their own sentiments and their own purposes? I confess I have seen no answer to this argument, nor any respectable attempt to answer it. And, Sir, how did this debate terminate? What law was passed? There it stands, Sir, among the statutes, the second law in the book. It has a **preamble**, and that preamble expressly recites, that the duties which it imposes are laid "for the support of government, for the discharge of the debts of the United States, and **the encouragement and protection of manufactures.**" Until, Sir, this early legislation, thus coeval with the Constitution itself, thus full and explicit, can be explained away, no man can doubt of the meaning of that instrument in this respect.

Mr. President, this power of **discrimination**, thus admitted, avowed, and practised upon in the first revenue act, has never been denied or doubted until within a few years past. It was not at all doubted in 1816, when it became necessary to adjust the revenue to a state of peace. On the contrary, the power was then



exercised, not without opposition as to its expediency, but, as far as I remember or have understood, without the slightest opposition founded on any supposed want of constitutional authority. Certainly, SOUTH CAROLINA did not doubt it. The tariff of 1816 was introduced, carried through, and established, under the lead of South Carolina. Even the minimum policy is of South Carolina origin. The honorable gentleman himself supported, and ably supported, the tariff of 1816. He has informed us, Sir, that his speech on that occasion was sudden and off-hand, he being called up by the request of a friend. I am sure the gentleman so remembers it, and that it was so; but there is, nevertheless, much method, arrangement, and clear exposition in that extempore speech. It is very able, very, very much to the point, and very decisive. And in another speech, delivered two months earlier, on the proposition to repeal the internal taxes, the honorable gentleman had touched the same subject, and had declared "**that a certain encouragement ought to be extended at least to our woollen and cotton manufactures.**" I do not quote these speeches, Sir, for the purpose of showing that the honorable gentleman has changed his opinion: my object is other and higher. I do it for the sake of saying that that cannot be so plainly and palpably unconstitutional as to warrant resistance to law, nullification, and revolution, which the honorable gentleman and his friends have heretofore agreed to and acted upon without doubt and without hesitation. Sir, it is no answer to say that the tariff of 1816 was a revenue bill. So are they all revenue bills. The point is, and the truth is, that the tariff of 1816, like the rest, **did discriminate**; it did distinguish one article from another; it did lay duties for protection. Look to the case of coarse cottons under the minimum calculation: the duty on these was from sixty to eighty per cent. Something beside revenue, certainly, was intended in this; and, in fact, the law cut up our whole commerce with India in that article.

It is, Sir, only within a few years that Carolina has denied the constitutionality of these protective laws. The gentleman himself has narrated to us the true history of her proceedings on this point. He says, that, after the passing of the law of 1828, despairing then of being able to abolish the system of protection, political men went forth among the people, and set up the doctrine that the system was unconstitutional. "**And the people,**" says the honorable gentleman, "**received the doctrine.**" This, I believe, is true, Sir. The people did then receive the doctrine; they had never entertained it before. Down to that period, the constitutionality of these laws had been no more doubted in South Carolina than elsewhere. And I suspect it is true, Sir, and I deem it a great misfortune, that, to the present moment, a great portion of the people of the State have never yet seen more than one side of the argument. I believe that thousands of honest men are involved in scenes now passing, led away by one-sided views of the question, and following their leaders by the impulses of an unlimited confidence. Depend upon it, Sir, if we can avoid the shock of arms, a day for reconsideration and reflection will come; truth and reason will act with their accustomed force, and the public opinion of South Carolina will be restored to its usual constitutional and





patriotic tone.

But, Sir, I hold South Carolina to her ancient, her cool, her uninfluenced, her deliberate opinions. I hold her to her own admissions, nay, to her own claims and pretensions, in 1789, in the first Congress, and to her acknowledgments and avowed sentiments through a long series of succeeding years. I hold her to the principles on which she led Congress to act in 1816; or, if she have changed her own opinions, I claim some respect for those who still retain the same opinions. I say she is precluded from asserting that doctrines, which she has herself so long and so ably sustained, are plain, palpable, and dangerous violations of the Constitution.

Mr. President, if the friends of nullification should be able to propagate their opinions, and give them practical effect, they would, in my judgment, prove themselves the most skilful "architects of ruin," the most effectual extinguishers of high-raised expectation, the greatest blasters of human hopes, that any age has produced. They would stand up to proclaim, in tones which would pierce the ears of half the human race, that the last great experiment of representative government had failed. They would send forth sounds, at the hearing of which the doctrine of the divine right of kings would feel, even in its grave, a returning sensation of vitality and resuscitation. Millions of eyes, of those who now feed their inherent love of liberty on the success of the American example, would turn away from beholding our dismemberment, and find no place on earth whereon to rest their gratified sight. Amidst the incantations and orgies of nullification, secession, disunion, and revolution, would be celebrated the funeral rites of constitutional and republican liberty.


But, Sir, if the government do its duty, if it act with firmness and with moderation, these opinions cannot prevail. Be assured, Sir, be assured, that, among the political sentiments of this people, the love of union is still uppermost. They will stand fast by the Constitution, and by those who defend it. I rely on no temporary expedients, on no political combination; but I rely on the true American feeling, the genuine patriotism of the people, and the imperative decision of the public voice. Disorder and confusion, indeed, may arise; scenes of commotion and contest are threatened, and perhaps may come. With my whole heart, I pray for the continuance of the domestic peace and quiet of the country. I desire, most ardently, the restoration of affection and harmony to all its parts. I desire that every citizen of the whole country may look to this government with no other sentiments than those of grateful respect and attachment. But I cannot yield even to kind feelings the cause of the Constitution, the true glory of the country, and the great trust which we hold in our hands for succeeding ages. If the Constitution cannot be maintained without meeting these scenes of commotion and contest, however unwelcome, they must come. We cannot, we must not, we dare not, omit to do that which, in our judgment, the safety of the Union requires. Not regardless of consequences, we must yet meet consequences; seeing the hazards which surround the discharge of public duty, it must yet be discharged. For myself, Sir, I shun no responsibility justly devolving on me, here or elsewhere, in attempting to maintain



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the cause. I am bound to it by indissoluble ties of affection and duty, and I shall cheerfully partake in its fortunes and its fate. I am ready to perform my own appropriate part, whenever and wherever the occasion may call on me, and to take my chance among those upon whom blows may fall first and fall thickest. I shall exert every faculty I possess in aiding to prevent the Constitution from being nullified, destroyed, or impaired; and even should I see it fall, I will still, with a voice feeble, perhaps, but earnest as ever issued from human lips, and with fidelity and zeal which nothing shall extinguish, call on the PEOPLE to come to its rescue.


 February 17, Sunday: A young [Boston](#) couple, John B. Carter and Mary A. Bradley, committed [suicide](#) by hanging themselves, face to face.

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


Taking with him Dr. Richard King as naturalist, Commander [George Back](#) left Liverpool by packet boat for New-York.

ON Sunday, the 17th of February, 1833, accompanied by Mr. Richard King and three men, two of whom had gained experience under [Sir John Franklin](#), I embarked in the packet ship *Hibernia*, Captain Maxwell, from Liverpool; and, after a somewhat boisterous passage of thirty-five days, during part of which the ship was entangled amongst ice on St. George's Bank, arrived at New York.


[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

 February 20, Wednesday: "An Act making appropriations for the naval service," etc. "... for carrying into effect the acts for the suppression of the [slave trade](#)," etc., \$5,000 (STATUTES AT LARGE, IV. 614, 615).

A contingent of Russian troops arrived in Constantinople, to aid the Turks against [Egypt](#).

 February 21, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) boarded a ship bound for Syracuse, Sicilia. He would visit Catania and Messina before boarding a steamboat to go on around to Palermo.

 February 26, Tuesday: New Jersey agreed to its new boundary with the state of New York.

 February 27, Wednesday: *Gustave III, ou Le bal masque*, an opera historique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Opera.

On this day in Kirtland, Ohio, Joseph Smith laid claim to having received the word of Wisdom.



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## MARCH



March: Frederick Douglass was taken from Baltimore, [Maryland](#) to live with Master Thomas Auld at St. Michaels in Talbot County, a household in which there would be difficulty in getting adequate food:

### Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

It was now more than seven years since I lived with him in the family of my old master, on Colonel Lloyd's plantation. We of course were now almost entire strangers to each other. He was to me a new master, and I to him a new slave. I was ignorant of his temper and disposition; he was equally so of mine. A very short time, however, brought us into full acquaintance with each other. I was made acquainted with his wife not less than with himself. They were well matched, being equally mean and cruel. I was now, for the first time during a space of more than seven years, made to feel the painful gnawings of hunger – a something which I had not experienced before since I left Colonel Lloyd's plantation. It went hard enough with me then, when I could look back to no period at which I had enjoyed a sufficiency. It was tenfold harder after living in Master Hugh's family, where I had always had enough to eat, and of that which was good. I have said Master Thomas was a mean man. He was so. Not to give a slave enough to eat, is regarded as the most aggravated development of meanness even among slaveholders. The rule is, no matter how coarse the food, only let there be enough of it. This is the theory; and in the part of Maryland from which I came, it is the general practice, – though there are many exceptions. Master Thomas gave us enough of neither coarse nor fine food. There were four slaves of us in the kitchen – my sister Eliza, my aunt Priscilla, Henny, and myself; and we were allowed less than a half of a bushel of corn-meal per week, and very little else, either in the shape of meat or vegetables. It was not enough for us to subsist upon. We were therefore reduced to the wretched necessity of living at the expense of our neighbors. This we did by begging and stealing, whichever came handy in the time of need, the one being considered as legitimate as the other. A great many times have we poor creatures been nearly perishing with hunger, when food in abundance lay mouldering in the safe and smoke-house, and our pious mistress was aware of the fact; and yet that mistress and her husband would kneel every morning, and pray that God would bless them in basket and store!

Upon his arrival there he was reunited with his crippled cousin Henny, his Aunt Priscilla, and his sister Eliza, but learned that the year before his sister Sarah had been sold down the river to Mississippi.



**Am I Not A Woman  
and a Sister?**

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March: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Esperanca*, master Rodriguez, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, bringing an unknown number of people out of an unknown area of Africa, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY



March: Honoré de Balzac reported that “I go to bed at six or seven in the evening, like the chickens; I’m waked up at one o’clock in the morning, and I work until eight; at eight I sleep again for an hour and a half; then I take a little something, a cup of black [coffee](#), and go back into my harness until four; I receive guests, I take a bath, and I go out, and after dinner I go to bed. I’ll have to lead this life for some months, not to let myself be snowed under by my debts.”<sup>39</sup>

At the prompting of a printer and engraver of Edinburgh, William Home Lizars, [Sir William Jardine](#) commenced his editorship of THE NATURALISTS’ LIBRARY, which would extend to 40 volumes and occupy his attention for the following decade. This illustration of The Ape was made in this year, by Sir William personally:



In this year would appear THE NATURAL HISTORY OF HUMMING-BIRDS.

ORNITHOLOGY

39. By this point the use of [coffee](#) in the morning and [tea](#) at night was almost universal. In an estimate of the dietary needs of the family of a common laborer dating to this year in Philadelphia, larger expenditures were listed for [sugar](#) and tea than for meat.





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➡ March: A survey article by the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) appeared in [The Christian Examiner](#), on [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) and the [Transcendentalism](#) of [Herr Professor Immanuel Kant](#), Johann Gottlieb Fichte, and Friedrich von Schelling.



(no "k")

➡ March 1, Friday: While descending from her cabriolet in Paris, Harriet Smithson caught her skirt, twisted her foot on the step, and fractured both bones in her leg just above the ankle. Two bystanders caught her and carried her into her house — “Her cries of agony lasted for two days.”

[Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) arrived in London, for another few months in the city.

➡ March 2, Saturday: First appearance of [Prudence Crandall](#)'s school advertisement, in the [Liberator](#), which in defiance of the linguistic convention of the times characterized females of color as “Ladies” and “Misses.”

In some rather tense negotiations, President Andrew Jackson signed a “Force Bill” providing the president with authority to intervene militarily should South Carolina persist in defying federal tariffs, and the Tariff Compromise of 1833 was put into effect, that would slowly lower the federal tariffs to levels acceptable to South Carolina — and therefore South Carolina would repeal its Nullification Act.

➡ March 4, Monday: The Miguelites besieging Oporto in Portugal attempted another assault, that again failed.

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The ailing President Andrew Jackson and his Vice President Martin Van Buren rode together to the Capitol from the White House in a carriage made of timbers from the USS *Constitution*. Due to cold weather and presidential poor health, if not to embarrassment at the antics of the 1st inauguration, the 2d inauguration was



not so noteworthy. For the first and only time, the election for Vice President had been decided by the Senate, as provided for by the Constitution when the electoral college could not select a winner. The selected Vice President, Richard M. Johnson, was administered his oath in the Senate Chamber. FROM ONE SOURCE: Chief Justice Roger Brooke Taney administered the oath of office on the East Portico of the Capitol. FROM ANOTHER SOURCE: Chief Justice John Marshall administered the oath of office for the 9th and last time. The President delivered his inaugural address in the Hall of the House of Representatives.





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**Prexy**

**Veep**

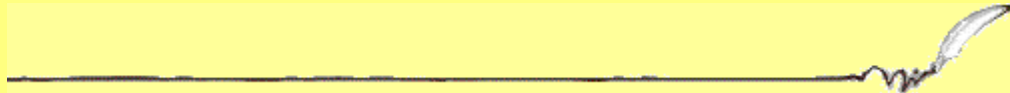
1789-1797	<b>George Washington</b>	of [No party]	<b>John Adams</b>	1789-1797
1797- 1801	<b>John Adams</b>	<b>Federalist</b>	<b><u>Thomas Jefferson</u></b>	1797- 1801
1801-1809	<b><u>Thomas Jefferson</u></b>	<b>Democratic-Republican</b>	<b>Aaron Burr</b> <b>George Clinton</b>	1801-1805 1805-1809
1809-1817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



March 7, Thursday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka arrived in Venice during his sojourn in Italy, and was most impressed.

At noon [Waldo Emerson](#) embarked on a steamboat and passed through the strait of Scylla and Charybdis, between Sicily and the toe of the Italian peninsula. He would view the harborless islands of Stromboli and Lipari and disembark that night in Palermo. He would visit Palermo's cathedral and palace and university, the tourist-trap monastery of the Capuchins with its stacks of corpses, the public gardens and the gardens of the prince di Buttera, the marina, and the Spedale dei Pazzi. *Later he would compare the American Shakers to what he witnessed at this asylum:*

A second visit to the Shakers with Mr Hecker. Their family worship was a painful spectacle. I could remember nothing but the Spedale dei Pazzi at Palermo; this shaking of their hands like the paws of dogs before them as they shuffled in this dunce-dance seemed the last delirium. If there was anything of heart & life in this it did not appear to me: and as Swedenborg said that the angels never look at the back of the head so I felt that I saw nothing else. My fellow men could hardly appear to less advantage before me than in this senseless jumping. The music seemed to me dragged down nearly to the same bottom. And when you come to talk with them on their topic, which they are very ready to do, you find such exaggeration of the virtue of celibacy, that you might think you had come into a hospital-ward of invalids afflicted with priapism. Yet the women were well dressed and appeared with dignity as honoured persons. And I judge the whole society to be cleanly & industrious but stupid people. And these poor countrymen with their nasty religion fancy themselves **the Church** of the world and are as arrogant as the poor negroes on the Gambia river.



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March 9, Saturday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) met Queen Consort Adelaide Amelia Louise Theresa Caroline at Windsor Castle, and played the organ for her. In the evening he played for both her and King William IV.

[Friend Arnold Buffum](#) of old [Smithfield, Rhode Island](#), and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, representing the New England Anti-Slavery Society, appeared at the Canterbury, Connecticut town meeting



with instructions from Headmistress [Prudence Crandall](#) to agree to any reasonable compromise — and got absolutely nowhere.

It is clear from the record that the spectre that was terrifying the white elders of the town of Canterbury was that of racial intermarriage. Prudence, let us be frank, did not disdain to pour fuel on these flames:

Moses had a black wife.



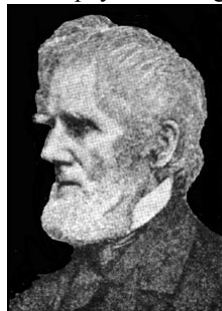
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Further negotiation became impossible. The town's whitebread leaders, outraged by this frank acceptance of race mingling, would not stop short of the collapse of her academy.



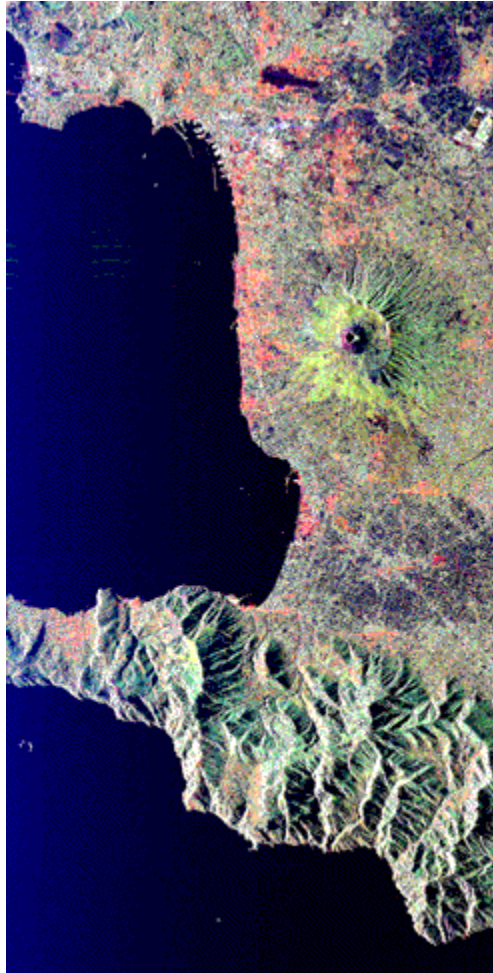
Arthur Tappan would contact her and offer to pay all her legal expenses.



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→ March 10, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) sailed from Palermo to [Naples](#), to visit [Pompeii](#)/Herculaneum and ride a donkey up [Mount Vesuvius](#) while it (the mountain, and hopefully the donkey as well) was in a quiescent phase.



In a letter, he would refer to its caldera as “a fearful place.” We have reason to suspect that he did the usual tourist thing, or saw some other tourist doing the usual tourist thing, boil an egg over a fissure, for in his 1836 essay *NATURE* he would write “We are like travellers using the cinders of a volcano to roast their eggs.” (At any rate, if he did not boil an egg on the volcano, Harriet Beecher Stowe did on her day trip to the site, as she jotted down that her egg was “very nicely boiled.”)

Eventually the Reverend Emerson would have a touristy painting of this prominence in his study in Concord, not in the condition in which he had himself experienced it but in dramatic full eruption.<sup>40</sup>



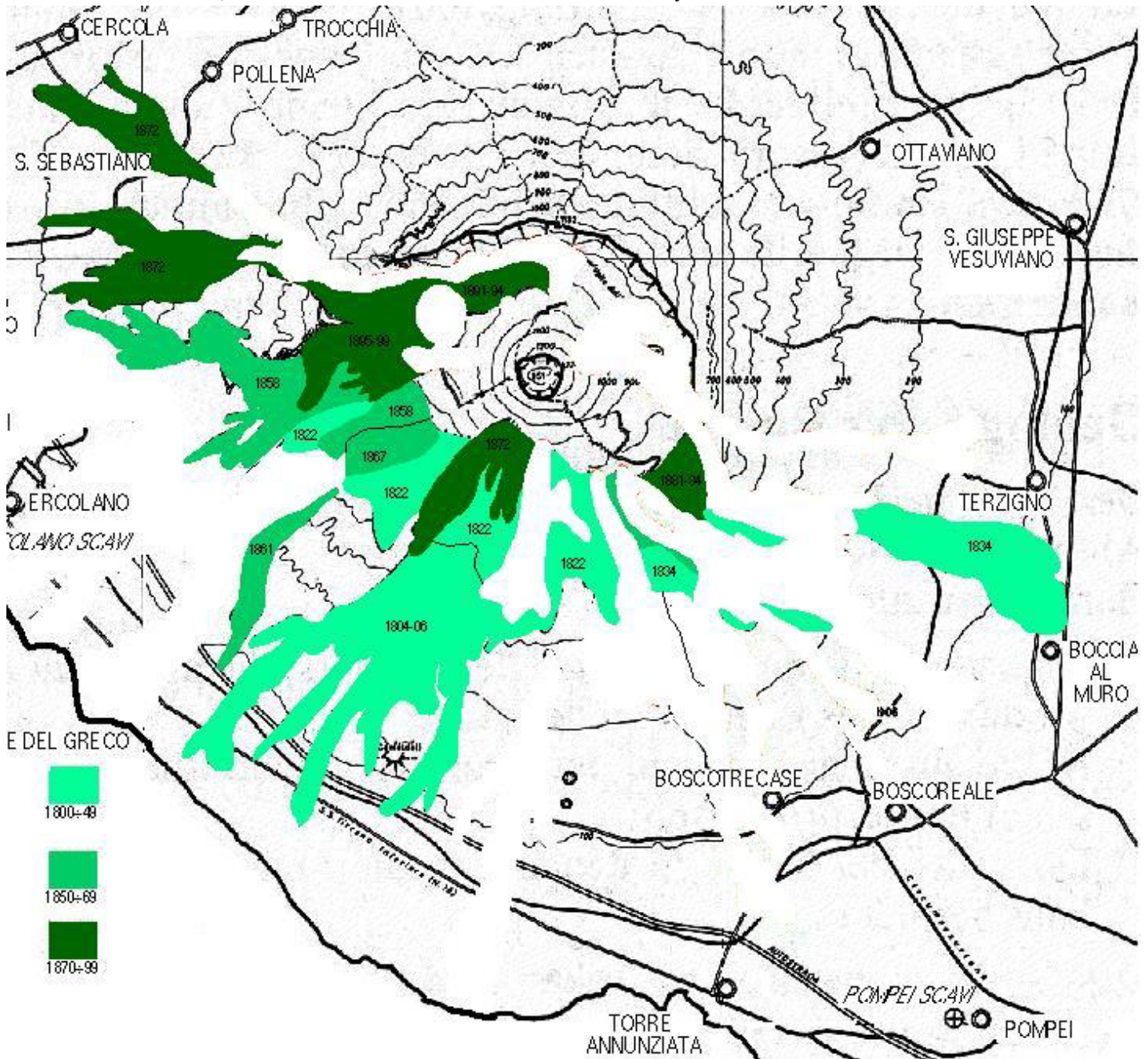
40. The creation of these images for sale to the [tourists](#) is quite an activity in [Naples](#). It is sufficient to mention that the drama of the eruptions in such portrayals has never been understated. (The Kouroo database uses any number of these depictions, done of the years, to track the chronological changes in the volcano cone and caldera.)

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Eventually, after another visit in 1873, he would purchase one of these donkeys of the region, Graciosa, for his daughter Ellen.

Here are the 19th-Century lava flows which even now remain on the surface of this volcano's slopes, color-coded to differentiate between those that had occurred in the 1st half of the century and were present during Emerson's first visit, those that occurred around the middle of the century and would have occurred before his 2nd visit, and those that occurred toward the end of the century:










1833

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 March 11, Monday: John Field played a 2d command performance before King Leopold of Belgium in Brussels.

 March 12, Tuesday: String Quartet D.810 "Tod und das Madchen" by Franz Schubert was performed publicly for the initial time, in Berlin.


Work stopped on Charles Babbage's First Difference Engine due to a failure of the Parliament to fund the contractor Joseph Clement's past-due bills.


 March 14, Thursday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) began a new tour of London as a conductor, directing Der Freischutz at the King's Theater.

Sarah C. Pratt was born to Mercy Snow Pratt and the [Reverend Enoch Pratt](#) (Sarah would marry with Walter Curtis).


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


*3rd M 14th 1833 / This is our Sons birth day & brings him to manhood, as respects the Law, as he is now 21 Years of Age - The Many favours he has experienced thro' his childhood, up to the present day - has offer & does now, cloath my mind with humility & thankfulness - few lads who had nothing of this world to call his own, have been more amply provided for, both in food & Rament & also in an opportunity to procure useful learning & the means of a future livelyhood - My desire is Strong & Ardent that he may walk consistently thro' his future life, & in short be a deeply religious man - I am confirmed that the tribute of devotion to the cause of Truth & righteousness is loudly called for at his hands & in case of failure no small responsibility rests upon him. -*

 March 15, Friday: South Carolina rescinded its Ordinance of Nullification and this ended the US constitutional crisis.

 March 16, Saturday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was named director of the Lower Rhine Festival.

Beatrice di Tenda, a tragedia lirica by [Vincenzo Bellini](#) to words of Romani after Tedaldi-Fores, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro La Fenice, Venice. Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka would remember that "Despite all Pasta's efforts in the part of Beatrice, the work was not a success."


 March 17, Sunday: Gaetano Donizetti's melodrama Parisina to words of Romani after Byron was performed for the initial time, at Teatro della Pergola, Florence and was received enthusiastically.


 March 20, Wednesday: The New Orleans [Bee](#) carried an announcement that Edward Gottschalk, father of Louis Moreau Gottschalk, having gone bankrupt, was leaving the country and would sell his house and all its contents including seven slaves.




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 March 21, Thursday: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) was nominated to be a member of the Société Universelle de Civilization (Oops, there went his Friday afternoons :-).


 March 22, Friday: A [German Zollverein](#) was created by Prussia, specifically excluding Austria (this customs union was to become effective on January 1st).


 March 24, Sunday: A setting of the Stabat mater D.383 (translated by Klopstock) for solo voices, chorus and orchestra by Franz Schubert was performed for the initial time, in Vienna.


[Tsar Nicholas I Romanov](#) ordered a committee to create a general plan for building a network of major national roads: “All the roads of the empire were to be divided into five classes and improved gradually by the central, provincial, and local authorities as funds and labor became available.”<sup>41</sup> (Due to a lack of funds, engineers, and labor, nothing much would happen.)


[Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about a death that had occurred on the 18th, which is to say, Monday of the previous week:

*3 M 24th 1833 / On 2nd day the 18th of this Month Died at Long Plains near [New Bedford](#) Our friend Obadiah Davis Aged 67 Years - he was a respectable friend & Minister of good standing -I remember to have been tender under his Ministry in younger life when he was frequently at [Newport](#) - - He married Ruth Sherman daughter of our late Friend Sampson Sherman, who is herself a Minister in good Standing. - Obadiah was a useful man in society was sometime Clerk of the Yearly Meeting & Member of the Meeting for Sufferings many Years. -*

 March 25, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [Naples](#) and [Mount Vesuvius](#), and would arrive at [Rome](#) on March 26th.

 March 26, Tuesday: There was a fire in Manila, on Luzon in the Philippines, in which 10,000 huts were destroyed, 30,000 rendered homeless, and 50 lives lost.

 March 27, Wednesday: The [Concord](#) playwright [John Augustus Stone](#) having recently won **another** of [Edwin Forrest](#)'s play competitions for vehicles suitable for his manly stage talents, receiving a cash prize for THE ANCIENT BRITON — on this night this new prize composition of his was performed at the Arch Theater in Philadelphia. Concord must have been proud of him! (But since he would be a suicide, he has been entirely erased from the town memory.)

 March 28, Thursday: Charles Babbage wrote the Treasury that a small portion of his Calculational Engine, containing 15 figures, had been delivered, but his contractor Clement was giving notice to the craftsmen because payment had not yet been received for the work performed during the 2d half of 1832.

41. Haywood, Richard Mowbray. THE BEGINNINGS OF RAILWAY DEVELOPMENT IN RUSSIA IN THE REIGN OF NICHOLAS I, 1835-1842. Durham NC: Duke UP, 1969, page 24



SPRING

→ Spring: Water had been being provided for the [White House](#) by two original wells, located in the breezeways between the house and wings. Ground was broken in [Washington DC](#) for a system of reservoirs and piped water. Three such water supply reservoirs were begun: one at the Treasury, one at the State Department, besides the one for the White House. Who did this earthmoving? –I do not know, but would be willing to make a raw guess that such work could only have been accomplished by means of gangs of black slaves supervised by overseers with whips. Stonemasons created bulky platforms or “pedestals” where the pipes came to the surface beside the reservoirs. Water flowed freely through the pipes by means of grading, and spout-like fountains shot directly into filtration pools. Hand pumps made of iron trimmed with brass were placed on pedestals and protected by wood pumphouses.

APRIL

→ April: [The Alcott family](#) moved from their Germantown suburb to central Philadelphia.

→ April: An orphan, Fanny Alger, 16 years of age, came as a housemaid to the home of [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) and Emma Hale Smith, his wife of six years. Fanny has been described by Benjamin Johnson as “a varry nice & Comly young woman” and would reside with the family until driven out pregnant in 1835.

→ April: [Jacob Whitman Bailey](#) received a commission as a 2d lieutenant of Artillery in the US Army. His tour of duty would be in the southern states, and while in Virginia he would meet and be intrigued by [Maria Slaughter](#) of Culpeper.

→ April: Disturbances in Kilkenny, Ireland were speedily suppressed.

→ April: [Sam Houston](#) set up his law practice in Nacogdoches.

TEXAS

→ April: [Prince Alexander Philipp Maximilian zu Wied-Neuwied](#) and [Karl Bodmer](#) began their 13-month journey up the Missouri River by steamboat and keel-boat at St. Louis, Missouri, to tour the Great Plains as far as northern Montana. They would document such things as enormous stacks of elk antlers built up in the hunting grounds by Blackfeet hunters over the years. The drawings they would bring back of Mandan life would be the last before, three years later, the small pox would destroy that group.

→ April 1, Monday: [Sam Houston](#) was a delegate from Nacogdoches to the Second Convention, calling for the state of [Texas](#) to be separated from Coahuila (when [Stephen F. Austin](#) would convey this request, he would be imprisoned in Mexico City).



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April 2, Tuesday: In a program organized by Hector Berlioz to benefit Harriet Smithson, Frederic Chopin and Franz Liszt played Liszt's Sonata for four hands op.22. [Nicolò Paganini](#) had, however, declined to participate.

[Charles Darwin](#) set off on a two-week expedition into the interior of South America with a couple of hired guides and a team of a dozen horses. Captain Robert FitzRoy described in his journal the experience his crew had been having while in the Falkland Islands:

The report of a gun usually alarmed the whole herd of cows, and off they went at a gallop; but the lordly bulls were not to be hurried, they would stand and face their enemies, often charge them; when a precipitate retreat behind a rock, or to the boat, or across a boggy place, which the bull would not try, was the only resource, if their hardy dog was not by, to seize the angry animal, and give time for a well-directed shot. In those excursions, also, while ashore at night in small tents, the foxes used to plague them continually, poking their unpleasant heads into the opening of the tent (while the man on watch was by the fire), stealing their provisions, and breaking their rest, after a fatiguing day's work. What with the foxes, the wild bulls, and the wild horses, it is thoroughly unsafe for a person to walk alone about the unfrequented parts of the Falkland Islands – even with the best weapons for self-defence against either man or beast. Several unfortunate people have been missed there, who wandered away from their parties.



