EVENTS OF 16TH STANZA

The 17th Stanza in the Life of Henry Thoreau

FALL 1833	JULY 1833	AUGUST	SEPTEMBER
WINTER 1833/1834	OCTOBER	NOVEMBER	DECEMBER 1833
SPRING 1834	JANUARY 1834	FEBRUARY	MARCH
SUMMER 1834	APRIL	MAY	JUNE 1834

> 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

1833

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.^{03} in his pocket, spent the $0.^{03} for a drink at Bigelow's Tavern, and became a carpenter's apprentice on the Milldam.

CONCORD ZOOM MAP

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.

CONCORD FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY

THE DRAMATIC WORKS OF WILLIAM SHAKSPEARE, 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 SHAKSPEARE (Hartford, Connecticut: Andrus & Judd). This 2-volume set would be in the personal library of David Henry Thoreau.[1]

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.

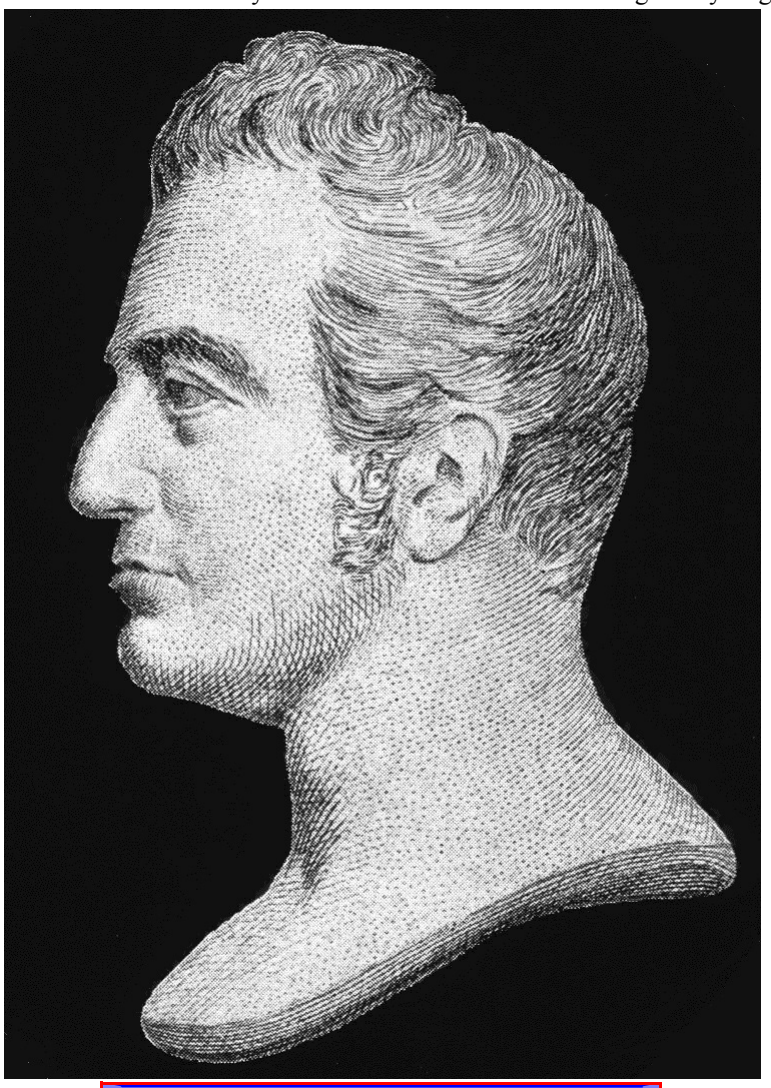
1. You will observe that the closest Google Books has gotten to this 1833 edition is the 1837/1838 edition by the same Hartford, Connecticut publishing house.

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

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?

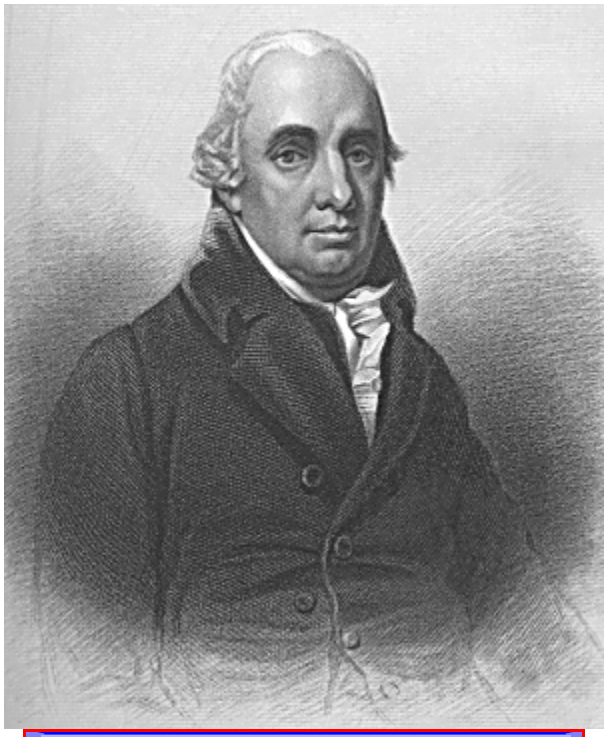
PEOPLE OF WALDEN

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

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

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.)

Charles Sumner graduated from the Law School of Harvard College.[2]

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 *HOMĒROU 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.[3]
>
> WILLIAM WHITING [of Concord], son of Colonel William Whiting, was graduated [at Harvard] in 1833.[4]

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

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

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 Thoreau's classroom.[5]

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.

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:

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

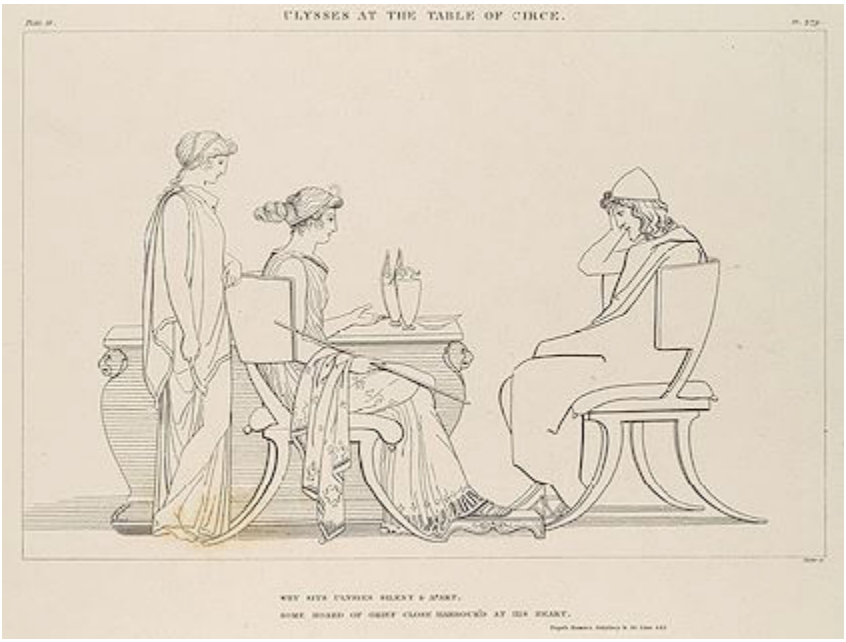
THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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

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

The excommunicant, in 1868 **Lord of the communicants**

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



THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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.

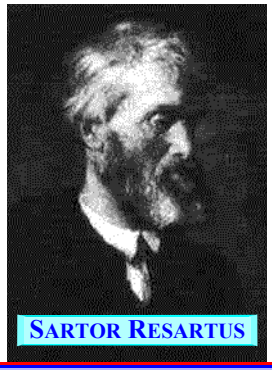
In the spring of '36 Thoreau withdrew due to illness -later taught for a brief period in Canton under the Rev. Orestes A. Brownson, a leading New England intellectual who Harding suggests profoundly influenced Thoreau.

(Robert L. Lace, 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."

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,	.20
——————— — 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 Element's 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

In this year and the following year, in England, after Thomas Carlyle's having labored over his SARTOR RESARTUS[6] 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 originatory 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! Of both would I purchase, were it with my last groschen; but chiefly of this latter. To clap-on your felt, and, simply by

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.

wishing that you were Any**where**, straightway to be **There**! Next to clap-on your other felt, and, simply by wishing that you were Any**when**, 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.

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.[7]

***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.

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 Geologists in Philadelphia in April 1840.

PIONEER OF SCIENCE

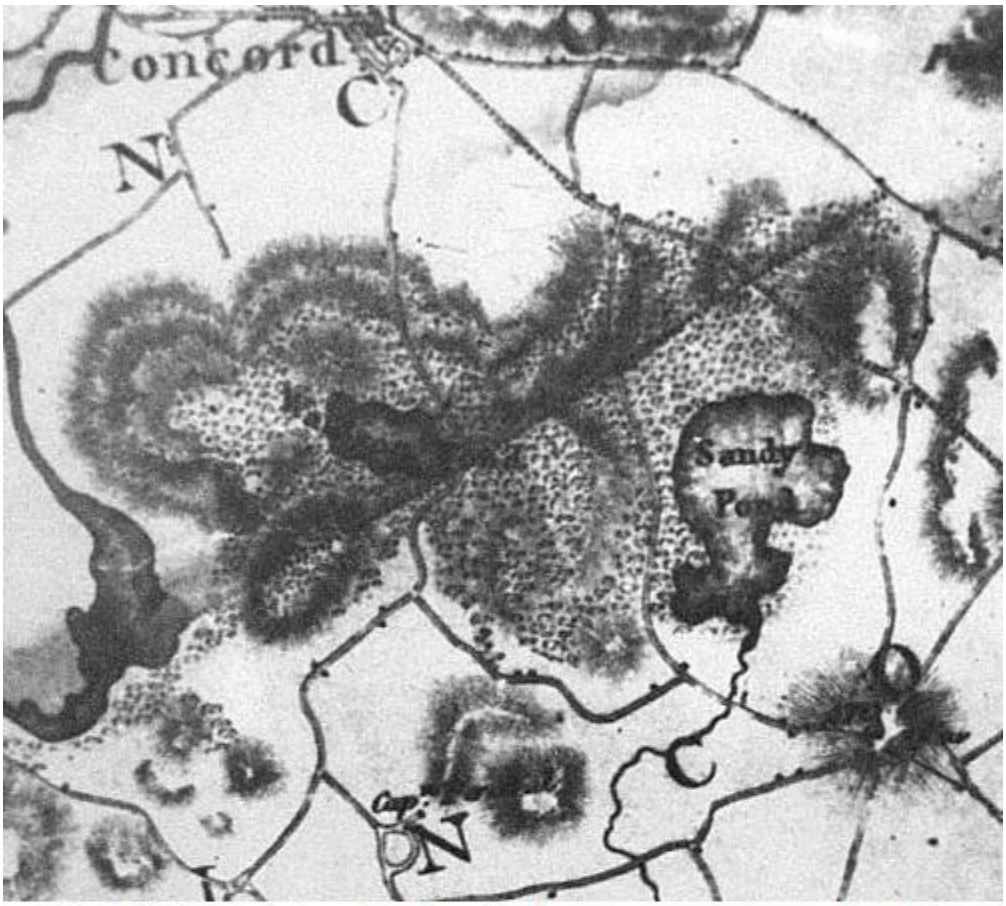
The 31 1/2 inch by 25 inch "Map of Boston and Its Vicinity From Actual Survey by John G. Hales" that had been engraved by Edward Gillingham on the basis of surveys done in 1819 was again republished by Nathan Hale with appropriate alterations.

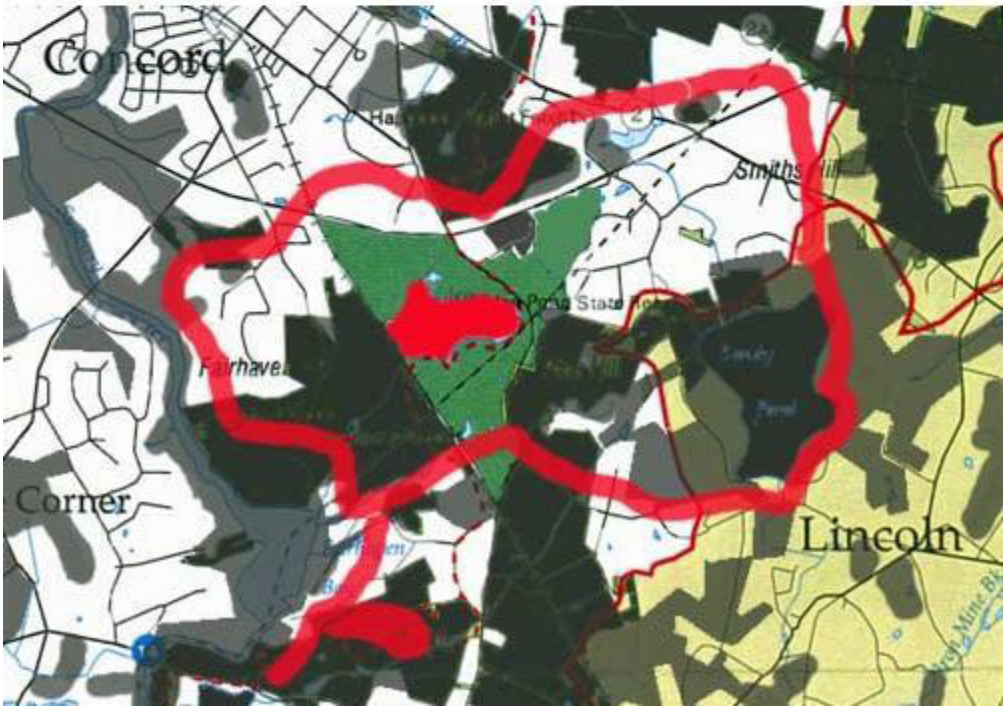
CARTOGRAPHY

MAPS OF BOSTON

This offered an image of Waldron Pond (Walden Pond) and Sandy Pond (Flint's Pond) in a Concord/Lincoln

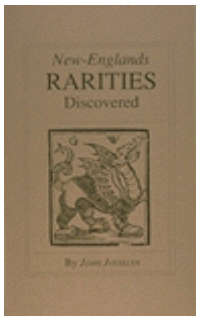
woodland without altering the dimensions of that woodland:





THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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 $^{3}/_{8}$" X 16 $^{1}/_{8}$" 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.)

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.)

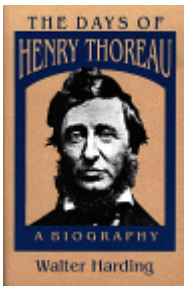
The Boston Society of Natural History relocated from the room it had occupied at the Boston Athenaeum (in a mansion donated by James Perkins on Pearl Street) into a hall on the 3d floor of the new Savings Bank Building on Tremont Street, overlooking Boston Common. The shell collection of Dr. Amos Binney, 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.

"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. Lace, January-March 1986)

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

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Allen concludes that Waldo Emerson's theory of nature in NATURE is

> derived far more from Neoplatonism than modern scientific knowledge, but Emerson was not turning his back on science; he wanted instead to spiritualize science, to base science on the theory that the physical world is an emanation of spirit, "the apparition of God" (Chapter 6), or "a projection of God in the unconscious." (70)

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

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

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

[Cecily F. Brown, March 1992]

JULY 1833

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.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

- 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

"My life has been the poem I would have writ,
But I could not both live and utter it."
— Henry Thoreau

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.)

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, calenders 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 *ILIAD* 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

"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.

Camerons'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. ...

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."

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[8] — someone the hair of whose corpse did not mean a whole lot to the Sage of Concord.

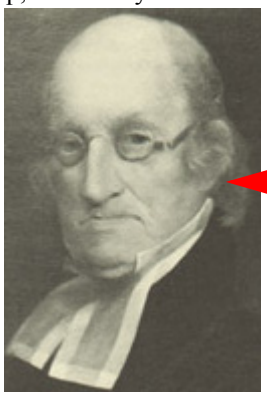
July 20, Saturday: Waldo Emerson arrived in London, where he was vastly relieved at hearing English spoken in the streets, and "to understand all the children at play."