April 3, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [Rome](#) for [Firenze](#) (Florence).

Pro-democracy students attacked the main police station in Frankfurt-am-Main in an attempt to free political prisoners and begin a general republican uprising. Failing to attract public support, the uprising collapsed.


At the request of Charles Babbage, a pair of arbitrators, Messrs. Field and Donkin, had visited the contractor for the Calculational Engine project. They found the main point at issue to be who it was who was responsible to the contractor for the project, whether it be the Parliament or Babbage himself.

In Salisbury, New Hampshire, the [Reverend Horatio Wood](#) delivered an address on [temperance](#) (this would be printed as an 18-page tract in Concord, New Hampshire by the firm of Hill and Barton). It is to be noted, in this address, that the “temperance” being urged was not abstinence from [ethanol](#) products, but instead consisted in two things, a total abstinence from [distilled spirits](#) such as [rum](#), [whiskey](#), [vodka](#), [brandy](#), etc. and in sale of such [distilled spirits](#) to others, coupled with sufficient moderation in the consumption of [wine](#), [beer](#), and [cider](#), that public or private [drunkenness](#) is never the result.


### REVEREND HORATIO WOOD

Every friend of temperance should show himself. Let him take a decided stand. We want no half way men. I will tell you what I think a decided stand is, the only stand, from which one can consistently and properly lift up his voice with effect, and prove himself a friend of temperance. This stand is total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits. ... It is enjoined in holy writ, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall in his brothers way. Let those who drink temperately abstain altogether, is it to be doubted that they would check the tendency of many to ruin, and stop others in the first steps of a dangerous habit? ... Let me ask to, how it happens, that


ardent spirit is needed in so many cases as alleged, when it is well known, that ardent spirit had its invention within three hundred years, and has been in common use in New-England less than one hundred. ... Break away from a slavish regard to self alone, and let the generous spirit breathed through these words of the holy page possess you, "Let no man seek his own but every man another's good." ... Those who drink temperately and who are here, I would respectfully ask, whether it would not be really safer for them not to drink ardent spirit at all, and whether duty to others does not prompt them to a generous declaration of entire disuse for the future. ... You ought also, I conceive, not to drink to excess of other things which do not come under the denomination of the forbidden article; for thereby you do yourself injury and discredit, injure the cause, and are keeping up the appetite which sometimes may find its old channel of gratification.

 April 5, Friday: [Robert Schumann](#) wrote to a friend that "I have a numb, broken finger on my right hand — I can hardly use the hand at all for playing." The situation had been getting worse for over a year and may have been created by his using a homemade device for strengthening certain fingers.

A setting of the Stabat mater for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, with music partly by Gioachino Rossini, was performed for the initial time, in the Chapel of San Felipe el Real, Madrid.

 April 8, Monday: Jim Crow Rice appeared in blackface at the Tremont Theater in [Boston](#).

The 1st cargo of [ice](#) left [Boston](#) harbor, 40 tons aboard the *Tuscany*, as a speculation by a Mr. Rogers.

 April 9, Tuesday: When the Town Meeting of Peterborough, New Hampshire voted on this day to purchase books for its town library using tax money, this in effect created the initial government-supported public library in the United States of America (perhaps in the world).

Two choruses for male voices for Immermann's (after Calderon de la Barca) play *Der standhafte Prinz* by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Dusseldorf.

Commander [George Back](#) had traveled from Albany, New York by coach or wagon to Montréal.

 April 10, Wednesday: [Vincenzo Bellini](#) left Milan to produce his operas in London.

At [Taunton](#), Massachusetts, the Reverend John Brazer delivered a discourse at the installation of the Reverend [Andrew Bigelow](#).



*Horatio Wood*

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➡ April 13, Saturday: Otto Nicolai gave his initial concert in Berlin as composer, singer, and pianist. Several works were premiered, including the Symphony no.1, Variationen uber Webers Schlaf Herzenssohnchen op.19 for soprano and piano, and his scene and aria Tell auf der Strasse nach Kussnacht op.22.

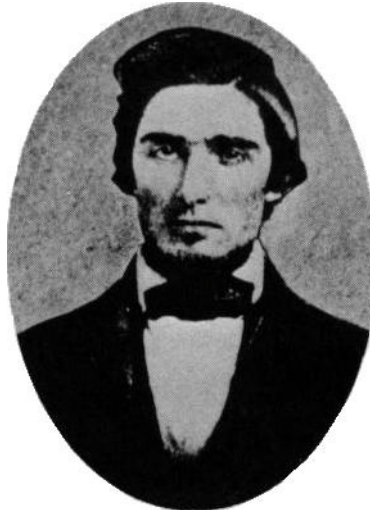
Bryan Donkin wrote Charles Babbage, relating that he had discussed the bills of the contractor Joseph Clement with the Treasury and the government was willing to pay for work done thus far.

➡ April 14, Sunday: The Reverend [George Waddington](#) was collated to the prebendal stall of Ferring in Chichester Cathedral (he would hold this until 1841).

Sergei Uvarov, Russian Minister of Education, promulgated a “Doctrine of Official Nationality” under which to be considered Russian one must assent to three stipulations: Orthodoxy, Autocracy, and Nationality.

[Hector Berlioz](#)’s Intrata di Rob-Roy Macgregor for orchestra was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Conservatoire (this failed).


➡ April 17, Wednesday: Jeremiah Goldsmith Anderson, one of Captain Brown’s lieutenants, was born in Indiana, the son of John Anderson. His maternal grandfather, Colonel Jacob Westfall of Tygert Valley, Virginia, had been a soldier in the revolution and a [slaveholder](#).




(He would go to school at Galesburg, Illinois and Kossuth, Iowa and work as a peddler, farmer, and sawmill laborer before settling a mile from Fort Bain on the Little Osage in Bourbon County, Kansas in August 1857. He would be twice arrested by the proslavery activists, and for ten weeks would be held at Fort Scott. He would then become a lieutenant of Captain Montgomery and would be with him in the attack on Captain Anderson’s troop of the First US Cavalry. He would witness a murder on his own doorstep by border ruffians, of a Mr. Denton. He would go with John Brown on the slave raid into Missouri and remain with him thereafter. On July 5, 1859 he would write of his determination to continue to fight for freedom: “Millions of fellow-




beings require it of us; their cries for help go out to the universe daily and hourly. Whose duty is it to help them? Is it yours? Is it mine? It is every man's, but how few there are to help. But there are a few who dare to answer this call and dare to answer it in a manner that will make this land of liberty and equality shake to the centre." He would be killed by a bayonet-thrust of one of the Marines at Harpers Ferry. "One of the prisoners described Anderson as turning completely over against the wall [to which he was pinned by the bayonet] in his dying agony. He lived a short time, stretched on the brick walk without, where he was subjected to savage brutalities, being kicked in body and face, while one brute of an armed farmer spat a huge quid of tobacco from his vile jaws into the mouth of the dying man, which he first forced open.")

 April 18, Thursday: Hymnus zum Durerfest for chorus and brass by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

 April 22, Monday: [Richard Trevithick](#) died of pneumonia, penniless. Body snatching being common at the time, a collection was taken that would be used in part to hire guards to watch over his grave for a few nights until the body had an opportunity to decompose.

 April 25, Thursday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrived in London.

Bryan Donkin reported to Charles Babbage that the Treasury was willing to pay the contractor Joseph Clement for his work on the Calculational Engine project if Clement would withdraw an offensive letter he had posted to Babbage. The deal would be that he was to continue work at his premises in Prospect Place but, as he completed the parts, they were to be stored in the new fireproof premises. In the future the contractor would be paid directly by the Treasury.

 April 29, Monday: Don Carlos, brother of King Fernando of Spain, refused to acknowledge Fernando's daughter Isabella as the heir to the Spanish throne.

MAY



**THE 1ST TUESDAY IN MAY WAS THE ANNUAL "MUSTER DAY," ON WHICH ALL THE ABLEBODIED WHITE MEN OF A TOWN WERE SUPPOSEDLY REQUIRED TO FALL INTO FORMATION, WITH THEIR PERSONAL FIREARMS, TO UNDERGO THEIR ANNUAL DAY OF MILITARY TRAINING AND MILITIA INDOCTRINATION.**

 May: Charles Dickens broke with Maria Beadnell.

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➡ May: The capital of British [India](#), the city of Calcutta, witnessed the arrival of an American “discovery ship,” the *Tuscany*, which had carried a cargo of 40 tons of crystal-clear, high quality lake [ice](#) as ballast all the 16,000 tropical miles from Boston. The ship also brought as its primary cargo Boston’s Baldwin apples, butter, and cheese. This ice ballast was in blocks weighing as much as two Bengal *maunds*, or 160 pounds, each, and its high visual and taste qualities were quite as attractive as the concept that this was a high-cost remainder which had survived four months at sea and two crossings of the equator. The voyage had required 4 months and 7 days and  $\frac{2}{3}$ ds of the ice were still in existence upon arrival for use by the nabobs of the East India Company. This shipment of New England’s heavy winter [coolness](#) placed [Frederic Tudor](#) and [Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth](#) of Fresh Pond in Cambridge in head-on competition with local ice being produced by ordinary ancient night evaporation methods in shallow pans along the Hoogly River.<sup>42</sup>

➡ May: [Francis Bowen](#) submitted a college requirement, “Projection and Calculation of a Lunar Eclipse” (21  $\frac{3}{4}$  x 29  $\frac{3}{4}$  inches), that is still on file at [Harvard University](#):

FORECAST OF LUNAR ECLIPSE



➡ May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Empresa*, master J.B. Pardo, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.




THE MIDDLE PASSAGE  
RACE SLAVERY

➡ May: Journeymen carpenters went on strike in New-York and, after being on strike for a month, would achieve a wage increase.


42. The brig *Tuscany* would on its return voyage carry a cargo of monkeys destined as expensive exotic house pets for the New Englanders (who by this point were not being allowed to have human slaves).

 May 1, Wednesday: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) sailed for Liverpool, England.

Variations brillantes on a march from Carl Maria von Weber's Preciosa for two pianos by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) and Ignaz Moscheles was performed for the initial time, in London, by the composers (the composition had been finalized only two days earlier).


 May 2, Thursday: [Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was made a member of the Senate of the Prussian Academy of Arts (the letter officially informing him of this would not, however, be posted until February 18, 1834).

*L'Europe Litteraire*, a magazine just founded to foster the ideals of Romanticism, sponsored the 1st of a series of concerts in Paris showcasing the Romantic movement in music. Six of the eight works programmed were by [Hector Berlioz](#).

 May 6, Monday: Faced with Russian intervention, [Egypt](#) acceded to the Peace of Kutahya with the Sultan in exchange for Turkey accepting the independence of Egypt, and ceding to it Syria and Aden.

Carl Friedrich Gauss and Wilhelm Weber were granted permission to construct an electromagnetic telegraph in Göttingen.

Robert B. Randolph, a federal officeholder who had been dismissed for embezzlement, took a punch at President Andrew Jackson (Jackson would not press further charges against the man).

 May 7, Tuesday: [Johannes Brahms](#) was born in an apartment in Hamburg, 2d of 3 children born to Johann Jakob Brahms, a double bass player in the Hamburg city orchestra, and Johanna Henrika Christiane Nissen, a seamstress, the daughter of a tailor.

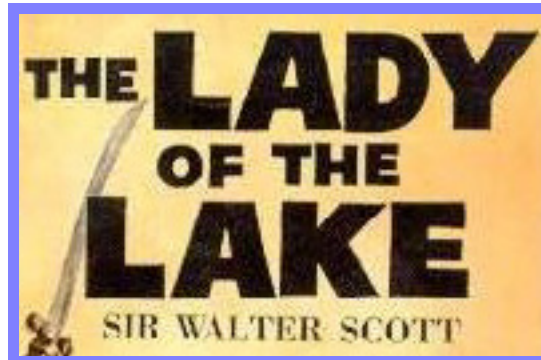
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→ May 11, Saturday: Commander [George Back](#) reached the Sault de Ste. Marie at the head of the lake, “the extreme point to which civilisation has yet extended.”

When the *Lady of the Lake* struck an iceberg in the North Atlantic while on its way from England to Québec, 215 passengers and crewmen perished in the chilling waters.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



→ May 12, Sunday: Trio concertante for viola, guitar and cello by [Nicolò Paganini](#) was performed for the initial time, in London.

[Charles Darwin](#) described a way to catch partridges from horseback, employed at Las Minas in South America:

We crossed the Rio Marmaraga & proceeded to the Tapes; where a widow woman, a friend of Gonzales gave us a most hospitable reception. The above rivers, ultimately flow into the R. Grande & thus belong to a different system from the others which we crossed. On the road Morante practised with success a method of catching partridges which I had often heard of but never seen, it requires a long stick, at the end of which there is a running noose, made of the stem of an Ostriches feather. As soon as a partridge is seen, & they are wonderfully numerous, the man with the stick rides in a circle or spire round & round the bird, gradually coming nearer & nearer; the partridge not knowing





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which way to run at last squats to conceal itself; the noose is then quietly put over its head & the bird secured by a jerk, in this manner a boy sometimes catches 30 or 40 in one day.



May 13, Monday: [Joseph Emerson](#) died in Wethersfield, Massachusetts.

[Charles Darwin](#) reached his farthest point on his two-week horseback jaunt into the interior of South America, arriving at a Pulperia north of the Rio Polanco. "I here saw what I wanted in the geology & in the morning returned to near our former sleeping place."

The contractor Joseph Clement wrote Charles Babbage requesting to withdraw his letter of the previous July and asking to be allowed to continue to finish the Calculational Engine in his own workshop.

Symphony no.4 "Italian" by Felix Mendelssohn was performed for the initial time, in London, directed by the composer. [Nicolò Paganini](#) was among the listeners. He asked Mendelssohn to play [Beethoven](#) sonatas with him. [Vincenzo Bellini](#) was also there and the two composers met. Although the London public was growing increasingly fond of Mendelssohn, the criticisms of the symphony were mixed.

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May 14, Tuesday: Petitions bearing millions of names had been submitted to the British Parliament, for the emancipation of England's slaves in its colonies, and at this point Lord Stanley, the minister of the colonies, introduced a bill in the House of Commons to such effect:

"EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES": The scheme of the minister, with such modification as it received in the legislature, proposed gradual emancipation; that on 1st August, 1834, all persons now slaves should be entitled to be registered as apprenticed laborers, and to acquire thereby all the rights and privileges of freemen, subject to the restriction of laboring under certain conditions. These conditions were, that the prædials should owe three fourths of the profits of their labor to their masters for six years, and the nonprædials for four years. The other fourth of the apprentice's time was to be his own, which he might sell to his master, or to other persons; and at the end of the term of years fixed, he should be free. With these provisions and conditions, the bill proceeds, in the twelfth section, in the following terms. "Be it enacted, that all and every person who, on the 1st August, 1834, shall be holden in slavery within any such British colony as aforesaid, shall upon and from and after the said 1st August, become and be to all intents and purposes free, and discharged of and from all manner of slavery, and shall be absolutely and forever manumitted; and that the children thereafter born to any such persons, and the offspring of such children, shall, in like manner, be free from their birth; and that from and after the 1st August, 1834, slavery shall be and is hereby utterly and forever abolished and declared unlawful throughout the British colonies, plantations, and possessions abroad." The ministers, having estimated the slave products of the colonies in annual exports of sugar, rum, and coffee, at £1,500,000 *per annum*, estimated the total value of the slave-property at 30,000,000 pounds sterling, and proposed to give the planters, as a compensation for so much of the slaves' time as the act took from them, 20,000,000 pounds sterling, to be divided into nineteen shares for the nineteen colonies, and to be distributed to tile owners of slaves by commissioners, whose appointment and duties were regulated by the Act.




May 15, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) met [Walter Savage Landor](#) at his Fiesole villa in [Tuscany](#). He would eventually publish about this encounter in ENGLISH TRAITS, in a manner which would excite Landor and cause him to privately issue in 1856 a 23-page printed response in England in an unknown number of copies, titled LETTER FROM W.S. LANDOR TO R.W. EMERSON (Bath: published by E. Williams).





May 16, Thursday: Ludovic, an opera comique by Ferdinand Herold to words of Saint-Georges, was performed for the initial time, in the Theatre de la Bourse, Paris. The work was completed by Fromental Halevy.

Rondo Chromatique op.12 for piano by Charles-Valentin Alkan was performed for the initial time, by the composer in Paris.

 May 17, Friday: In response to queries about the remaining concerts this season, the directors of the Philharmonic Society, London write to [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) that “they cannot avail themselves of your assistance.”

The British repealed a tax on paving tiles that had been imposed in 1784.

 May 19, Sunday: At 9:30AM, [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) observed a beautiful rainbow from the British side of [Niagara Falls](#).


 May 20, Monday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) left his family in Berlin to become music director in Dusseldorf.

Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Fort William.


[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

Charles Babbage wrote to the Treasury asking that in the future they pay the contractor Joseph Clement directly and make it clear that none of these funds had ever actually passed through his own hands. He then wrote again suggesting the following instructions:


- All drawings not required at Clement’s own workshop should be stored in the fireproof building.
- The drawings necessary for the Calculational Engine should be completed as soon as possible.
- Parts already in process should be finished as soon as the nature of the work would admit, and be stored in the fireproof building.

 May 21, Tuesday: An armistice was concluded between the Netherlands and Belgium.


The directors of the Philharmonic Society, London changed their decision of four days earlier, and invited [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) to perform at an upcoming concert.

 May 22, Wednesday: The Reverend Abel Patten was called by the members of the Congregational Church in [Carlisle](#), Massachusetts.

A conservative constitution in Chile established Roman Catholicism as the state religion.

 May 23, Thursday: The Weihnachts-Ouverture uber den Choral “Vom Himmel hoch, da komm’ ich her” for chorus orchestra and organ by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

[William Lloyd Garrison](#) landed in Liverpool, England.

 May 24, Friday: Hans Heiling, a grosse romantische Oper by Heinrich August Marschner to words of Devrient, was performed for the initial time, in the Berlin Hofoper, the composer conducting. This was an overwhelming success.

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→ May 25, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 30th birthday.



Turkey, under pressure from Russia, acknowledged an autonomous status for Serbia with a hereditary prince.

Chile had been independent since 1823. At this point it promulgated a constitution.

→ May 26, Sunday: In Hamburg, [Johannes Brahms](#) was christened in St. Michael's Church.

In Dusseldorf, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) conducted Handel's Israel in [Egypt](#), the first of a series of Handel oratorio performances in Mendelssohn's arrangements (these would greatly advance the popularity of Handel's music in Germany).

The arrival of a dispatch canoe allowed Commander [George Back](#) to send a report to headquarters.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

→ May 28, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left Florence, reaching Padua on June 1st (he would from there proceed to Venice).

→ May 29, Wednesday: The British Treasury wrote Charles Babbage agreeing that from this point forward they would review the contractor Joseph Clement's accounts in their own offices and pay him directly rather than by way of Babbage. They concurred with Clement's plan to continue work at his own premises but remove parts to the new fireproof premises as they were finished, and instructed Babbage to arrange to receive them. They would pay the bills from the previous year as soon as informed that all parts and drawings that could be transferred without preventing progress had been transferred. Babbage immediately responded that he had just seen Clement and that the contractor would be calling at the Treasury. He insisted however that Jarvis, Clement's former principal draughtsman, needed to be working under his personal direction in the new fireproof premises, with only working drawings being sent to Clement's workshop. This arrangement was to ensure that:

- The most important drawings were free from danger
- In case of further difficulty with the contractor they would be much less dependent on him
- Were the contractor or himself to die they would still have the designer C.G. Jarvis
- His memory although not bad could not retain all the relations of 20 or 30 thousand pieces; he would be much better acquainted with his contrivance than was possible residing at 4 miles distance from the workshop



1833

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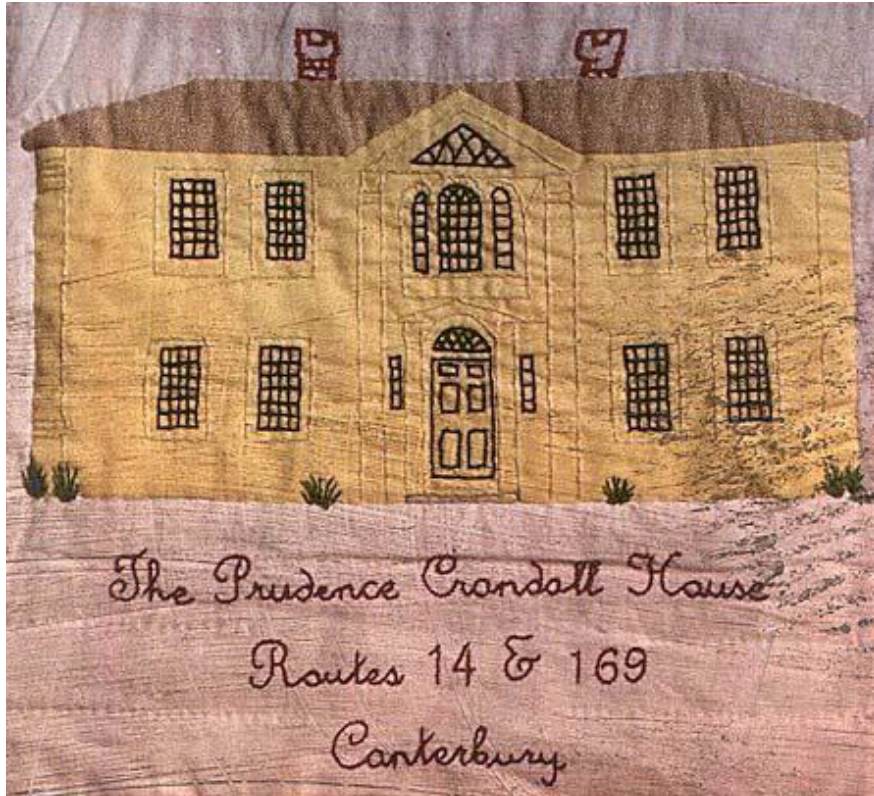
End of May: The new water supply for the nation's capitol buildings in [Washington DC](#) had by this point become more or less functional. The motion produced by the splashing fountains kept the water in the reservoirs from stagnating. The water passed through deep filter beds of clean sand beneath the pools. The pipes from the pools to the [White House](#) were underground. Small tin cisterns were installed to serve each hydrant. Since the pipes had to carry water to a somewhat raised elevation in order to reach the level of the ground floor inside the building, hand pumps were manned by pump attendants, presumably slaves. During the tenure of President Van Buren the shower baths in the East Wing would be improved and several copper bathtubs would be added to the two installed during the tenure of President Jackson. The bathing room on the ground floor had compartments and wardrobes for the privacy and convenience of its users, and probably was used only by the President and other men of the family, with the women of the family making use of portable tin tubs in the bedrooms and dressing rooms upstairs. Servants therefore would be obliged to carry buckets of water heated in the kitchen, up the little service stair.

[THE GREAT BATHTUB HOAX](#)



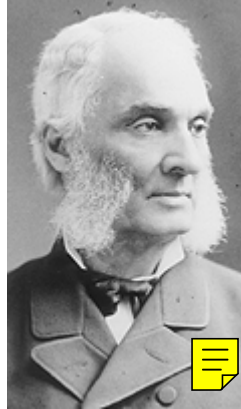
JUNE

→ June: A few months after the March outbreak of madness in Canterbury, Connecticut over the teaching of “young ladies and misses of color,” some of whom were from out of state, at Prudence Crandall’s school, the Connecticut legislature enacted a sneaky new law requiring that any school teaching out-of-state pupils had to have the approval of the town in which it was located. On the basis of this law, Headmistress Crandall was taken under arrest. Tactically, she and the abolitionists refused to post bail so that the authorities would be forced to book her. After she was held overnight, bail was posted and her school continued.



In the 4th National Negro Convention in Philadelphia, Robert Purvis served as the vice president and corresponding secretary from Pennsylvania. Purvis supported such racially neutral reforms as the temperance crusade, women’s rights, and the improvement of prison conditions. He believed that reform groups should be racially integrated. He opposed a legislative proposal that would have prevented out-of-state free blacks from settling in Pennsylvania. He became one of the founders of the Philadelphia Library Company of

Colored Persons.



This Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour would find itself able to “cheerfully recommend” [Crandall](#)’s school, when [David Ruggles](#) would propose that they specifically endorse the school,



his motion would fail of approval (MINUTES AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THESE UNITED STATES, HELD BY ADJOURNMENTS IN THE CITY OF PHILADELPHIA, FROM THE 3RD TO THE 13TH OF JUNE INCLUSIVE, 1833. New York: by order of the Convention).

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June: The city of Philadelphia presented President Andrew Jackson with a white horse. He was immediately limned, astride this animal, by Ralph Eleaser Whiteside Earl.



This horse was named, or he named it, “[Sam Patch](#),” after the famous [Pawtucket, Rhode Island](#) “jumper,” and it would become his favorite.<sup>43</sup> He would ride it every morning at the Hermitage during his retirement. When the horse eventually would die, its body would be buried at the Hermitage with full military honors. This happens to be is one Sam Patch’s, but not the other Sam Patch’s, gravestone (and from the dates on this inscription you ought to be able to figure out for yourself, whether it marks the buried body of the man, who

43. Paul E. Johnson’s [SAM PATCH](#), THE FAMOUS JUMPER (NY: Hill & Wang).



received no funeral, or the buried body of the horse, which was buried with full military honors):



President Jackson also made himself during this year the first American president to ride on a railroad train (the Baltimore & Ohio RR, completed in 1830) — the first American president, that is, other than the presidents of the various railroad companies.

During this year, also, “Long Knife” Jackson stopped by Norwich, Connecticut to dedicate a memorial to Uncas, the man who had inspired [James Fenimore Cooper](#)’s THE LAST OF THE MOHICANS. Next to the stone commemorating the sachem, there are stones for the sachem’s grandchildren — so much for this romantic idea that Uncas was the end of his line! –Perhaps it was just a fantasy, perhaps this was just what the white man secretly wanted?

The Compromise Tariff Act, written by Henry Clay, was passed by the United States Congress, and signed into law by President Jackson. The law was meant to resolve the bitter conflict concerning “nullification,” inspired by the Tariff of Abominations (1828), between industrialists in the north and cotton exporters of the South. It stipulated that by 1842, no tariff was to exceed 20%.

President Jackson pursued the banking system with a vengeance. During this year he forced the removal of the federal deposits from the national bank vaults, distributing them among a select group of “pet banks,” a move that led the Senate to adopt formal resolutions censuring his actions as arbitrary and unconstitutional. Excessive retrenchment by the bank’s president, Nicholas Biddle, created a financial depression in 1834 sufficient to win Jackson another victory over a new opposition party, the Whigs, which in the congressional elections of 1834 represented themselves as the combined forces of all anti-Jacksonians protesting the tyrannies of “King Andrew I.” Jackson was equally successful in foreign affairs. In 1830 a long dispute with Britain had been ended with the reopening of British West Indian ports to American commerce. France would be brought to heel in 1836 after resisting payment of spoliation claims dating from 1815, and in 1837, Jackson would formally recognized the independence of Texas, although he would resist attempts at annexation in order to avoid splitting the Democratic party on the slavery question. Jackson’s last months in office would be clouded by the consequences of his destruction of the national bank. That would be followed by wildcat expansion of paper money, land speculation, and inflation, which Jackson would attempt to halt with the Specie Circular of 1836, requiring payment of federal obligations in gold or silver. This measure likely would help precipitate the Panic of 1837, but by that time Jackson would have yielded office to his successor, Van Buren, whose victory in 1836 over a disorganized Whig party would be in large measure a testimony to the political invincibility of his patron.

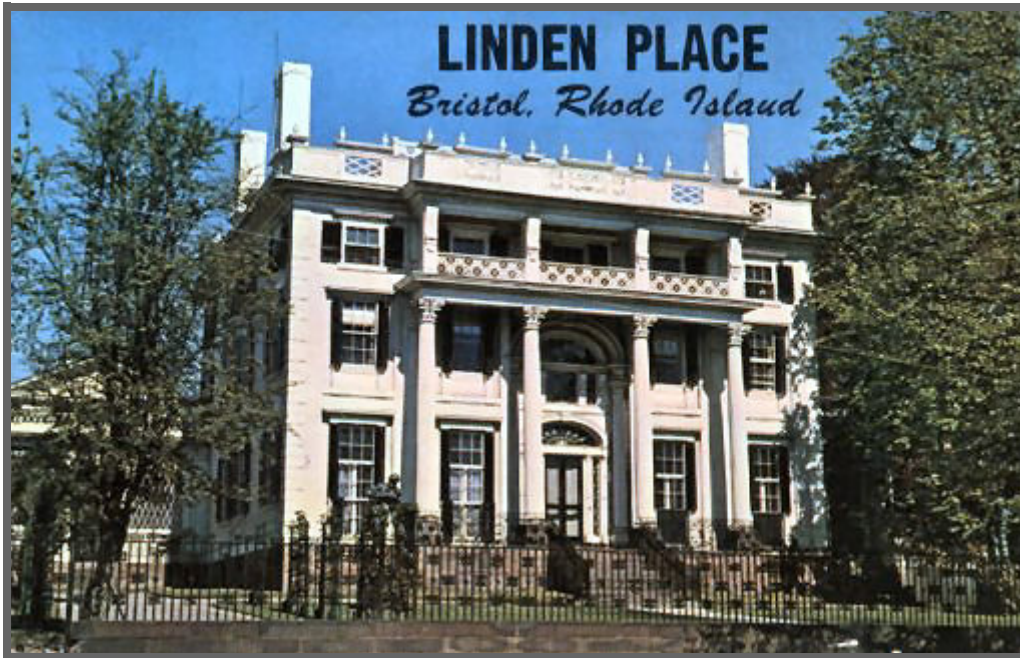


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June: President Andrew Jackson visited [Newport, Rhode Island](#) and then, at the “Linden Place” mansion in downtown [Bristol](#), the President was entertained by William Henry DeWolf.<sup>44</sup>



While the President stayed overnight at [Providence](#)'s City Hotel, [Friend Moses Brown](#) managed to visit him despite his 95 years and despite his severe and debilitating vertigo, mentioning that he had come down to meet him simply because he'd “met all the others.” The aged man “thee'd” and “thou'd” Old Hickory after the Quaker manner, and invited him to visit the [Yearly Meeting School](#), an invitation which the President was able to honor on the following day. The next morning, the Pawtucket artillery's salute shattered a number of windows (repair costs would be reimbursed). As the President reached the bridge at the state line of Massachusetts, he was welcomed by Josiah Quincy, Jr.

Passing through Boston, the president was ill, and was unable to view the new figurehead of the USS *Constitution*, shaped in his image.

When President Jackson arrived at Salem, Massachusetts, a large parade had been organized, but he was ill and was taken directly to his hotel. The people who cheered the presidential carriage were not aware that in the dusk they were cheering merely the shadowy bowing figures of Josiah Quincy, Jr. and Martin Van Buren inside the carriage, rather than the President himself. [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) was present and cheered with the deluded crowd, for he happened to believe that this genocidal racist, this precursor of [Adolf Hitler](#), was



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

But then, Hawthorne never had much judgment in these matters, as witness the fact that later in life he was willing to write a campaign biography for a drunkard who couldn't even stay on a horse, and lie about this man's racist attitudes, and help him become President of the United States, not out of any belief that he was the best person for the job but because of a personal connection (Franklin Pierce had been a “college buddy”)

44. Birds of a feather flock together.





### Pretty Boy Admires His Hero

and purely out of the expectation and hope that thereby he would receive a personal and magnificent reward.

President Jackson, in making his triumphal tour of the North, was escorted by Josiah Quincy, Jr., son of the Josiah Quincy who had been the president of [Harvard College](#). Jackson's appearance in Cambridge to pick up his obligatory, honorary Harvard degree became something of a spectacle when, as a man of the people, he mocked an address in Latin by spouting nonsense Latin.<sup>45</sup>

**[NOTE: Compare and contrast this episode with Thoreau's later remark about John Brown, with regard to the comparative unimportance of being able to set a Greek accent remark at the correct slant, versus being able to prop a fallen human being into an upright posture.]**

➡ June 1, Saturday: At about this point Charles Babbage wrote to the contractor Joseph Clement providing details of the British Treasury's instructions to move all the completed portions of the Calculational Engine to the fireproof building, and requesting a meeting with him proposing dates.

➡ June 3, Monday: The 1st clipper ship, the *Ann McKinn*, was launched in Baltimore.

➡ June 4, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left Venice, back to Padua, then Milan (arriving June 6th).

Charles Babbage informed Bryan Donkin that the contractor Joseph Clement for his Calculational Engine required payment of bills for the period January 1st to March 12th. He was refusing to turn over completed parts until payments were up to date. He asked Donkin to arrange that he and Joshua Field meet with the contractor.

45. Quincy, Josiah, Jr. "President Jackson Gives 'Em a Little Latin," pages 364-7 in THE HARVARD BOOK: SELECTIONS FROM THREE CENTURIES. Bentinck-Smith, William, ed. (Cambridge MA: Harvard UP, revised edition 1982).



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June 5, Wednesday: The polymath [Mary Fairfax Somerville](#) introduced [Ada Lovelace](#) (the only legitimate child of George Gordon, Lord Byron, and future 1st computer programmer) to Charles Babbage.

[Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrives in London from Dusseldorf accompanied by his father.



June 6, Thursday: Commander [George Back](#) reached Fort Alexander at the southern extremity of Lake Winnipeg. He would begin his search for John Ross at Fort Resolution.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

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 June 11, Tuesday: Ellen Davis Dana was born to Charles Davis and Sarah Pond (Lyman) Dana in Cincinnati, Ohio.



**“Mrs. M. D. Conway”**

[Waldo Emerson](#) left Milan for Lausanne, boarded a steamboat and went up Lake Lemman to Geneva.


From the log of the lightkeeper on Matinicus Rock:


*Keeper measured Mantinicus  
Rock and found it,  
according to his figuring  
2350 feet long  
567 feet wide  
34 and 6 / 10 acres*



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 June 12, Wednesday: Spending all day ascending in his carriage over the barrier of the Alps, [Waldo Emerson](#) reminded himself that he was tracking the footsteps of the armies of [Napoléon](#), “the great Hand of our age.”

 June 13, Thursday: Il fato, a cantata by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti composed for the name day of Count Lozano, was performed for the initial time, in Rome.

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

*6 M 14 6th day 1833 / This day we took the Institution horse & Chaise & went to [Portsmouth](#) for my wife to attend a committee on the Removal of the Y Meeting appointed last Year After which we went to Uncle Stantons & lodged -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


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

*7th day 15th - Attended the Select Meeting held at [Portsmouth](#) & in the Afternoon the Meeting for Sufferings - then Rode into [Newport](#) & took quarters with Aunt Nancy Carpenter & at our home, the part of the house where we occupy when in Newport being fitted to receive company.*

*The Several sittings of the Yearly Meeting continued till 6th day the 21st inst & were seasons of favour & refreshment with a little exception & tho' no small portion of Mental Suffering awaited me, I can truly say I believe I was the better for my attendance of the Meeting. -*

*On 7th day we returned to the Institution in the Steam Boat.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 16, Sunday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) arrived at Ostende, having departed from England for the final time.


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

*1st day Rode to [Smithfield](#) with my friend Benj Fry & attended Meeting there Benj was engaged in Supplication & testimony much to Satisfaction & comfort of the Audience After Meeting I rode part of the way home with Aza Arnold -& walked the rest*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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 June 17, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left Switzerland for [France](#), after having been dragged by fellow passengers to visit Ferney while protesting that Voltaire was unworthy of their memory.

The Reverend [George Waddington](#) was presented by his college to the vicarage of Masham and Kirkby-Malzeard in Yorkshire.

The expedition led by Commander [George Back](#) carried the flag of the Hudson's Bay Company as it reached Norway House on Jack River.


... having hoisted the Company's flag, we arrived at the depot called Norway House, situated on Jack River.


[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

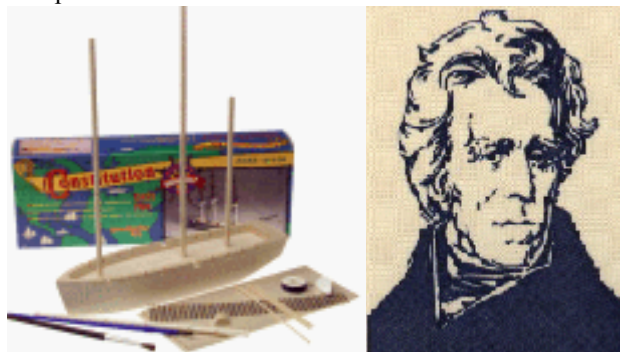
 June 20, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in Paris, "a loud modern New-York of a place."

[Frédéric François Chopin](#) wrote to Ferdinand Hiller, "at this moment Liszt was playing my Studies, and putting honest thoughts out of my head: I should like to rob him of the way to play my own Studies."

 June 21, Friday: Andrew Jackson visited [Boston](#).

 June 23, Sunday: [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) arrived back in Weimar at the completion of his final tour to northern climes.

 June 24, Monday: The USS *Constitution*, saved from the salvage yard by the famous poem by Oliver Wendell Holmes, was the 1st ship to enter the new John Quincy Adams Drydock at the Charlestown Navy Yard, and would remain in drydock through 1834.<sup>46</sup> While this frigate was being repaired, a controversy arose over its new figurehead, which represented Andrew Jackson.



From this day to the 29th, [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) was at Cambridge, attending meetings of the British Association.

46. This ship had been designed by a Philadelphia Quaker, Friend Joshua Humphreys, who evidently had held no qualms about the creation of such an instrument for killing. He designed a frigate that would normally carry 44 cannon, although eventually the *Constitution* would be mounted with more than 50 cannon, some firing a 12-pound or an 18-pound ball, some a 32-pound ball, some a 24-pound bundle of round shot, some a lead canister of small shot and miscellaneous deadly junk. For speed, Friend Joshua designed the hull to resemble underwater "a cod's head and a mackerel's tail." To withstand enemy shot and shell, the ribs of the ship were placed only about an inch apart. Which is to say, at most places the hull of this ship is two or three feet thick.





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June 27, Thursday: In Canterbury, Connecticut, [Prudence Crandall](#) was summoned before Justice Adams and accused of violating a statute law of the State of Connecticut. Her attorney acknowledged the fact and submitted without argument to the finding of the court. The judge set a bail sum to ensure her appearance before the County Court for trial, and then “to the astonishment of the accusers no one appeared to give bonds for her, and they were forced to the disagreeable necessity of taking her to Brooklyn jail, to the very room occupied by Watkins the night preceding his execution.... An intrusive, troublesome woman was thus transformed into a martyr. it was in vain that her accusers protested that the imprisonment was entirely voluntary and nominal, the cell a good room furnished with every comfort, that a female friend passed the night with her and both were released the following day.” Prudence, who was playing hardball, had successfully seized the victim position!



June 28, Friday: The [French](#) legislature ordained primary education for every community in France. [Professor François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) would, as head of the department of public instruction, implement this law with extraordinary vigor).

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

*7th day [sic] 28th of 9 M 1833 / Much time has passed away since I have made an entry in my Diary.*

*Since that time there has many events occur'd which have been greatly interesting to me some of them have been of a comfortable kind & many of an afflictive nature, which has caused me to Mourn & even tremble for my own state as well as the State of society both in Europe & America. – Altho' in some places in some instances, there is some encouragement to hope that the true seed of Quakerism is not extinct, but Yet retains a greenness which would induce the hope, & strengthen the desire that it may yet live, be known in Judah & great in Israel but what of Infidelity on the One hand, formality & outward profession on the other, together with on an intemperate Zeal, and in some instances a total want of zeal & in others a disposition to return to the beggarly elements, placing the letter above the spirit &c - I confess I do not see where our poor society will land at last. –*

*This evening by the [Newport](#) Mercury I learn the decease of our Ancient & beloved Friend RICHARD MITCHELL of Middletown Aged 79 years died the 26 inst. I have known him from a child - he was one of those worthy Elders in society who was an ornament to the Station, & ever on the Alert for the good & prosperity of the Society at large, having been under all the appointments which is usual in [Rhode Island](#) Moy [Monthly] Meeting - he was for many years a zealous, judicious & well concerned Overseer - for many years a faithful Trustee of the Property of that Moy [Monthly] Meeting & labour'd carefully for its outward Interests as well as a more spiritual interest – I have been associated with him in many appointments & always preferred his judgement & experience to my own, but ever found in him a disposition to listen to & weigh well the feelings & views of those younger & of less experience – tho' having attained to a good old Age & to a period of life when much more Service activity had ceased for a year or two, yet his place in the Church will be vacant & his former services remembered. – he had been mostly confined to his house for the last Year & from a complication of affliction which had awaited him, his natural powers of mind*

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*were much abated. – his bodily suffering for years had also been great having been afflicted with a gravelly complaint which at time occasioned much pain. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

## SUMMER



Summer: [Dr. Asa Gray](#) of [Harvard College](#) collected plant specimens for Professor John Torrey.

BOTANIZING



Summer: The Scots nobleman William Drummond Stewart, a lineal descendant of the Cavalier poet Sir [William Drummond](#) and proud of it, toured America's Rocky Mountains, hunting "buffalo" and living the life of a "mountain man." Hoo-hah!



CHALMERS ON DRUMMOND



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➡ Summer: According to [Waldo Emerson](#) scholar Lee Rust Brown, a scholar for whom Emerson was the very cat's whiskers, the be-all and end-all of just everything whatever,<sup>47</sup> when his guy visited the *Muséum d'Historie Naturelle* in Paris, a venue which was being referred to as the *Jardin des Plantes*, his guy received the grandest insight of all his [Transcendentalist](#) thought, a synthesis which his guy would take back to America to produce the widest ramifications among his "followers" — such as for one prime example [David Henry Thoreau](#).

➡ Summer: Frederick Douglass attempted to organize a Sabbath school for black children.

JULY

➡ July: French troops withdrew from the fortresses of Navarino, Modon, and Cronon in Greece.

➡ July: [Ebenezer Bailey](#)'s FIRST LESSONS IN ALGEBRA; BEING AN *EASY INTRODUCTION TO THAT SCIENCE*. DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF ACADEMIES AND COMMON SCHOOLS. BY EBENEZER BAILEY, PRINCIPAL OF THE YOUNG LADIES' HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON; AUTHOR OF "YOUNG LADIES' CLASS BOOK," ETC. was published by Carter, Hendee & Co in [Boston](#). (This would be [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s freshman math text at [Harvard College](#).)

47. Brown, Lee Rust. THE EMERSON MUSEUM: PRACTICAL ROMANTICISM AND THE PURSUIT OF THE WHOLE. Cambridge MA and London: Harvard UP, 1997, pages 17, 59-63, 88-89, 100, 105, 128-130, 139, 177, 241. It is on page 97 that Brown refers to [Thoreau](#) as one of [Emerson](#)'s "followers," remarking that "Thoreau's dedication to a literary practice based on natural history derived from the Emersonian conviction that the common things in American nature could be realized *as American* only when turned to use as representative instances in a universal prospect." Yes, quote unquote. My God, here we have Emerson scholarship in its finest flower and fruit! Brown goes on to explain on his page 112 that what Thoreau would be up to, not only in WALDEN but also in all 13 of the volumes of his JOURNAL, would amount merely to "careful elaboration of the Emersonian enterprise," and goes on to explain on his page 142 that "Thoreau was formally determined by the 'scientific' writing project Emerson discovered in Paris." I am tempted beyond my endurance and will here comment that anyone who supposes Emerson to have been a naturalist has never encountered either Emerson or any naturalist.

(Might it be said that this Lee Rust Brown knows anything at all of [Thoreau](#)? –On his page 198 he asserts that Thoreau's "experiment at Walden Pond" was "a trial undertaken on Emerson's advice." I wonder what evidence, as to when and where and wording, such a scholar might produce that might substantiate such an astonishing assertion. –And all this unwarranted and unsubstantiated and relentless derogation is to be found in a book published by Thoreau's *alma mater*, [Harvard University](#)! One is inclined to infer that there must be people at Harvard who think of this sort of thing as **learned!**)



1833

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Kenneth Walter Cameron's [THOREAU'S HARVARD](#) YEARS (Hartford: Transcendental Books, 1966)

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

Another invaluable piece of "writing" on Thoreau and the Harvard he knew, Cameron's collection is not so valuable for what it says, but for what it collects within its pages. This hefty volume is so full of minute information, laid out in such an intense, almost frenzied, manner, that it will present a challenge to anyone trying to get a handle on it. Part I is a chronology of Thoreau's Harvard Years (1833-1837) and includes rather detailed sections on "Language Courses at Harvard," "Reports of the Faculty," "Administration on the Curriculum," tables, calendars and other bits from Thoreau's college records. A brief summary of the "Language" section follows because it is interesting to learn what Thoreau read, translated and wrote during his Harvard years:

In his freshmen year, Thoreau may have read and translated

- the *ANABASIS* of Xenophon in Greek,
- the *ODES* of Horace in Latin,
- general Modern Languages
- and studied a "thorough course" of Plane Trigonometry, Analytic Geometry, and Algebra with practical application to Heights and Distances, and Surveying and Navigation."

During his sophomore year, Thoreau took a course from the Rhetoric and Oratory Department in which he was required to present twelve written themes and translations, listen to lectures on rhetoric, eloquence and criticism and recite exercises, twice a week, in

- Lowth's *GRAMMER* and
- Whately's *RHETORIC* and
- his *LOGIC*.

In Latin, Thoreau's sophomore class devoted three hours each to reading, with the advanced sections reading and reviewing Cicero and the satires and epistles of Horace, and the section proceeding most slowly reading two thirds of Cicero's *DE OFFICIIS* and only the first book of Horace's *EPISTLES*. Thoreau's sophomore year of Greek study fell along the same lines, with two sections each breaking off to study the *ALCESTICS* of Euripides, and the Oedipus plays of Sophocles. Both Latin and Greek students were required to write a Latin or Greek essay every week.

Cameron also gives a complete bibliography of all the books Thoreau probably read and studied for his classes. This list is extremely helpful for any Thoreau researcher, whether his or her area be literature or natural science. Again, I've listed a few books of interest, but there are many of interest in Cameron's volume:

- Adam, Alexander. *ROMAN ANTIQUITIES; OR, AN ACCOUNT OF THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS ...* NY, 1830
- *AESCHINES AND DEMOSTHENES. THE ORATIONS... ON THE CROWN.* Boston, 1829
- Bokum, Herman. *AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE GERMAN LANGUAGE.* Philadelphia, 1832
- Butler, Joseph. *THE ANALOGY OF RELIGION.* Cambridge & Boston, 1830
- Homerus. *THE ILLIAD OF HOMER FROM THE TEXT OF WOLF.* Boston, 1833
- Rollin, Charles. *THE ANCIENT HISTORY.* (8 vols.) Boston, etc. 1805
- Surrault, Francis Marie Joseph. *FRENCH FABLES.* Cambridge, Mass, 1834
- Whately, Richard. *ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC.* Cambridge, Mass, 1834



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### **“A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”**

Junior year Thoreau studied French and Spanish, was required to take another course in composition, and also studied metaphysics, Greek, elocution, chemistry and Latin. In composition, Thoreau was required, among other tasks, to “declaim” twice a week, and complete a composition once a week. Each section of Edward Tyrell Channing’s section (in which Thoreau was enrolled) had one free night a week to itself. This time was spent, according to Channing, “in recitations from some Book on Rhetoric or Taste, in reading the early English Poets, & in conversation upon the subject or book appointed for the evening.” (Cameron notes that Thoreau may have been a section leader for the evening sessions on English poetry.) In junior Metaphysics Thoreau’s class recited six times a week from Paley’s MORAL & POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY and from Stewart’s MENTAL PHILOSOPHY, with the senior and junior classes reading forensics in divisions.

Senior Year Thoreau took courses in Natural Philosophy, Intellectual Philosophy, Italian, English, Spanish, Mineralogy, Anatomy and Natural History (Zoology and Biology). Of particular interest to modern scholars is that Thoreau read Farrar’s ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON ASTRONOMY in Natural Philosophy, Locke’s HUMAN UNDERSTANDING and Say’s POLITICAL ECONOMY and his COMMENTARIES ON THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES in Intellectual Philosophy and William Smellie’s THE PHILOSOPHY OF NATURAL HISTORY in his Natural History course. Thoreau’s third semester of his senior year is also marked as the time when he briefly enrolled in Henry W. Longfellow’s “Lectures on German and Northern Literature” course.

The other section of part one also includes a long section documenting everything from Thoreau’s attendance records to information on minute details about his class rank – information that only the most obsessive biographer or scholar would ever find of much value.





### “A Review From Professor Ross’s Seminar”

Section Two is something of a relief after the piling on of records and minutia in Part One and includes sections on Thoreau, Edward Tyrell Channing (whom Cameron believes had a major influence on Thoreau and other Harvard intellectuals and writers) and samples of Thoreau’s college themes.

Cameron includes a brief biographical notice on Channing (which is interesting in the way it constructs the life of a nineteenth century scholar) and then a lengthy listing of the various themes Channing assigned to his classes, with records of which essays Thoreau wrote and which manuscripts survive.

Cameron’s assignments are of interest to Thoreau scholars and, I would think, English education specialists and composition researchers. I’ve quoted a few themes that Thoreau wrote up and could be relevant to his later writing (Note: Cameron reports that many of Thoreau’s college essays are available in F.B. Sanborn’s THE LIFE OF HENRY THOREAU):

- Of keeping notices of our lives & c.  
[Of Keeping a private journal of our feelings, studies, thoughts and daily experience containing abstracts of books, and the opinions we formed on first reading them.]  
Assigned January 17, 1834
- We become what we are esteemed.  
[We are apt to become what others (however erroneously) think us to be; hence another motive to guard against the power of others’ unfavorable opinion.]  
Assigned January 31, 1834
- A man of the world &c.  
[Explain the phrases, a man of business, a man of pleasure, a man of the world.]  
Assigned February 24, 1834
- Of violating simplicity in Style.  
[The ways in which a man’s style can be said to offend against simplicity.]  
Assigned November 13, 1834.

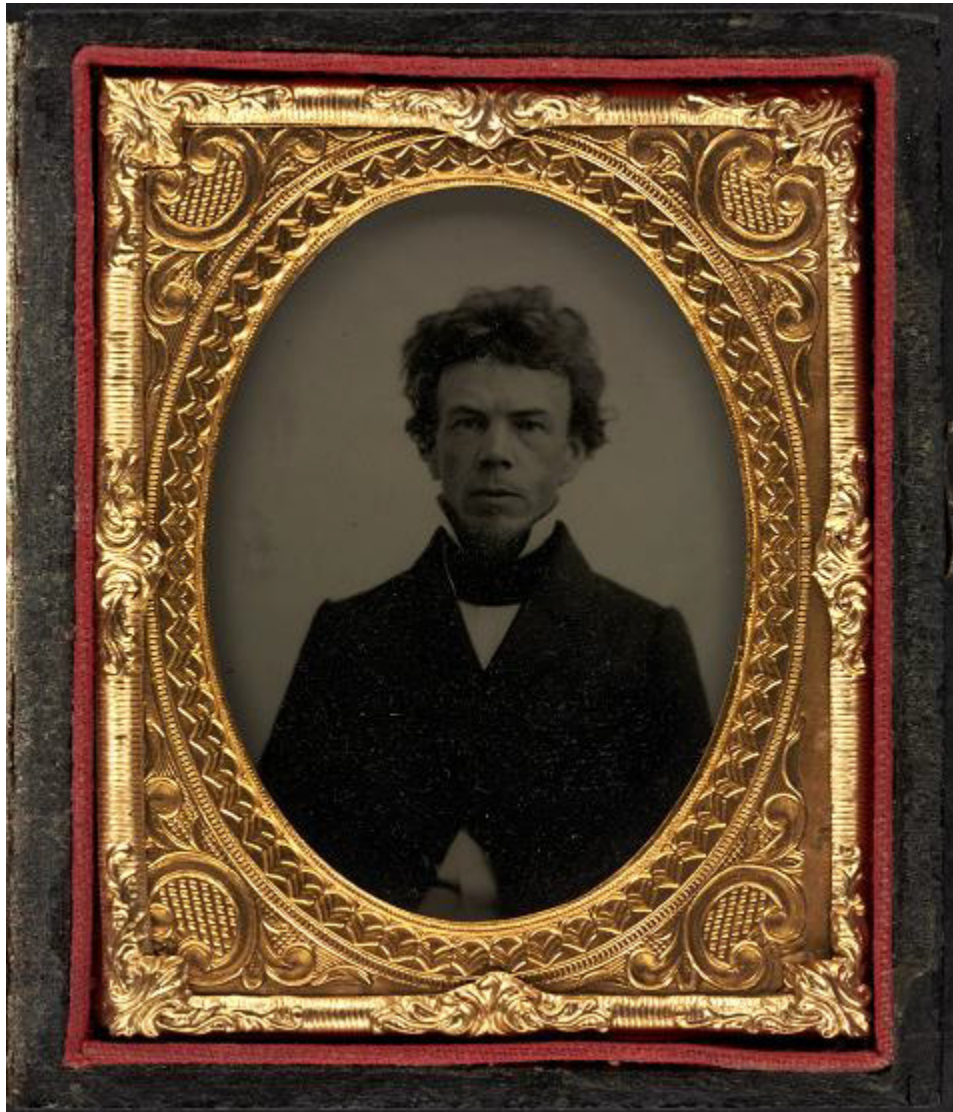
Cameron also includes a thorough, if somewhat uninteresting, history and listing of Cambridge’s official booksellers to Harvard. The book concludes, however, with a complete listing of Boston lectures that took place during Thoreau’s senior year that were open to the public. Whether Thoreau heard any of these lectures or not is an open question, but the listing, by itself, gives an interesting portrait of Boston during Thoreau’s lifetime. ...

1833

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July: [Henry C. Wright](#) resigned his pastorate in West Newbury to become a missionary (fundraiser, organizer) for the American Home Missionary Society, and was assigned to Chicago. En route to Chicago he would reconsider, and take a job instead with the American Sunday School Union in Essex County and New Hampshire. He would then proceed to get involved as well with the American Peace Society and the American Antislavery Society.



July: Two [negreros](#) flying the Portuguese flag arrived in Cuban waters after the [Middle Passage](#): the *Diedade*, master J.P. Carneiro, was completing the second of its two known trips, while the *Ligeiro*, master J.P. de Mettos, was completing one of its four known trips. The two vessels were bringing a now-unknown number of people out of a now-unknown area of Africa.<sup>48</sup>



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July 1, Monday: The Connecticut legislature approved a merger of the New York and Stonington Railroad with the [New York, Providence and Boston](#) Railroad, which was henceforth to be known by the latter name. (During this month the New York and Erie Railroad was also organized.)

The expedition led by Commander [George Back](#) arrived at the Grand Rapid.

An opportune change in the weather allowed us to get away; and, having passed the limestone rocks bordering that part of the lake, we shortly arrived at the Grand Rapid, the interesting particulars of which are too well and too minutely described in [Sir John Franklin](#)'s NARRATIVES, to require or even justify a repetition here.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)



Our national birthday, Thursday the 4th of July.<sup>49</sup> Charles Francis Adams, Sr. noted:

*It is now so many years since the Declaration of Independence that the vigour of its celebration is rather slackened. The City of Boston still holds on to its accustomed forms and here and there is to be found some place where the festival is held, but noise is not to me a necessary concomitant of rejoicing.*

48. Clearly, there's a terminology problem here. In an effort to resolve this terminology issue, at the Republican National Convention in New York City in August 2004 –at which the Republican Party would for four days make an effort to strip from its face its mask of hostility to the plight of the downtrodden and reveal its true countenance of benevolent conservatism and concern– these people would be sensitively referred to by a Hoosier Republican running for the US Senate as “involuntary immigrants.”

So, perhaps, this is a good point at which to insert a story about involuntary immigrants that has been passed on to us by Ram Varmha, a retired IBM engineer whose father had briefly served as Maharaja after the independence of Cochin. He relates the story as narrated to him by his paternal grandmother who lived in Thripoonithura, Cochin: “When my grandmother (born 1882) was a young girl she would go with the elder ladies of the family to the Pazhayannur Devi Temple in Fort Cochin, next to the Cochin Lantha Palace built by the Dutch (Landers = Lantha), which was an early establishment of the Cochin royal family before the administration moved to Thripoonithura. My grandmother often told us that in the basement of the Lantha Palace, in a confined area, a family of Africans had been kept locked up, as in a zoo! By my Grandmother's time all the Africans had died. But, some of the elder ladies had narrated the story to her of ‘Kappiries’ (Africans) kept in captivity there. It seems visitors would give them fruits and bananas. They were well cared for but always kept in confinement. My grandmother did not know all the details but according to her, ‘many’ years earlier, a ship having broken its mast drifted into the old Cochin harbor. When the locals climbed aboard, they found a crewless ship, but in the hold there were some chained ‘Kappiries’ still alive; others having perished. The locals did not know what to do with them. Not understanding their language and finding the Africans in chains, the locals thought that these were dangerous to set free. So they herded the poor Africans into the basement of the Cochin Fort, and held them in captivity, for many, many years! I have no idea when the initial incident happened, but I presume it took place in the late 1700s or early 1800s. This points to the possibility that it was, in fact, a slave ship carrying human cargo from East Africa to either the USA or the West Indies. An amazing and rather bizarre story. Incidentally, this is not an ‘old woman's tale’! Its quite reliable. My grandmother would identify some of the older ladies who had actually seen the surviving Kappiries.”

49. This was [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 29th birthday.



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He spent the day reading, visiting, and enjoying the outdoors.

In Philadelphia, the cornerstone of the Girard College for Orphans was being laid.<sup>50</sup>

Horatio Gates Spafford's widow Elizabeth Clarke Hewitt received the patent on his compressed air engine.

The National Intelligencer of Washington DC published the text not of the Declaration of Independence but of the Constitution.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



→ July 5, Friday: The naval forces of the Portuguese absolutists were defeated by those of the Portuguese liberals supporting Queen Maria II, off Cape St. Vincent.

Joseph-Nicéphor Niépce died.

Commander George Back arrived at Cumberland House.

The crew had dressed themselves out in all their finery, -silver bands, tassels, and feathers in their hats,- intending to approach the station with some effect; but, unhappily for the poor fellows, the rain fell in torrents, their feathers drooped, and such was the cumulation of mud, that it was necessary to wade a full mile before we could land at Cumberland House.

THE FROZEN NORTH

→ July 7, Sunday: According to one account, birth of George Bradford Bartlett, the 6th child of Dr. Josiah Bartlett and Martha Tilden Bradford Bartlett of Concord (other accounts have this child born in the previous year, either on July 19th or July 24th).

→ July 8, Monday: Russia and Turkey concluded a secret Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which Turkey would be obliged to close the straits against vessels of war if requested to do so by Russia and Russia would be obliged to intervene militarily if requested to do so by Turkey.

50. Benevolence for white boys only.

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July 11, Thursday: John Brown's 1st wife Dianthe Lusk Brown having died of a fever, he and 16-year-old Mary Ann Day were wed. Mary would take care of Brown's five children and would later bear 13 of her own.<sup>51</sup>(Among the twenty children of John Brown's two marriages, eight would die in early childhood.)

MARY ANN DAY BROWN



Economic hardships would escalate as Brown attempted to provide for his ever-expanding family.)



David Henry Thoreau's 17th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Friday, 1833.

- Bronson Alcott became a Platonic Idealist. Abba had a miscarriage. Bronson started a school in Boston.
- Dr. George Parkman of Boston helped John James Audubon suffocate a golden eagle.
- Lemuel Shattuck published a history of the town of Concord, Massachusetts.
- The Reverend Ezra Ripley allowed land for the construction of an "April 19th" battle monument, in his cow pasture near the Old Manse.
- Eligible lady Lidian Jackson of Plymouth met and conversed with the Reverend Waldo Emerson. Her older sister, with two children, was abandoned by her husband. Waldo received half the cash from the estate of his deceased wife.
- Davy Crockett visited Boston.
- Concord's famous young playwright John Augustus Stone drowned himself.
- Experimentation with locomotives began near Boston. An anti-Catholic mob burned down a convent.
- Thomas Carlisle's major new work SARTOR RESARTUS was being serialized in a British magazine.
- There was an insurrection at Harvard College, smashed furniture, broken windows, groaning in Chapel, student activities in which young charity scholar Thoreau took no part. Despite "barely getting in," Thoreau would maintain above-average grades in Classical Literature, French, Italian, German, Mathematics, Geology, Zoology, Botany, and Natural and Intellectual Philosophy.

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1833

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1834

51. This wedding may have taken place on June 14th rather than on July 11th.





"My life has been the poem I would have writ,  
But I could not both live and utter it."