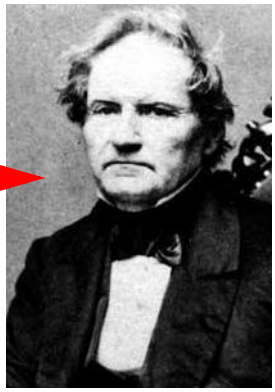
July 24, Wednesday: Jones Very's earliest known venture into poetry, "The earth is parched with heat."

The army of the Portuguese liberals entered Lisbon.

8. 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.

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.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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 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.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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 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.

AUGUST 1833

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 9, Friday: Waldo Emerson left London on a visit to Oxford.

David Henry Thoreau, accepted as a charity scholar, left home for Harvard College.[9] 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.[10]

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

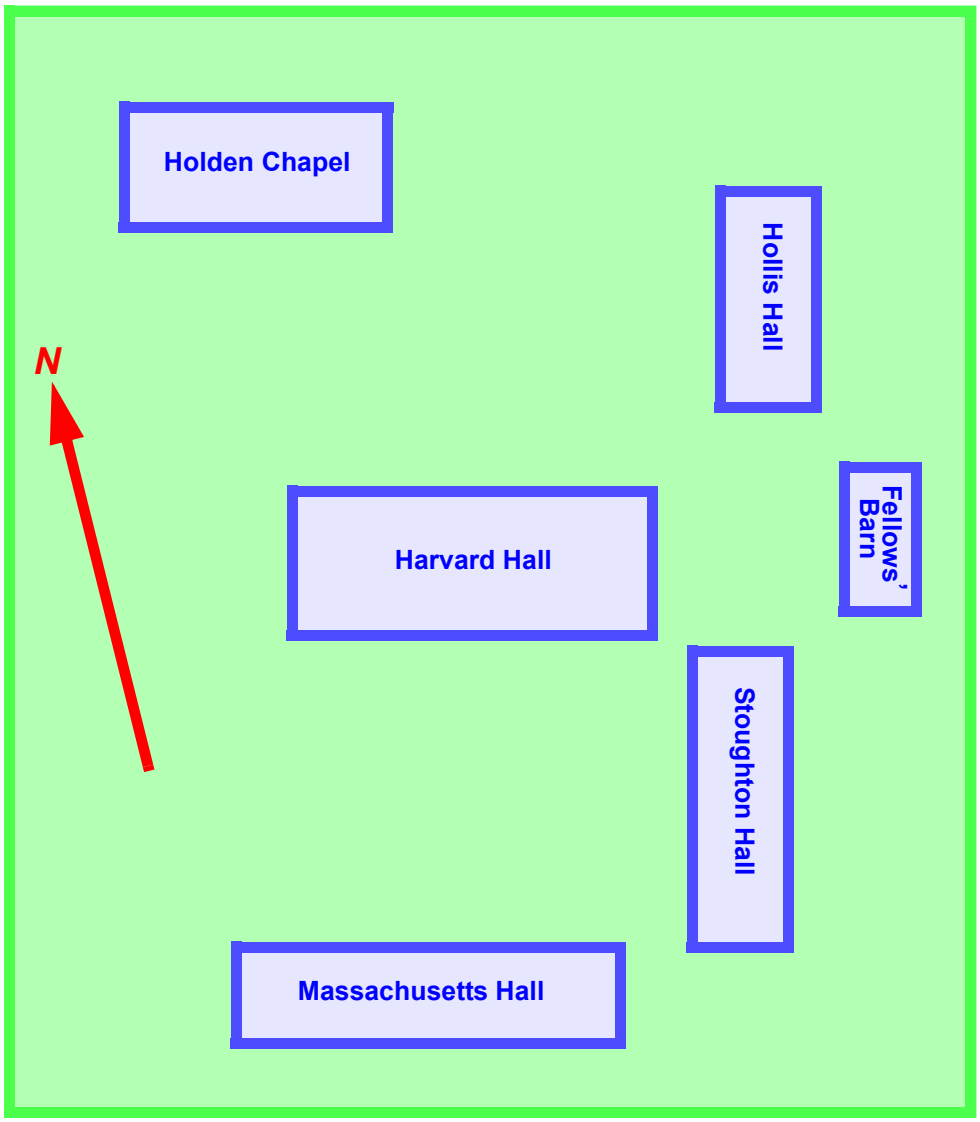
9. Since the native-son undergraduates Lemuel Shattuck mentions in Chapter XVI of his history of Concord were in the Harvard College classes of 1834 (George Moore) and 1835 (Hiram Dennis and Ebenezer Hoar), this material would have needed to have been written between May 1833 and May 1834. The earlier 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.
10. He later occupied other rooms nearby in the same dormitory.

FRESHMEN.

NAMES.	RESIDENCE.	ROOMS.
Adams, Joseph Henry,	*Boston,*	H. 18
Allen, William,	*Bridgewater,*	Mr. J. Foster's
Bacon, John,	*Boston,*	H. 2
Barnes, Henry,	*Marlborough,*	
Barstow, Simon Forrester,	*Salem,*	Mr. Saunders's
Belcher, Clifford,	*Farmington, Me.*	D. 7
Benjamin, Henry Benjamin,	*Boston,*	Dr. Stearns's
Bigelow, Henry Jacob,	*Boston,*	H'y 18
Clarke, Manlius Stimson,	*Norton,*	H. 4
Dale, William Johnson,	*Gloucester,*	H'y 9
Dall, Charles Henry Appleton,	*Boston,*	H. 2
Davis, William,	*Plymouth,*	St. 17
Eustis, John Fenwick,	*Norfolk, Va.*	St. 4
Forrester, George Hely Hutchinson,	*Salem,*	H. 7
Greenough, William Whitwell,	*Boston,*	Dr. Stearns's
Hale, Horatio Emmons,	*Boston,*	St. 20
Haskins, David Greene,	*Roxbury,*	Miss Parker's
Hawes, William,	*Boston,*	Dr. Stearns's
Hayward, Charles,	*Boston,*	H. 3
Hildreth, Samuel Tenney,	*Gloucester,*	Mr. J. Foster's
Holmes, Christopher Columbus,	*Kingston,*	St. 17
Holmes, Nathaniel,	*Peterborough, N. H.*	Mrs. Howe's
Hubbard, Henry,	*Charlestown, N. H.*	St. 3.
Kendall, Samuel Austin,	*Augusta, N. Y.*	St. 3
Kettell, Edward Henry,	*Boston,*	St. 20
Kimball, Benjamin Gage,	*Needham,*	St. 19
Lane, John Foster Williams,	*Boston,*	H'y 18
Maxwell, John Bayard,	*New Castle Co., Del.*	H. 19
Peabody, Augustus Goddard,	*Boston,*	H. 18
Perry, Amos,	*Natick,*	St. 19
Phelps, Francis,	*Hadley,*	H. 4
Rice, Charles Wyatt,	*Brookfield,*	2 C. H. 8
Richardson, James,	*Dedham,*	H. 1
Russell, Charles Theodore,	*Princeton,*	St. 26
Stone, Henry Orne,	*Salem,*	Dr. Ware's
Thomas, Charles Grandison,	*Denmark, N. Y.*	M. 1.
Thoreau, David Henry,	*Concord,*	H. 20
Treat, Samuel,	*Portsmouth, N. H.*	M. 1
Trull, Samuel,	*Boston,*	Mr. W. Warland's
Vose, Henry,	*Dorchester,*	Rev. H. Ware's
Weiss, John,	*Worcester,*	H. 1
Wheeler, Charles Stearns,	*Lincoln,*	H. 20
Whitney, Giles Henry,	*Boston,*	D. 8
Whitwell, Benjamin,	*Boston,*	H'y 9
Wight, Daniel,	*Natick,*	Miss Robbins's
Williams, Henry,	*Boston,*	H'y 1
Williams, Francis Stanton,	*Boston,*	H'y 1
Clap, Harvey Erastus,	*Walpole,*	H. 7
Ferguson, Jordan Goodwin,	*South Berwick, Me.*	Mrs. Howe's

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

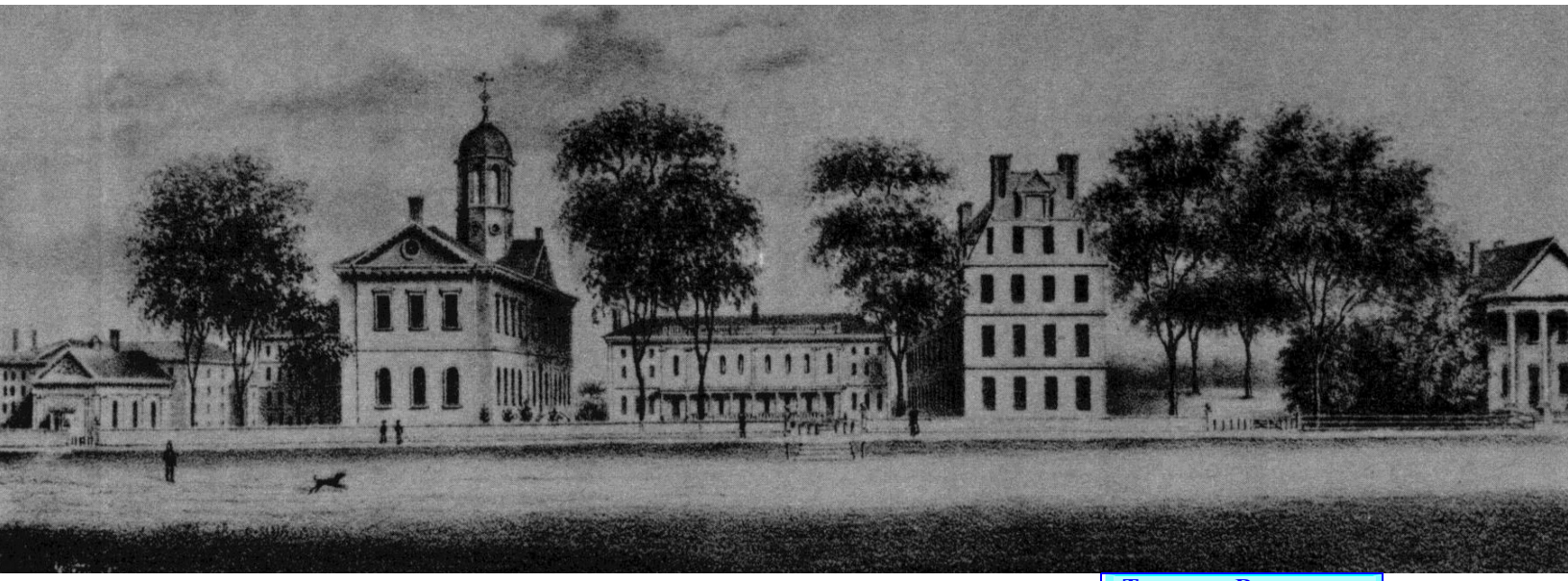


He had "many and noisy neighbours, and a residence in the fourth storey." At that time tuition was $55.00 per year, Harvard had a faculty of perhaps 25 and a student body of perhaps 425, and the library boasted perhaps 40,000 books. Meals at the commons were $1.35 a week. From the 1820s into the 1840s, 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 $15.00 and $25.00. Thus although the top hat and the cane did not become *de rigeur* 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

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

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"

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

Hon. JOSIAH QUINCY, LL. D., PRESIDENT.
——— ———, *Massachusetts Professor of Natural History.*
Rev. HENRY WARE, D. D., *Hollis Professor of Divinity.*
——— ———, *Alford Professor of Natural Religion, Moral Philosophy, and Civil Polity.*
——— ———, *Eliot Professor of Greek Literature.*
FRANCIS SALES, Esq., *Instructer in French and Spanish.*
JAMES JACKSON, M. D., *Hersey Professor of the Theory and Practice of Physic*
JOHN C. WARREN, M. D., *Hersey Professor of Anatomy and Surgery.*
Hon. JOSEPH STORY, LL. D., *Dane Professor of Law.*
——— ———, *Hancock Professor of Hebrew and other Oriental Languages.*
JOHN FARRAR, LL. D., *Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.*
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.*
GEORGE TICKNOR, A. M., *Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, and Professor of Belles Lettres.*
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., *Instructer 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.*

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Rev. JOHN G. PALFREY, A. M., *Professor of Biblical Literature.*
PIETRO BACHI, A. M., J. U. D., *Instructer 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, *Instructer 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., *Instructer 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., *Instructer in Hebrew.*
CHRISTOPHER DUNKIN, *Instructer in Greek.*

———

OLIVER SPARHAWK. *Steward.*

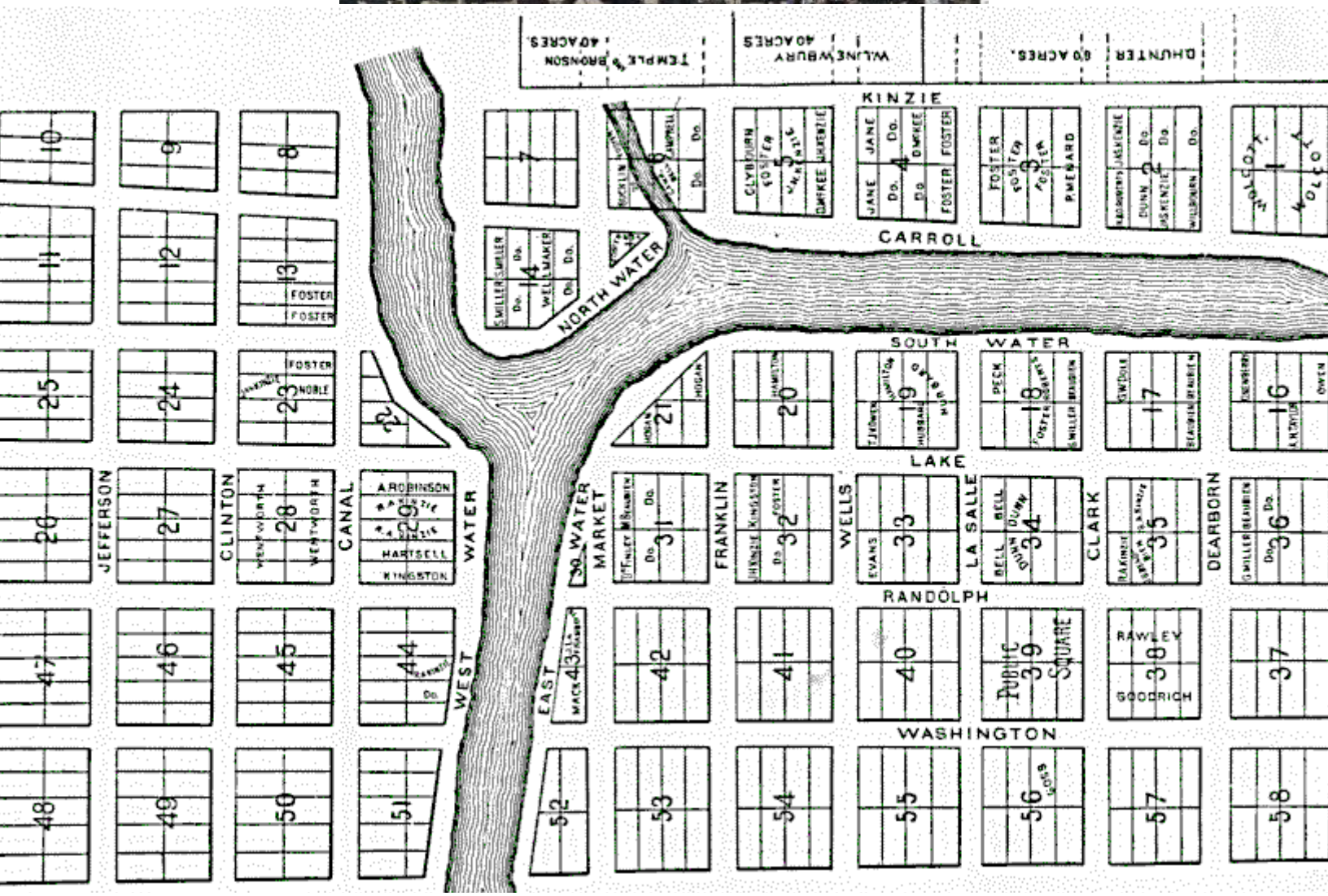
August 10, Saturday: The Salem Observer printed Jones Very's 1st poem, a poem appropriate to the season, "The earth is parched with heat."