– [Henry Thoreau](#)



July 13, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*I carried my ticket from Mr. Warden to the Cabinet [museum] of Natural History in the Garden of Plants. How much finer things are in composition than alone. 'Tis wise in man to make cabinets. When I was come into the Ornithological Chambers I wished I had come only there. The fancy-coloured vests of these elegant beings make me as pensive as the hues and forms of a cabinet of shells, formerly. It is a beautiful collection and makes the visitor as calm and genial as a bridegroom. The limits of the possible are enlarged, and the real is stranger than the imaginary. Some of the birds have a fabulous beauty. One parrot of a fellow called *Psittacus erythropterus* from New Holland deserves a special mention as a picture of Raphael in a gallery. He is the beau of all birds. Then the humming birds, little and gay. Least of all is the *Trochilus Niger*. I have seen beetles larger.*

*Here we are impressed with the inexhaustible riches of nature. The universe is a more amazing puzzle than ever, as you glance along this bewildering series of animated forms, – the hazy butterflies, the carved shells, the birds, beasts, fishes, insects, snakes, and the upheaving principle of life everywhere incipient, in the very rock aping organized forms. Not a form so grotesque, so savage, nor so beautiful but is an expression of some property inherent in man the observer, – an occult relation between the very scorpions and man. I feel the centipede in me, – cayman, carp, eagle, and fox. I am moved by strange sympathies; I say continually "I will be a naturalist."*

During a speech at Exeter hall in London, Nathaniel Paul ridiculed the town fathers of Canterbury, Connecticut. Paul described [Prudence Crandall](#) as having "been most inhumanly assailed by the advocate of the Colonization Society, who, in town meetings, passed resolutions against her benevolent object, as spirited as if the cholera were about to break out in the village, and they by a single effort of this kind could hinder its devastations. They could not have acted with more promptness, and energy, and violence, than they did, in persecuting this excellent lady, because her compassion led her to espouse the cause of the suffering blacks." Especially due to the fact that Nathaniel Paul was a black man, such ridicule, when reported to the white town leaders, would paralyze them with rage.

[Robert Schumann](#) wrote Clara Wieck that "a chain of sparks now attracts us or reminds us of one another."

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July 18, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left Paris and embarked for England. There he would have an unsatisfactory meeting with John Stuart Mill. And, he would have an unsatisfactory meeting with [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#).




One Englishman would give him some hair off of [Jeremy Bentham](#)'s corpse<sup>52</sup> — someone the hair of whose corpse did not mean a whole lot to the Sage of Concord.

52. Before Bentham died at the age of 85 on June 6, 1832, he had suggested that the bodies of the dead be used as remembrances of them, and he coined the term “auto-icon” for this use. He had suggested that the dead person’s face might be preserved with copal varnish, but his own face looked so gruesome after death and autopsy that the embalming surgeon preserved his body by placing a waxen image on top of his dressed-up skeleton.

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 July 19, Friday: In Indianapolis there was widespread fear that there would be another [cholera](#) epidemic:



### Report of the Board of Health in reference to the approach of CHOLERA

At a meeting of the Board of Health of Indianapolis on Friday, July 19, A.D. 1833, with reference to the duties assigned them by their fellow-citizens in anticipation the Epidemic Cholera, Dr. Cox, from the Medical Committee, made the following Report, which, after being somewhat modified, is unanimously adopted, to wit:

The Medical Committee appointed for that purpose, respectfully report the following advice to the inhabitants of our town and County:

- 1st. That in anticipation that we as well as others may be visited with the cholera, they would recommend at present as a preparatory preventive, a strict course of temperance and regularity in diet, drinks and exercise, the spare use of meats, vegetables and fruit, and more particularly if the bowels be in any degree disordered, avoiding especially fresh pork, spiritous liquors, green corn, cucumbers and melons, excessive fatigue, wet and night exposure, and the keeping comfortably clothed especially during sleep. Of meats they would recommend ham or bacon, chickens and mutton as best; of vegetables, good ripe potatoes, boiled onions and cooked tomatoes; of table drinks, sage, tea, store tea, sweet milk, chocolate and coffee.
- 2d. Should Cholera appear, Be still more careful in observing the above directions, use no fruit, no vegetables except potatoes, onions and tomatoes as above and little or no meats, live chiefly on bread and butter, toast crackers rice, gruel or light soups, and the table drinks above named, and above all do not overload the stomach with any thing.
- 3d. Should any looseness of the bowels or sickness of the stomach occur while the disease is prevailing; consider it the commencement of a disease which may then easily be cured, but if neglected will certainly kill. Go to bed between blankets and be pretty warmly covered, and if you have lately taken a hearty meal or eaten fruits or vegetables, or if there is much sickness at the stomach, take a tablespoon full of salt in half pint of warm water, and repeat it every five minutes until it vomits, then immediately take from 20 to 30 grains of calomel, mixed with dry sugar and wash it down with water or tea, and if purging with watery and thin stools continues, repeat it every two hours adding half a tea spoonful of [laudanum](#) to each dose, until the discharges are checked or billious ones take place, and if after this it does not operate in 6 or 8 hours take two or three table spoonfulls of castor oil every two. hours, until it does, and, immediately after giving the first dose of calomel, if



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there be fever or a strong pulse, bleed and let the drinks be warm sage or other herb teas and take no food but gruel. This course has in other places been sufficient to cure in almost all cases when early commenced.

- 4th. When the cholera decidedly attacks, producing frequent and copious stools resembling rice water or soap suds, and which is generally followed spasms, take the salt and water emetic if the stomach is loaded or very much sickness is present as above directed, and after it calomel, but if not, begin with the calomel and laudanum, and take from 40 to 60 grains of calomel and a teaspoonful of laudanum every two hours until this purging is stopped and the spasms, if occurring, checked and then in six or eight hours after the medicine does not operate and bring away billious discharges from the bowels, give castor oil as before until it operates.

Apply a large mustard plaster over the stomach, and if coldness occurs, apply mustard also to the soles of the feet and inside of the thighs as hot as it can be borne, if spasms occur, rub the places well with the hands; and if the pulse is strong or there is fever, bleed as before directed, but if the pulse is weak, bleed only under the direction of a physician, and depend chiefly on calomel and laudanum; and in all cases call in a physician as soon as one can be got, not forgetting that wherever the disease has prevailed it has usually been easily checked at the first moment of attack, but delay is dangerous and often death.

- 5th: Every family should be supplied with calomel in ten and -twenty grain doses; an ounce or more laudanum; a vial or bottle of castor oil, and some ground mustard, and fire and candle should at night always be ready to be lit. The above doses are for adults For a child 8 years old, 10 grains of calomel and 5 drops of laudanum in diarrhoea, and 20 grains of calomel and 10 or 12 drops of laudanum in cholera. One year old, 5 gr. Calomel and two or three drops laudanum in the diarrhoea, and 10 or 15 gr. calomel and 5 or six drops of laudanum in the cholera. And for other ages, proportionally to the stage and severity of the attack, but in giving laudanum, much will depend on the child being accustomed to its use.

In conclusion, the committee would remark that after full consideration of the subject, they believe, by making due preparation our citizens will be exposed to less danger by calmly remaining, should the cholera appear, than by flying from their homes, and would recommend that families now take care to secure female and other family help who will not desert them and flee in the hour of need; and that as there are abundant funds, that the Board of Health assure all such persons acting as domestic assistants that they shall be well attended in case of sickness from cholera, without charge.

All which is respectfully submitted.

ISAAC COE,  
SAMUEL G. MITCHELL,  
J.L. MOTHERSHEAD,  
L. DUNLAP,  
JOHN E. M'CLURE,  
JOHN H. SANDERS.


In furtherance of the above suggestions, the Board of Health pledge themselves to every resident of this place or wayfaring person here, if the Cholera prevails that our efforts and the liberal means furnished by the citizens shall be promptly used for their comfort and aid, which shall be extended without charge to all such as are unable to pay.


It is recommended to every family to supply themselves with the Medicines above recommended, within a week from this time; and all families in this place, unable to procure them, will be furnished by the Ward committees.

It is recommended to the citizens to form into associations of five, ten or more families, according to their own discretion, without reference to wards; who will pledge themselves to remain with, take care of, and nurse each other, in case of Cholera, under the direction of a Superintendent

chosen by themselves; and that the names of those belonging to each association be furnished by its Superintendent to the Committee of the Ward in which he resides.

B.F. MORRIS, President Teste,  
J.M. RAY, Sec'y


 July 20, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in London, where he was vastly relieved at hearing English spoken in the streets, and “to understand all the children at play.”

 July 21, Sunday: August Bondi was born in Vienna, Austria, a son of Hart Emanuel and Martha (Frankl) Bondi. His father was a Jewish manufacturer of cotton goods in Vienna. He would be educated at the Catholic College of the Order of Piarists. He also would have a private tutor.

Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Portage la Loche.

It was the 21st of July when we reached Portage la Loche, the high ridge of land which divides the waters running into Hudson’s Bay from those which direct their course to the Arctic Sea. For about six or seven miles on this portage, the voyageurs are exposed to temporary but acute suffering, from the total absence of good water to quench the thirst, aggravated, in our case, by carrying loads of 200 lbs. in an atmosphere of 68° of Fahrenheit. They are, at the same time, incessantly tormented by myriads of insatiable mosquitoes and horse-flies, significantly called “bull dogs,” which, delighted with the rare treat of a human subject, banquet on their victims till, not unfrequently, the face streams with blood.

**THE FROZEN NORTH**

 July 22, Monday: “Ali-Baba, ou Les quarantes voleurs,” an opera by Luigi Cherubini to words of Scribe and Melesville (pseudonym of Duveyrier), was performed for the initial time, at the Paris Opera. During the 1st act an audience member, [Hector Berlioz](#), shouted “Ten francs for an idea!” — Then during each subsequent act, he raised his bid.<sup>53</sup>

The contractor Joseph Clement wrote Charles Babbage that he had posted a letter to the British Treasury, giving his view of the dispute and asking if they were absolving the inventor from having to pay his bills up to March 30th. He warned that were the Calculational Engine to be destroyed by fire he would not make good the loss. He warned that he was not going to absolve the inventor from financial responsibility until the account was settled. He demanded to know whose project this was, the government’s or Babbage’s. He pointed out that it was due to nonresponse to such questions that the work had been stopped. There was a stalemate and he needed to be paid straightaway. Then and only then would he be willing to continue under Babbage’s superintendence at his manufactory in Prospect Place, delivering the finished parts to the new premises after they were made and after they had been examined and passed by the arbitrating engineers. When all the parts had been finished he would assemble the Calculational Engine at its new accommodation. Engineers should be appointed, paid by each party, to examine the progress made every three months and prepare the account. Then the account was to be reviewed within one month and paid immediately that the engineers agreed. If they failed to agree the dispute would need to be arbitrated by a third engineer but there was to be no further withholding of payment.

53. Is this where the descriptor “hectoring” comes from? No.



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→ July 23, Tuesday: The British Parliament passed a Jewish Civil Disabilities Act that would allow Jews to vote, and hold public office ([Felix Mendelssohn](#) was present for this debate and vote).

→ July 24, Wednesday: [Jones Very](#)'s earliest known venture into poetry, "The earth is parched with heat."

The army of the Portuguese liberals entered Lisbon.

→ July 26, Friday: In Rome, "A cantata for the name day of Anna Carnevali," by Gaetano Donizetti, was performed for the initial time.

→ July 28, Sunday: The [Reverend Convers Francis](#) of Watertown exchanged pulpits for the day with the [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#) of Concord. His prooftext for the morning service was Hebrews 11:4 and his topic "Being Dead, He Yet Speaketh." His prooftext for the afternoon service was Matthew 13:25 and his topic "While We Sleep, the Enemy Comes."



Dom Pedro, leader of the liberal cause, entered Lisbon.

Through the efforts of Minister of Public Instruction Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot a Primary Education Law was enacted for France, requiring that each municipality maintain a primary school.

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July 29, Monday: Charles Babbage reported to the British Treasury that he had had an unsatisfactory meeting with the contractor Joseph Clement subsequent to their letter to him dated May 29th, and had requested that the contractor for his Calculational Engine express his views in writing.

[William Wilberforce](#) died.



That Sunday in [London](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) would attend Wilberforce's [Westminster Abbey](#) funeral — and would be able there to get quite a good look at a much more lively and interesting and living personage, man

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of the hour, alpha male, [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#).



Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Fort Chipewyan.

After some detentions of an ordinary kind, we got to Fort Chipewyan on the 29th of July. We arrived so early, that we were not in the least expected; and the canoe was not seen until within a short distance of the land, - a circumstance by no means pleasing to the guide, who, besides his own decorations of many coloured feathers, &c., had taken more than ordinary pains to display to the best advantage the crimson beauties of a large silk flag.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

AUGUST

➡ August: George Catlin, who had been living with the Mandan and other tribes for several years, who expressed “ardent enthusiasm” for the Mandan and especially for their “exceedingly pleasing and beautiful” women, at this point returned to the womenfolk of his own white tribe. In 1841 he would publish **LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND CONDITION OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS**.<sup>54</sup>


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54. Mooney, Michael M., ed., *GEORGE CATLIN, 1796-1872. LETTERS AND NOTES ON THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS* (NY: Clarkson N. Potter, 1975).

1833

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 August: William Thompson was born in New Hampshire, the son of Roswell Thompson.

(In Fall 1858 he would marry with a Mary Brown who was not related to the family of John Brown. His sister Isabella M. Thompson would marry with Watson Brown and then his elder brother Henry Thompson would marry with John Brown's daughter Ruth. He would start for Kansas in 1856 but upon meeting the Brown sons would return with them to North Elba. He and his brother Dauphin Adolphus Thompson would take part in



Dauphin



William

the raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry and both would be shot dead. When Captain Brown would send him out from the engine house to negotiate under flag of truce, the mob of citizens would place him under arrest, take him to the local hotel barroom, discussed what to do, drag him into the street, execute him by shooting him in the head, and dump his body into the Potomac River. An interesting fact about this case is that it just about got a young lady into serious trouble. According to a letter of explanation she would provide to the local paper, Miss C.C. Fouke was the daughter of the tavernkeeper at Harpers Ferry, operating at the local hotel. The story had gone around, after the fact, that on the 2d day of the raid in her father's saloon in the hotel she had thrown her body in front of Brown conspirator William Thompson while the mob was debating whether or not to off him. Rather than be classed with Pocahontas or with Florence Nightingale, Miss Fouke attempted to explain the rationale for her conduct to the public at large. She had indeed thrown her body between the mob and the captive, she freely confessed, but she had done so, she needed to point out, "without touching him," and she insisted also that her action was not motivated by any concern that this man William Thompson was about to be shot in the head, but rather because her sister-in-law was resting in the next room and should not be disturbed as she was ailing — and/or out of a conviction that Thompson before being offed should be tried by a court of law.)



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August: Dr. James Cowles Prichard pioneered “the term monomania, meaning madness affecting one train of thought ... adopted in late times instead of melancholia.” ([Herman Melville](#)’s father-in-law, Chief Justice [Lemuel Shaw](#), would utilize this concept “monomania” in a legal opinion in 1844, and Melville would deploy it in *MARDI AND A VOYAGE THITHER* in 1849, and then in *MOBY-DICK; OR, THE WHALE* in 1851 as the defining characteristic of the psychology of the maimed Captain Ahab.) As what in this year would have been considered to be a prime instance of such monomania, in this year there appeared [Lydia Maria Child](#)’s infamous *APPEAL IN FAVOR OF THAT CLASS OF AMERICANS CALLED AFRICANS*.



**(The author’s “madness affecting one train of thought” was immediately recognized, and in an attempt at a cure her library privileges at the Boston Atheneum were summarily revoked.)**

The Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) walked down to Child’s cottage from his home on Beacon Hill, a mile and a half, to discuss the book with her for all of 3 hours, but not because he agreed with her — the Reverend Channing considered Child misguided and a zealot. Child later commented that she had “suffered many a shivering ague-fit in attempting to melt, or batter away the glaciers of his prejudices.” The window of [William](#)

1833

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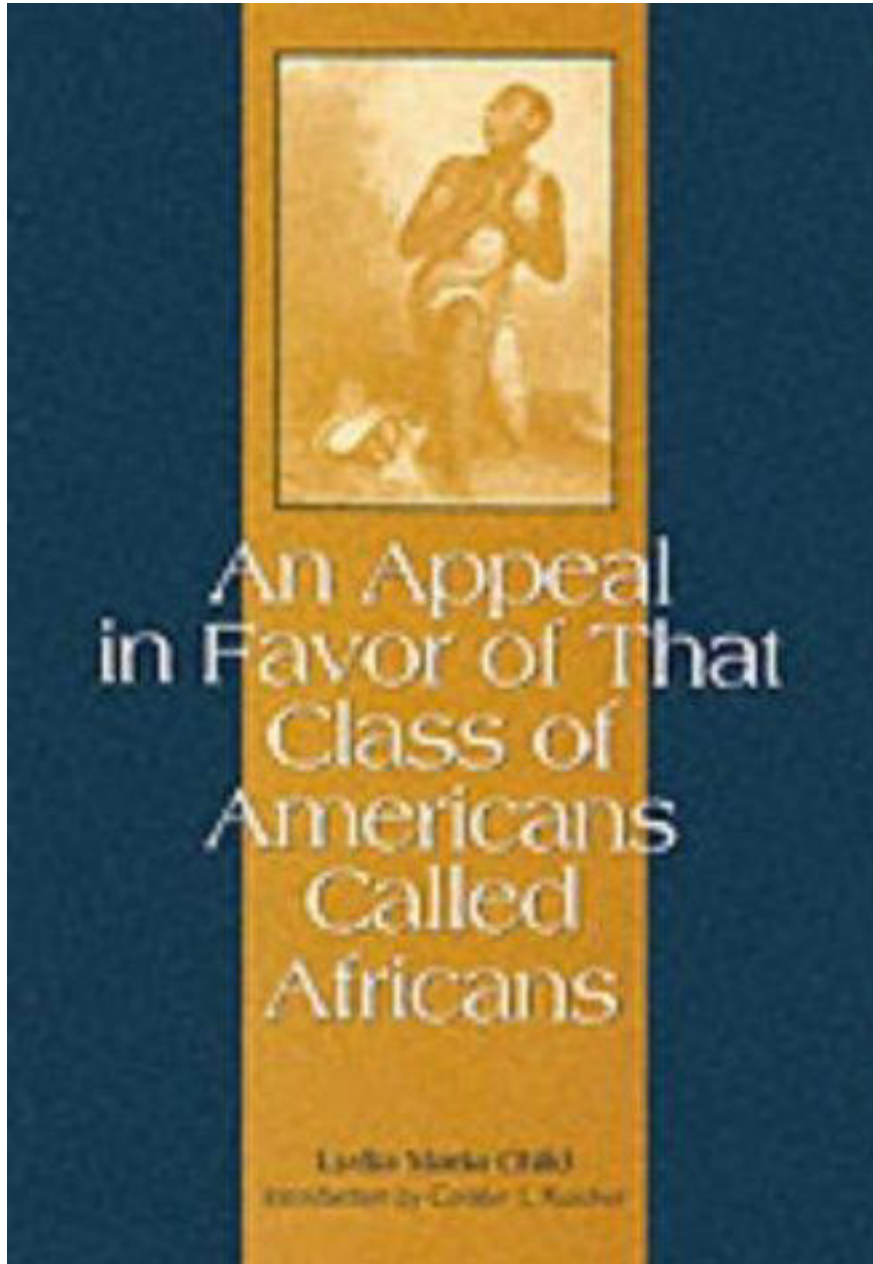
[Davis Ticknor](#)'s Old Corner Bookstore was smashed because this APPEAL was on display. Having overheard



his parents discussing APPEAL (and perhaps having heard of that smashed window at the Old Corner Bookstore, which had been smashed by someone leaning against or being shoved against it), the 11-year-old [Edward Everett Hale](#) considered heaving a stone at it through the shop window. This is the book that a manager of the American Bible Society refused to read for fear it would make him an abolitionist, and in fact it would be what the 22-year-old Wendell Phillips would be reading just as he was abandoning the practice of law in order to devote his life to abolitionism.



Here is the cover of a modern edition of that offending treatise:




Outspoken in her condemnation of slavery, Mrs. Child pointed out its contradiction with Christian teachings, and described the moral and physical degradation it brought upon slaves and owners alike — not omitting to mention the issue of miscegenation, and not excepting the North from its share of responsibility for the system. “I am fully aware of the unpopularity of the task I have undertaken,” she wrote in the Introduction, “but though I expect ridicule and censure, it is not in my nature to fear them.” As a direct result of this, she would lose her editorial post with The Juvenile Miscellany (if you are so impolite and inconsiderate that you mention that we routinely molest our black servants, we certainly cannot allow you to have contact with our children).




1833

1833

 August: Great Britain and France proposed a treaty with the United States of America for the suppression of the [international slave trade](#). Nothing would come of this, apparently due to intransigence on the part of the US.

British and French ministers simultaneously invited the United States to accede to the Convention just concluded between them for the suppression of the slave-trade. The Secretary of State, Mr. M'Lane, deferred answer until the meeting of Congress, and then postponed negotiations on account of the irritable state of the country on the slave question. Great Britain had proposed that "A reciprocal right of search ... be conceded by the United States, limited as to place, and subject to specified restrictions. It is to be employed only in repressing the Slave Trade, and to be exercised under a written and specific authority, conferred on the Commander of the visiting ship." In the act of accession, "it will be necessary that the right of search should be extended to the coasts of the United States," and Great Britain will in turn extend it to the British West Indies. This proposal was finally refused on March 24th, 1834, chiefly, it was explained, because of the extension of the Right of Search to the coasts of the United States. This part was waived by Great Britain on July 7th, 1834. On September 12th, 1834 the French Minister joined in urging accession. On October 4th, 1834 Forsyth stated that the determination has "been definitely formed, not to make the United States a party to any Convention on the subject of the Slave Trade." PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1835, Volume LI, SLAVE TRADE, Class B, pages 84-92.


 August 1, Thursday: Sailors' Snug Harbor opened, on Staten Island.


A strike of journeymen shoemakers at Geneva, [New York](#) was settled, the artisans gaining wage increases.


King William's College was opened on the Isle of Man.

The British Parliament gave preliminary approval to a Slavery Abolition Act which they would enact into law in 1834, freeing after another five years their slaves in the British West Indies.

Mr. Robert Grant's bill for releasing the Jews from their civil disabilities was rejected in the House of Lords.

 August 2, Friday: Pedro de Alcantara (Dom Pedro) replaced Jose Antonio de Oliveira Leite de Barros, conde de Basto as Prime Minister of Portugal.

 August 3, Saturday: Troops of the city of Basel, Switzerland, marching toward rebels in Liestal, were repulsed at Hülftenschanz.

 August 4, Sunday: Acting on its own authority, the Orthodox Church of Greece declared itself to be "autocephalous," meaning "self-organizing" (this would not be recognized by Constantinople until 1850).




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 August 5, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) visited [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#).

The new liberal government of Portugal ordered that any ecclesiastics who were absent from their posts were to be treated as traitors.

Funeral of [William Wilberforce](#) in [Westminster Abbey](#), [William Lloyd Garrison](#) present.

 August 8, Thursday: [Henry C. Wright](#) had a “coffin” dream.

On this day or the following one Marc Isambard Brunel advised Charles Babbage to fire his intransigent contractor Joseph Clement on the Calculational Engine, suggesting instead a man named Spiller.

Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Fort Resolution on Great Slave Lake.

On the 8th of August we reached Great Slave Lake, and were received at Fort Resolution by Mr. M'Donnell, the gentleman in charge.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)



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August 9, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [London](#) on a visit to [Oxford](#).



[David Henry Thoreau](#), accepted as a charity scholar, left home for [Harvard College](#).<sup>55</sup> While an undergraduate at Harvard 1833-1837 in what essentially was its “Comp Lit” program, he would reside initially with [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) of Lincoln in an upstairs room, 20 Hollis Hall, that had (has) a fine view of the sunsets across the Common.<sup>56</sup>

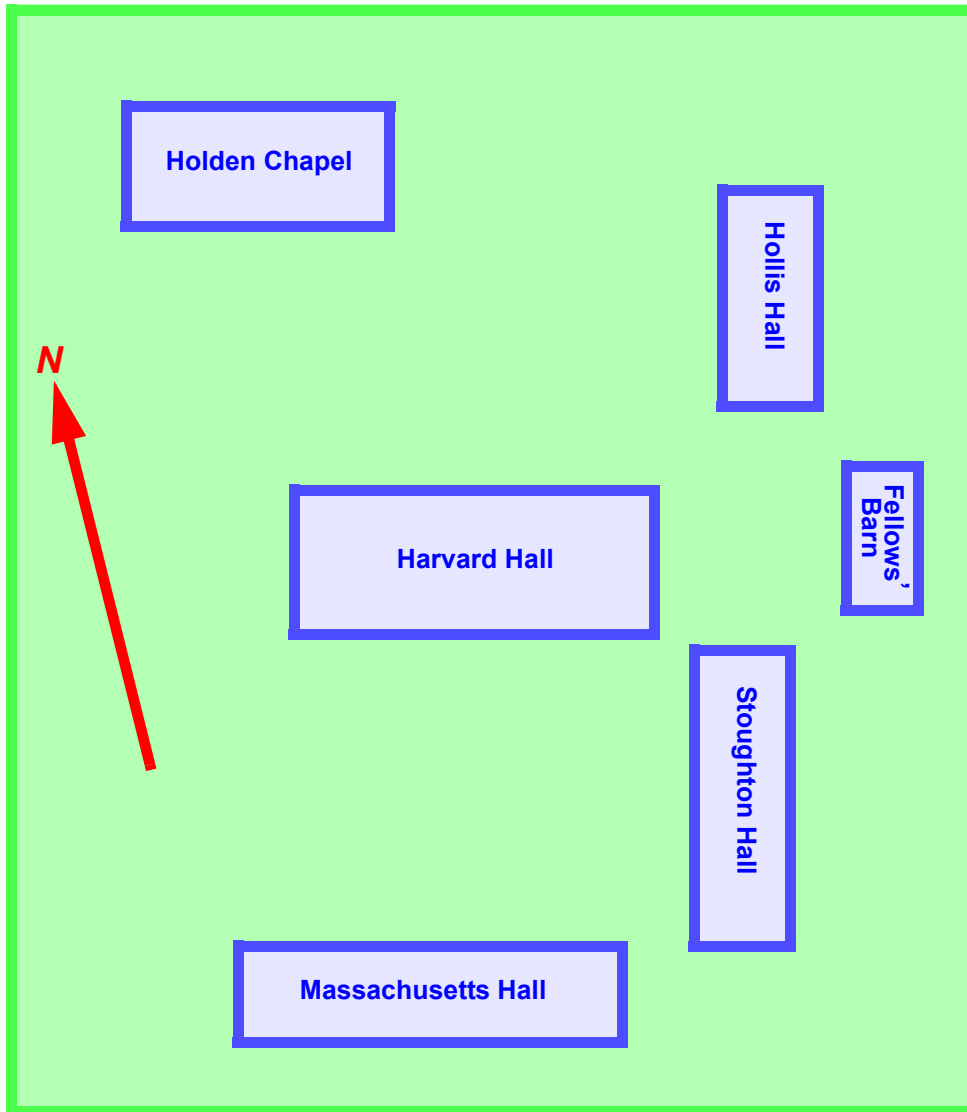
COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

55. Since the native-son undergraduates Lemuel Shattuck mentions in Chapter XVI of his history of Concord were in the Harvard College classes of 1834 (George Moore) and 1835 (Hiram Dennis and Ebenezer Hoar), this material would have needed to have been written between May 1833 and May 1834. The earlier date is more likely than the later date since Marshall Meriam, who graduated from Yale College with its Class of 1833, is carried as still an undergraduate there. David Henry Thoreau of Concord was unmentioned as a current Harvard College undergraduate in that 1835 history, therefore, simply because at the time the material was being penned, he had not yet matriculated.