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:



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 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

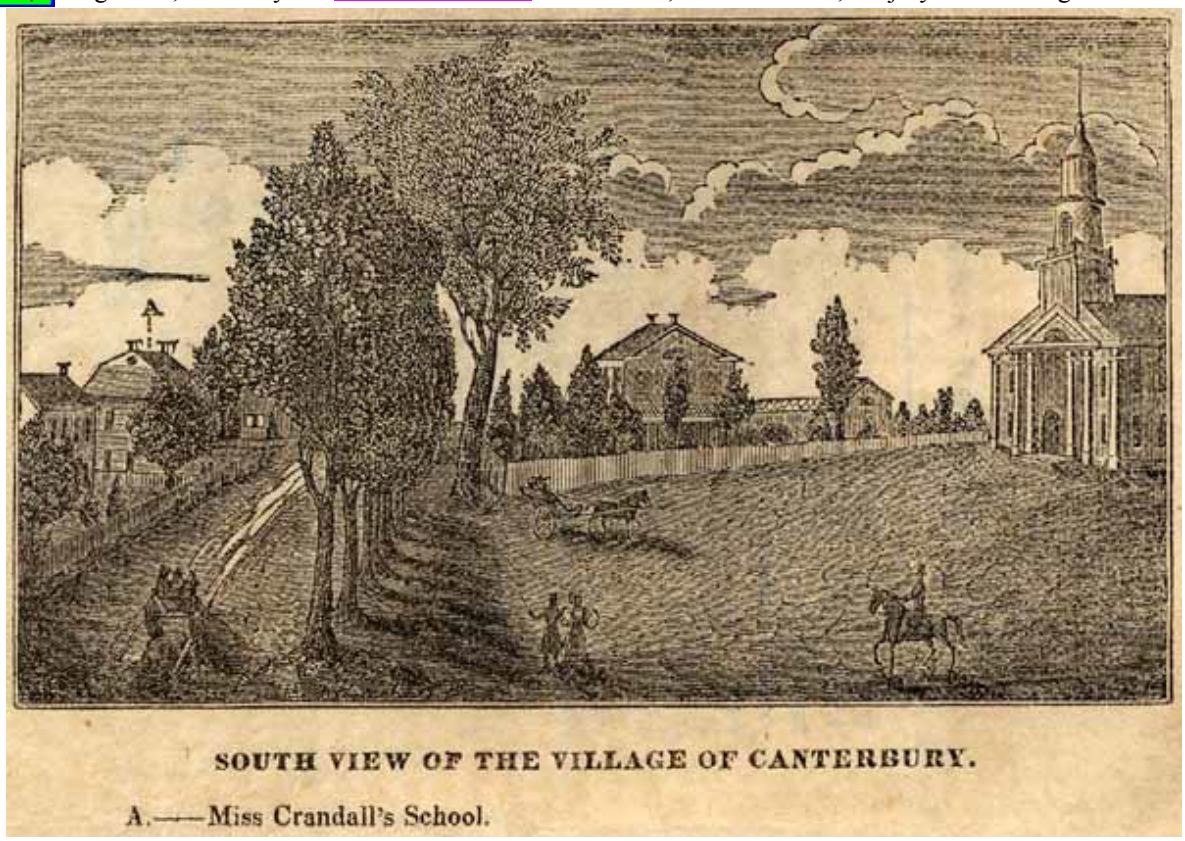
his death in Fraser's Magazine for 1835, reprinted in the Miscellanies. He also corresponded with Goethe. Latterly, we hear, the poet Sterling was his only intimate acquaintance in England.

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 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.[11]

> 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.

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

11. [I have not yet been able to resolve this entry against the entry for August 28, which is from Heffer.]

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

- 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
- "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]**

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

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 subtile 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.

FALL 1833

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).

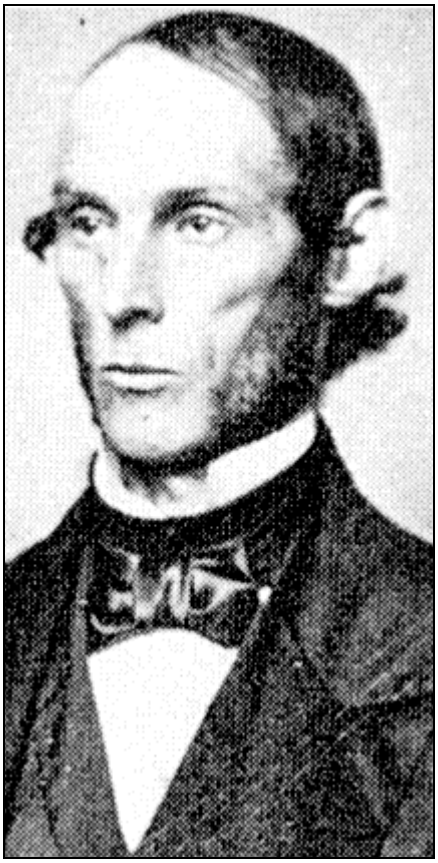
NAT TURNER

SEPTEMBER 1833

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.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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.^{00} entrance fee and been recognized as a member of the "Institute of 1770."



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.

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

(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.)

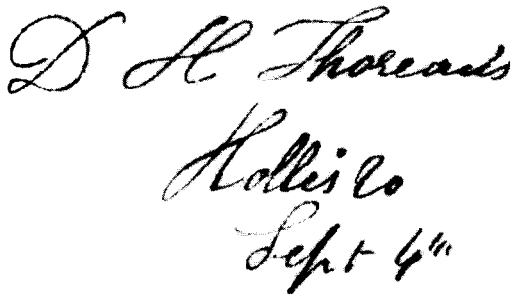
September 4, Wednesday: Barney Flaherty, a 10-year-old, was hired as the 1st paper boy (the 1st, that is, still known to history by a name).

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 6, Friday: At Harvard College, David Henry Thoreau purchased his volume of Cicero's *De oratore*.[12]



September 8, Sunday: Charles Darwin set off on horseback toward Buenos Aires, Argentina.

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).[13]

12. 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*

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

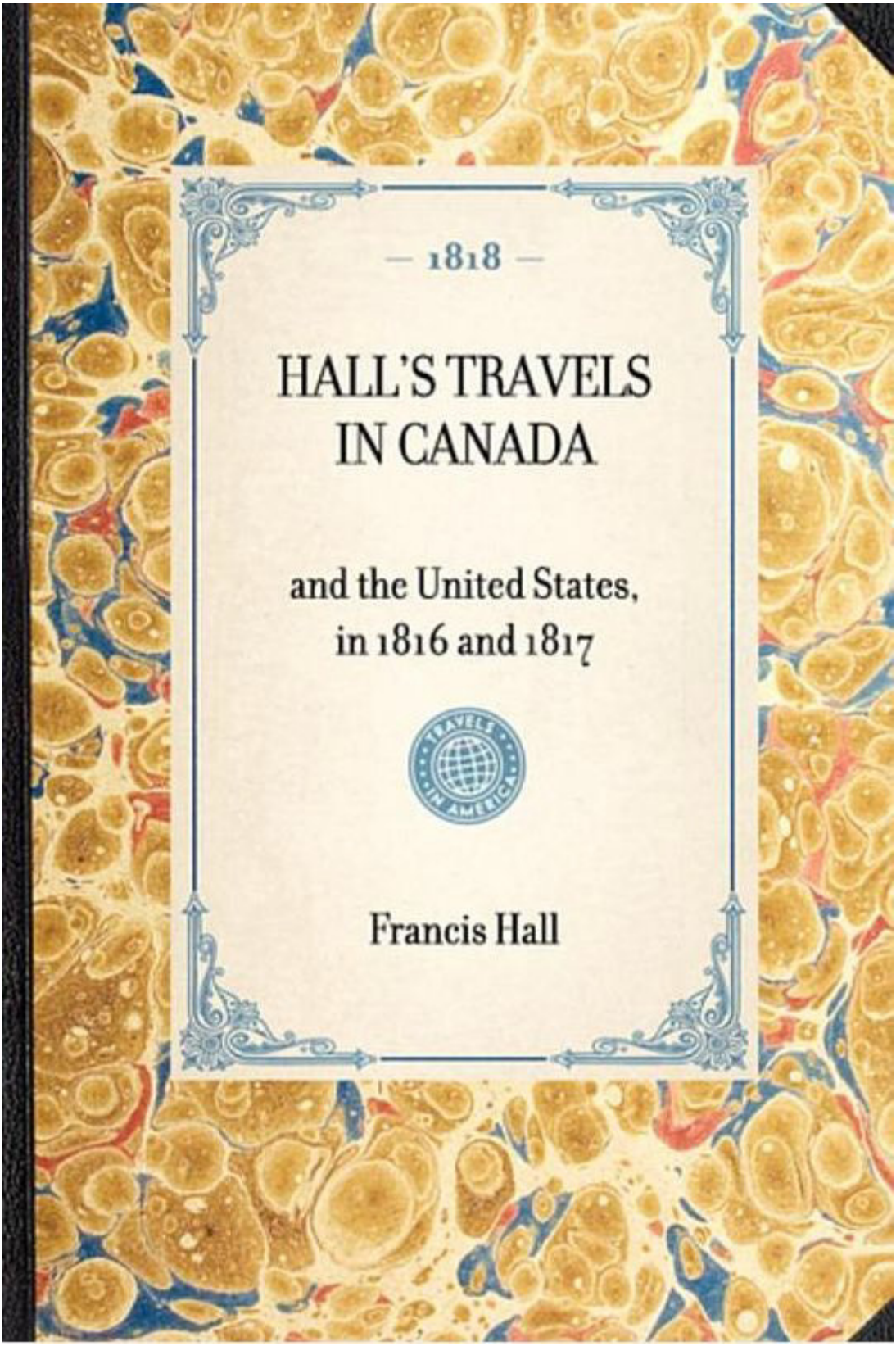
(Disambiguation: This traveler is neither the Captain Charles Francis Hall who would explore in the Arctic, nor the American businessman Francis Hall who in a later timeframe would relocate to exotic Japan.)

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.

13. 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.

Nec longo diſtant curſu: modo Juppiter adſit,
Tertia lux claſſem Cretæis ſiſtet in oris.
Sic fatus, meritos aris mactavit honores,
Taurum Neptuno, taurum tibi, pulcher Apollo;
Nigram Hiemi pecudem, Zephyris felicibus albam.
Fama volat, pulſum regnis ceſſiſſe paternis
Idomenea ducem, deſertaque litora Cretæ;
Hoſte vacare domos, ſedeſque aſtare relictas.
Linquimus Ortygiæ portus, pelagoque volamus:
Bacchatamque jugis Naxon, viridemque Donyſam,
Olearon, niveamque Paron, ſparſaſque per æquor
Cycladas, et crebris legimus freta conſita terris.
Nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor:
Hortantur ſocii, Cretam, proavoſque petamus.
Proſequitur ſurgens 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.
Jamque fere ſicco ſubductæ litore puppes:
Connubiis, arviſque novis operata juventus:
Jura domoſque dabam: ſubito quum tabida membris,
Corrupto cœli tractu, miſerandaque venit
Arboribuſque ſatiſque lues, et lethifer annus.
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:
Quem feſſis finem rebus ferat: unde laborum
Tentare auxilium jubeat: quo vertere curſus.


— 1818 —
HALL'S TRAVELS IN CANADA
and the United States, in 1816 and 1817
TRAVELS IN AMERICA
Francis Hall

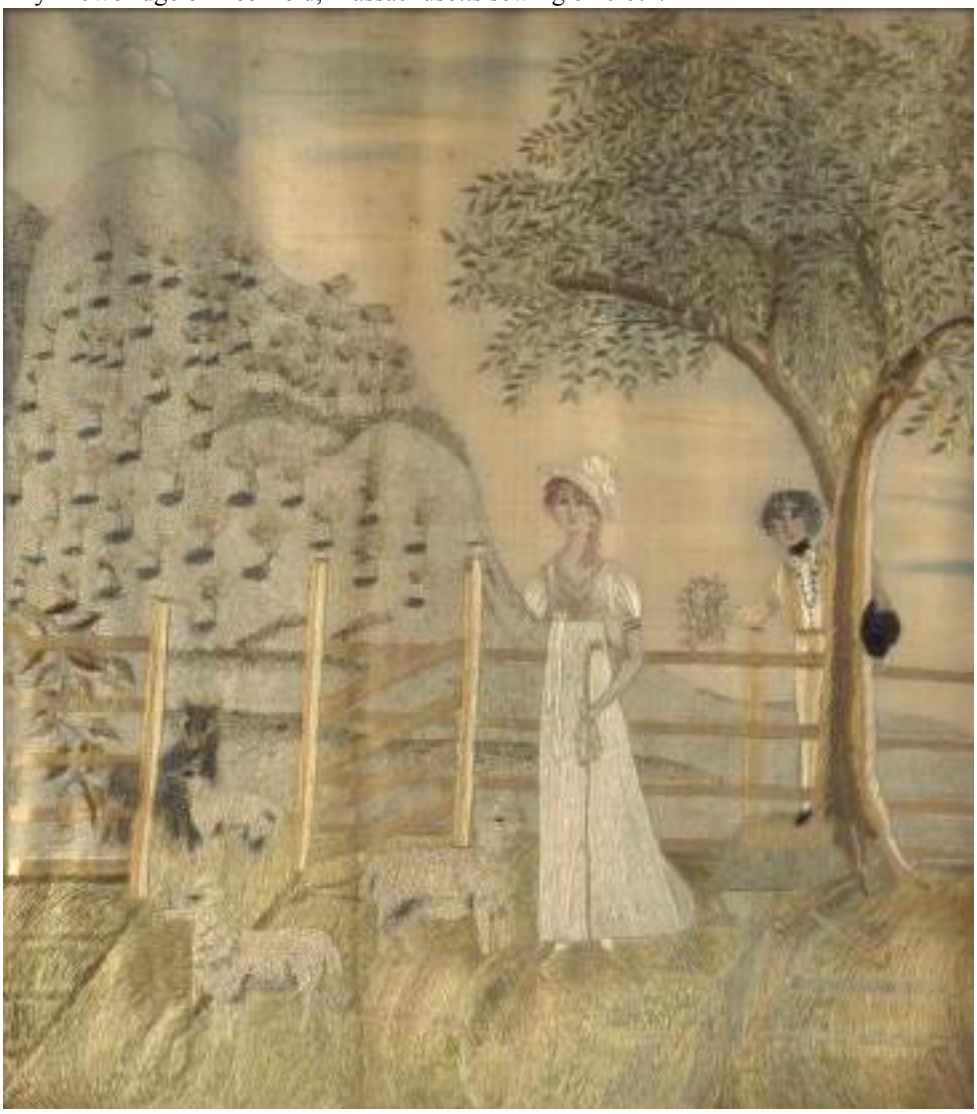
September 18, Wednesday: Meeting in Munchengratz, Bohemia, Tsar Nikolai of Russia and Prince von Metternich of Austria agreed to prop up the Ottoman Empire — or if it collapsed, to partition it.

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 20, Friday: Charles Darwin rode into Buenos Aires.