56. He later occupied other rooms nearby in the same dormitory.

**FRESHMEN.**

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Adams, Joseph Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 18
Allen, William,	<i>Bridgewater,</i>	Mr. J. Foster's
Bacon, John,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 2
Barnes, Henry,	<i>Marlborough,</i>	
Barstow, Simon Forrester,	<i>Salem,</i>	Mr. Saunders's
Belcher, Clifford,	<i>Farmington, Me.</i>	D. 7
Benjamin, Henry Benjamin,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Bigelow, Henry Jacob,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 18
Clarke, Manlius Stimson,	<i>Norton,</i>	H. 4
Dale, William Johnson,	<i>Gloucester,</i>	H'y 9
Dall, Charles Henry Appleton,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 2
Davis, William,	<i>Plymouth,</i>	St. 17
Eustis, John Fenwick,	<i>Norfolk, Va.</i>	St. 4
Forrester, George Hely Hutchinson,	<i>Salem,</i>	H. 7
Greenough, William Whitwell,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Hale, Horatio Emmons,	<i>Boston,</i>	St. 20
Haskins, David Greene,	<i>Roxbury,</i>	Miss Parker's
Hawes, William,	<i>Boston,</i>	Dr. Stearns's
Hayward, Charles,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 3
Hildreth, Samuel Tenney,	<i>Gloucester,</i>	Mr. J. Foster's
Holmes, Christopher Columbus,	<i>Kingston,</i>	St. 17
Holmes, Nathaniel,	<i>Peterborough, N. H.</i>	Mrs. Howe's
Hubbard, Henry,	<i>Charlestown, N. H.</i>	St. 3.
Kendall, Samuel Austin,	<i>Augusta, N. Y.</i>	St. 3
Kettell, Edward Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	St. 20
Kimball, Benjamin Gage,	<i>Needham,</i>	St. 19
Lane, John Foster Williams,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 18
Maxwell, John Bayard,	<i>New Castle Co., Del.</i>	H. 19
Peabody, Augustus Goddard,	<i>Boston,</i>	H. 18
Perry, Amos,	<i>Natick,</i>	St. 19
Phelps, Francis,	<i>Hadley,</i>	H. 4
Rice, Charles Wyatt,	<i>Brookfield,</i>	2 C. H. 8
Richardson, James,	<i>Dedham,</i>	H. 1
Russell, Charles Theodore,	<i>Princeton,</i>	St. 26
Stone, Henry Orne,	<i>Salem,</i>	Dr. Ware's
Thomas, Charles Grandison,	<i>Denmark, N. Y.</i>	M. 1.
Thoreau, David Henry,	<i>Concord,</i>	H. 20
Treat, Samuel,	<i>Portsmouth, N. H.</i>	M. 1
Trull, Samuel,	<i>Boston,</i>	Mr. W. Warland's
Vose, Henry,	<i>Dorchester,</i>	Rev. H. Ware's
Weiss, John,	<i>Worcester,</i>	H. 1
Wheeler, Charles Stearns,	<i>Lincoln,</i>	H. 20
Whitney, Giles Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	D. 8
Whitwell, Benjamin,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 9
Wight, Daniel,	<i>Natick,</i>	Miss Robbins's
Williams, Henry,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 1
Williams, Francis Stanton,	<i>Boston,</i>	H'y 1
Clap, Harvey Erastus,	<i>Walpole,</i>	H. 7
Ferguson, Jordan Goodwin,	<i>South Berwick, Me.</i>	Mrs. Howe's



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He had “many and noisy neighbours, and a residence in the fourth storey.” At that time tuition was \$55.<sup>00</sup> per year, Harvard had a faculty of perhaps 25 and a student body of perhaps 425, and the library boasted perhaps 40,000 books. Meals at the commons were \$1.<sup>35</sup> a week. From the 1820s into the 1840s, the regulation student attire was a “black-mixed” suit consisting of pantaloons, waistcoat, coat, tie, hat, shoes, and buttons of prescribed color, and various versions of this regulation attire were available at stores near campus for between \$15.<sup>00</sup> and \$25.<sup>00</sup>. Thus although the top hat and the cane did not become *de rigueur* for the Harvard Man until the 1840s, to outfit Freshman Thoreau properly for his college career in 1833 would have required 30% to 50% of his scholarship money, and was just out of the question. In addition, President Josiah Quincy, Sr. informed Thoreau that his performance on the entrance examination had been such that



*One branch more, and you had been turned by entirely.  
You have barely got in.*

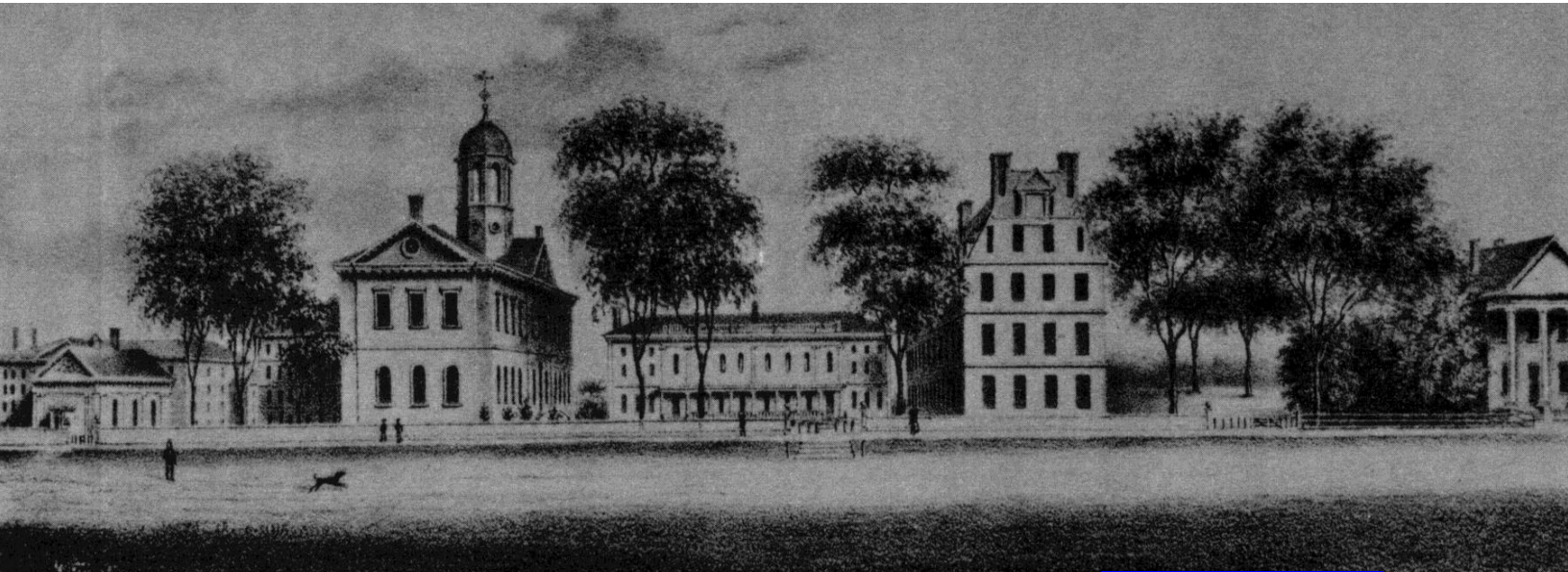


We need not ask why, in the 19th Century, David Henry was favored by his family over Helen and over Sophia for this expensive education, but one of the unresolved questions in my mind is how it came about that, in a family in which first son and namesake John clearly was regarded as the more capable manchild, and in which there had been talk of apprenticing little brother to a carpenter, it came about that it was young David Henry

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who went off to college to be partly supported by the earnings of his siblings.



#### THOREAU RESIDENCES

During this initial year at [Harvard](#), [David Henry](#) would be subjected to a “thorough course” of “Plane Trigonometry, Analytic Geometry, and [Algebra](#) with practical application to Heights and Distances, and Surveying and Navigation.” It would appear clear from the presence of a copy of Ebenezer Bailey’s *FIRST LESSONS IN ALGEBRA; BEING AN EASY INTRODUCTION TO THAT SCIENCE. DESIGNED FOR THE USE OF ACADEMIES AND COMMON SCHOOLS. BY EBENEZER BAILEY, PRINCIPAL OF THE YOUNG LADIES’ HIGH SCHOOL, BOSTON; AUTHOR OF “YOUNG LADIES’ CLASS BOOK,” ETC.* in Thoreau’s personal library, and from the fact that this text was published by Carter, Hendee & Co. during July of this year in Boston, that the book must have been useful for this course.



#### 1ST LESSONS IN ALGEBRA





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This course on navigation is still being offered and happens now to be the longest continuously running subject-matter offered there! “It’s the most practical course you can take at Harvard,” commented Dan Justicz ’91, an alum. “You find your way by watching the movements of the sun and stars. You even construct your own [navigation](#) instruments. There’s a minimum of lecturing.” “We use the historical instrument collection at [Harvard] Science Center, maps dating back to the 13th century at Pusey Library, and ships’ logbooks as old as 200 years,” says the instructor, Dr. Sadler. “Students come to appreciate how difficult it was for Columbus, or Magellan, to find their way without accurate clocks.” The course is now offered as endowed under the Francis W. Wright Lectureship in Celestial Navigation.

([Thoreau](#)’s [Harvard](#) curriculum would include eight terms of Greek under Professor [Cornelius Conway Felton](#) and [Instructor?] Dunkin. These eight terms would begin with Greek composition and grammar, and continue into “Greek Antiquities” and works by Xenophon, Demosthenes, Aeschines, Sophocles, [Euripides](#), and [Homer](#). —What, your college education was not like that?

## COLLEGE FACULTY.

Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., *President.*

Rev. HENRY WARE, D. D.

JOHN FARRAR, LL. D.

EDWARD T. CHANNING, A. M.

CHARLES FOLLEN, J. U. D.

CHARLES BECK, P. D.

CORNELIUS C. FELTON, A. M., *Tutor to Sophomores.*

HENRY S. McKEAN, A. M., *Tutor to Seniors and Freshmen.*

JOEL GILES, A. B., *Tutor to Juniors.*

BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M.

— Perhaps you didn’t major in Comp Lit! :-)

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

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Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., **PRESIDENT.**  
 ———, *Massachusetts Professor of Natural History.*  
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 ———, *Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity.*  
 ———, *Eliot Professor of Greek Literature.*  
 FRANCIS SALES, Esq., *Instructor in French and Spanish.*  
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 ———, *Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.*  
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 JACOB BIGELOW, M. D., *Professor of Materia Medica.*  
 ———, *Rumford Professor.*  
 THOMAS NUTTALL, A. M., *Lecturer on Botany and Zoölogy, and Curator of the Botanical Garden.*  
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 WALTER CHANNING, M. D., *Professor of Obstetrics and Medical Jurisprudence*  
 EDWARD T. CHANNING, A. M., *Boylston Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory.*  
 JONATHAN BARBER, Soc. Coll. Chir. Lond., *Instructor in Elocution.*  
 JOHN W. WEBSTER, M. D., *Erving Professor of Chemistry and Mineralogy.*  
 Rev. HENRY WARE, JR., A. M., *Professor of Pulpit Eloquence and Pastoral Care.*  
 JOHN WARE, M. D., *Adjunct Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic.*  
 THADDEUS W. HARRIS, M. D., *Librarian.*

Rev. JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M., *Professor of Biblical Literature.*  
 PIETRO BACHI, A. M., J. U. D., *Instructor in Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese.*  
 CHARLES FOLLEN, J. U. D., *Professor of the German Language and Literature.*  
 SIMON GREENLEAF, A. M., *Royall Professor of Law.*  
 CHARLES BECK, P. D., *Professor of Latin and Permanent Tutor.*  
 FRANCIS M. J. SURAULT, *Instructor in French.*  
 HENRY R. CLEVELAND, A. M., *Proctor.*  
 CORNELIUS C. FELTON, A. M., *Professor of Greek and Permanent Tutor.*  
 HENRY S. MCKEAN, A. M., *Tutor in Latin.*  
 GEORGE NICHOLS, A. B., *Instructor in Mathematics.*  
 SAMUEL A. DEVENS, A. B., *Proctor.*  
 JOEL GILES, A. B., *Tutor in Natural, Intellectual, and Moral Philosophy*  
 BENJAMIN PEIRCE, A. M., *Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.*  
 BARZILLAI FROST, A. B., *Proctor.*  
 EDGAR BUCKINGHAM, A. B., *Proctor.*  
 WILLIAM G. ELIOT, A. B., *Instructor in Hebrew.*  
 CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN, *Instructor in Greek.*

OLIVER SPARHAWK. *Steward.*

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➔ August 10, Saturday: The Salem Observer printed Jones Very's 1st poem, a poem appropriate to the season, "The earth is parched with heat."

In a field in Maryland, during this period, Frederick Douglass was being overcome by the heat:

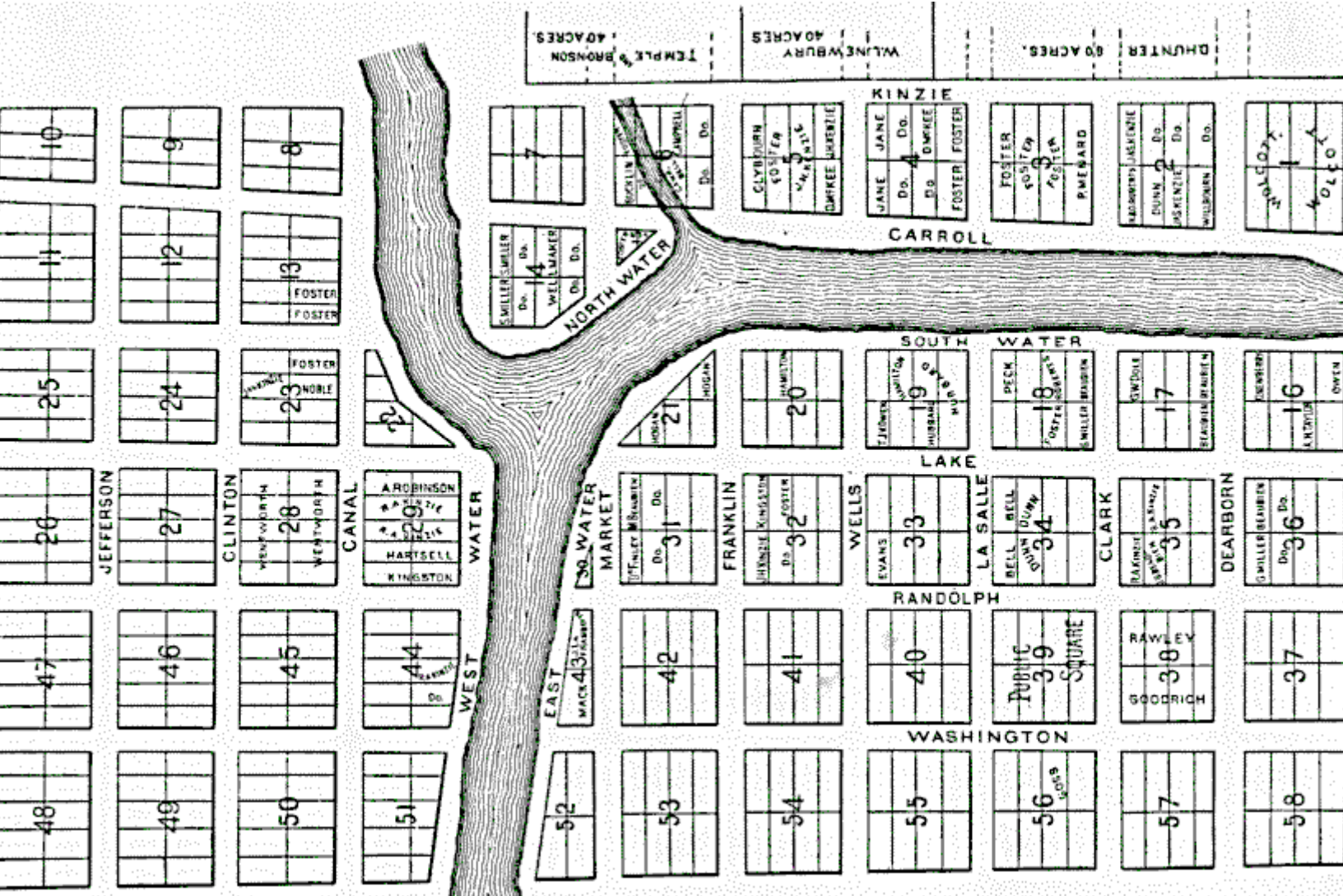
On one of the hottest days of the month of August, 1833, Bill Smith, William Hughes, a slave named Eli, and myself, were engaged in fanning wheat. Hughes was clearing the fanned wheat from before the fan. Eli was turning, Smith was feeding, and I was carrying wheat to the fan. The work was simple, requiring strength rather than intellect; yet, to one entirely unused to such work, it came very hard. About three o'clock of that day, I broke down; my strength failed me; I was seized with a violent aching of the head, attended with extreme dizziness; I trembled in every limb. Finding what was coming, I nerved myself up, feeling it would never do to stop work. I stood as long as I could stagger to the hopper with grain. When I could stand no longer, I fell, and felt as if held down by an immense weight.



On the southern end of Lake Michigan, a small settlement of white people held a vote and decided to incorporate itself as a village. Out of a potential of some 300-350 voters, 28 ballots were cast. This settlement would refer to itself as "Chicago." The settlement's initial boundaries have since become DesPlaines Street,



Kinzie Street, Madison Street, and State Street and nowadays look considerably different:





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August 12, Monday: [Captain Henry Nicholas Nicholls](#), a fine-looking man 50 years of age who had served his country in the Peninsular war, who had been convicted at Croyden “on the clearest evidence ... of the capital offense of Sodomy,” the offense referred to commonly as “buggery” and often recorded in court documents as “b-gg-y,” had been “perfectly calm and unmoved throughout his trial, and even when the sentence of death was passed upon him.” In the interim not a single member of his respectable family had visited him in prison, and he was [hanged](#) on this morning at Horse Monger Lane Prison in [London](#). The [Courier](#) would report:

Captain Henry Nicholas Nicholls, who was one of the unnatural gang to which the late Captain Beauclerk belonged, (and which latter gentleman put an end to his existence), was convicted on the clearest evidence at Croydon, on Saturday last, of the capital offence of Sodomy; the prisoner was perfectly calm and unmoved throughout the trial, and even when sentence of death was passed upon him. In performing the duty of passing sentence of death upon the prisoner, Mr. Justice Park told him that it would be inconsistent with that duty if he held out the slightest hope that the law would not be allowed to take its severest course. At 9 o'clock in the morning the sentence was carried into effect. The culprit, who was fifty years of age, was a fine looking man, and had served in the Peninsular war. He was connected with a highly respectable family; but, since his apprehension not a single member of it visited him.

One is reminded that while [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#) had been enjoying the lads of the Ottoman lands, a friend back home had commented “that what you get for £5 we must risque our necks for; and are content to risque them.” Later on in this year an anonymous poem DON LEON would appear, written by some person familiar with details of Lord Byron’s involvement with homosexuality. The poem is now conjectured to have been authored by William Bankes, an antiquarian and collector who had likewise been taken under arrest in this year after having been discovered in a sexual relation with a guardsman:

Though law cries “hold!” yet passion onward draws;  
But nature gave us passions, man gave laws,  
Whence spring these inclinations, rank and strong?  
And harming no one, wherefore call them wrong?

This DON LEON would be the first homosexual liberationist text to appear in the English language, and no copies of it have been preserved in its 1st edition.



August 14, Wednesday: Stock subscriptions of \$500,000 were solicited for [New York State](#)’s Rochester & Tonawanda Railroad Company.

The General Trades Union (GTU) organized in New-York, linking all city trade societies.



August 17, Saturday: The British Treasury demanded that Charles Babbage cause the completed drawings, etc. for his Calculational Engine to be removed to the new fireproof building. They intended to continue to use the free services of Donkin and Field as arbitrators with the intransigent contractor Joseph Clement. They were not going to answer his questions, such as whose project was this anyway. They would pay his bills for work performed in 1832 but would consider his bills for 1833 only after he had transferred finished parts and drawings to the new fireproof premises.





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August 18, Sunday: [Robert Schumann](#) presented his teacher Friedrich Wieck on his birthday with “Impromptus sur un theme de Clara Wieck op.5.”

The Canadian vessel *SS Royal William* set out from Pictou, Nova Scotia toward the port of Gravesend, England — to be achieved in 25 days largely under the power of steam rather than wind.

[Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in Edinburgh.

After his marriage he “resided partly at Comely Bank, Edinburgh; and for a year or two at Craigenputtock, a wild and desolate farm-house in the upper part of Dumfriesshire,” at which last place, amid barren heather hills, he was visited by our countryman Emerson. With Emerson he still corresponds. He was early intimate with Edward Irving, and continued to be his friend until the latter’s death. Concerning this “freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul,” and Carlyle’s relation to him, those whom it concerns will do well to consult a notice of his death in Fraser’s Magazine for 1835, reprinted in the Miscellanies. He also corresponded with [Goethe](#). Latterly, we hear, the poet Sterling was his only intimate acquaintance in England.

Commander [George Back](#) reached the Thlew-ee-choh or Great Fish River.

... launching past some rocks, which had shut out the land in their direction, we opened suddenly on a small bay, at the bottom of which was seen a splendid fall, upwards of sixty feet high, rushing in two white and misty volumes into the dark gulf below. It was the object of our search - the river which we were to ascend.

THE FROZEN NORTH




August 20, Tuesday: [Vincenzo Bellini](#) arrived in Paris with the hope of producing an opera.

Benjamin Harrison was born. I’m just saying.

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
1833


 August 22, Thursday: At [Prudence Crandall](#)'s initial trial, in Connecticut, the jury could not agree.



SOUTH VIEW OF THE VILLAGE OF CANTERBURY.

A.—Miss Crandall's School.

 August 25, Sunday: The balloon of Charles Ferson Durant soared from the [Boston](#) Common to Mt. Auburn in 40 minutes (the middleaged Louis Lauriat may have witnessed this adolescent derring-do, and the reaction of the masses).

 August 25, Sunday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) and his father left England after a stay of six weeks, heading for Rotterdam.

C.G. Jarvis recommended a new working arrangement in regard to Charles Babbage's project for a Calculational Engine. Since his attention was the limiting item, to finish within a reasonable time all the designs and drawings needed to be at his residence under his supervision. The working drawings and work orders should go out to different workshops so that the work might proceed more quickly in parallel.

[Waldo Emerson](#) spent a nice day with [Thomas Carlyle](#) at Craigenputtock.<sup>57</sup>

After his marriage he "resided partly at Comely Bank, Edinburgh; and for a year or two at Craigenputtock, a wild and desolate farm-house in the upper part of Dumfriesshire," at which last place, amid barren heather hills, he was visited by our countryman Emerson. With Emerson he still corresponds. He was early intimate with Edward Irving, and continued to be his friend until the latter's death. Concerning this "freest, brotherliest, bravest human soul," and Carlyle's relation to

57. [I have not yet been able to resolve this entry against the entry for August 28, which is from Heffer.]



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August 27, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) had an unsatisfactory meeting with [William Wordsworth](#).

### Wordsworth's Poems in Chronological Sequence

- To ——, on the birth of her First-born Child, March 1833
- The Warning. A Sequel to the foregoing
- If this great world of joy and pain
- On a high part of the coast of Cumberland, Easter Sunday, April 7, the Author's sixty-third Birthday
- By the Seaside
- Poems Composed or Suggested during a Tour in the Summer of 1833
- Adieu, Rydalian Laurels! that have grown
- Why should the Enthusiast, journeying through this Isle
- They called Thee MERRY ENGLAND, in old time
- To the River Greta, near Keswick
- To the River Derwent
- In sight of the Town of Cockermouth. (Where the Author was born, and his Father's remains are laid)
- Address from the Spirit of Cockermouth Castle
- Nun's Well, Brigham
- To a Friend. (On the Banks of the Derwent)
- Mary Queen of Scots. (Landing at the Mouth of the Derwent, Workington)
- Stanzas suggested in a Steamboat off St. Bees' Head, on the coast of Cumberland
- In the Channel, between the coast of Cumberland and the Isle of Man
- At Sea off the Isle of Man
- Desire we past illusions to recall?
- On entering Douglas Bay, Isle of Man
- By the Seashore, Isle of Man
- Isle of Man
- Isle of Man
- By a Retired Mariner, H. H.
- At Bala-Sala, Isle of Man
- Tynwald Hill
- Despond who will — 'I' heard a voice exclaim
- In the Frith of Clyde, Ailsa Crag. During an Eclipse of the Sun, July 17
- On the Frith of Clyde. (In a Steamboat)
- On revisiting Dunolly Castle
- The Dunolly Eagle
- Written in a Blank Leaf of Macpherson's "Ossian"
- Cave of Staffa
- Cave of Staffa. After the Crowd had departed
- Cave of Staffa
- Flowers on the Top of the Pillars at the Entrance of the Cave
- Iona
- Iona. (Upon Landing)
- The Black Stones of Iona
- Homeward we turn. Isle of Columba's Cell
- Greenock



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- “There!” said a Stripling, pointing with meet pride
- The River Eden, Cumberland
- Monument of Mrs. Howard
- Suggested by the foregoing
- Nunnery
- Steamboats, Viaducts, and Railways
- The Monument commonly called Long Meg and her Daughters, near the River Eden
- Lowther
- To the Earl of Lonsdale
- The Somnambulist
- To Cordelia M ——, Hallsteads, Ullswater
- Most sweet it is with unuplifted eyes
- Composed by the Seashore
- Not in the lucid intervals of life
- By the Side of Rydal Mere
- Soft as a cloud is yon blue Ridge — the Mere
- The leaves that rustled on this oak-crowned hill
- The Labourer’s Noon-day Hymn
- The Redbreast. (Suggested in a Westmoreland Cottage)
- Lines suggested by a Portrait from the Pencil of F. Stone
- The foregoing Subject resumed
- To a Child. Written in her Album



August 28, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) had met, while in [Rome](#), the Gustave d’Eichthal who had sent Saint-Simonian materials to [Thomas Carlyle](#), and this scion of a Jewish banking family had given to the American tourist a letter of introduction to the sympathetic Scottish author. On this August day, therefore, Emerson showed up on the doorstep of the farmhouse at Craigenputtock — this is how Emerson would describe, later, how the visit had gone down, in his ENGLISH TRAITS:

From Edinburgh I went to the Highlands. On my return, I came from Glasgow to Dumfries, and being intent on delivering a letter which I had brought from Rome, inquired for Craigenputtock. It was a farm in Nithsdale, in the parish of Dunscore, sixteen miles distant. No public coach passed near it, so I took a private carriage from the inn. I found the house amid desolate heathery hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart. Carlyle was a man from his youth, an author who did not need to hide from his readers, and as absolute a man of the world, unknown and exiled on that hill-farm, as if holding on his own terms what is best in London. He was tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command; clinging to his northern accent with evident relish; full of lively anecdote, and with a streaming humor, which floated every thing he looked upon. His talk playfully exalting the familiar objects, put the companion at once into an acquaintance with his Lars and Lemurs, and it was very pleasant to learn what was predestined to be a pretty mythology. Few were the objects and lonely the man, “not a person to speak to within sixteen miles except the minister of Dunscore;” so that books inevitably made his topics. **[continued on following screen]**

He had names of his own for all the matters familiar to his discourse. "Blackwood's" was the "sand magazine;" "Fraser's" nearer approach to possibility of life was the "mud magazine;" a piece of road near by that marked some failed enterprise was the "grave of the last sixpence." When too much praise of any genius annoyed him, he professed hugely to admire the talent shown by his pig. He had spent much time and contrivance in confining the poor beast to one enclosure in his pen, but pig, by great strokes of judgment, had found out how to let a board down, and had foiled him. For all that, he still thought man the most plastic little fellow in the planet, and he liked Nero's death, "*Qualis artifex pereo!*" better than most history. He worships a man that will manifest any truth to him. At one time he had inquired and read a good deal about America. Landor's principle was mere rebellion, and **that** he feared was the American principle. The best thing he knew of that country was, that in it a man can have meat for his labor. He had read in Stewart's book, that when he inquired in a New York hotel for the Boots, he had been shown across the street and had found Mungo in his own house dining on roast turkey.

We talked of books. Plato he does not read, and he disparaged Socrates; and, when pressed, persisted in making Mirabeau a hero. Gibbon he called the splendid bridge from the old world to the new. His own reading had been multifarious. Tristram Shandy was one of his first books after ROBINSON CRUSOE, and Robertson's America an early favorite. Rousseau's CONFESSIONS had discovered to him that he was not a dunce; and it was now ten years since he had learned German, by the advice of a man who told him he would find in that language what he wanted.

He took despairing or satirical views of literature at this moment; recounted the incredible sums paid in one year by the great booksellers for puffing. Hence it comes that no newspaper is trusted now, no books are bought, and the booksellers are on the eve of bankruptcy.

He still returned to English pauperism, the crowded country, the selfish abdication by public men of all that public persons should perform. "Government should direct poor men what to do. Poor Irish folk come wandering over these moors. My dame makes it a rule to give to every son of Adam bread to eat, and supplies his wants to the next house. But here are thousands of acres which might give them all meat, and nobody to bid these poor Irish go to the moor and till it. They burned the stacks, and so found a way to force the rich people to attend to them."

We went out to walk over long hills, and looked at Criffel, then without his cap, and down into Wordsworth's country. There we sat down, and talked of the immortality of the soul. It was not Carlyle's fault that we talked on that topic, for he had the natural disinclination of every nimble spirit to bruise itself against walls, and did not like to place himself where no step can be taken. But he was honest and true, and cognizant of the subtle links that bind ages together, and saw how every event affects all the future. "Christ died on the tree: that built Dunscore kirk yonder: that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence."

He was already turning his eyes towards London with a scholar's appreciation. London is the heart of the world, he said, wonderful only from the mass of human beings. He liked the huge machine. Each keeps its own round. The baker's boy brings muffins to the window at a fixed hour every day, and that is all the Londoner knows or wishes to know on the subject. But it turned out good men. He named certain individuals, especially one man of letters, his friend, the best mind he knew, whom London had well served.



1833

1833

➔ August 28, Wednesday: Under the India Act, the island of [St. Helena](#) was no longer to be ruled by the Honourable East India Company, but from April 22, 1834, by His Majesty's Government.

### ST. HELENA RECORDS

Subsequent to the passage of the Abolition of the Slave Trade Act by Parliament, British captains who had been being caught continuing in these international business activities had been being fined £100 for every slave found on board their vessel. However, this 1807 law had by no means been effective in halting British participation in the [international slave trade](#) — because, when slavers were in danger of being overtaken by the British navy, their captains could sometimes reduce the fines by having the cargo of blacks shoved off the other side of the vessel, to be dragged under the waves by their chains.

### THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

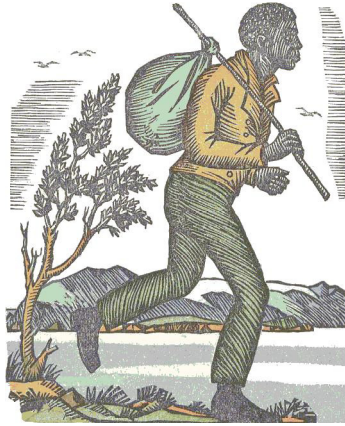




Some involved in the anti-trade campaign found themselves therefore arguing that to end this cruel practice the entire traffic in humans must be outlawed, and in 1823 a new Anti-Slavery Society had been formed. Members had included Friend [Thomas Clarkson](#), Henry Peter Brougham, [William Wilberforce](#), and Thomas

1833


1833

Fowell Buxton. On this day Parliament passed the Slavery Abolition Act. This act [manumitted](#) all slaves anywhere in the British Empire (such as, for instance, in our neighbor to the north, [Canada](#)) under the age of



six years with the British government itself to pay full compensation to the deprived slavemasters. All slaves in the West Indies already above the age of six were by this act to be bound as apprentices for a term of 5 to 7 years (this would be reduced to 2 years), to be followed by their manumission. Said liberation was scheduled to begin on August 1, 1834  with the last batch of slaves to receive their manumission papers by August 1, 1838.  As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these 700,000 black and red workers were to receive some £20,000,000 sterling in compensation. (For instance, the Bishop of Exeter alone, with 665 slaves to manumit, would receive £12,700 in compensation out of the government’s tax revenues.)

ABOLITIONISM  
SLAVERY

 August 29, Thursday: The British Parliament voted to forbid the employment of children under 9 in factories, and to restrict employment of children between the ages of 9 and 13 to 9 hours/day and 48 hours/week. The British Factory Act required that employees under the age of 13 be provided with two hours of schooling per day.

By the Norman “law of constructive treason,” not only was a traitor guilty of his treason but also any and all of that traitor’s blood descendants, for ever. For instance, although there was such a thing as a “widow’s thirds,” by which a widow might support herself by taking dowry possession of a “third part of the lands and tenements of which her husband died solely and beneficially possessed,” the widows of traitors lost all rights of dower. On this day the Parliament allowed that those tracing descent through a traitor might inherit (unless, it was stipulated, that property had been escheated prior to January 1, 1834). On this day the Parliament also enacted, however, a new “Dower Act,” which virtually did away with that “widow’s thirds” thingie, by placing the right of dower entirely at the husband’s disposal.<sup>58</sup>

[Hector Berlioz](#) wrote to Harriet Smithson telling her that he would call on her in two days and that they would go to be married — if she were to refuse, he would leave within the week for Berlin.


Commander [George Back](#) turned toward Fort Reliance, the expedition’s wintering station at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake.

THE FROZEN NORTH

58. It shows to go you — we can’t win for losing.

**1833**


**1833**

 August 30, Friday: The 1st abbey of La Trappe in Normandy had been founded by Rotrou, count of Perche, in 1140. The community of monks there had experienced lapses, and in the 17th Century had come to be referred to as the “brigands of La Trappe,” until in 1662 Bouthillier de la Rancé had established a rule of hard labor, total abstinence from wine, eggs, fish, and all seasonings in a diet consisting merely of bread and vegetables, and silence. During the French revolution some of the brotherhood had found refuge in Switzerland and the monastery at La Trappe had become dilapidated — however, on this day with great pomp a new church and monastery for the Trappists were there consecrated.

[Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in Liverpool from Manchester by train, and there met James Martineau, the brother of [Harriet Martineau](#).

[David Henry Thoreau](#) arrived in Cambridge to study at [Harvard College](#). While an undergraduate during the years 1833-1837, he would room initially with [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) of Lincoln in an upstairs room, 20 Hollis Hall, that had (has) a fine view of the sunsets across the Common.

**THOREAU RESIDENCES**


 August 31, Saturday: The vessel *Amphitrite*, transporting 103 female convicts and a dozen children, was wrecked off Boulogne, France and all perished except for 3 of its 16 crewmen.


Charlotte Young (Long) was [hanged](#) at Gloucester for arson, the final English woman to be executed for a crime other than murder (arson was considered a very serious matter because it involved not only destruction of property but also an inherent risk to life, and even today carries the possibility of what we are terming a “life sentence”).

### OTHER WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING THE YEAR

Date	Name	Age	Place of execution	Crime
30/03	Mary Hunter	47	York Castle	Arson
19/08	Elizabeth Heaffy		Cork	Murder

### FALL 1833

 Fall: [Mormons](#) had been arriving in Jackson County, Missouri since 1831, and by this point their numbers approximated 1,200. When their leader [Joseph Smith](#) denounced [slavery](#), Missouri vigilantes began to drive the Mormons from their homes. In one encounter, a Mormon settler and two vigilantes were killed and, when this incident was ignored by the governor of the territory, the Mormons hired lawyers, among them the law firm of [Alexander William Doniphan](#) and David Rice Atchison.


 Fall: The failed storekeeper Abraham Lincoln, deeply in debt, was appointed as a Deputy County Surveyor for New Salem, [Illinois](#).



1833

1833


 Fall: [Dr. Asa Gray](#) worked for the [Botany](#) professor John Torrey (1796-1873) at his home.


 Fall: Frederick Douglass's owner Thomas Auld, together with two teachers from the white Methodist Sabbath school, burst in upon the 2d session of the Sabbath school which Douglass had been attempting to start up that summer, armed with cudgels, and demanded to know whether Freddy "wanted to be another Nat Turner" (their question was presumably a rhetorical one for which these Christian gentlemen already knew the proper answer).

[NAT TURNER](#)

## SEPTEMBER

 September: Coining of the term "teetotaler" by Richard Turner, a working man of Preston, England, in description of his thorough abstinence from intoxicating beverages.

 September: A [Concord](#) Ornamental Tree Society was formed, to sponsor the planting of trees along the town streets. The 44 members included [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#), Squire Nathan Brooks, Deacon Reuben Brown, Stedman Buttrick, Squire Samuel Hoar, Dr. [Edward Jarvis](#), Abel Moore, the [Reverend Ezra Ripley](#), [Daniel Shattuck](#), [John Thoreau, Senior](#), and [Colonel William Whiting](#).

 September: [Noah Webster](#)'s THE HOLY BIBLE, CONTAINING THE OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS, IN THE COMMON VERSION. WITH AMENDMENTS OF THE LANGUAGE (New Haven: Durrie and Peck). This would in 1987 be reprinted in Grand Rapids by Baker Book House. A conservative revision of the KJV in which obsolete words and constructions were replaced with modern equivalents.<sup>59</sup>

The BIBLE is the chief moral cause of all that is good, and the best corrector of all that is evil in human society; the best book for regulating the temporal concerns of men, and the only book that can serve as an infallible guide to future felicity. With this estimate of its value, I have attempted to render the English version more useful, by correcting a few obvious errors, and removing some obscurities, with objectionable words and phrases; and my earnest prayer is that my labors may not be

59. [Webster](#) was an American nationalist. To continue to rely upon the language of the King James version of the BIBLE, although this language was sublime and beautiful and customary, amounted to loyalty to Great Britain and betrayal of America. By substituting words used in America for words used in England we further our own nationalistic hegemony. The authorities at Yale University quite agreed with this jingoist approach and sponsored his America-first version of the BIBLE; its use quickly spread and it would become the standard text in the Congregational Church.





→ September: Commander [George Back](#) arrived at Fort Reliance, the expedition's wintering station at the eastern end of Great Slave Lake.

(Page 190) The site of our intended dwelling was a level bank of gravel and sand, covered with reindeer moss, shrubs, and trees, and looking more like a park than part of an American forest. It formed the northern extremity of a bay, from twelve to fifteen miles long, and of a breadth varying from three to five miles, named after my friend Mr. M'Cleod. [...]

In a few days, the framework of the house and observatory were up; but, in consequence of the smallness of the trees, and the distance from which they were carried, our progress in filling up the walls was necessarily slow.

THE FROZEN NORTH

→ September: In [Canton, China](#), a flood did much damage to life and property.

At his parents' home in Paris, 49 rue de Verneuil, Alexis de Tocqueville began writing DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA. It was simply incomprehensible to him: how could any of those 18th-Century French thinkers, the Physiocrats, have been so misled as to have had admiration for this American culture — a culture that was featuring an absolutist reign of terror such as they had been observing only in such retarded places as [China](#). From what he had just observed during his travels in the actual place, America, Chinese mentality would need to be characterized as almost as unfortunately situated as the systematically circumscribed American mentality! When he wrote:

I know of no country in which there is so little true independence of mind and freedom of discussion as in America.



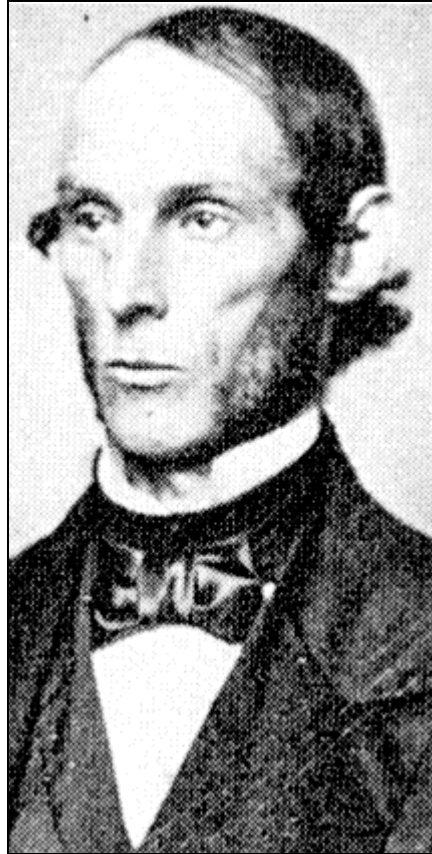
— obviously, what he intended by “no country” was, leaving aside places of great barbarism such as [China](#), no nation that really counted — no **Western** nation, no **civilized** nation. For it was clear to him that the minds of the USers he had been directly observing were approximately as terribly circumscribed and straited as, according to accounts of visiting Westerners which he had perused, the minds of the terrorized Chinese populace.

1833

1833



September: [Jones Very](#) was accepted as a student at [Harvard College](#), skipping the Freshman year due to his age and preparatory work. Within a couple of weeks of his matriculation, he had paid a \$2.<sup>00</sup> entrance fee and been recognized as a member of the "[Institute of 1770.](#)"



1833

1833

→ September: By an Act of Parliament [St. Helena](#) Island and all other property of the East India Company was transferred to The Crown of England.



A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Alerta*, master A. Ferreira, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at the port of Havana, Cuba with a cargo of 760 [enslaved](#) Africans.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

→ September 1, Sunday: An excerpt from a letter from Caroline Downes Brooks to her remote stepmother Mary Merrick Brooks:

*PS. My Dear Mother, I have always noticed when any thing happens with me and George or the girls, that you think that I do not care any thing about you, because I have been told that you are not my own mother, but it is very different. I have never known any other mother, therefore I know no difference. There has been very little told me about her, therefore why should I have such a detestation of you, because you are not my mother, when I knew no other. I certainly do not think my Dear Mother that I spite you, as you say, think of it how horrid. I am sure that your daughter shall not be guilty of such injustice. Forgive me past injuries and be assured you shall ever after have a [sic] affectionate and dutiful daughter, in your own Caroline.*

At [Harvard College](#), [David Henry Thoreau](#) enrolled for freshman classes in Greek, Latin, Mathematics, and History.

1833

1833

→ September 3, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), THE LIFE OF [ERASMUS](#); WITH HISTORICAL REMARKS ON THE STATE OF LITERATURE BETWEEN THE 10TH AND 16TH CENTURIES (London: J. Murray, 1825).



LIFE OF ERASMUS



1833

1833

(Disambiguation: The [Charles Butler](#) who was the author of this was not the New York lawyer Charles Butler but the English Catholic barrister Charles Butler.)



September 3, Tuesday: Benjamin Henry Day had moved from Springfield MA, where he had worked as a printer for the daily [Republican](#) newspaper, to New-York. He was 20 years of age. He needed to attract customers to his new printing business. On this day his 1-cent newspaper, [The Sun](#), began to be sold on the streets of New-York. (The newspapers of that era typically had been selling for six cents and were typically more oriented toward the business-minded. His audience was the employee going to or from work. It was the introduction of the steam printing press that was allowing the cost of mass-circulation gazettes to drop from about 6 cents to a penny.)



1833

1833

→ September 4, Wednesday: Barney Flaherty, a 10-year-old, was hired as the 1st paper boy (the 1st, that is, still known to history by a name).

Publication of the Fantasia op.123 for piano and the Fantasia on Themes from Mozart's The Marriage of Figaro op.124 for piano by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

[Waldo Emerson](#) sailed on the *New York* from Liverpool to New-York.

At [Harvard College](#), [David Henry Thoreau](#) purchased his own copy of [Virgil](#), now in the Special Collections department of the Minneapolis Public Library, and inscribed it "D.H. Thoreau, Hollis 20, Sept. 4th."



→ September 5, Thursday: "I wish to tune my quiv'ring lyre," a glee to words of Anacreon translated by Byron, was performed for the initial time, in a contest at the Manchester Gentlemen's Glee Club (the author, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, would win the contest).

→ September 6, Friday: At [Harvard College](#), [David Henry Thoreau](#) purchased his volume of [Cicero's DE ORATORE](#).<sup>60</sup>

D H Thoreau's  
Hollis Co  
Sept 4<sup>th</sup>

60. In place of the unknown edition of [Cicero's DE ORATORE](#) used by college student [Thoreau](#), I would propose accessing the edition now made available on the internet by Project Gutenberg:

**CICERO'S DE ORATORE**

*P. VIRGILII AENEIDOS LIB. III. 160*

Nec longo distant cursu: modo Juppiter adfit,  
Tertia lux classem Cretæis sistet in oris.


- Sic fatus, meritos aris maclavit honores,  
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo;  
120 Nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.  
Fama volat, pulsum regnis cessisse paternis  
Idomenea ducem, defertaque litora Cretæ;  
Hoste vacare domos, sedesque astare relictas.  
Linquimus Ortygiæ portus, pelagoque volamus:  
125 Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyfam,  
Olearon, niveamque Paron, sparsasque per æquor  
Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta confita terris.  
Nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor:  
Hortantur focii, Cretam, proavosque petamus.  
130 Prosequitur furgens a puppi ventus euntes;  
Et tandem antiquis Curetum allabimur oris.  
Ergo avidus muros optatæ molior urbis;  
Pergameamque voco: et lætam cognomine gentem  
Hortor amare focos, arcemque attollere tectis.  
135 Jamque fere sicco subductæ litore puppes:  
Connubiis, arvisque novis operata juvenus:  
Jura domosque dabam: subito quum tabida membris,  
Corrupto cœli tractu, miserandaque venit  
Arboribusque fatisque lues, et lethifer annus.  
140 Linquebant dulces animas, aut ægra trahebant  
Corpora: tum steriles exurere Sirius agros,  
Arebant herbæ, et victum seges ægra negabat.  
Rursus ad oraclum Ortygiæ, Phœbumque, remenso  
Hortatur pater ire mari, veniamque precari:  
145 Quem fessis finem rebus ferat: unde laborum  
Tentare auxilium jubeat: quo vertere cursus.







1833

1833


 September 7, Saturday: Hannah More died.

The *Royal William* arrived in Gravesend from Pictou, Nova Scotia, having made itself the 1st ship to cross the Atlantic Ocean entirely under auxiliary steam power. It had carried a necessarily large quantity of coal and a necessarily small payload of passengers (7).

 September 8, Sunday: [Charles Darwin](#) set off on horseback toward Buenos Aires, Argentina.

 September 9, Monday: The Wood family began presenting English-language opera in New-York.

“Torquato Tasso,” a melodramma by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Ferretti, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Valle, Rome, to a warm reception.

 September 11, Wednesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [Lieut. Francis Hall](#), [14th Light Dragoons, H.P.](#)'s TRAVELS IN CANADA, AND THE UNITED STATES, IN 1816 AND 1817 (Boston: Wells and Lilly).<sup>61</sup>

“There is no Frigate like a Book  
To take us Lands away”  
– Emily Dickinson

(Disambiguation: This traveler is neither the Captain Charles Francis Hall who would explore in the Arctic, nor the American businessman Francis Hall who in a later timeframe would relocate to exotic Japan.)

## TRAVELS IN CANADA AND US

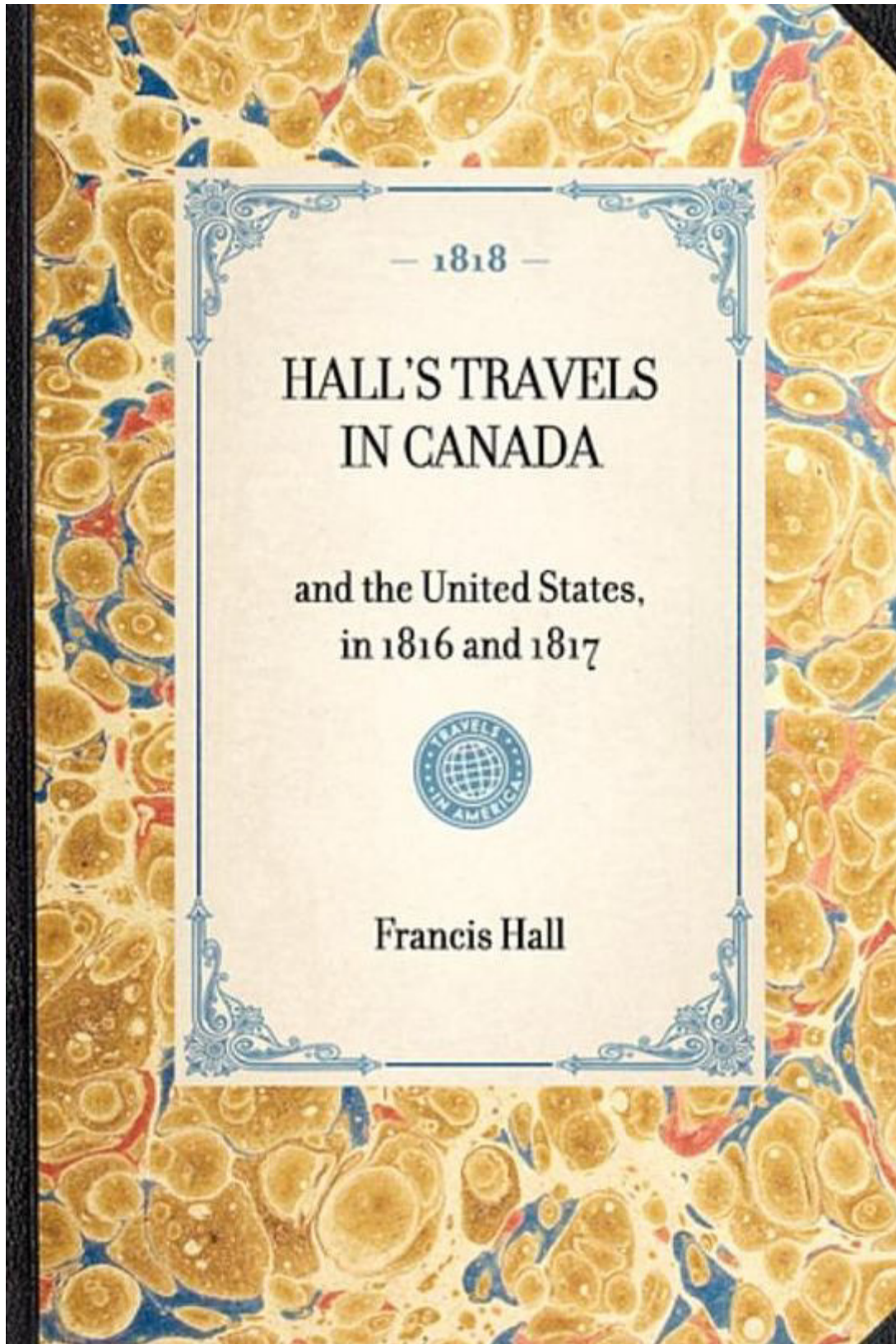
C.G. Jarvis wrote Charles Babbage to complain in anticipation that, although the contractor Joseph Clement was presumably going to bask in all the glory upon the success of the Calculational Engine, a portion of this glory belonged to him as the draughtsman employee who was working behind the scenes.

 September 13, Friday: [Warren Colburn](#) died in Lowell, Massachusetts.

An old bombard was sold for scrap metal at Agra, [India](#) near the Taj Mahal. The gun had been composed of 67,618 pounds of copper and tin in the ratio of 9 to 1 and had heaved 22-inch stones weighing about 567 pounds. It was covered all over with inscriptions from the Koran and had probably been cast during the period of Akbar the Great (16th Century) or Shahjahan (17th Century).<sup>62</sup>

61. As always, a caveat: There were many editions of some of these works which Thoreau consulted, and since I do not presently know which edition it was that he consulted, I have tried to standardize by listing the edition and year in which the material had **initially** become available.

62. There is an urban legend that this bombard had heaved balls of cast iron weighing 1,500 pounds and was the largest ever made. In fact, however, cast iron was not used in bombards of this size and a number of those that helped capture Constantinople in 1453 had been able to heave stones 30 inches in diameter.



1833

1833



September 18, Wednesday: Meeting in Munchengratz, Bohemia, Tsar Nikolai of Russia and Prince von Metternich of Austria agreed to prop up the Ottoman Empire — or if it collapsed, to partition it.

[David Henry Thoreau](#) also obtained from [Harvard Library](#) ([Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) checked it out for him), A NEW HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND REIGN OF THE CZAR [PETER THE GREAT](#), EMPEROR OF ALL [RUSSIA](#), AND FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY..., by [John Bancks](#) (Montpelier, Vermont: Printed by Wright & Sibley, for P. Merrifield, & co., Windsor, Vermont, 1811).

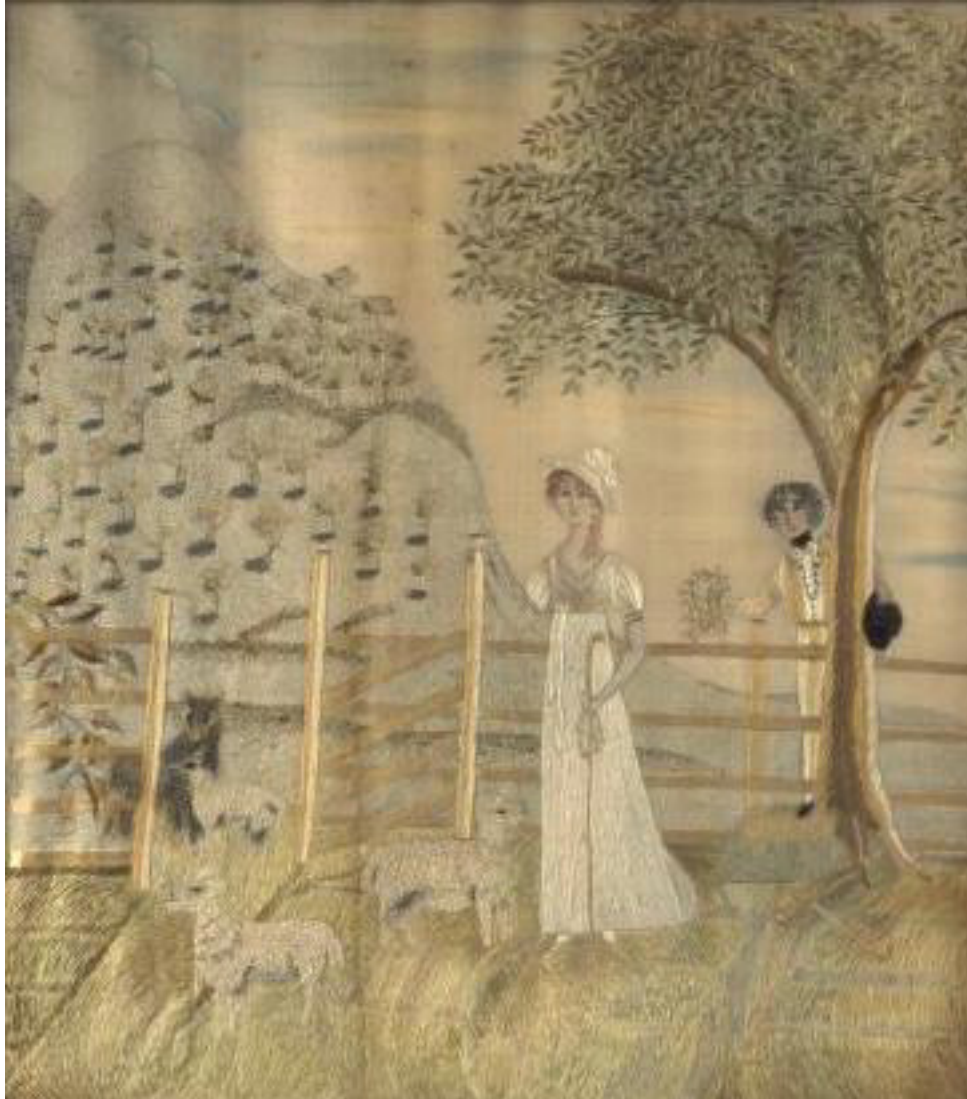


(Unfortunately, I cannot show you that American edition, containing beside the biographical material also a chronology of Russian history, having now in electronic form by way of Google Books only the edition originally produced in England that is lacking in this chronological material about the general history of Russia.)

**JOHN BANCKS'S PETER**



[Thoreau](#) also checked out Volume I of MORAL TALES, TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH (London: Printed for Cadell, and Davies, Longman and Rees, R. Baldwin, J. Cuthell, J. Hookham, Lackington, Allen, and Co. and Vernor and Hood, by J. Cundee, Ivy-Lane, Newgate-Street, 1800). This volume of *CONTES MORAUX* by M. Jean François Marmontel (1723-1799) consists of an English translation of the play *Annette et Lubin* that Marmontel had staged in 1766 about a forbidden love, retitled “The Shepherdess of the Alps.” The grief-stricken girl, after digging with her bare hands the grave of her lover the Count D’Orestan, has embraced a life of voluntary simplicity as a shepherdess. Eventually she finds happiness in the arms of another young French nobleman who, like her, has been living low in the Alps. Here is an image after this provocative story, created by Emily Trowbridge of Deerfield, Massachusetts sewing on cloth:



September 19, Thursday: [Charles Darwin](#) visited Guardia del Monte, Argentina.

Mary Jemison, white woman of the Genesee, died at Buffalo Creek Reservation in her early 90s.

Publication of 24 Etudes op.125 for piano by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.




1833

1833

 September 20, Friday: [Charles Darwin](#) rode into Buenos Aires.

 September 22, Sunday: Queen Maria of Portugal returned to Lisbon.


 September 23, Monday: Maria II was once again proclaimed Queen of Portugal under the regency of her father, Dom Pedro.

The Daily Sun of New-York, 1st of the American “penny papers.”

With the assistance of Christ Jesus, [Henry C. Wright](#) revealed in his private journal, he had won his victory over the vice of self-onanism (what we know under the rubric “[masturbation](#)”). What was the result of “THE UNNATURAL AND MONSTROUS EXPENDITURE OF THE SEXUAL ELEMENT, FOR MERE SENSUAL GRATIFICATION?”

Failure in business, without any apparent cause; imbecility and folly in plans and purposes, and indecision in execution, where strength, wisdom and promptitude were expected; dyspepsia, rheumatism, gout, apoplexy, paralysis, [consumption](#) and disease ... and a premature and agonizing death, where a healthy, vigorous youth gave promise of a long life...; a morose and selfish temper, where, in youth, a loving and manly spirit reigned; domestic circles converted into scenes of discontent, strife, cruelty and blood...; women, whose girlhoods were seasons of health, beauty and joyous life and activity, become prematurely nervous, fretful, sickly, helpless and deformed; ... children ... dead under five years of age...; the many premature births; the sufferings and deaths in child-birth; the inconceivable amount and variety of disease and suffering peculiar to the female organism; idiots, born of intellectual parents; insane, born of the sane; diseased and deformed, born of the healthy and beautiful; hating, revengeful and bloody spirits, born of the loving, the forgiving, and the gentle; – these and many other facts connected with human life, are ever before us, and ever marvellous.

On the contrary, the retention of the semen, “except for offspring,” was “deep, vitalizing, ennobling, and intensely joyous and elevating.”<sup>63</sup>

 September 25, Wednesday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) arrives in Dusseldorf to take up his position as music director.

[David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [Ross Cox](#)’s ADVENTURES ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER, INCLUDING THE NARRATIVE OF A RESIDENCE OF SIX YEARS ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS, AMONG VARIOUS TRIBES OF INDIANS HITHERTO UNKNOWN: TOGETHER WITH A JOURNEY ACROSS THE AMERICAN CONTINENT, which had been published in the previous year.

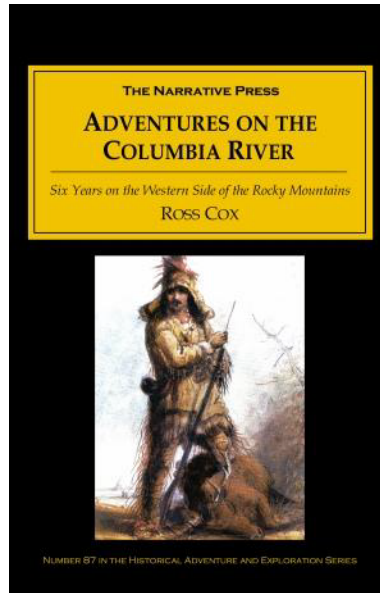
“There is no Frigate like a Book  
To take us Lands away”  
– Emily Dickinson

63. There’s this beach-front property in Arizona....

1833

1833

Since there is no Frigate like the Internet, to take us Lands away, perhaps you will desire to read what Thoreau read, at <<http://www.1st-hand-history.org/Cox/album1.html>>.



Thoreau also checked out Superintendent of Indian Affairs Thomas Loraine McKenney's SKETCHES OF A TOUR TO THE LAKES, OF THE CHARACTER AND CUSTOMS OF THE CHIPPEWAY INDIANS, AND OF INCIDENTS

1833

1833

CONNECTED WITH THE TREATY OF FOND DU LAC (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1827).<sup>64</sup>




September 26, Thursday: A liberal constitution was granted to Hanover by King Wilhelm.

64. As always, a caveat: There were many editions of some of these works which Thoreau consulted, and since I do not presently know which edition it was that he consulted, I have tried to standardize by listing the edition and year in which the material had **first** become available.


1833

1833

 September 27, Friday: [Charles Darwin](#) rode to Santa Fe.

Rammohan Roy died at Stapleton Hill near Bristol, England. His inscription, which would be placed on a mausoleum in the shape of a Hindu temple in 1872, would be as follows:

**Beneath this stone rests the remains of Raja Rammohun Roy Bahadoor. A conscientious and steadfast believer in the unity of the Godhead; He consecrated his life with entire devotion to the worship of the divine Spirit alone. To great natural talents he united thorough mastery of many languages, and early distinguished himself as one of the greatest scholars of his day. His unwearied labours to promote the social, moral, and physical condition of the people of India, his earnest endeavours to suppress idolatry and the rite of suttee, and his constant zealous advocacy of whatever tended to advance the glory of God and the welfare of man, live in the grateful remembrance of his countrymen. This tablet records the sorrow and pride with which his memory is cherished by his descendants. He was born in Radhanagore, in Bengal, in 1774, and died at Bristol, September 27th, 1833.**

 September 28, Saturday: On this day and the following one [Henry C. Wright](#) was deciding to leave behind him not only [masturbation](#) but also, shudder, fiction. Having perused [Sir Walter Scott](#)'s SCOTTISH CHIEFS he was concluding that such tale-spinning was "pernicious" (he would later visit Abbotsford and Scott's gravesite there, and his summation would be that despite the manner in which other tourists treated this as if it were some sort of shrine, the reputation which this tale-spinner Scott had left behind was an entirely insignificant one):

I believe [Shakespear (*sic*) & Scott] have ruined many souls. WOULD  
God they had never seen the light of day & that I had more



strength to resist temptation.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford

→ September 29, Sunday: King Fernando VII of Spain died in Madrid and was succeeded by his 3-year-old daughter Isabella II under the regency of her mother Maria Cristina of Bourbon-Two Sicilies (an ideological civil war would begin in Spain with liberals taking control of the government and supporters of her uncle Don Carlos, Conde de Molina beginning to organize an armed revolt).

There was a serious collision in Canada, between civilians and garrison soldiers at Montréal.

OCTOBER

→ October: Henry Clay visited [Providence, Rhode Island](#)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

1833

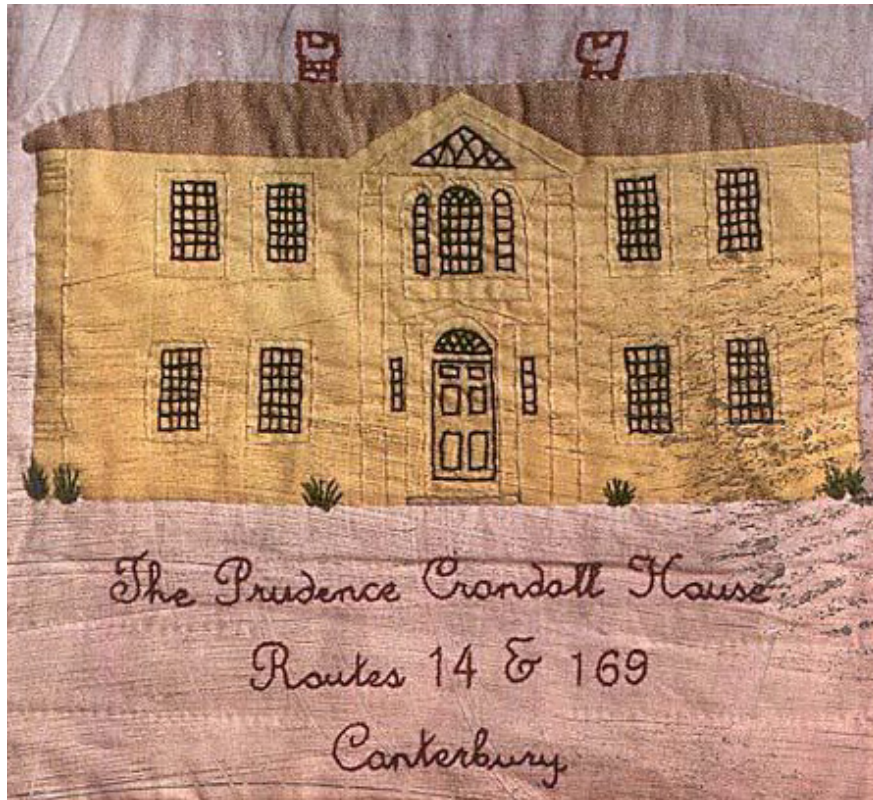
1833

→ October: [Prudence Crandall](#) was retried, before Superior Court of Windham County, Connecticut, and this time she was convicted of the offense of having continued her new school for “young ladies and little misses of color” some of whom were from out of state, in violation of the recently enacted legislation that any school with out of state students must have secured the permission of the town fathers of the town within which it is located. Her lawyers of course appealed this conviction, which would be reversed.



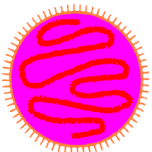
1833

1833




- ➡ October: The government of Mexico declared a plan to secularize the missions of *Alta California*. Governor José Figueroa announced a plan to emancipate the natives in the custody of the Franciscans of Mission San Juan Capistrano and recognize them as a *pueblo*, a civilian town, near the site. He commented, further, that as far as he was concerned the *Juaneños* were quite as civilized and quite as intelligent as the local white folk.<sup>65</sup>
- ➡ October: In New-York, the circulation of Benjamin Henry Day's new penny Sun newspaper reached 2,000.
- ➡ October: William Henry Fox Talbot, on honeymoon on the shore of Lago di Como, was making sketches by the use of Wollaston's *camera lucida* when it occurred to him that by the use of a *camera obscura* apparatus fitted with a glass lens, it might be "possible to cause these natural images to imprint themselves durably, and remain fixed upon the paper!" Silver nitrate might do the trick, he supposed, if its reaction to light turned out not to be too slow....
- ➡ October: The Tappanites were at the forefront in the formation of the New-York Antislavery Society. In the constitution of this society was a pledge never to seek to vindicate the rights of the oppressed "by resorting to physical force": "We have no force but the force of truth."

65. In an entirely unrelated bit of news, on the East Coast of the continent during this period a [Harvard College](#) youth named [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was being forced, by failing eyesight following [measles](#) at the beginning of his junior year, to interrupt his studies.



1833

1833

 October 1, Tuesday: On the Atlantic coast of South America, [Charles Darwin](#) arrived at Rio Tercero, Argentina.

The Reverend [George Waddington](#) was made commissary and official of the prebend of Masham.

[Felix Mendelssohn](#) entered upon duties as the director of music in Dusseldorf. His duties would include directing the choral and orchestral societies of the city, and music for Catholic services.

In the frozen northlands of Canada, here is Commander [George Back](#).



Starving Indians continued to arrive from every point of the compass, declaring that the animals had left the Barren Lands where they had hitherto been accustomed to feed at this season; and that the calamity was not confined to the Yellow Knives, but that the Chipewyans also were as forlorn and destitute as themselves. There is no reasoning with a hungry belly, that I am acquainted with.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)



1833

1833



October 2, Wednesday: [William Lloyd Garrison](#), docking at New-York from England, found himself unrecognized in the midst of a proslavery mob marching from Tammany Hall toward an abolitionist meeting which the mob intended to disrupt. Despite this threat the abolitionists, meeting in the Chatham Street Chapel, did manage to form a New York Anti-Slavery Society — before making good their escape.



*Song of the Abolitionist.*  
*Song for the Times.*

Air - *And Lady Syne*

I.

I am an abolitionist!  
 I glory in the name;  
 Though now by Slavery's minions hiss'd,  
 And covered o'er with shame:  
 It is a spell of light and power -  
 The watchword of the free: -  
 Who spurns it in this trial-hour,  
 A craven soul is he!

II.

I am an abolitionist!  
 Then urge me not to pause;  
 For joyfully do I enlist  
 In Freedom's sacred cause:  
 A nobler strife the world ne'er saw,  
 From enslav'd to disenthral;  
 I am a soldier for the war,  
 Whatever may befall!

III.

I am an abolitionist -  
 Oppression's deadly foe;



1833

1833

→ October 2, Wednesday: [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) and A.G. Peabody checked out for [David Henry Thoreau](#), from [Harvard Library](#), Volumes I and II of an unidentified work labeled “France” and “2.4.7.”

Exploring South America, [Charles Darwin](#) rode through Corunda to Santa Fe, Argentina.

→ October 3, Thursday: [Hector Berlioz](#) got married with Harriet Constance Smithson, an actress, in the chapel of the British embassy in Paris. Franz Liszt was a witness as were Ferdinand Hiller and [Heinrich Heine](#). The service was in both English and French to accommodate the happy couple, who lacked fluency in each other’s languages.

→ October 5, Saturday: [Charles Darwin](#) crossed the Parana River to Santa Fe Bajada, Argentina.

→ October 6, Sunday: [Harvard College](#) students [David Henry Thoreau](#) and [Charles Stearns Wheeler](#) cut their morning and evening mandatory chapel services in order to hike to [Concord](#). Thoreau’s shoes blistered his feet so badly that he walked the last two miles in his stockings.<sup>66</sup>

→ October 7, Monday: George Stephenson filed the initial patent for a high-speed steam locomotive.

[Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in New-York harbor aboard the *New York*.



The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) first met Nathaniel Peabody Rogers in New Hampshire. (On one overcast day this month, I don’t know whether before or after this encounter with the editor Rogers, the Reverend Wright was traveling through the New Hampshire mountains when he was caught in a rainstorm. The thought crossed his mind that were **he** the one who was in charge of this universe, rather than God Almighty, he would make a better job of it. The thought drove him to his knees in the mud, as he prayed for forgiveness. Nothing, no sin, was worse than the “dreadful thought” of becoming God’s substitute!)

66. There is a “footnote” to this that is seldom mentioned. Without shoes to stabilize his feet, Henry must have been limping rather badly! (The big toe is a rather large component of a normal stride, and normally he kept a rag stuffed down into the toe of his right shoe to make up in part for the right big toe he had chopped off with the kindling hatchet during his early childhood.)



1833

1833

The French physician Joseph-Honor-Simon Beau began daily observations of his epileptic patients in order to determine whether there was a correlation between their seizures and meteorological events. By a series of observations that would continue until November 20, 1833 he would be able to establish that epilepsy was in fact not related in any manner to weather conditions. This was good to know (other studies would establish that epileptic seizures were similarly quite independent of the various phases of the moon).<sup>67</sup>

PSYCHOLOGY

Margaret Fox of the Spiritualist [Fox Sisters](#) was born near Bath, New Brunswick in [Canada](#), on this day and probably in this year (because Margaret and Catherine were promoted as child prodigies their ages have frequently been understated, but a deposition sworn by the mother at the time that the rappings began in 1848 stated that Margaret was 15).<sup>68</sup>



October 9, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) arrived in Boston.

At some point [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal about this period:

*4th day 9th of 10th M 1833 / Set out from the Institution to go to [New Bedford](#) & from thence to [Newport](#) Back to [Providence](#) – Took the Steam Boat for Fall River but it being nearly night when I got there concluded to take tea & lodge at Edmond Chases, where I found a pretty large social circle, who to Meet was very Pleasant*

*Next Morning his son Edmond took me over to [New Bedford](#) in season to attend An adjournment of their Moy [Monthly] Meeting for the purpose of liberating Robert S Holloway & Abby Taber to consummate their Marriage for which purpose they appointed a Meeting at 3 OC the Next day. –*

*10 M 11 – This Afternoon attended the Meeting in which Robert & Abby Married – it was a very solid solemn & well conducted Meeting & Joseph Davis preached (I thought) with good Authority The Wedding which I also attended was conducted in a manner which reflected great credit on the parties concerned, –on 7th day My Kind & affectionate friend Joseph Tillinghast at whose House I lodged sent his Carryall & Smith Holloway brother to Robert over to my dear friend Edward Wings in [Tiverton](#), where I lodged & met a very kind reception. – Attended Meeting on First day at [Tiverton](#) with Edw & Elizabeth which was small but some favour experienced. – I intended to have come on to the Island After Meeting but the Storm of Wind & Rian was so great & the Sea broke so tremendously over the Stone Bridge that I concluded to return to Edwards & on Second day Morning 14th of 10 M he brought me to the Bridge from his house – I walked across it & ferry Neck, & when I got up into the Main Road found a carriage returning from [Bristol](#) Ferry, which brought me into [Newport](#). & 3rd day the 15th of 10 M Robert Holloway & his wife Abby went on Board the Steam Boat for NYork on their way to Ohio – I parted with them in tender & Affectionate feelings on the Long Wharf where the boat lay*

*On the 16th I got on board the Steam Boat & returned to*

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

68. Different sources give one daughter's name as Margaret, Margaretta, Maggie, and Maggy and the other's as Catherine, Katherine, Kate, Katty, Katie, and Cathie.


*Providence in good season for our Meeting at the Institution. –*

*I found most of my friends in Newport pretty well excepting Our dear Sister Ruth Rodman who is in a poor State of health from a complaint in her Arm & breast which is feared will prove of a Cancerous nature. –*

*On my return recd a very good letter from Our dear John –*

 October 12, Saturday: Charles Darwin began his return to Buenos Aires.

 October 13, Monday: Felix Mendelssohn performed his 1st official duty as music director in Dusseldorf, by conducting a mass written by Franz Joseph Haydn.


 October 15, Tuesday: Meeting in Berlin, the rulers of Austria, Prussia, and Russia agreed to the following three principles:

- intervention to support absolutism
- mutual aid in the event of war
- preservation of the Ottoman Empire

 October 17, Thursday: John Milton Cheney got married with Louisa P. Hosmer.

The death of Robert Schumann's sister-in-law Rosalie precipitated an acute anxiety attack through this night. "I was seized by an idee fixe: the fear of losing my mind." Later, when seeking medical advice, he would be advised "Find yourself a woman; she'll cure you in no time."

Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka and Fedor Gedeonov departed from Vienna heading toward Prague.

 October 18, Friday: John Thoreau, Jr. wrote to George Luther Stearns of Woburn, Massachusetts. He mentioned that his brother David Henry Thoreau and his brother's roommate, Charles Stearns Wheeler, had hiked from Harvard College in Cambridge out to Concord a week before, and that his brother's shoes had given him blisters, and that he had been forced to hobble the last couple of miles into Concord in his stocking feet. This must have been rather difficult for Henry, because as we know, he had lost his right big toe in a childhood accident. He would have needed to wear shoes of stiff leather, and keep a piece of cloth carefully wadded into the toe of his right shoe, in order to compensate for that missing piece of his foot. Without such a corrective appliance, there would have been a pronounced imbalance in Thoreau's stride.

1833

1833

October 19, Saturday: In Quito, capital of the new nation of Ecuador (which because of the almost entire absence of either water-closets or privies, he had characterized as “one of the filthiest capitals in Christendom”), due to yet another of the upheavals that had become routine since independence from Colombia — Colonel [Francis Hall](#), plant collector, would not survive to the dawn.<sup>69</sup>



PLANTS



October 20, Sunday: [Charles Darwin](#) reached the mouth of the Parana River.

Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka and Fedor Gedeonov left Prague for Berlin, where they would arrive in a few days.

October 21, Monday: [Alfred Bernhard Nobel](#) was born in Stockholm, Sweden.



69. *El cadáver ensangrentado del coronel Francis Hall amaneció colgado de uno de los postes de la plaza de San Francisco el 20 de octubre de 1833. Todavía no se sabe si el coronel británico murió lanceado –como se estilaba a la época– o abaleado, de la forma más tradicional. Lo que se conoce con certeza es que Hall murió por conspirador y por defender la libertad de expresión en el recientemente independizado Ecuador.*



➡ October 23, Wednesday: [Henry Root Colman](#) spoke in Greenfield, Massachusetts before a local agricultural society. His address would be printed by local publishers Phelps and Ingersoll as “An Address Delivered Before the Hampshire, Franklin & Hampden Agricultural Society; Delivered in Greenfield, Oct. 23, 1833.”

➡ October 24, Thursday: [Horatio Wood](#) was ordained as an evangelist at Portsmouth, New Hampshire.

Alexandros Nikolaou Mavrokordatos replaced Spyridon Ioannou Trikoupis as President of the Ministerial Council of Greece.


➡ October 28, Monday: Durham University opened.






1833

1833


 October 29, Tuesday: The 1st college fraternity was founded.

 October 31, Thursday: A force of the US Navy went ashore at Buenos Aires, Argentina to protect the interests of the United States and other nations during an insurrection (until November 15th).

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)

The Reverend Elijah Demond, who had in the previous year been dismissed as minister at Lincoln, was installed as minister in Holliston.

## NOVEMBER

 November: The 1st of the eight installments of [Thomas Carlyle](#)'s SARTOR RESARTUS appeared in [Fraser's Magazine](#). Since this wasn't readily available in Boston, [Waldo Emerson](#) would need to take out a subscription in order to read his new friend's work.

The several chapters were thankfully received, as they came out, and now we find it impossible to say which was best; perhaps each was best in its turn. They do not require to be remembered by chapters—that is a merit—but are rather remembered as a well-known strain, reviving from time to time, when it has nearly died away, and always inspiring us to worthier and more persistent endeavors.

"The first purpose of Clothes, as our Professor imagines, was not warmth or decency, but ornament."

"He who first shortened the labour of Copyists by device of Movable Types was disbanding hired Armies, and cashiering most Kings and Senates, and creating a whole new Democratic world: he had invented the Art of Printing."

[TYPE](#)

1833



1833



November: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Maria da Gloria*, master J.G. Cordonig, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 433 [enslaved](#) Africans, arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Meanwhile another slaver flying that flag, the *Atrevida*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was delivering a cargo of 400 enslaved Africans at Bahia, Brazil. A slaver flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Andaluz*, master F. Garcia, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving during this month in Cuban waters.

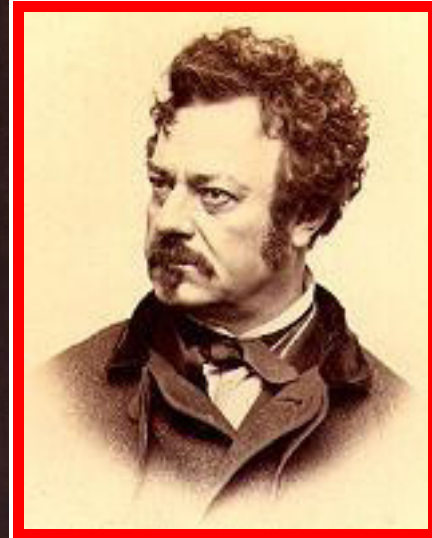


THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

1833

1833

November: [Edwin Forrest](#) played the lead in [John Augustus Stone](#)'s *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE WAMPANOAGS in [Boston](#).



Tiiltation was created among the white majority of the audience by the presence of a delegation of *Abenaki* (*Penobscot*). These men had come down from Maine to petition that they be allowed to create an independent

tribal government on their remaining tribal lands.<sup>70</sup>



METAMORA

“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”  
WAMPANOAG



The Penobscots’ claims were largely ignored, but while the delegation was spurned by the State House, it was welcomed in the theater district. Instead of regaining their land, the Penobscots were sent on a short walk across Boston Common to attend a performance of *METAMORA* at the Tremont Street Theater.



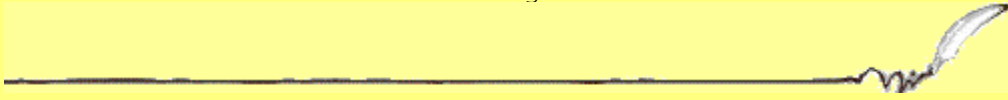
One may wonder how much excitement was being created in *Concord* by the fact that here was this most famous actor, Forrest, playing in downtown Boston in a prizewinning play written about famous local events by Stone, a favorite son of the town!<sup>71</sup>

70. Here the actor *Edwin Forrest* is posing in his sachem stage costume in the studio of Mathew B. Brady in about 1860 in such manner as to minimize the size of his calves.

71. (Of course, after the fact, with *John Augustus Stone* having committed suicide later and all that, one can understand how it came about that he has now been written entirely out of the town’s history.)

→ November 2, Saturday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*Nature is a language, and every new fact that we learn is a new word; but rightly seen, taken all together, it is not merely a language, but the language put together into a most significant and universal book. I wish to learn the language, not that I may learn a new set of nouns and verbs, but that I may read the great book which is written in that tongue.*



The waters of the Thames River passing through [London](#) were extraordinarily high (but not as high as they had been on February 16, 1736 when it had been necessary to use boats to convey counsel from Westminster Hall to their carriages, or as they would be on January 29, 1834 when it would be necessary to have watermen to convey Londoners from street to street).

→ November 5, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured at Boston’s Masonic Temple before the Natural History Society on “The Uses of Natural History,” suggesting that God had generously provided the physical energy in the world to us for our use, and that it is through our growing scientific knowledge of the laws of nature that we will return to our rightful place in the system of being, which is that of master. He suggested that perhaps, one day, after we humans have managed to grasp within our minds the whole sense of “all this outward universe,” after the universe of seeming “hath been comprehended and engraved forever in the eternal thoughts of the human mind,” all of this outward seeming “shall one day disappear.” (This would be printed in EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 5-26.)

On this day, on the frigid boreal slope of Canada, the expedition of Commander [George Back](#) moved from its tents into the relative warmth and security of the habitation they had been constructing.

(Page 205) On the 5th of November, we had the pleasure of changing our cold tents for the comparative comfort of the house, which, like most of those in this country, was constructed of a framework, filled up with logs let into grooves, and closely plastered with a cement composed of common clay and sand. The roof was formed of a number of single slabs, extending slantingly from the ridge pole to the eaves; and the whole was rendered tolerably tight by a mixture of dry grass, clay, and sand, which was beat down between the slabs, and subsequently coated over with a thin layer of mud. The house was fifty feet long and thirty broad;...

**THE FROZEN NORTH**

→ November 6: The limits of the town of [Chicago](#) were extended to an area of seven-eighths of a mile. Are you impressed yet?

→ November 8, Friday: Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka began his studies with the theorist Siegfried Dehn in Berlin: “There was no doubt that I am more indebted to Dehn than to any other of my masters.”





1833

1833

HISTORY OF RR



November 11, Monday: A totally unanticipatable event occurred on the railroad tracks near Hightstown, New Jersey. A train traveling at the high speed of 25 miles per hour broke an axle and derailed. Although ex-President John Quincy Adams was uninjured, Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt was thrown down a steep embankment and one of his broken ribs punctured his lung.<sup>72</sup> Several other passengers were injured who did not happen to be rich or famous and whose names have therefore of course been forgotten and one of them died. This was the first passenger railroad wreck in the history of the United States and the first passenger fatality.<sup>73</sup>

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

The Reverend Joshua Barrett was dismissed by the Second Congregational Church in Plymouth. He would relocate to Westford.



November 12, Tuesday: Alyeksandr Porfiriyevich Borodin was born in St. Petersburg, an illegitimate son of Prince Luka Stepanovich Gedianov (Gedianishvili) by Avdotya Konstantinovna Antonova, daughter of a soldier from Narva. According to common practice the infant was registered as the son of one of the Prince's serfs, Porfiry Ionovich Borodin.

This would be the night of the birth of meteor astronomy. With [David Henry Thoreau](#) 16 years old and [John Shepard Keyes](#) 12 years old, a spectacular [meteor](#) shower during the wee smalls of the early morning hours was witnessed by numerous observers at various places on the eastern seaboard of the North American continent. For four hours the pre-dawn sky was lit with meteors. We don't know that Henry himself saw it; presumably he was asleep, although there were newspaper reports that many people were awakened by the flashes of light cast on the walls of dark bedrooms by the fireballs, and in the towns many people were awakened by the shouts and cries of neighbors. Keyes would report that:

I slept in a chamber with an easterly window and happening by some unusual circumstance to be waked very early perhaps by the flashes of light I laid in bed for an hour or two watching and trying to count the bright streams of fire that shot so incessantly and madly across the sky. At last thoroughly roused by the sight I got up and pulling the bed clothes over my shoulders sat at the window till the day light hid the display. In my ignorance of the cause I almost concluded that the stars set or went out like that every morning and wondered I had never been told of it or seen it before. On coming down to breakfast I told the family that I saw hundreds of shooting stars that morning and was soundly taken to task for exaggeration, and scolded so that I held my tongue about it. But in a day or two when the accounts were in all the papers and everybodys mouth, I had an even worse scolding for not calling up the others to see the sight. It was grand splendid and magnificent beyond any thing I have ever seen since. The only picture I have ever seen that at all comes up to the scene is the one in the bulky volume of the one hundred memorable events of the first century of the U.S. It literally for all that hour or two rained stars with their long trails of sparks rocket like, in all directions across the heavens, mainly starting from a point in front of my window, and varying in sheer directions and colors to any extent.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

72. For a number of years after this Commodore Vanderbilt would overlook the investment possibilities of and earnings potential of both preferred and common railroad stocks. :-)

73. Who knew but that they would also be the last?



1833

1833

The United States Telegraph of Washington DC suggested that “The strong southern wind of yesterday may have brought a body of electrified air, which, by the coldness of the morning, was caused to discharge its contents towards the earth.” The Charleston Courier suggested that the sun had caused gases to be released from plants recently killed by frost. These gases, the most abundant of which was believed to be hydrogen, “became ignited by electricity or phosphoric particles in the air.” Yale College’s professor of natural philosophy, Denison Olmstead, however, in collecting and collating these various reports, would note that the apparent point of origin for these thousands upon thousands of streaks, regardless of the point of observation, had been a stationary radiant position in the neck of the constellation Leo. (This is why we now term them the Leonids, meaning “children of Leo.”) A historian of Philadelphia would write the following description of the event:

The meteors of the 13th of November, 1833, were the most remarkable ever witnessed. A beholder says, he was sitting alone in a well lighted apartment at 4 AM., when he suddenly saw through the window a shower of sparks falling past it on the outside. He supposed the house was on fire, and rushing to the door, to his extreme amazement, he found the entire atmosphere filled with flakes of fire, (for they fully resembled flakes of snow of a stellated or radiated form) of a pale rose red, seemingly of an inch diameter, falling in a vertical direction, as thick as he ever saw snow! Intermingled with the smaller stars, were a larger kind, equal to one in a hundred of the others, of an intense sapphire blue, seemingly of three to four inches diameter. This shower continued up to broad day light. They were seen all over the United States, and have been variously described, but all agreeing that they surpassed all other known cases.

SKY EVENT

A woodcut of the times, which would be recycled in color as below in Edmund Weiss's 1892 volume *BILDER-ATLAS DER STERNENWELT*, displays the sublime falling-star spectacle as it had been experienced above the magnificent sublime gloom and drifting sublime vapors of the [Niagara Falls](#).<sup>74</sup>

LEONID METEOR SHOWER



The Reverend [William Miller](#) and his followers interpreted these falling stars as a sure sign of The End.

MILLENNIALISM

This display would lead to the first formulation of a theory on the origin of [meteors](#).

...a tempest of falling stars broke over the Earth... The sky was scored in every direction with shining tracks and illuminated with majestic fireballs. At Boston, the frequency of meteors was estimated to be about half that of flakes of snow in an average snowstorm. Their numbers ... were quite beyond counting; but as it waned, a reckoning was attempted, from which it was computed, on the basis of that much-diminished rate, that 240,000 must have been visible during the nine hours they continued to fall.

74. Whether such a [Leonid meteor shower](#) is spectacular or not varies from year to year and from region to region. The best one of this century has come and gone in 1966, with up to 100,000 [meteors](#) an hour having been visible. The last chance of this millennium to see a potentially enticing Leonid will come in 1999, but to view this during the hours of darkness you will need to travel to Europe. If you miss it you'll need to wait another century or more for the next one expected to be spectacular, at least until the year 2098 and perhaps until the year 2131. Yep, it just ain't fair.



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This Leonid storm was of course observed on the Great Plains by a number of bands of Dakota and appears in any number of “winter counts” painted on animal skin. Von Del Chamberlain of the Smithsonian has tabulated the astronomical references in 50 such Dakota records and found that 45 of the 50 made reference to the meteor shower of 1833/1834. The journal of Alexander M. Stephen records a meeting with Old Djasjini of the Hopi group on December 11, 1892. Old Djasjini is recorded as having said “How old am I? Fifty, maybe a hundred years, I can not tell. When I was a boy of so big (eight or ten years) there was a great comet in the sky and at night all the above was full of shooting stars — ah! that was a very long time ago, maybe a hundred years, maybe more.” During the probable lifetime of Old Djasjini there had been two such events which we know of, the great Leonid storm of 1833 followed by the sungrazing [comet](#) 1843 I. The Pawnee remember a Pahokatawa was of the opinion that when meteors were seen falling in great numbers it was not a sign that the world would end. Thus when the Pawnee witnessed the Leonid shower of 1833, when “the stars fell upon the earth,” they were able to say to one another “Remember Pahokatawa” and overcome their fear.

SKY EVENT

In this year, as in 1866 and in 1966, observers might see “waterfalls” of shooting stars flowing down all sides of their sky. There might well on occasion be more than 8,000 flashes per minute.

The Leonids of this year generated numerous accounts of meteors that made a swishing noise, meteors that made a whooshing noise — and one that “resembled the noise of a child’s pop-gun.”

DO THE METEORS SING TO US?



November 13, Wednesday: New York’s Italian Opera House (later the National Theatre), at Leonard and Church streets, under the management of Da Ponte and Rivafinoli, opened with a production of Rossini’s *La Gazza Ladra*. Former mayor Philip Hone attended the performance.



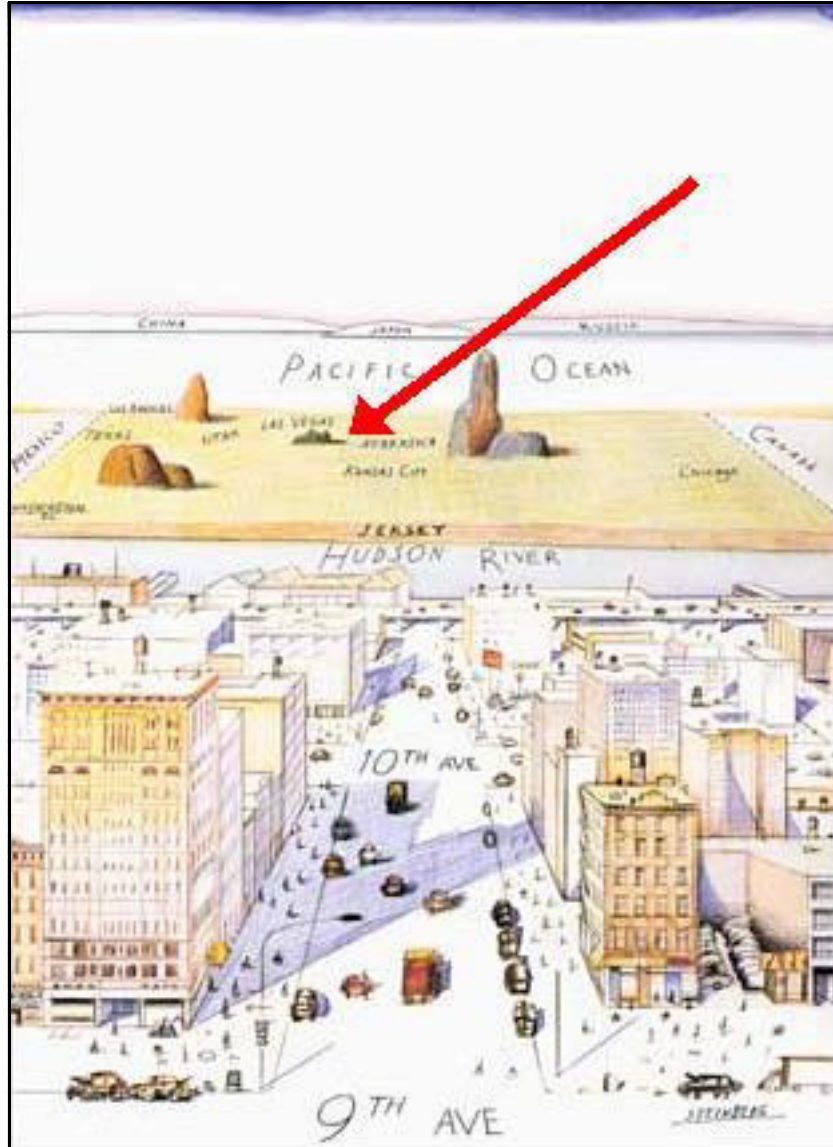
November 14, Thursday: [Charles Darwin](#) departed by horse toward Montevideo.

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 November 15, Friday: [New York](#) State lawyer Benjamin Franklin Butler became the US Attorney General.

Captain [Edward H. Faucon](#) sailed the *Alert* out of Boston Harbor for the firm of Bryant & Sturgis, heading this rakish new “Baltimore” clipper around Cape Horn for the coast of Alta California.