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."[14]

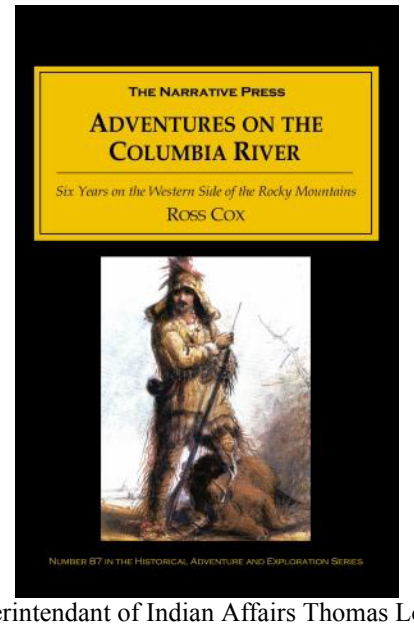
September 25, Wednesday: Felix Mendelssohn arrives in Dusseldorf to take up his position as music director.

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

14. There's this beach-front property in Arizona....

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 Superintendant 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

CONNECTED WITH THE TREATY OF FOND DU LAC (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1827).[15]

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

15. 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.

strength to resist temptation.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

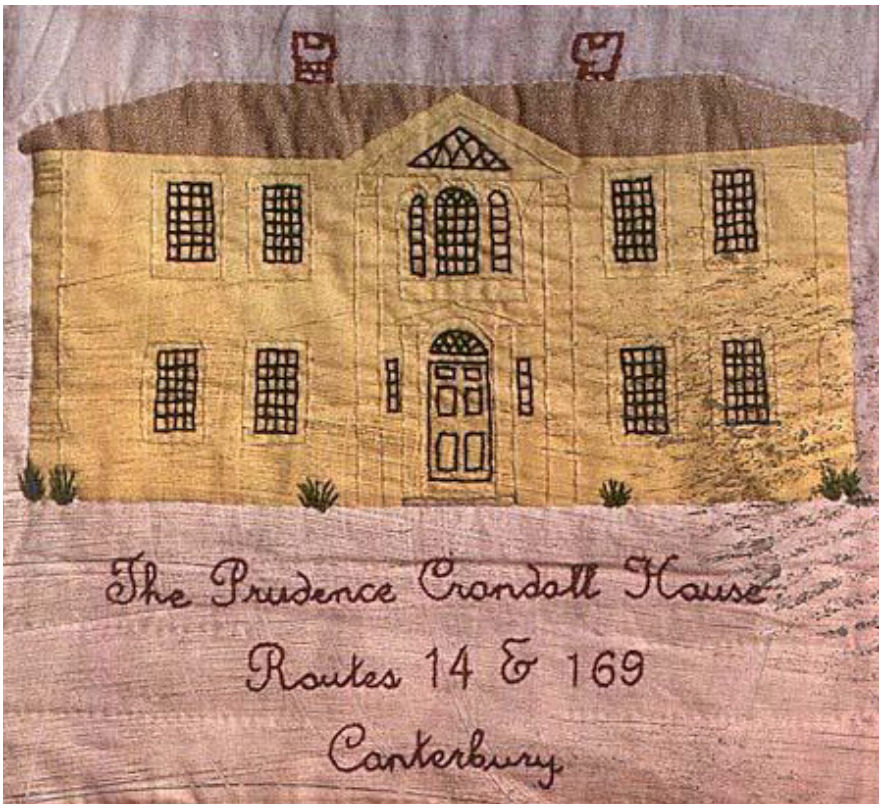
Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford

OCTOBER 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.

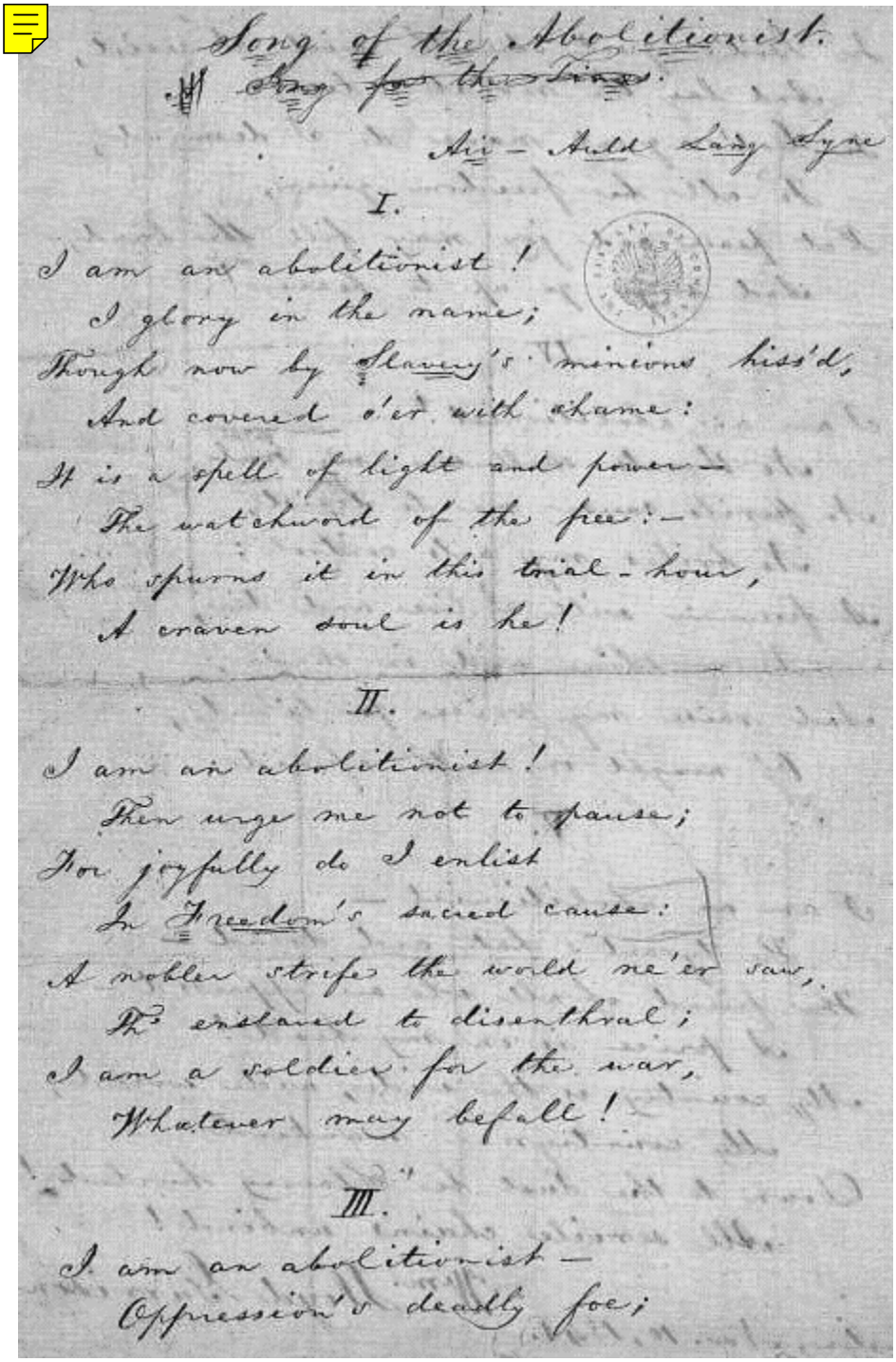
THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR



THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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.

Air – Auld Lang 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,
Ne'er enlisted to disenthral;
I am a soldier for the war,
Whatever may befall!

III.

I am an abolitionist –
Oppression's deadly foe;

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 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.[16]

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 though 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!)

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).[17]

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).[18]

16. 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.)

17. Street, W.R. A CHRONOLOGY OF NOTEWORTHY EVENTS IN AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY. Washington DC: American Psychological Association, 1994

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 consumate 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 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 —*

18. 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.

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.

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."

NOVEMBER 1833

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

November: Edwin Forrest played the lead in John Augustus Stone's *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE *WAMPANOAGS* in Boston.

Titillation 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

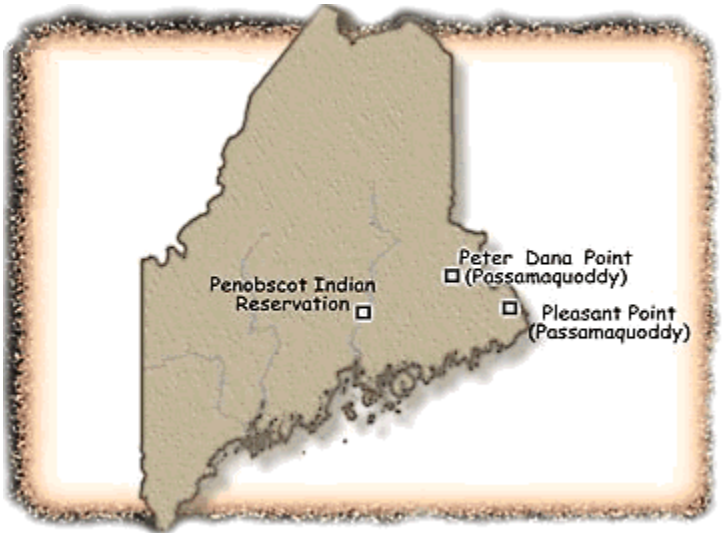
tribal government on their remaining tribal lands:[19]

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.

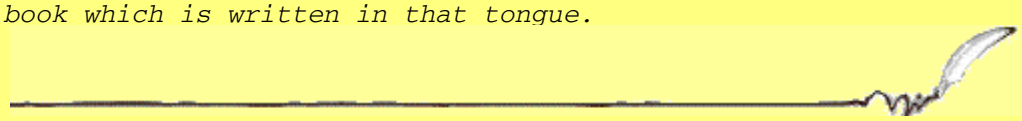


One may wonder how much excitement was being created in Concord by the fact that here was this most famous actor, Forrest, playing in downtown Boston in a prizewinning play written about famous local events by Stone, a favorite son of the town![20]

19. 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.
20. (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 dawn 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 12, Tuesday: Alyeksandr Porfiryevich 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

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.[21]

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.

21. 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.

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?

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

During this winter Abba Alcott became pregnant.

DECEMBER 1833

December: In the Monthly Magazine, Charles Dickens's first published sketch, "A Dinner at Poplar Walk" (eight more such sketches would be being published in the Monthly Magazine, between January 1834 and February 1835).

December: Sophia Amelia Peabody and her sister Mary Tyler Peabody (Mann) traveled with the family of Richard Cleveland to Cuba. Her letters home would be collected and circulated among friends (but not published) by her mother Elizabeth Palmer Peabody under the title THE CUBA JOURNAL, 1833-1835.

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.[22]

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.

22. 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.

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: 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.

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.

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).

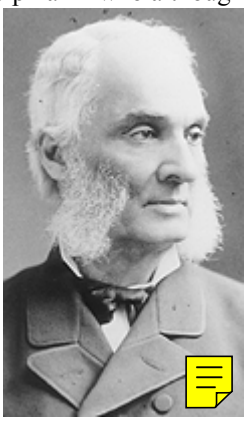
December 4, Wednesday: The Calculational Engine project had soaked up to date some £17,000 in tax revenues, a truly enormous sum of money, and there was nothing whatever to show for it. Charles Babbage ordered his contractor Joseph Clement, as preparations for removal of the engine were completed: To 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

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.

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.[23] 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

23. 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.)

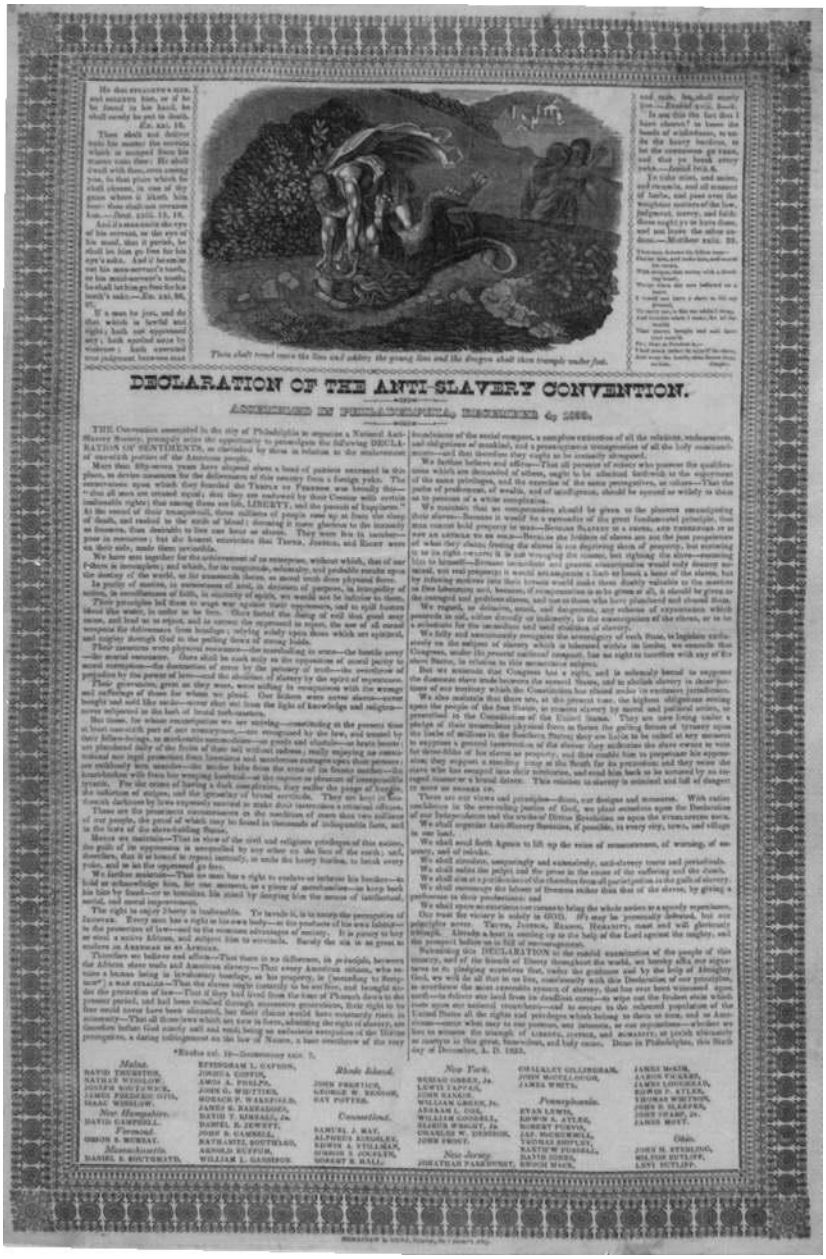
There were two or three Unitarians. At one point during the convention a young man at the door was speaking of his desire to dip his hand in Garrison's blood but the Philadelphia police, rather than take such a person into detention, warned the convention organizers that the path of discretion would 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.[24]

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:

24. 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.



DECLARATION OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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....

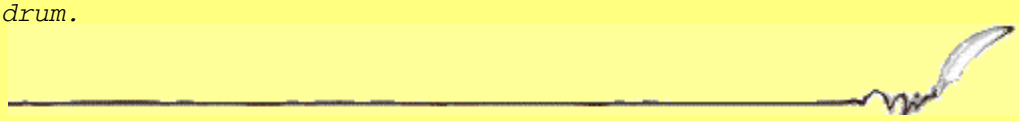
December 6, Friday: In Charlestown, Massachusetts, anti-Catholic rioting began after a WASP was beaten to death by Irish immigrants. The homes of many Catholics were destroyed.

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 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.

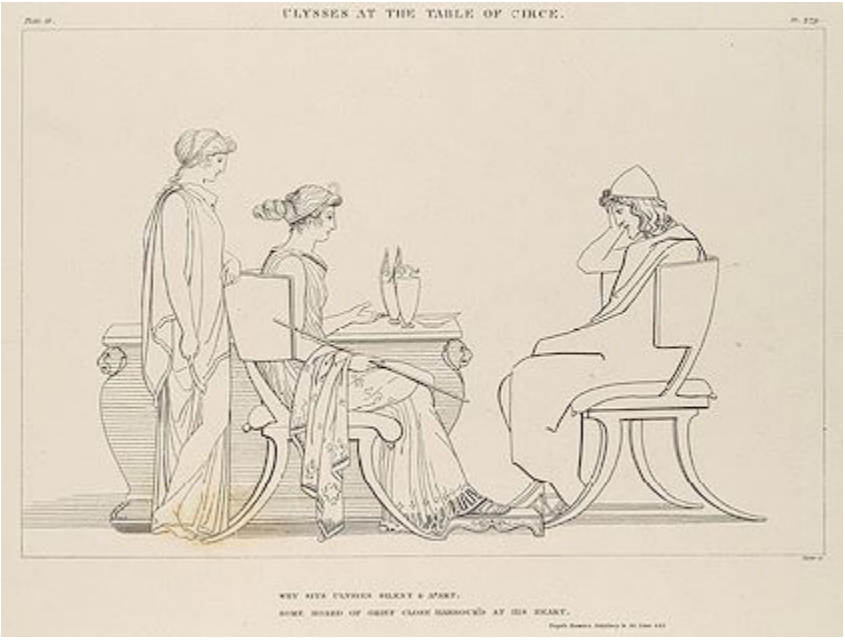


December 27, Friday: Charles Brown, a man of color, was hanged at Providence, Rhode Island.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1833

1834

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



THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

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.

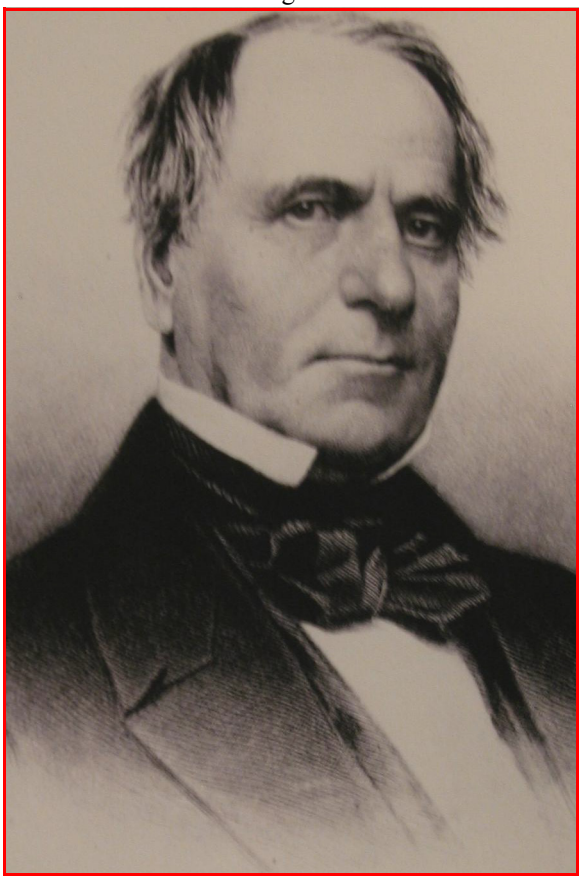
(Robert L. Lace, January-March 1986)

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."

The initial horse-drawn public omnibuses on rails resembled stagecoaches, but were elongated, had their door at the rear, and had their seats facing in rather than facing front. With a roof-full of passengers these contraptions could carry about 20 in addition to the driver. Constructed on a French plan and tried out 1st in New York in 1831, the initial one to go into service in the Boston area connected that municipality with Cambridge in this year.

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,	.20
——————— — 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 Element's 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

Lemuel Shattuck opened a bookstore in Cambridge.



THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

In his journal for this year, on the road to Stonewall,[25] Waldo Emerson would attempt to deal with the disturbingly homoerotic attraction he had experienced in 1820 for Martin Gay:

> Perhaps thinking about his own unsettling experience [with Martin Gay in 1820] Emerson in 1834 wondered about "the disturbance, the self-discord which young men feel" and concluded that it "is a most important crisis" (quoted on page 461 of Jonathan Ned Katz's GAY AMERICAN HISTORY, NY: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1976). In the same journal he speculates about a similar feeling he intuits in Shakespeare's sonnets, speculating on William Shakespeare's "unknown self." He observes "how remarkable in every way" are Shakespeare's sonnets. Those addressed to a beautiful young man seem to show some "singular friendship amounting to a passion" (THE JOURNALS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTEBOOKS, 1960, pages 289-90). The singular friendship Emerson feels for Martin Gay he seems to see reflected in the "passion" of the sonnets. Perhaps he discerns there his "unknown self" and identifies his own crisis — one that he could not or would not resolve.

Richard "Conversation" Sharp's LETTERS AND ESSAYS IN PROSE AND VERSE (London: Edward Moxon, Dover Street). Henry Thoreau would in 1838 copy from the essay "On Self-Controul" in the 3d edition.

RICHARD SHARP'S ESSAYS

Thomas Carlyle began to read about Oliver Cromwell in preparation for a biography he would author in 1841. From sometime this year through 1836 he would be writing away on a history of the French revolution which he would complete on January 12, 1837.

His initial published remarks on the life of the prophet Mohammed (such remarks would later be made part of his HEROES AND HERO WORSHIP.)

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

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

At approximately this point in time, Herman Melville was working as a farmhand on his uncle Tom's farm in western Massachusetts.

HERMAN MELVILLE

Jean-Baptiste Say's A TREATISE ON POLITICAL ECONOMY: OR THE PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION, AND CONSUMPTION OF WEALTH was published in Philadelphia by Grigg and Elliot as translated from the 4th edition of the French by C.R. Prinsep, with notes by the translator. This was the 6th American edition, containing a translation of the introduction, and additional notes by Clement C. Biddle. (In one copy of this appears the ownership signature "D H Thoreau. H 23" at the top of the blank page following the front free endpaper. Manuscript notations on pages 89, 114, 123, 323, 426, and 483 seem to indicate sections which were to be read for Henry Thoreau's class assignments. An entry from an unknown auction or book dealer's catalog is attached to the verso of the back free endpaper of this volume, indicating that it had been "Thoreau's copy, being the Economics text-book used by him while a student at Harvard College.")[26]

JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY

26. What Google Books has to offer in regard to this edition is a copy printed in 1836 rather than 1834.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

WALDEN: If I wished a boy to know something about the arts and sciences, for instance, I would not pursue the common course, which is merely to send him into the neighborhood of some professor, where any thing is professed and practised but the art of life; –to survey the world through a telescope or a microscope, and never with his natural eye; to study chemistry, and not learn how his bread is made, or mechanics, and not learn how it is earned; to discover new satellites to Neptune, and not detect the motes in his eyes, or to what vagabond he is a satellite himself; or to be devoured by the monsters that swarm all around him, while contemplating the monsters in a drop of vinegar. Which would have advanced the most at the end of a month, –the boy who had made his own jack-knife from the ore which he had dug and smelted, reading as much as would be necessary for this, –or the boy who had attended the lectures on metallurgy at the Institute in the mean while, and had received a Rodgers' penknife from his father? Which would be most likely to cut his fingers? –To my astonishment I was informed on leaving college that I had studied navigation! –why, if I had taken one turn down the harbor I should have known more about it. Even the **poor** student studies and is taught only **political** economy, while that economy of living which is synonymous with philosophy is not even sincerely professed in our colleges. The consequence is, that while he is reading Adam Smith, Ricardo, and Say, he runs his father in debt irretrievably.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

ADAM SMITH
DAVID RICARDO
JEAN-BAPTISTE SAY

At 4 years of age, little Horace Rice Hosmer was being taught the alphabet by his 12-year-old sister Martha Putnam Hosmer, out of their mother Lydia Davis Hosmer's NEW TESTAMENT.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

In this year, the Boston and Worcester Railroad began to operate, in stages, serving first to connect Boston with the Connecticut River Valley and then with the network around Albany, New York. We weren't just on our way to and from the suburbs, we were on our way west into our great future:

"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."
— Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington

According to Joseph Felt's ANNALS OF SALEM, in this year a circus was touring Massachusetts.

Publication in London of THE LIBRARY OF ENTERTAINING KNOWLEDGE: THE HINDOOS, from which Henry

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Thoreau would quote extracts that had been derived from James Mill's 1817 THE HISTORY OF INDIA:

WALDEN: I have travelled a good deal in Concord; and every where, in shops, and offices, and fields, the inhabitants have appeared to me to be doing penance in a thousand remarkable ways. What I have heard of Brahmins sitting exposed to four fires and looking in the face of the sun; or hanging suspended, with their heads downward, over flames; or looking at the heavens over their shoulders "until it becomes impossible for them to resume their natural position, while from the twist of the neck nothing but liquids can pass into the stomach;" or dwelling, chained for life, at the foot of a tree; or measuring with their bodies, like caterpillars, the breadth of vast empires; or standing on one leg on the tops of pillars, –even these forms of conscious penance are hardly more incredible and astonishing than the scenes which I daily witness. The twelve labors of Hercules were trifling in comparison with those which my neighbors have undertaken; for they were only twelve, and had an end; but I could never see that these men slew or captured any monster or finished any labor. They have no friend Iolas to burn with a hot iron the root of the hydra's head, but as soon as one head is crushed, two spring up.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

HERCULES
JAMES MILL

Thoreau would also include a poem by Thomas Carew in WALDEN which mentions Hercules.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN:

COMPLEMENTAL VERSES

THE PRETENSIONS OF POVERTY

"Thou dost presume too much, poor needy wretch,
To claim a station in the firmament,
Because thy humble cottage, or thy tub,
Nurses some lazy or pedantic virtue
In the cheap sunshine or by shady springs,
With roots and pot-herbs; where thy right hand,
Tearing those human passions from the mind
Upon whose stocks fair blooming virtues flourish,
Degradeth nature, and benumbeth sense,
And, Gorgon-like, turns active men to stone
We not require the dull society
Of your necessitated temperance,
Or that unnatural stupidity
That knows nor joy nor sorrow; nor your forc'd
Falsely exalted passive fortitude
Above the active. This low abject brood
That fix their seats in mediocrity,
Become your servile minds; but we advance
Such virtues only as admit excess,
Brave, bounteous acts, regal magnificence,
All-seeing prudence, magnanimity
That knows no bound, and that heroic virtue
For which antiquity hath left no name,
But patterns only, such as Hercules,
Achilles, Theseus. Back to thy loath'd cell;
And when thou seest the new enlightened sphere,
Study to know but what those worthies were."

T. CAREW

THOMAS CAREW

William Gilpin's REMARKS ON FOREST SCENERY was printed in Edinburgh. Henry Thoreau would obtain

some materials from Volume II, pages 101ff and 122:

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN: Gilpin, in his account of the forest borderers of England, says that "the encroachments of trespassers, and the houses and fences thus raised on the borders of the forest," were "considered as great nuisances by the old forest law, and were severely punished under the name of *purprestures*, as tending *ad terrorem ferarum – ad nocumentum forestæ*, &c.," to the frightening of the game and the detriment of the forest. But I was interested in the preservation of the venison and the vert more than the hunters or wood-choppers, and as much as though I had been the Lord Warden himself; and if any part was burned, though I burned it myself by accident, I grieved with a grief that lasted longer and was more inconsolable than that of the proprietors; nay, I grieved when it was cut down by the proprietors themselves. I would that our farmers when they cut down a forest felt some of that awe which the old Romans did when they came to thin, or let in the light to, a consecrated grove, (*lucum conlucare*,) that is, would believe that it is sacred to some god. The Roman made an expiatory offering, and prayed, Whatever god or goddess thou art to whom this grove is sacred, be propitious to me, my family, and children, &c.

WILLIAM GILPIN

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WALDEN: William Gilpin, who is so admirable in all that relates to landscapes, and usually so correct, standing at the head of Loch Fyne, in Scotland, which he describes as "a bay of salt water, sixty or seventy fathoms deep, four miles in breadth," and about fifty miles long, surrounded by mountains, observes, "If we could have seen it immediately after the diluvian crash, or whatever convulsion of Nature occasioned it, before the waters gushed in, what a horrid chasm it must have appeared!

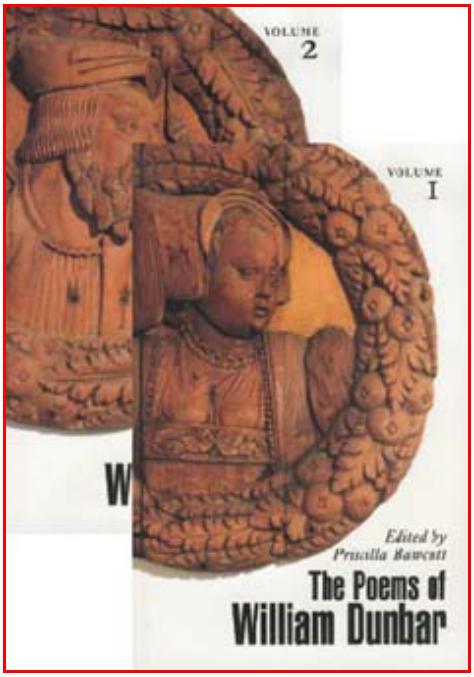
WILLIAM GILPIN

John Augustus Stone's play "The Knight of the Golden Fleece, or The Yankee in Spain."

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

THE POEMS OF WILLIAM DUNBAR were published. **(see following screen)**



SCOTLAND

READ DUNBAR'S POEMS

CLAN DUNBAR

Lament for the Makaris
Quhen he was Sek

I that in heill wes and gladnes,
Am trublit now with gret seiknes,
And feblit with infermite;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
Our plesance heir is all vane glory,
This fals warld is bot transitory,
The flesche is brukle, the Fend is sle;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
The stait of man dois change and vary,
Now sound, now seik, now blith, now sary,
Now dansand mery, now like to dee;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
No stait in erd heir standis sickir;
As with the wynd wavis the wickir,
Wavis this warldis vanite.
Timor mortis conturbat me.
On to the ded gois all estatis,
Princis, prelotis, and potestatis,
Baith riche and pur of al degre;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
He takis the knychtis in to feild,
Anarmit under helme and scheild;
Victour he is at all mellie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
That strang unmercifull tyrand
Takis, on the moderis breist sowkand,
The bab full of benignite;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
He takis the campion in the stour,
The capitane closit in the tour,
The lady in bour full of bewte;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
He sparis no lord for his piscence,
Na clerk for his intelligence;
His awfull strak may no man fle;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
Art-magicianis, and astrologgis,
Rethoris, logicianis, and theologgis,
Thame helpis no conclusionis sle;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
In medicyne the most practicianis,
Lechis, surrigianis, and phisicianis,
Thame self fra ded may not supple;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
I se that makaris amang the laif
Playis heir ther pageant, syne gois to graif;
Sparit is nocht ther faculte;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
He hes done petuously devour,
The noble Chaucer, of makaris flour,
The Monk of Bery, and Gower, all thre;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
The gude Syr Hew of Eglintoun,
And eik Heryot, and Wyntoun,
He hes tane out of this cuntre;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
That scorpion fell hes done infek
Maister Johne Clerk, and Jame Afflek,
Fra balat making and tragidie;
Timor mortis conturbat me.
Holland and Barbour he hes berevit;
Allace! that he nocht with us levit