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**Table 1: Crew of the *Alert* of Boston, Master [Edward H. Faucon](#), bound for California 1834**

Name	Station	Place of Birth	Residence	Citizenship	Age	Height	Complexion	Hair
Edward H. Faucon	Master	Boston	Boston	USA	28	5-6	Dark	Dark
Richard Brown	1st Mate	Marblehead	Marblehead	USA	25	5-4	Light	Brown
David Evans	2d Mate	Baltimore	Salem	USA	30	5-9	Light	Sandy
James B. Hatch <sup>a</sup>	3d Mate	Springfield	Springfield	USA	19	5-7	Dark	Dark
M. Lilljequist <sup>b</sup>	Carpenter	Holland	Boston	Holland	35	5-8	Dark	Dark
James Luyck <sup>c</sup>	Steward	Boston	Boston	USA	27	5-7	Black	Woolly
James Williams <sup>d</sup>	Cook	New York	Boston	USA	19	5-6½	Yellow	Woolly
Reuben Herriots	Sailmaker & Seaman	New York	Boston	USA	26	5-1½	Light	Brown
Henry White	Seaman	Boston	Boston	USA	28	5-6½	Light	Brown
William Hyson Meyers <sup>e</sup>	Seaman	Newbury-port	Boston	USA	29	5-8	Light	Brown
Thomas Harris <sup>f</sup>	Seaman	Charlestown	Boston	USA	40	5-8½	Dark	Dark
Joseph Brewer	Seaman	New Orleans	Boston	USA	28	5-8½	Dark	Dark
Joseph E. Libby <sup>g</sup>	Seaman	Gardiner	Boston	USA	23	5-1½	Dark	Dark
Henry Bennet <sup>h</sup>	Seaman	New York	Boston	USA	31	5-6	Light	Brown
Cotton L. Pratt <sup>i</sup>	Seaman	Weymouth	Boston	USA	28	5-8½	Light	Brown
William Harris <sup>j</sup>	O. Seaman	Boston	Boston	USA	19	5-5	Light	Dark
Nathaniel B. Prouty <sup>k</sup>	O. Seaman	Hingham	Hingham	USA	18	5-2	Dark	Dark
Ben Roubaud	O. Seaman	Boston		USA				
James Nye	O. Seaman	Dover	Dover	USA	16	5-4	Dark	Light
George W.H. Somerby <sup>l</sup>	O. Seaman	New York	Boston	USA	15	5-3	Dark	Dark
Henry R. May <sup>m</sup>	O. Seaman	Philadelphia	Boston	USA	16	5-2	Light	Light

a. Transferred from the *Alert* to the *Pilgrim* in California.

b. Called “Chips” and became 3d Mate on next voyage of the *Alert*.

c. Also given as Laych.

d. Called “Doctor” s Age 26 must be a mistake. He had been at sea 22 years, called “Sails” also “oldest man on board” Capt. Faucon said he was “fine looking” a regular man-of war’s man at least 40 years old.

e. Son of James & Abigail Meyers. Born February 9, 1801.

f. Called Englishman Birthplace given as Charlestown must be wrong.

g. Also spelled Libbey on later list & “station bill” is probably the other Kennebec man, and either he or Brewer the “Joe:”

h. If the “oldest man” of the crew must have been more than 31. According to Capt. Faucon he was 40 at least.



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- i. Did not sail. Capt. Faucon could not remember such a man & Mr. Hatch wrote, "The Cotton Pratt I never heard of before:" Probably "John the Frenchman" or Jack Stewart was taken in his place, or presented his papers as sailors sometimes did. Pratt's name was not in the *Alert's* "station bill."
- j. Always mentioned as English.
- k. Called the "Bucket-maker" & "Cape Cod Boy" also "Nat:" born January 17, 1817 to the blacksmith Nathaniel Prouty and his wife Matilda B. Gregory, both of Hingham. He married Hannah Brown of Hingham in Quincy on November 18, 1847. He died in Quincy on April 21, 1868.
- l. Went out again in the *Alert* on November 29, 1836. He died about 1838. The physician who saw to him was the Dr. George Parkman for whose murder Professor Webster was convicted and hanged.
- m. Called "Harry Bluff:" George P. Marsh, an "Englishman" whose real name was George Walker Marsh, was shipped on board the *Alert* at San Pedro in Fall 1835. Although John C. Stewart is not on this regular crew list he was on the "station bill" as well as on another list which says he "ran away at Callao" on the outward voyage. It is to be noted that the "John the Frenchman" so often mentioned by Dana appears nowhere on this crew list. There is no John, nor is there anyone born in France. The obvious conclusion is that Dana made up the character, or deliberately misnamed him.


 November 16, Saturday: Penny Magazine:

<http://www.history.rochester.edu/pennymag/104.htm>


Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*7th day 16th of 11th M 1833 / Today My H returned from Newport where she has been for the Week past to visit our friends there & particularly our beloved Sister Ruth who is not essentially better than when I was there, tho' relieved from an attack of Cold & fever under which she laboured some days previous to Hannahs going down. -*


 November 18, Monday: Lorenzo da Ponte opened his newly constructed Italian Opera House at Leonard and Church Streets in Lower Manhattan.

 November 20, Wednesday: Charles Darwin reached Punta Gorda, and sighted the Rio Uruguay.

St. Vladimir University opened in Kiev as part of a general policy of Russification.

 November 22, Friday: At his first concert as music director in Dusseldorf, Felix Mendelssohn directed a performance of George Frideric Handel's "Alexander's Feast."

Valentin Alkan played the piano solo in Ludwig van Beethoven's Triple Concerto with the Paris Conservatoire Orchestra.

 November 24, Sunday: A concert for the benefit of Hector Berlioz and Harriet Smithson, to help pay off their (mostly her) debts, takes place at the Theatre-Italien. Financially a success, artistically this was a fiasco. The performance was delayed by an hour. Scenes from Shakespeare and Dumas were acted by Harriet and others and the performance of (mostly) Berlioz's music did not begin until 11:30PM. Franz Liszt's rendition of Weber's Concertstuck was the one bright spot of the evening. By his own admission, Berlioz conducted badly. The hour was so late that some orchestra musicians went home, as did many in the audience.


On this night a tsunami was sweeping across the Indian Ocean.<sup>75</sup>

75. For a comparison event within our own timeframe: <http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/indonesia/aceh-andaman-tsunami-imagery.htm>




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 November 25, Monday: [Dr. Augustus Addison Gould](#) got married with Harriet Cushing Sheafe (the couple would produce ten children seven of whom would survive into adulthood).

There was a Richter 8.7 earthquake in Sumatra.

 November 28, Thursday: Sarah Harris got married with George Fayerwether III of [Kingston, Rhode Island](#).

Exploring in South America, [Charles Darwin](#) rode through Las Pietras, returning toward Montevideo.

 Late November: God revealed to the [Reverend Robert Matthew \(the Prophet Matthias\)](#) that Ann Disbrow Folger was his match spirit, and informed his disciple Benjamin Folger that he was to give up his wife to him. Afterward, Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)) noticed him looking “like a dog with its tail singed.”

 November 30, Saturday: Jacques Offenbach was enrolled in the Paris Conservatoire.

[Sam Houston](#) filed for divorce from Eliza Allen.

TEXAS

## WINTER 1833/1834

 Lecture Season: The 5th course of lectures offered by the [Salem Lyceum](#) is shown on a following screen.

The Salem Lyceum — 5th Season

Edward Everett  
*Agriculture*

E. Evans  
*Geography, Manners and Customs of various Countries (1st lecture)*

E. Evans  
*Geography, Manners and Customs of various Countries (2nd lecture)*

E. Evans  
*Geography, Manners and Customs of various Countries (3rd lecture)*

E. Evans  
*Geography, Manners and Customs of various Countries (4th lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (1st Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (2nd Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (3rd Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (4th Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (5th Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (6th Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (7th Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (8th Lecture)*

Dr. Barber  
*Phrenology (9th Lecture)*

George H. Devereux of Salem  
*Adaptation of Philosophy to the Wants and Condition of Man*

David Merritt of Salem  
*History of the Jews*

J.V.C. Smith  
*Mechanism of the Eye*

Charles G. Page of Salem  
*Pneumatics*

Charles G. Page of Salem  
*Acoustics*

Charles A. Andrew of Salem  
*??????????*

Stephen P. Webb of Salem  
*History of Turkey*

Lemuel Willis of Salem  
*Progress of Society*





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December: The owner of Dred Scott, Dr. John Emerson, was assigned to military service at Fort Armstrong in what is now [Illinois](#) about 200 miles north of St. Louis. He would serve as the assistant to the surgeon there –and his manservant would serve him there– until mid-1836.<sup>76</sup>



December: The 2d of the eight installments of [Thomas Carlyle's SARTOR RESARTUS](#) appeared in [Fraser's Magazine](#).

The several chapters were thankfully received, as they came out, and now we find it impossible to say was best; perhaps each was best in its turn. They do not require to be remembered by chapters –that is a merit– but are rather remembered as a well-known strain, reviving from time to time, when it has nearly died away, and always inspiring us to worthier and more persistent endeavors.

76. At the time Dr. John Emerson was suffering from a “syphiloid disease” which he had contracted during a visit to Philadelphia. It may plausibly be inferred that this infection, and the inadequate treatments available during this time, is what produced his many symptoms through life, and what eventually would kill him.

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December: [Abba Alcott](#), wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and again-pregnant mommy of an infant author-to-be, helped Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and [Harriet Purvis](#), the wife of [Robert Purvis](#), form the Female Anti-Slavery Society of Philadelphia.



Eventually Abba would be a member of three such antislavery societies, not only this one in Philadelphia but also the ones that would be formed in Boston and in Concord!

December: [Sam Houston](#) joined the [Roman Catholic Church](#) as required by Mexican law.



TEXAS

December 2, Monday: The [pirate](#) Henry Joseph was [hanged](#) in [Boston](#)'s Leverett Street jailyard.

Cesar Franck began harmony lessons with Joseph Daussoigne at the Royal Conservatory of Liege.

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December 3, Tuesday: The first Oberlin College classes met. By the end of this first year, there would be 11 families in residence in Oberlin, Ohio and 44 students in the college — 15 of them would be women (in a later terminology, “coeds”).



This is what Oberlin would be looking like by the 1850s:



At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, [William Emerson](#) got married with [Susan Woodward Haven](#), who had been born on January 7, 1807 in that locale, daughter of John Haven and Ann Woodward Haven (she would die on February 6, 1868 in Concord, Massachusetts).



December 4, Wednesday: The Calculational Engine project had soaked up to date some £17,000 in tax revenues, a truly enormous sum of money, and there was nothing whatever to show for it. Charles Babbage ordered his contractor Joseph Clement, as preparations for removal of the engine were completed: To move all parts of the engine except the large platform for the calculating end and the large columns; all the drawings, (the 27 still attached to drawing boards were not be taken off them, the contractor was to include cost of the boards if necessary); all the rough sketches, small notebook on contrivances determined upon and the several loose sheets of mechanical notations of the Calculational Engine; and all the patterns from which castings had been made and thus were no longer required. He was to oil and pack all steel parts to avoid rust, and list the parts remaining at his workshop that were the property of the Government (these materials would be removed in 1843 to King’s College, London).

In Philadelphia, a group of black and white male abolitionists organized the American Anti-Slavery Society and Arthur Tappan became its 1st president. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May attended, and [William Lloyd](#)



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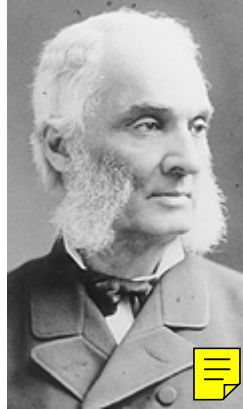
[Garrison](#), and also [Friend John Greenleaf Whittier](#), Lewis Tappan and Arthur Tappan, Friends [James](#) and [Lucretia Mott](#), etc. Of the about 60 people in attendance only 21 were members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), because conservative Quakers would have been keeping their distance from all involvement in outside organizations, even those such as this one whose aims they generally greatly respected. The Reverend [Daniel Starr Southmayd](#), not of Concord but “of Lowell, Massachusetts,” was a delegate. On the last day of the meeting, the new society urged that white females should also set up their own auxiliary anti-slavery societies. In that period the claim was being made, that True Womanhood would restrict itself to the home, and this claim was being hotly contested by women who would insist that the True Woman was merely following her natural True Womanly inclination, in seeking to succor the defenseless in such institutions as the Samaritan Asylum for Indigent Colored Children in Boston.

As wives and mothers, as sisters and daughters, we are bound to urge men to cease to do evil.

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There were three blacks present, including a Philadelphia barber and dentist named James McCrummill and the well-to-do [Robert Purvis](#) of Philadelphia — who although he appeared white:



was known locally to be actually not a white man at all.<sup>77</sup> Purvis signed the Declaration of Sentiments.



**(Notice that although white men of this period generally feared social contamination by inferior blacks, even an intimate touching, as by a barber, could be permissible, as depicted here in a Virginia barbershop — so long as the relationship was one clearly**

77. This would be by way of contrast with Senator Daniel Webster, who was so dark-complected that once he was actually turned away by a commercial establishment that imagined it was dealing with a black American, but who was generally known to be, actually, a white man through and through.



marked as an intransitive one, between a superior or customer and an inferior or servant.)

There were two or three Unitarians. At one point during the convention a young man at the door was speaking of his desire to dip his hand in Garrison's blood but the Philadelphia police, rather than take such a person into detention, warned the convention organizers that the path of discretion would be for them to meet only during hours of daylight.



Garrison authored the broadside “Declaration of Sentiments” of the meeting (Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention), which under an image of Samson strangling the lion included a renunciation of “the use of carnal weapons” and a declaration that “doing evil that good may come” represented the antithesis of Christian ethics. At one point [Friend Lucretia Mott](#) rose to suggest from the back of the room that in the draft of this resolution, the mention of God be placed before rather than after the mention of the [Declaration of Independence](#). As a woman and a non-delegate she spoke with such diffidence that the chairman had to encourage her. This could very well have been the 1st time that many in the room had heard a woman speak in a public meeting.<sup>78</sup>

After silence in the [Quaker](#) manner, it was time for the actual delegates, that is, the menfolk, to file forward and affix their signatures to the declaration — this would be the signature that Whittier would later say he was more proud of, than of his signature on the title page of any of his books.

The broadside manifesto “Declaration of the Anti-Slavery Convention Assembled in Philadelphia, December 4, 1833,” as so nicely illustrated by Rueben S. Gilbert of Merrihew & Gunn (his work excerpted above), announced the reasons for formation of the society and enumerated its goals:

78. As a woman she would not of course have been officially a delegate to this convention, but a mere spectator accompanying her spouse. Of course no-one thought of the idea of having women as delegates, let alone to solicit the signatures of women, nor is it likely that any of the women even contemplated the possibility of a woman's adding her own signature. Such things were not just unheard-of, in this period, but also, very clearly, they went unthought as well. For a woman to have sported a signature would have been like for a woman to have sported a beard. During this month [Abba Alcott](#), pregnant wife of [Bronson Alcott](#) and mother of an infant author-to-be [Louisa May Alcott](#), was helping [Lucretia Mott](#) form the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

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## Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society

Whereas the Most High God "hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on all the face of the earth," and hath commanded them to love their neighbors as themselves; and whereas, our National Existence is based upon this principle, as recognized in the [Declaration of Independence](#), "that all mankind are created equal, and that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness"; and whereas, after the lapse of nearly sixty years, since the faith and honor of the American people were pledged to this avowal, before Almighty God and the World, nearly one-sixth part of the nation are held in bondage by their fellow-citizens; and whereas, Slavery is contrary to the principles of natural justice, of our republican form of government, and of the Christian religion, and is destructive of the prosperity of the country, while it is endangering the peace, union, and liberties of the States; and whereas, we believe it the duty and interest of the masters immediately to emancipate their slaves, and that no scheme of expatriation, either voluntary or by compulsion, can remove this great and increasing evil; and whereas, we believe that it is practicable, by appeals to the consciences, hearts, and interests of the people, to awaken a public sentiment throughout the nation that will be opposed to the continuance of Slavery in any part of the Republic, and by effecting the speedy abolition of Slavery, prevent a general convulsion; and whereas, we believe we owe it to the oppressed, to our fellow-citizens who hold slaves, to our whole country, to posterity, and to God, to do all that is lawfully in our power to bring about the extinction of Slavery, we do hereby agree, with a prayerful reliance on the Divine aid, to form ourselves into a society, to be governed by the following Constitution: —

ARTICLE I. — This Society shall be called the AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.


ARTICLE II. — The objects of this Society are the entire abolition of Slavery in the United States. While it admits that each State, in which Slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to legislate in regard to its abolition in said State, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that Slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned, require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The Society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic Slave trade, and to abolish Slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia, -- and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any State that may be hereafter admitted to the Union.

ARTICLE III. — This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites, of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never, in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force.

ARTICLE IV. — Any person who consents to the principles of this Constitution, who contributes to the funds of this Society, and is not





a slaveholder, may be a member of this Society, and shall be entitled to vote at the meetings....


 December 6, Friday: In Charlestown, Massachusetts, anti-Catholic rioting began after a WASP was beaten to death by Irish immigrants. The homes of many Catholics were destroyed.

The HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) sailed from the mouth of the Rio de la Plata.

According to the “Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, “In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in intrepidity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them [to, that is, our forefathers who founded this temple of Freedom]. Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely upon those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of strong holds. Their measures of physical resistance—the marshalling in arms—the hostile array—the moral encounter. Ours shall be such only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of slavery by the spirit of repentance. Their grievances, great as they were, were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters. But those, for whose emancipation we are striving....”

 December 7, Saturday: The initial installment of a 3-part article “Der Davidsbundler” appeared in [Der Komet](#). This had been written by [Robert Schumann](#) and included his cast of fictional characters personifying different ideas about art, Florestan, Eusebius, Raro, et al.

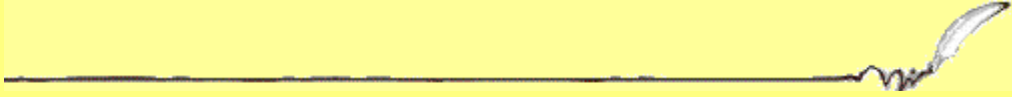
 December 10, Tuesday: [George William Benson](#) and [Catherine Knapp Stetson](#) got married in Waltham, Massachusetts. The couple would produce Anna Elizabeth Benson in 1834 in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), Henry Egbert Benson in 1837 in Brooklyn, Connecticut, George Benson in 1839 in Brooklyn, Eliza Davis Benson in 1841 in Brooklyn (soon to die of scarlet fever), Thomas David Benson in 1842 in Northampton, Massachusetts, and Sarah B. Benson (Stone) in 1846 in Northampton, Massachusetts.

 December 10, Tuesday: The Lisbon government prohibited the export of [slaves](#) from any Portuguese dominion (it lacked any ability to enforce such a decree).



December 10, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*Pleasant walk yesterday, the most pleasant of days. At Walden Pond I found a new musical instrument which I call the ice-harp. A thin coat of ice covered a part of the pond, but melted around the edge of the shore. I threw a stone upon the ice which rebounded with a shrill sound, and falling again and again, repeated the note with pleasing modulation. I thought at first it was the "peep, peep" of a bird I had scared. I was so taken with the music that I threw down my stick and spent twenty minutes in throwing stones single or in handfuls on this crystal drum.*



December 11, Wednesday: "Auf zum Sitz der Geister" for chorus by Otto Nicolai to words of Ribbeck was performed for the initial time, in Berlin.

December 12, Thursday: Selections from Richard Wagner's romantic opera Die Feen WWV 32 were performed for the initial time, in München.

December 13, Friday: The HMS *Beagle* with [Charles Darwin](#) dropped anchor at Port Deseado, Patagonia.

December 14, Saturday: Kaspar Hauser was stabbed, in a murder for which today we still have neither a clear motive nor an identified suspect.<sup>79</sup>



79. He would linger for three days.



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[Herman Melville](#) would compare the tongue-tied innocent doomed victim character of his last fiction, BILLY BUDD, to this mysterious historic personage, Kaspar Hauser:

BILLY BUDD: And here be it submitted that apparently going to corroborate the doctrine of man's fall, a doctrine now popularly ignored, it is observable that where certain virtues pristine and unadulterate peculiarly characterize anybody in the external uniform of civilization, they will upon scrutiny seem not to be derived from custom or convention, but rather to be out of keeping with these, as if indeed exceptionally transmitted from a period prior to Cain's city and civilized man. The character marked by such qualities has to an unvitiated taste an untampered-with flavor like that of berries, while the man thoroughly civilized, even in a fair specimen of the breed, has to the same moral palate a questionable smack as of a compounded wine. To any stray inheritor of these primitive qualities found, like Caspar Hauser, wandering dazed in any Christian capital of our time, the good-natured poet's famous invocation, near two thousand years ago, of the good rustic out of his latitude in the Rome of the Cesars, still appropriately holds:-

"Honest and poor, faithful in word and thought,  
What has thee, Fabian, to the city brought?"

Though our Handsome Sailor had as much of masculine beauty as one can expect anywhere to see; nevertheless, like the beautiful woman in one of Hawthorne's minor tales, there was just one thing amiss in him.

No visible blemish, indeed, as with the lady; no, but an occasional liability to a vocal defect. Though in the hour of elemental uproar or peril he was everything that a sailor should be, yet under sudden provocation of strong heart-feeling, his voice otherwise singularly musical, as if expressive of the harmony within, was apt to develop an organic hesitancy, in fact, more or less of a stutter or even worse. In this particular Billy was a striking instance that the arch interfeerer, the envious marplot of Eden, still has more or less to do with every human consignment to this planet of earth. In every case, one way or another he is sure to slip in his little card, as much as to remind us - I too have a hand here.



December 15, Sunday: Franz Liszt, [Frédéric François Chopin](#), and Ferdinand Hiller performed a Triple Concerto by Johann Sebastian Bach at the Paris Conservatoire.

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December 20, Friday: Abner Kneeland published a letter he had written to Thomas Whittemore, indicating his differences with his former Universalist affiliates: “Universalists believe in a god which I do not; but believe that their god, with all his moral attributes, (aside from nature itself,) is nothing more than a chimera of their own imagination.” For this statement Kneeland would be indicted in Massachusetts as a atheistic blasphemer and would undergo five trials for blasphemy. In his defense Kneeland would argue that he had only meant to indicate he didn’t believe in the Universalists’ conception of god, and as proof of this would point to the fact that after the word “god” he had placed no comma: “belief in a god which I do not” rather than “belief in a god, which I do not.” He would insist that he was a pantheist and that obviously, a pantheist would be the exact opposite of an atheist. None of this would impress the Massachusetts court, which was well aware that they were dealing with no innocent: in addition to having these strange theological attitudes, he was a dangerous man, for he had also been espousing the equality of the races, to the point of countenancing interracial marriage. He had been calling for equal rights for women, to the point of suggesting that wives might keep their own names, and have their own bank accounts. He was tolerant of divorce, and of birth control. The prosecuting attorney for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts therefore warned the jury of Kneeland’s peers that if they spared this man and tolerated his attitudes, “marriages [will be] dissolved, prostitution made easy and safe, moral and religious restraints removed, property invaded, and the foundations of society broken up, and property made common.”<sup>80</sup>



December 22, Sunday: At the Cour d’assises de la Seine-Inférieure on the north coast of France, bookseller Léon Laurier was condemned for having vended an objectionable book entitled *L’Indiscret*. The court ordered that stocks of the book in question, an outrage against public and religious morals, be destroyed. M. Laurier was to serve three months in prison and pay a fine of 500 francs.

Le roi Lear, a grand ouverture by Hector Berlioz, was performed for the initial time, in the Paris Conservatoire. On the same program were the premieres of his songs Le jeune Patre Breton to words of Brizeux, and Romance de Marie Tudor to words of Hugo. [Nicolò Paganini](#) attended, and would later ask Berlioz to compose a work for him to play on the viola.

December 23, Monday: Georgia reformed, amended, and consolidated its penal laws relating to the supply of slaves.

§ 1. “If any person or persons shall bring, import, or introduce into this State, or aid or assist, or knowingly become concerned or interested, in bringing, importing, or introducing into this State, either by land or by water, or in any manner whatever, any slave or slaves, each and every such person or persons so

80. Refer to Leonard Levy, ed., BLASPHEMY IN MASSACHUSETTS: FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE AND THE Abner Kneeland CASE: A DOCUMENTARY RECORD (1973).



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offending, shall be deemed principals in law, and guilty of a high misdemeanor, and ... on conviction, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars each, for each and every slave, ... and imprisonment and labor in the penitentiary for any time not less than one year, nor longer than four years." Residents, however, may bring slaves for their own use, but must register and swear they are not for sale, hire, mortgage, etc.

§ 6. Penalty for knowingly receiving such slaves, \$500. Slightly amended December 23, 1836, e.g., emigrants were allowed to hire slaves out, etc.; amended December 19, 1849, so as to allow importation of slaves from "any other slave holding State of this Union." Prince, DIGEST, pages 619, 653, 812; Cobb, DIGEST, II. 1018.

**INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE**

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*2nd day [sic] 12 M 20 / Last night Departed this life at his house in Smithfield Aza Arnold in the 87th Year of his Age he was a friend much respected, & attended Yearly Meeting when I was a boy - he attended Smithfield lower meeting & was a Member of Providence Moy [Monthly] Meeting- & Since my association with him my esteem has much increased for his Character & standing - he sat at the head of the Meeting he belonged too with much dignity & propriety & will be no small loss to it He was buried from the Meeting house on 2nd day [Monday] the 23rd in the burying ground adjoining*



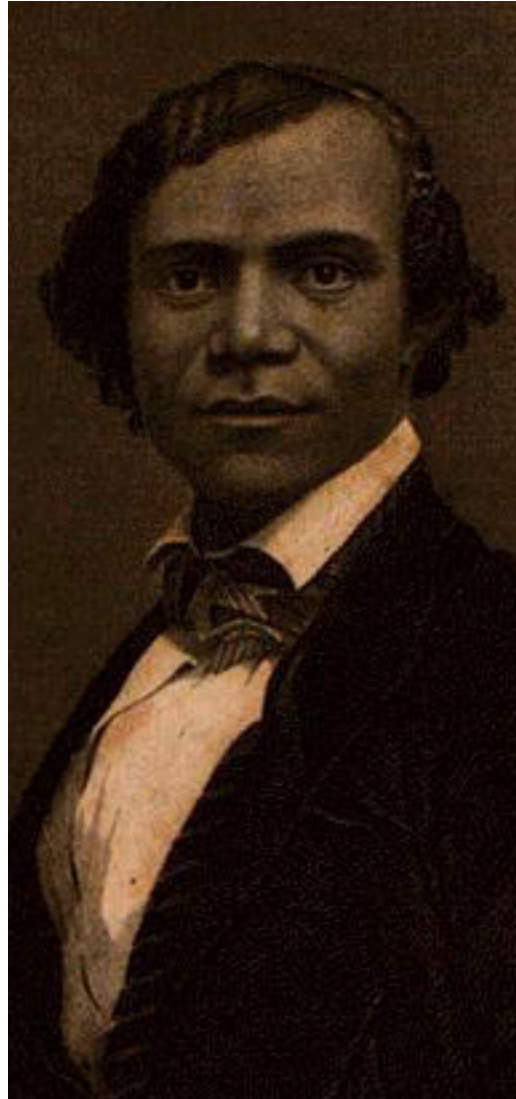
December 24, Tuesday: The slave rebellion on the island of Martinique, sometimes called Martinico, called by the natives Madiana, came to an abrupt end in a battle on this day, during which a number of them were killed and several taken prisoner.

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**Christmas:** [Henry Bibb](#) had grown into a light-colored young slave who could, in the dusk, even pass for a white man. He had been courting a slave on a plantation about four miles away near Bedford KY. Evidently this slavemaster William Gatewood's idea of a **Christmas** present for himself was *jus primae noctis*: Malinda's master was very much in favor of the match, but entirely upon selfish principles. When I went to ask his permission to marry Malinda, his answer was in the affirmative with one condition, which I consider to be too vulgar to be written in this book.



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

*4th day 25th of 12th M 1833 / Rode to [Smithfield](#) to Attend Moy [Monthly] Meeting - It was very small & very poor - But I will try to hope the next may be better. -  
This evening our friend John Wilbur called a little while at the Institutiion, but left to go to [Moses Browns](#) to lodge. -*





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Christmas: [Charles Darwin](#) spent this [Christmas Day](#) at Port Desire in Patagonia.

Commander [George Back](#) and his naturalist had a memory of previous [Christmas-Day](#) celebrations at home in England — which featured a menu of roast beef and plum pudding.

(Page 219) Christmas-Day...Mr. King and I made a cheerful dinner of pemmican. Happiness on such occasions depends entirely on the mood and temper of the individuals; and we cheated ourselves into as much mirth at the fancied sayings and doings of our friends at home, as if we had partaken of the roast beef and plum pudding which doubtless "smoked upon the board" on that glorious day of prescriptive feasting.

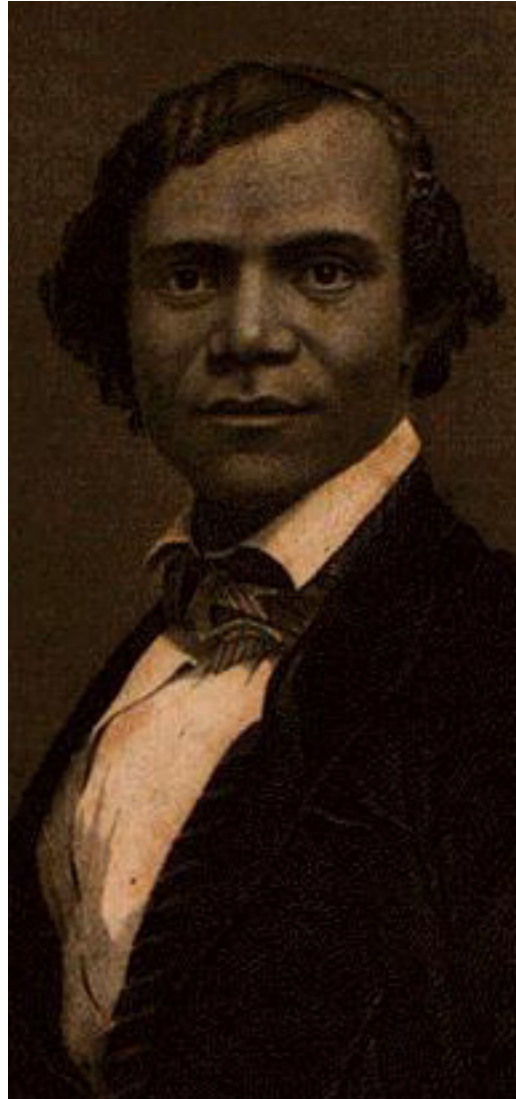
[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

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 December 26, Thursday: Gaetano Donizetti's melodramma *Lucrezia Borgia* to words of Romani after Hugo was performed for the initial time, at Teatro alla Scala, Milan. Both audience and critics would award the work only lukewarm approval.

 December 27, Friday: Charles Brown, a man of color, was [hanged](#) at [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

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

*1st day 29th of 12 M / Our fr Jn Wilbur was at our Meeting this Afternoon & I thought his testimony was in the life of the Gospel & I have no doubt did some good, tho' all present might not have thought very highly of its usefulness. -*

 December 30, Monday: [Friend Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd day 30th of 12 M 1833 / Lo! I am 52 Years old this day - O that I was better, Oh that I was able to bear with Meekness the trials of this life. I fully believe in that spirit & power which can conduct thro' all with safty, & land us safe at last among other things which are trying & afflicting, is the present state of our Society, both in England & this country I am afraid we shall become quite a different people both in Doctrine & in practice from what our worthy predecessors were - but let is hope for the best*

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

*3rd day 31 of 12 M 1833 / I have written much less in my Diary this year than for many Years past - but this will be a Memorable year to me as long as I live - I shall remember it has been fraught with trials keen & piercing - I may also commemorate the Goodness of God in sustaining my soul tho' things have sometimes seemed much like overwhelming. - I feel at the close some better & hope to be duly thankful. -*



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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 18, 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.

### General Events of 1833

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 1834**