To The City Of London

London, thou art of town{.e}s A per se.
Soveraign of cities, semeliest in sight,
Of high renoun, riches, and royaltie;
Of lordis, barons, and many goodly knyght;
Of most delectable lusty ladies bright;
Of famous prelatis in habitis clericall;
Of merchauntis full of substaunce and myght:
London, thou art the flour of Cities all.
Gladdith anon, thou lusty Troy Novaunt,
Citie that some tyme cleped was New Troy,
In all the erth, imperiall as thou stant,
Pryncesse of townes, of pleasure, and of joy,
A richer restith under no Christen roy;
For manly power, with craftis naturall,
Fourmeth none fairer sith the flode of Noy:
London, thou art the flour of Cities all.
Gemme of all joy, jasper of jocunditie,
Most myghty carbuncle of vertue and valour;
Strong Troy in vigour and in strenuytie;
Of royall cities rose and geraflour;
Empresse of town{.e}s, exalt in honour;
In beawtie beryng the crone imperiall;
Swete paradise precelling in pleasure:
London, thow art the floure of Cities all.
Above all ryvers thy Ryver hath renowne,
Whose beryall stremys, pleasaunt and preclare,
Under thy lusty wallys renneth down,
Where many a swanne doth swymme with wyngis fare;
Where many a barge doth saile, and row with are,
Where many a ship doth rest with toppe-royall.
O! towne of townes, patrone and not-compare:
London, thou art the floure of Cities all.
Upon thy lusty Brigge of pylers white
Been merchauntis full royall to behold;
Upon thy stretis goth many a semely knyght
In velvet gownes and cheyn{.e}s of fyne gold.
By Julyus Cesar thy Tour founded of old
May be the hous of Mars victoryall,
Whos artillary with tonge may not be told:
London, thou art the flour of Cities all.
Strong be thy wallis that about the standis;
Wise be the people that within the dwellis;
Fresh is thy ryver with his lusty strandis;
Blith be thy chirches, wele sownyng be thy bellis;
Riche be thy merchauntis in substaunce that excellis;
Fair be thy wives, right lovesom, white and small;
Clere be thy virgyns, lusty under kellis:
London, thow art the flour of Cities all.
Thy famous Maire, by pryncely governaunce,
With swerd of justice the rulith prudently.
No Lord of Parys, Venyce, or Floraunce
In dignytie or honoure goeth to hym nye.
He is exampler, lood{.e}-ster, and guye;
Principall patrone and roose orygynalle,
Above all Maires as maister moost worthy:
London, thou art the flour of Cities all.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

John Thoreau, Jr. inscribed his name into the front of a volume of advice to young men. That volume was Jane West (1758-1852)'s LETTERS ADDRESSED TO A YOUNG MAN, ON HIS FIRST ENTRANCE INTO LIFE, AND ADAPTED TO THE PECULIAR CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PRESENT TIMES … printed in 1803 in Charlestown by Samuel Etheridge for Samuel H. Parker of Court-Street, Boston as two volumes in one. I cannot show you electronic copy of that particular volume (which is now in Special Collections at the Concord Free Public Library because it had been found in the personal library of Henry Thoreau), but I can show you something that must be quite similar. Here, then, is an electronic edition of Volume I of a three-volume set bearing the same title and authored by the same author, as issued in 1801:

MRS. JANE WEST'S ADVICE

NARRATIVE OF AN EXPEDITION THROUGH THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI TO ITASCA LAKE, THE ACTUAL SOURCE OF THIS RIVER; EMBRACING AN EXPLORATORY TRIP THROUGH THE ST. CROIX AND BURNTWOOD (OR BROULE) RIVERS; IN 1832. UNDER THE DIRECTION OF HENRY R. SCHOOLCRAFT (New-York: Harper & Brothers, No. 82 Cliff-Street)

TRUE SOURCE OF BIG RIVER

(In about 1852 Henry Thoreau would copy items from this into his Indian Notebook #6.)

Revision and separate publication of an article in the *ENCYCLOPÆDIA METROPOLITANA* as a textbook suitable to be used during Henry Thoreau's college education: Archbishop Richard Whately, D.D.'s ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC... (Cambridge: James Munroe and Company / Booksellers to the University; New York: William Jackson).

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

WHATELY'S RHETORIC

It could be fairly said that at Harvard College, David Henry Thoreau was "an early comp-lit major." He had 6 semesters of Greek, 6 of Latin, 5 of Italian, 4 of French, 3 of German, and 2 of Spanish. In addition, he studied German with the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson. At that time there was no English Department, but instead a Department of Rhetoric and Oratory. The professor was Edward Tyrrell Channing, and the primary texts were Archbishop Richard Whately's ELEMENTS OF RHETORIC and LOGIC. This, in conjunction with classes in literature, enable us to say fairly that Thoreau took the equivalent of "five semesters of English" (although no courses at all were then being thus denominated). When one combines what Harvard College had to offer in the way of a "classical education" back in the 1st half of the 19th Century, with what Thoreau's interests were, one is forced to the conclusion that, as a first approximation, the best way to explain Thoreau's formal education to the modern college undergraduate student is simply to allow as above that he had been "an early Comp Lit major." (One might then go on and explain that Comparative Literature was such a new field of study,

in the first half of the 19th Century, that it did not even yet possess a name or an identity as a separate field of inquiry. One might then go on and explain that after his formal education, due to its raging Eurocentrism, Thoreau had been forced to continue into independent study of various literatures which had been quite omitted from the formal curriculum. One might also go on to acknowledge that the sort of comp-lit experience that Harvard then offered was what today would be regarded as markedly old-style, obsolescent, even retrograde, rather than the sort of critical-theory-laden experience that is offered by the more up-to-date and up-to-snuff professors lately practicing in this field.)

The 2d volume, on water birds, of Professor Thomas Nuttall's A MANUAL OF THE ORNITHOLOGY OF THE UNITED STATES AND OF CANADA (Cambridge: Hilliard and Brown; Boston: Hilliard, Gray). He resigned as curator of the Botanical Garden of Harvard in order to accompany the Wyeth Expedition to the Pacific coast.

NUTTALL'S WATER BIRDS

Horatio Cook Meriam received his A.M. degree from Harvard College:

Horatio Cook Meriam; LL.B. 1831; A.M. 1834 1872

NEW "HARVARD MEN"

James Russell Lowell matriculated at Harvard.

The Reverend Professor Jared Sparks of Harvard began the long-term task of editing a 10-volume series (Boston: Hilliard, Gray; London: Kennett) –and then a 15-volume series– of THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

LIBRARY OF AM. BIOG. I

The Boston Bewick Company was incorporated by John H. Hall, Abel Bowen, and John C. Crossman, with a capitalization of $120,000. The artists who accepted commissions through this entity were Abel Bowen, Alonzo Hartwell, John H. Hall, William Croome, George W. Boynton, John C. Crossman, Daniel H. Craig, and N.B. Devereux, Jr. This would be the company to publish American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, volume III of which would be put together largely by Nathaniel Hawthorne and Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne.

In Salem, Massachusetts, Hawthorne finished a collection he titled THE STORY TELLER, a group of stories within a framing narrative (although rejected by Goodrich and the manuscript lost, some of these stories would later appear separately in The Token and another annual, Youth's Keepsake, and in New-England Magazine, American Monthly Magazine and American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge from 1834 to 1837. Hawthorne visited Rochester, New York.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Waldo Emerson's brother Charles Chauncy Emerson lectured at the newly founded Concord Lyceum on the

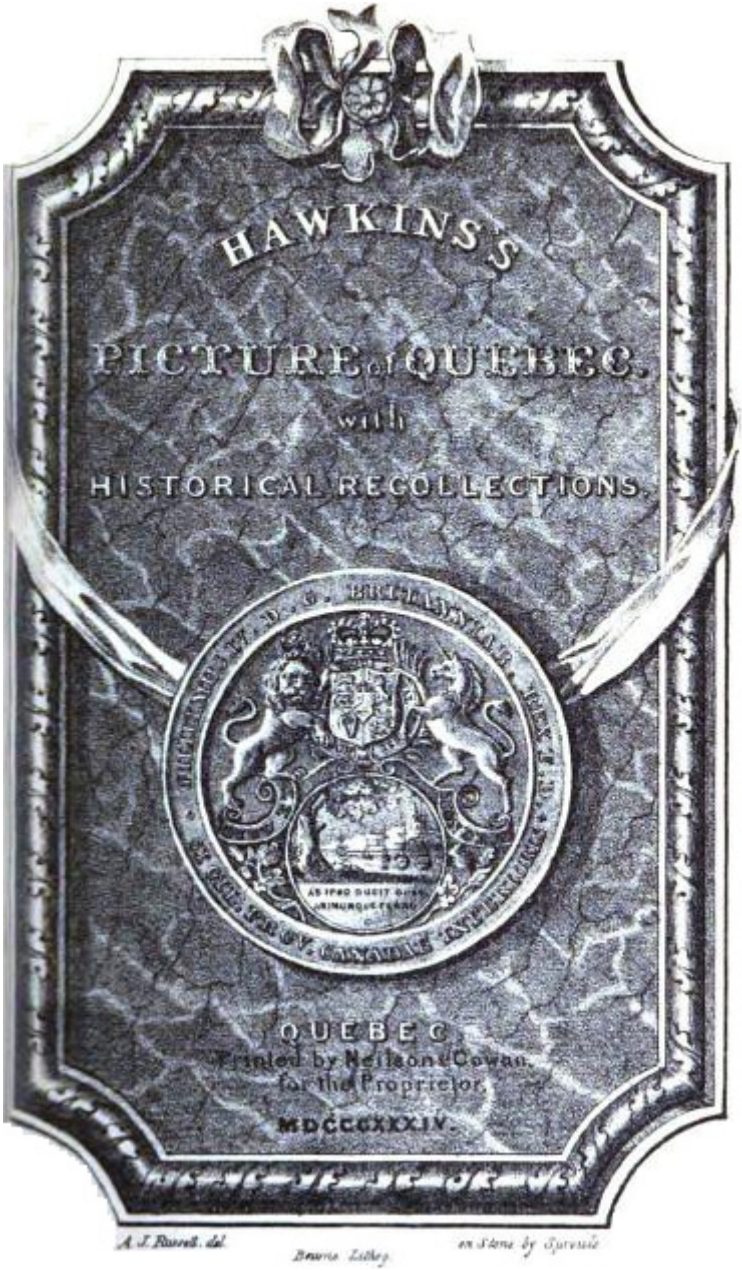
life and the death of Socrates. (He would repeat this lecture in the Salem Lyceum during the Winter 1835-1836

lecture season.)

Before Lecture **After Lecture**

Were John Shepard Keyes, who was trying to decide between Hanover and Cambridge, and David Henry Thoreau, who had become a freshman in Cambridge, in the audience?

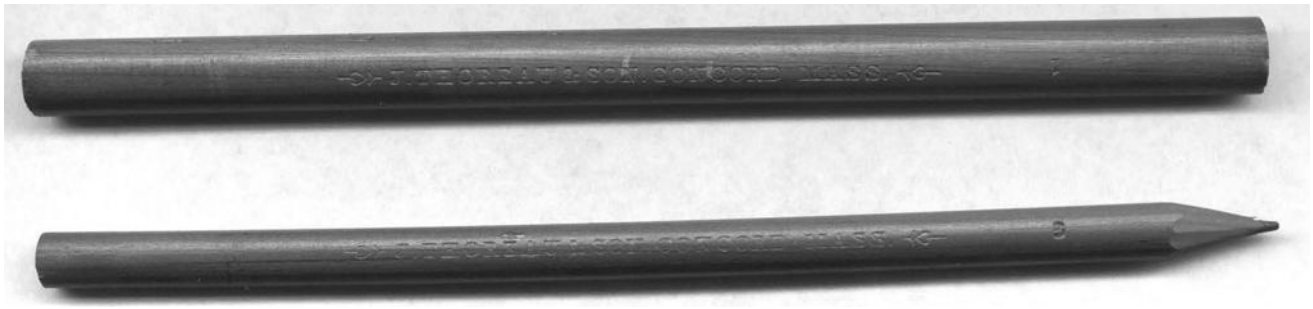
Alfred Hawkins's HAWKINS'S PICTURE OF QUÉBEC, WITH HISTORICAL RECOLLECTIONS, printed for the Proprietor of Québec in Canada by Neilson & Cowan, involved 477 pages of description of that city's history, geography, institutions, religious orders, sieges, architecture, etc. The 14 lithographed plates drawn on stone by Sproule included views, buildings, street scenes, gates, harbour, etc. (It was this Alfred Hawkins who searched out the place high upon the rocks at which Major-General Montgomery had fallen on December 31, 1775, and placed a board there bearing an historical inscription. John Charlton Fisher and Andrew Stuart contributed materials to this volume, which would be withdrawn by Henry Thoreau from the Harvard Library on February 10, 1851 and returned on April 29, 1851.)



Thoreau accessed this volume to check historical details. He noted a mention of the antiquity of the name *Saguenai*. He was interested in learning when it had been that Europeans had begun to make regular fishing trips to the Grand Banks. H e noted "Hawkins thinks that Roberval did not go to the Saguenay up the S. river."

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

In the early 1830s, Thoreau pencils were finding a steady market with or without the family name imprinted, and were threatening William Munroe's similar local business. With both firms having their plumbago ground at Ebenezer Wood's mill on the fast-flowing Assabet River, it appears that Munroe had attempted to persuade Wood to stop grinding for Thoreau, and his plot had backfired when Wood, who evidently was making more money from Thoreau, instead stopped grinding for Munroe. The Munroe business had faltered while the Thoreaus were prospering. When graphite could no longer be obtained from their claim near Bristol, New Hampshire, they continued using ore mined near Sturbridge, Massachusetts, and later, when that had been



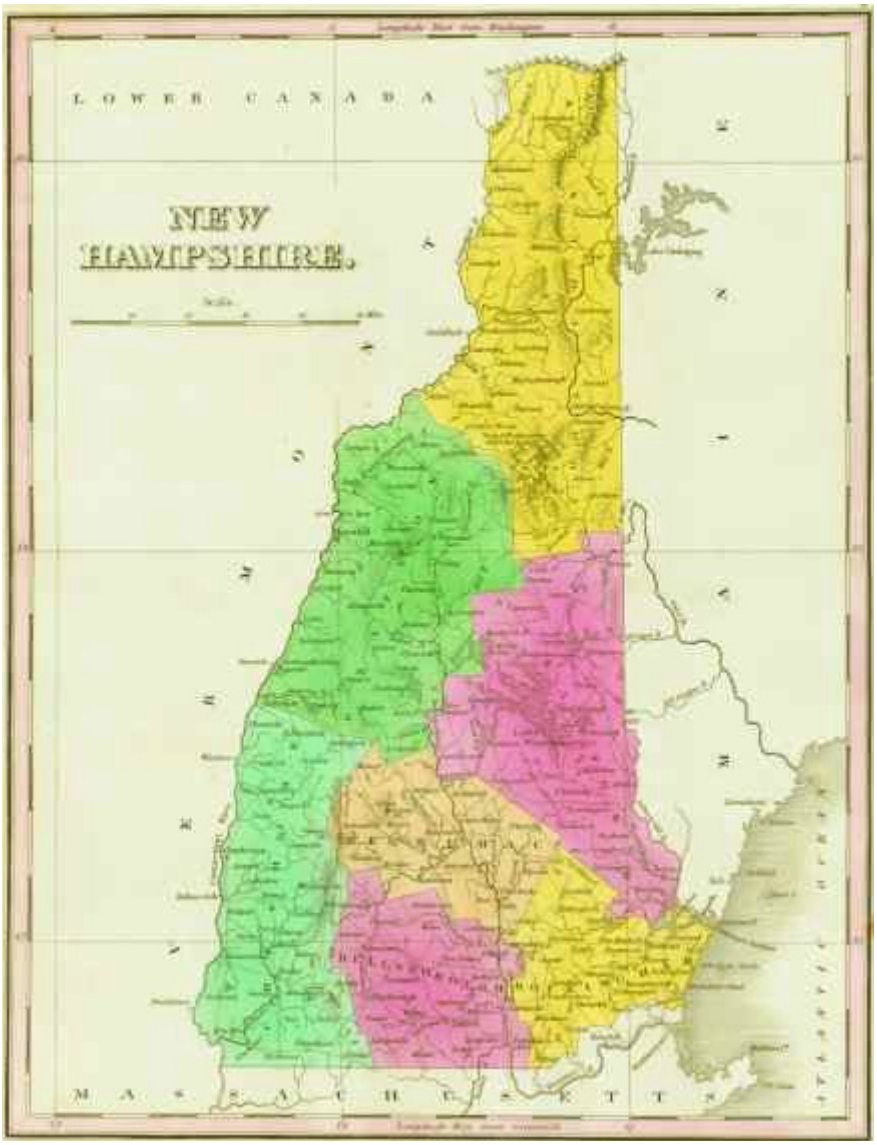
exhausted, they would purchase ore mined in Canada. It appears that, by the time he went away to college, Henry Thoreau would have been quite familiar with the manufacture of pencils, since his family had been making them in the shed behind the house for about a decade. Indeed, in this year when Henry made a trip with father John Thoreau, Senior to New-York, what they were doing was selling pencils wholesale to the stores there, and the income would be used in part for Henry's education at Harvard College.

PENCILS

None of the pencils made in America at this time could be manufactured from the pure Borrowdale graphite because as a raw material it was simply not available, and evidently the Conté formula for mixing the graphite powder with clay was either unknown or unperfected outside the European continent, and thus the American offerings would all need to be characterized as "greasy, gritty, brittle, inefficient" products. Users, especially

artists and engineers, had always on the lookout for the next piece of grit that would spoil their line or gouge the paper. The Thoreau pencils competed successfully because, in mixing their inadequately purified and inadequately ground graphite with such substances as glue, in adding a little bayberry wax or spermaceti, and in applying the mixture with a brush while warm to the grooved part of a cedar case and gluing another piece of cedar on top of it, the workers in the pencil shed behind the Thoreau boardinghouse in Concord were making pencils that were less imperfect than those of their competitors such as Munroe. No American pencils could come anywhere near the quality of the best English or French pencils, but by offering these local pencils at reasonable prices, by the mid-1830s Thoreau & Company had become well established.

This is likely to have been the map of New Hampshire available to the Thoreaus, out of the atlas of Anthony Finley:



In regard to dancing in this year in Boston, we find in Cleveland Amory's THE *PROPER* BOSTONIANS (NY: E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1957, pages 261-3) that the waltz was being introduced, and by the right people in the right manner:

> Like so many other distinguishing elements of Boston Society the all-age ball has its roots deep in the nineteenth century. But the father of the Boston ball was no Cabot or Lowell, merchant prince of Family-founder. He wasn't even a Bostonian, Proper or otherwise. He was a tall, skeleton-thin, fiery tempered Italian count named Lorenzo Papanti. An officer in the royal guard of the Duke of Tuscany, he was on the wrong side of a coup against the duke and was forced to flee his native land. Arriving in Boston with only one suit of clothes to his name –though it was significantly an outfit of full court regalia– he first got a job as a violinist in a Boston orchestra and then, in 1827, went on to set up a dancing academy. At first Papanti's school had hard sledding. Though his original prospectus was hardly a wild one –the basis of his curriculum consisting of such modest step-livelies as the polka and the quadrille– dancing in any form was regarded as a gamey kind of indoor sport for mid-nineteenth-century Boston. Before Papanti only one dancing school existed in New England. Furthermore, though his title as a count was a genuine one and though he was in the age-old Proper Bostonian phrase "obviously a gentleman," he had no First Family blessing to go on. Such has always been essential to the establishment of a social institution in Boston, and fortunately for the future of the Boston dance Papanti soon recognized his deficiency. He set his sights high, determined to enlist the support of the then reigning queen of Boston Society, the celebrated widow, Mrs. Harrison Gray Otis. The choice was a happy one. Still referred to even among Boston Otises of today as "the notorious," the widow was the Mrs. Jack Gardner of her times. It amused her to do things other Boston ladies didn't do, and to do them first. She had been to Europe many times in her younger days and had developed a taste for Continental dancing and titled Continental men. The handsome count, with his flossy wig and twinkling pumps, seemed to her almost too good to be true, and in short order she became one of his regular students — the first "real lady," he was fond of saying, who ever entered his academy. The First Family blessing became official when in 1834, at a ball given at her Somerset Street mansion, Mrs. Otis chose Signor Papanti to be her partner for the first waltz ever seen in Boston. By 1837 Papanti had become so successful that he was able to move his academy to new and palatial quarters on Tremont Street. Here he built a hall with a $1,200 chandelier, five enormous gilt-framed mirrors and the first ballroom floor in America to be built on springs.... When the august Boston Assemblies –to which Boston owes perhaps the major part of its country-wide ballroom fame– got under way in 1845, they were off to a good start on Papanti's spring floor. ...[The Boston Assembly's] Four Hundred was a real four hundred; it meant First Families and only First Families. Ruthlessly the sheep were separated from the goats.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

As of 1820 Gideon Mantell and William Buckland had discovered dinosaur remains in a stone-quarry in Maidstone, and in this year, a blast revealed a mass of rock containing a number of remnants of an gigantic prehistoric reptile. The fossil is on display in the British Museum, where it is referred to as the Mantle-piece:

A tooth identifies the giant animal as an *Iguanodon*, and in addition there were two thigh bones each nearly three feet long, assorted other leg bones, bones of the fore- and hind-feet, several vertebrae, ribs, and collar bones. An artist, John Martin, would visit Mantell's Museum and be inspired by the shaped stones to restore life to the *Iguanodon*, in its proper setting, preyed on by a *Megalosaurus*, flanked by a giant crocodilian, watched by a *pterodactyl* in a diorama of cycads, tree-ferns, and yuccas — by means of a painting. This effort would eventually be the basis for a mezzotint frontispiece in the 1st edition of Mantell's WONDERS OF GEOLOGY. Here is what would be considered, during Henry Thoreau's era, "The Country of the *Iguanodon*":

(It would still not be until 1842 that the anatomist Richard Owen would coin his term *Dinosauria*, "terrible lizards.")

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Having managed to survive at Harvard College as a nonresident poor-boy student, Theodore Parker was allowed to take examinations for his courses of study and passed in everything. At the urging of the Reverend Convers Francis he was straightaway designated an "honorary" bachelor and enrolled in the Divinity School. He would finish the 3-year course there in two years, that is, by 1836.

Concord's George Moore, son of the sheriff, graduated from Harvard College. He would become a minister.

Edward Jarvis got married with Almira Hunt of Concord.

Henry Ward Beecher graduated from Amherst College.

At Harvard Divinity School, the following gentlemen completed their studies:

George Ware Briggs (A.B. Brown University)
Richard Sullivan Edes (A.B. Brown University)
William Greenleaf Eliot (A.B. Col. [Columbia College?])
Nathanael Hall
Frederick West Holland
George Wheelock Woodward (A.B. Dartmouth College)

1834. Messrs. George Ware Briggs,* Richard Sullivan Edes,* William Greenleaf Eliot,† Nathanael Hall, Frederick West Holland, George Wheelock Woodward.‡

1835. " Cyrus Augustus Bartol,§ Asarelah Morse Bridge, Charles Timothy Brooks, Edgar Buckingham, Christopher Pearse Cranch,† Barzillai Frost, Samuel Osgood, John Parkman, Harrison Gray Otis Phipps, George Matthias Rice,‖ James Thurston.

1836. " Samuel Page Andrews, Richard Thomas Austin,§ John Sullivan Dwight, George Edward Ellis, Oliver Capen Everett, Abiel Abbot Livermore, Theodore Parker, William Silsbee.

* A. B. Brown. † A. B. Col. ‡ A. B. Dart. § A. B. Bowd. ‖ A. B. Ham.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

In this year Waldo's brother Edward Bliss Emerson, who had been studying law in the Boston office of Senator Daniel Webster until he experience episodes of dementia, died in San Juan, Puerto Rico of TB.

Waldo's Aunt Mary Moody Emerson came to live with them in Concord for a year.

At the end of the journal entries for this year, Emerson listed his recent readings in Oriental materials: "Plotinus; Hermes Trismegistus; Vyasa (?); Sheking (Chinese); Arabian Proverbs."

Disapproving of what he was learning about the Oriental attitude toward women, Emerson recorded from the *SHIKING* or BOOK OF ODES some material which he considered could be used to illustrate this point:

> In barbarous society the position of women is always low — in the Eastern nations lower than in the West. "When a daughter is born," says the Shiking, the old Sacred Book of China, "she sleeps on the ground, she is clothed with a wrapper; she plays with a tile; she is incapable of evil or good."

In Boston, William Davis Ticknor founded his publishing house.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

At Harvard College, Professor Cornelius Conway Felton became Eliot Professor of Greek Literature and had David Henry Thoreau as one of his pupils. Professor Felton was positioning an essay in the North American Review in defense the teaching and study of classical mythology, especially Greek mythology, which evidently was considered in need of a defense as it seemed to be encouraging lewdness. For Professor Felton, expurgation of the classic texts to delete titillating stuff did not represent a problem of suppression and censorship, but rather represented the correction of a problem of debasement and inauthenticity, because it was inconceivable that there could have been any actual "food for the passions" in originary authentic works of classicism, or, at least, in works of Greek classicism.

> To the scholar we would say, then, expurgate your Horaces and your Ovids, till not an obscene thought shall stain their pages; and you may be sure that nothing will be lost in your enquiries respecting the classic religion.

No, for if you credit Professor Felton's reconstruction of European history, these dead white men could never have been guilty of worshiping at "altars of indecency and wantonness."

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

> 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?

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Hanging being a piece of public theater, however, it was sometimes required of a condemned man in this modern decent society that he attire himself in his shroud (a long white linen or cotton garment with open back and long sleeves) prior to the placement of the hood and the noose. Local taverns would sometimes hire "watchers" to keep around-the-clock guard upon a condemned man, not to prevent his escape of course but to ensure that he would not cheat them of their profits from the alcohol-imbibing throng of men come to witness a hanging. No way would such an important participant in an expected ceremony be allowed to off himself in private in advance. When a condemned man was reprieved at the last moment, as indeed sometimes happened, this might incite the disappointed throng to riot, for although we have few records for such items as the shroud and the death watch, we know that this sort of riot is actually what did result from a reprieve in Pembroke MA in this year.[27]

The lenience of Harvard President Reverend John T. Kirkland had been succeeded by the strictness of President Josiah Quincy, Sr., the former mayor who was attempting to deal with student rebellion as he had once dealt with mobs attempting to tear down Boston's whorehouses: by repression. Students at Harvard were rioting over living conditions and the entire Sophomore class was being not merely expelled but hauled before a court.

27. In this year Pennsylvania became the first state to move executions away from the public eye and carry them out only within prison enclosures.

Records of faculty meetings from this period show that in the shifting minority of professors who opposed and attempted to moderate Quincy's crackdowns, Professor Charles Follen was alone in constancy of opposition.[28] Freshman David Henry Thoreau evidently made himself scarce during the tearing of shutters off windows and the building of bonfires in front of doorways and his only contribution to the rebellion was a comment he appears to have made in Dr. Beck's examination room –apparently sarcastically– "Our offense was **rank**."[29]

(shutters awaiting the arrival of students)

One midnight during the great Harvard Rebellion Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar lay on his back in the belfry of Harvard Hall and sawed off the tongue of the bell that summoned the students to morning chapel. Fortunately he was not caught destroying property, or perhaps later he would not have been able to become Attorney

28. Professor Karl Follen's brother Paul Follen was at this point emigrating to the United States, and would settle in Missouri. We'll allow you three guesses as to what is about to happen to Professor Follen himself.

29. At Harvard at this time, the offense of "grouping" in Harvard Yard, that is, students assembling for some purpose not condoned by the faculty (such as, for instance, free speech), was grounds for being asked to "take up one's connexions," that is, grounds for permanent expulsion from college. (Such rules are of course not limited to the Harvard of the 19th Century: my own memories are of smelling tear gas on the steps of Widener Library as I came away from my carrel and found out that there had been a "Pogo Riot" in which the police had rioted and cleared the intersection in front of the student bookstore of passersby in 1960-1961, and then of being vomit gassed by US Marine guards on the street outside our embassy in Tehran, Iran in 1978 for the offense of attempting to obtain entry thereto as a US citizen in an Iran in which soldiers were authorized to kill anyone "assembling" in any public place in a group larger than two persons.)

General of the United States of America:

> Of his college life little remains to say. In his Junior and Senior years he attracted the attention of Edward Tyrrell Channing, then the valued Professor of Rhetoric and Oratory, and received the highest marks for English Composition. He also won the second Bowdoin prize for an essay, and at the Exhibition in his Senior year had, as his part, the English oration, taking as his subject "Reverence." His part at Commencement when he graduated was an English oration on "The Christian Philosophy; its Political Application." Only fifty-two of his class received degrees at Commencement [80 had entered this class of 1835, and Richard Henry Dana, Jr. had been forced to drop out on account of his eyes], largely a result of the "Rebellion," but five more were allowed their Bachelor's degree years later. Rockwood Hoar was third scholar. The refined and attractive Harrison Gray Otis Blake of Worcester, later Thoreau's near friend, was chosen Orator by a large majority, but his modesty made him decline, and Charles C. Shackford, later a minister, and a professor at Cornell University, was then chosen. Blake, however, gave the Latin Salutatory. Benjamin Davis Winslow was the Poet. Hoar was chosen a member of the Class Committee.

It need only be added to this, that the student who was first scholar in the Harvard College class of 1835, a class that included Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, and who was chosen to replace H.G.O. Blake, who was that class's fourth scholar, as the class Orator, Charles Chauncy Shackford, after graduation went out to Concord and became a schoolteacher and romanced the local lasses, before going on to study law, and becoming a minister in 1841, and eventually becoming a professor at Cornell University. At Cornell, he would be their professor of rhetoric and literature, and, incidentally, would make himself one of the pioneers in the field now known as Comparative Literature.

COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

There is a supplement to the *BHAGAVAD-GÍTÁ* known as the *HARIVANSA* or genealogy of the deity *Hari*. "Hari" is a name for the deity *Krsna* or *Visnu* (Krushna or Vishnu). The material, which purports to describe events occurring between the 15th and the 11th Centuries BCE, exists in two forms referred to as the northern and the southern, and probably reached its present condition around the 5th Century CE. In this year and the following one, Simon Alexandre Langlois (1788-1854) presented this material in French as THE *HARIVANSA*, OR THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY OF *HARI* in Paris and London (The Oriental Translation Fund).[30]

WALDEN: After a still winter night I awoke with the impression that some question had been put to me, which I had been endeavoring in vain to answer in my sleep, as what-how-when-where? But there was dawning Nature, in whom all creatures live, looking in at my broad windows with serene and satisfied face, and no question on *her* lips. I awoke to an answered question, to Nature and daylight. The snow lying deep on the earth dotted with young pines, and the very slope of the hill on which my house is placed, seemed to say, Forward! Nature puts no question and answers none which we mortals ask. She has long ago taken her resolution. "O Prince, our eyes contemplate with admiration and transmit to the soul the wonderful and varied spectacle of this universe. The night veils without doubt a part of this glorious creation; but day comes to reveal to us this great work, which extends from earth even into the plains of the ether."

HARIVANSA

From Volume I, page 282: "*Et un séjour sans oisseaux est come un mets sans assaisonnement*."

WALDEN: The Harivansa says, "An abode without birds is like a meat without seasoning." Such was not my abode, for I found myself suddenly neighbor to the birds; not by having imprisoned one, but having caged myself near them. I was not only nearer to some of those which commonly frequent the garden and the orchard, but to those wilder and more thrilling songsters of the forest which never, or rarely, serenade a villager, –the wood-thrush, the veery, the scarlet tanager, the field-sparrow, the whippoorwill, and many others.

WHIPPOORWILL

30. It would be in 1849 that Thoreau will check this book out of Harvard Library. The 1932 edition by Arthur Christy (NY: William Edge Rudge) has a full facsimile of his manuscript translation of "The Transmigrations of the Seven Brahmin."

Simon-Alexandre Langlois's translation published in this year (London: Parbury, Allen and co.), which Thoreau would check out of the Harvard Library on September 11, 1849 and copy portions of into his first Commonplace Book, also offered in Volume I, page 283: "*Il n'y a d'heureux dans le monde qui jouissant librement d'un vaste horizon.*"[31]

> WALDEN: Though the view from my door was still more contracted, I did not feel crowded or confined in the least. There was pasture enough for my imagination. The low shrub-oak plateau to which the opposite shore arose, stretched away toward the prairies of the West and the steppes of Tartary, affording ample room for all the roving families of men. "There are none happy in the world but beings who enjoy freely a vast horizon," -said Damodara, when his herds required new and larger pastures.

S.-A. LANGLOIS, I

S.-A. LANGLOIS, II

In the USA, Friend John Greenleaf Whittier self-published a 23-page pamphlet arguing for emancipation on moral grounds.

SLAVERY

"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

31. Damodara = Krishna = Krisna.

(In this year the English Parliament estimated that the cost of such an abolition of slavery would be in the range of £20,000,000 sterling, because this would involve freeing some 700,000 persons.)

(At the annual meeting of the American Colonization Society there was general agreement among the white philanthropists that there should be no Black Emancipation until arrangements for expatriation were in place. While they are over here in White America — they are going to be here as slaves and as nothing else!)

Friend John would be moved to create the following poem:

THE HUNTERS OF MEN.

HAVE ye heard of our hunting, o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-brake and forest, — the hunting of men?
The lords of our land to this hunting have gone,
As the fox-hunter follows the sound of the horn;
Hark! the cheer and the hallo! the crack of the whip,
And the yell of the hound as he fastens his grip!
All blithe are our hunters, and noble their match,
Though hundreds are caught, there are millions to catch.
So speed to their hunting, o'er mountain and glen,
Through cane-brake and forest, — the hunting of men!

Gay luck to our hunters! how nobly they ride
In the glow of their zeal, and the strength of their pride!
The priest with his cassock flung back on the wind,
Just screening the politic statesman behind;
The saint and the sinner, with cursing and prayer,
The drunk and the sober, ride merrily there.
And woman, kind woman, wife, widow, and maid,
For the good of the hunted, is lending her aid:

Her foot's in the stirrup, her hand on the rein,
How blithely she rides to the hunting of men!

Oh, goodly and grand is our hunting to see,
In this "land of the brave and this home of the free."
Priest, warrior, and statesman, from Georgia to Maine,
All mounting the saddle, all grasping the rein;
Right merrily hunting the black man, whose sin
Is the curl of his hair and the hue of his skin!
Woe, now, to the hunted who turns him at bay!
Will our hunters be turned from their purpose and prey?
Will their hearts fail within them? their nerves tremble, when
All roughly they ride to the hunting of men?

Ho! alms for our hunters! all weary and faint,
Wax the curse of the sinner and prayer of the saint.
The horn is wound faintly, the echoes are still,
Over cane-brake and river, and forest and hill.
Haste, alms for our hunters! the hunted once more
Have turned from their flight with their backs to the shore:
What right have they here in the home of the white,
Shadowed o'er by our banner of Freedom and Right?
Ho! alms for the hunters! or never again
Will they ride in their pomp to the hunting of men!

Alms, alms for our hunters! why will ye delay,
When their pride and their glory are melting away?

The parson has turned; for, on charge of his own,
Who goeth a warfare, or hunting, alone?
The politic statesman looks back with a sigh,
There is doubt in his heart, there is fear in his eye.
Oh, haste, lest that doubting and fear shall prevail,
And the head of his steed take the place of the tail.
Oh, haste, ere he leave us! for who will ride then,

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

For pleasure or gain, to the hunting of men?

According to Dorothy McCuskey's BRONSON ALCOTT, TEACHER (NY: Macmillan, 1940), the books in the library of Alcott's school, upstairs in Boston's Tremont Temple in this year, included: "Prize: or History of G. Benson."

During this period the Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson was studying the French language and was making frequent trips into Boston to encounter leading intellectuals. Soon he would be contributing articles to Unitarian journals such as The Unitarian, The Christian Register, The Christian Examiner, and –while it existed– the Boston Observer and Religious Intelligencer.

His articles were taking the Unitarian clergy to task on account of the dryness of their preaching, the obsessiveness of their intellectualism, the lifelessness of their theological rationalism, and the indifference with which they greeted the struggle of working people. During this period he was freely adapting the ideas of the philosophers he was reading in French. In particular he saw Claude Henri de Saint-Simon's "New Christianity," which de-emphasized worship and dogma in favor of the morality and social equality demanded by the Christian law of brotherly love, as the antidote for Unitarianism's social conservatism. This rising tide of Christian democracy was going to inundate the vessel of Unitarianism unless it would cut its moorings to wealth and power. Brownson picked up Henry-Benjamin Constant's attitude that religion and morality were grounded, not in intellectual capabilities which were present in some but unavailable to others, but in a "sentiment" internal to every human being. It was this internal sentiment which led toward religion, and was the source of spiritual intuition and neighborly love, and it was this sentiment –although it had become embodied in different historical forms– which was truly universal. Brownson identified Victor Cousin's

Universal or Absolute Reason with God and declared that it was this which was independent of person yet present within each person. It was study of Constant and Cousin which began to make him receptive to the romanticism of the New England Transcendentalists:

> So far as Transcendentalism is understood to be the recognition in man of the capacity of knowing truth intuitively, or of attaining to a scientific knowledge of an order of existence transcending the reach of the senses, and of which we can have no sensible experience, we are Transcendentalists.

He was coming, at least temporarily, to regard Transcendentalism as a necessary alternative to the overly historical and rational approach to religion advocated by the scholarly types, such as Professor Andrews Norton, whom he was encountering at the home of the Reverend William Ellery Channing. Still, he was wary of the subjective tendencies of Transcendentalism, which he suspected of substituting a "lawless fancy for an enlightened understanding." He felt the meditations of Waldo Emerson to be particularly egregious and dangerous. We become moral, he declaimed, not by pleasing ourselves to satisfy the needs of our inner nature, but by submitting to the requirements of a power independent of these desires, a power transcending ourselves.

In New-York, Harper & Brothers put out a new edition of Friend Jonathan Dymond's ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS OF MANKIND. At Harvard College in 1837, student David Henry Thoreau would consult this volume while preparing an essay for Professor Edward Tyrrell Channing's class.

PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY

The London publishing house of Harvey and Darton reprinted extracts from Friend Jonathan's ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY ... retitled as THE CHURCH AND THE CLERGY: SHOWING THAT RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENTS DERIVE NO COUNTENANCE FROM THE NATURE OF CHRISTIANITY AND THAT THEY ARE NOT RECOMMENDED BY PUBLIC UTILITY: WITH SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE CHURCH ESTABLISHMENT OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND, AND ON THE SYSTEM OF TITHES / BY JONATHAN DYMOND.

READ THIS BOOK

Also, Friend Jonathan's AN INQUIRY INTO THE ACCORDANCY OF WAR WITH THE PRINCIPLES OF CHRISTIANITY: AND AN EXAMINATION OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL REASONING BY WHICH IT IS DEFENDED, WITH OBSERVATIONS ON SOME OF THE CAUSES OF WAR AND ON SOME OF ITS EFFECTS / BY JONATHAN DYMOND, PHILANTHROPOS / PUBLISHED BY WILLIAM BROWN, PRINTER.

READ THIS BOOK

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY
WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Asa Green wrote a novel, anonymous, about the Manhattan business district of New-York, entitled THE PERILS OF PEARL STREET, INCLUDING A TASTE OF THE DANGERS OF WALL STREET, BY A LATE MERCHANT. In this novel he proclaimed an entirely spurious and groundless statistic: that 97 out of 100 new businesses fail. This spurious statistic would generate an urban legend which would make its way even into the pages of WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS:

WALDEN: What has been said of the merchants, that a very large majority, even ninety-seven in a hundred, are sure to fail, is equally true of the farmers. With regard to the merchants, however, one of them says pertinently that a great part of their failures are not genuine pecuniary failures, but merely failures to fulfil their engagements, because it is inconvenient; that is, it is the moral character that breaks down. But this puts an infinitely worse face on the matter, and suggests, beside, that probably not even the other three succeed in saving their souls, but are perchance bankrupt in a worse sense than they who fail honestly.

OTHER EVENTS OF THE YEAR 1834

JANUARY 1834

January 6, Monday (probably): We think Waldo Emerson delivered a Franklin Lecture in Boston on "The Relations of Man to the Globe." (This would be printed in EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 27-29.)

January 8, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the four volumes of Washington Irving's A HISTORY OF THE LIFE AND VOYAGES OF CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS (London: John Murray, Albemarle-Street, 1831; NY: G. & C. Carvill, 1828).

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 8th of 1 M 1834 / Our Meeting was silent & some favour experienced. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

January 17, Friday: Waldo Emerson delivered "Water" at the Athenæum in Boston, for the Mechanics Institute. (This would be printed in EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 50-58.)

Presumably after January 17, Friday: Waldo Emerson lectured on Italy, probably in New Bedford. (EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 87-88 has excerpts, and there is a summary in Cabot, Volume II, page 712.)

Presumably after January 17, Friday and after a previous lecture: It seems that Waldo Emerson lectured on Italy a 2d time, probably again in New Bedford. (EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 87-88 has excerpts, and there is a summary in Cabot, Volume II, page 712.)

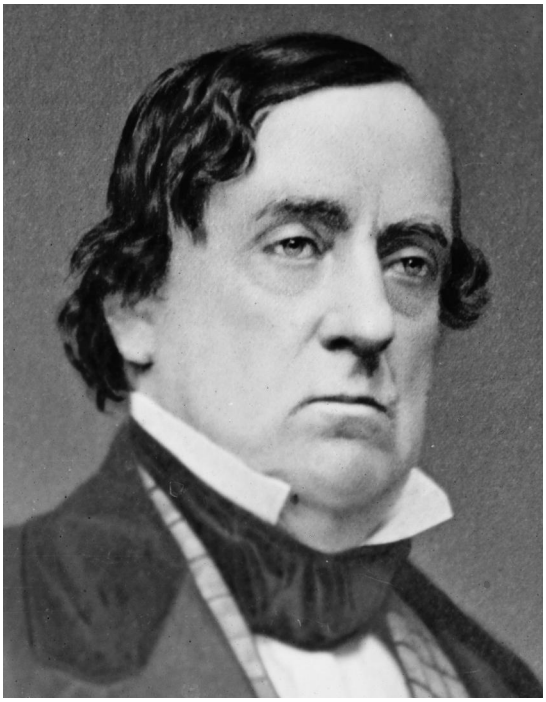
January 22, Wednesday: Fellow student Augustus Goddard Peabody checked out for David Henry Thoreau, from Harvard Library, Washington Irving's THE VOYAGES AND DISCOVERIES OF THE COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS (Philadelphia: Carey and Lea — Chesnut Street, 1831).

COMPANIONS OF COLUMBUS

January 27, Monday: Dmitri Mendeleyev was born in Tobolsk, Russia.

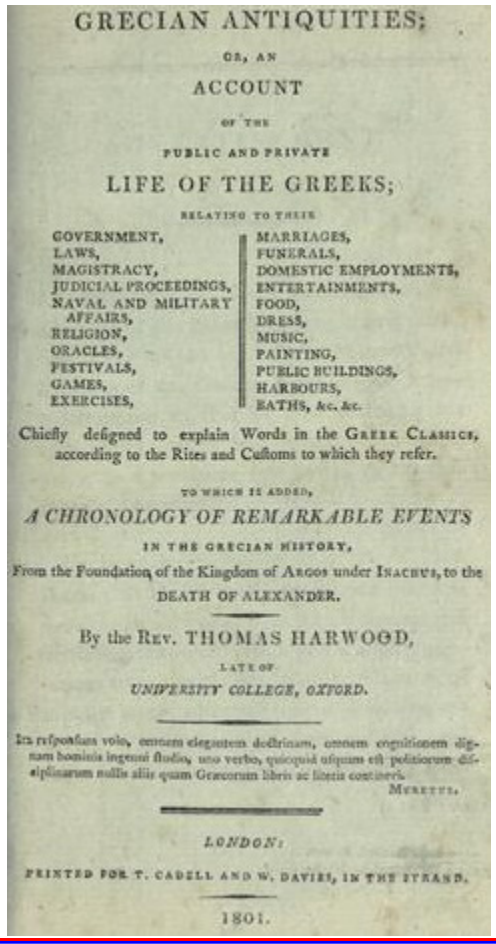
Friend Daniel Ricketson got married with Friend Maria Louisa Sampson.

January 29, Wednesday: President Andrew Jackson instructed Secretary of War Lewis Cass to use troops to quell workers' riots along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal — this would be the initial use of federal troops to quell labor conflicts.



The waters of the Thames River passing through London were so extraordinarily high that it was necessary to have watermen to convey Londoners from street to street.

Fellow student Augustus Goddard Peabody checked out for David Henry Thoreau, presumably from Harvard Library, GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES OR, AN ACCOUNT OF THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE OF THE GREEKS; RELATING TO THEIR GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MAGISTRACY, JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS, NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, RELIGION, ORACLES, FESTIVALS, GAMES, EXERCISES, MARRIAGES, FUNERALS, DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENTS, ENTERTAINMENTS, FOOD, DRESS, MUSIC, PAINTING, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, HARBOURS, BATHS, &C. &C. CHIEFLY DESIGNED TO EXPLAIN WORDS IN THE GREEK CLASSICS, ACCORDING TO THE RITES AND CUſTOMS TO WHICH THEY REFER. TO WHICH IS ADDED, A CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS IN THE GRECIAN HISTORY, FROM THE FOUNDATION OF THE KINGDOM OF ARGOS UNDER INACHUS, TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER. BY THE REV. THOMAS HARWOOD, LATE OF UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD. (London: Printed for T. Cadell & W. Davies, in the Strand, 1801).



GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES;

OR, AN

ACCOUNT

OF THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE

LIFE OF THE GREEKS;

RELATING TO THEIR

GOVERNMENT, LAWS, MAGISTRACY, JUDICIAL PROCEEDINGS, NAVAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS, RELIGION, ORACLES, FESTIVALS, GAMES, EXERCISES,

MARRIAGES, FUNERALS, DOMESTIC EMPLOYMENTS, ENTERTAINMENTS, FOOD, DRESS, MUSIC, PAINTING, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, HARBOURS, BATHS, &c. &c.

Chiefly designed to explain Words in the GREEK CLASSICS, according to the Rites and Customs to which they refer.

TO WHICH IS ADDED,

A CHRONOLOGY OF REMARKABLE EVENTS

IN THE GRECIAN HISTORY,

From the Foundation of the Kingdom of ARGOS under INACHUS, to the DEATH OF ALEXANDER.

By the REV. THOMAS HARWOOD,

LATE OF

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Ita respondeas volo, omnem elegantem doctrinam, omnem cognitionem dignam hominis ingenui studio, uno verbo, quicquid usquam est politiorum disciplinarum nullis aliis quam Graecorum libris ac literis contineri.

MURETUS.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, IN THE STRAND.

1801.

GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 29 of 1 M / Moy* [Monthly] *Meeting held in Providence With the exception of a short testimny from H R - it was silent - both to me pretty good Meetings. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

FEBRUARY 1834

February: Doctor George Parkman was managing the Boston subscription list for Audubon's bird volumes, when he helped John James Audubon and Audubon's son in their attempt to suffocate a golden eagle. Their goal was to kill the bird so that by the insertion and bending of wires inside the carcass it might be placed in a frozen posture — and without any of its feathers being disarranged. First they tried charcoal fumes, then they tried sulphur fumes, but throughout this the bird just sat on its perch glaring fiercely (finally the father and the son seized this reluctant specimen and held it firmly while stabbing it to the heart).

February: Over the next seven months Bronson Alcott would read Plato,[32] Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, Immanuel Kant, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Thomas Carlyle, and William Wordsworth in the Loganian Library in Philadelphia, and gradually be weaned out of his Lockean empiricism and 18th-Century rationalism into the Platonic idealism which he would maintain for the duration of his long life. The pre-existence of the soul and its inherently good godlikeness were at the core of all his subsequent thought. Plato's doctrine of the paideutic drawing out of pre-existent, half-forgotten ideas became the basis of his educational efforts, and he began his manuscript OBSERVATIONS ON THE SPIRITUAL NURTURE OF MY CHILDREN. Unfortunately, over these months of study, he became practically estranged for a time from his wife and his little girls, and remained so until Abba Alcott had a miscarriage.

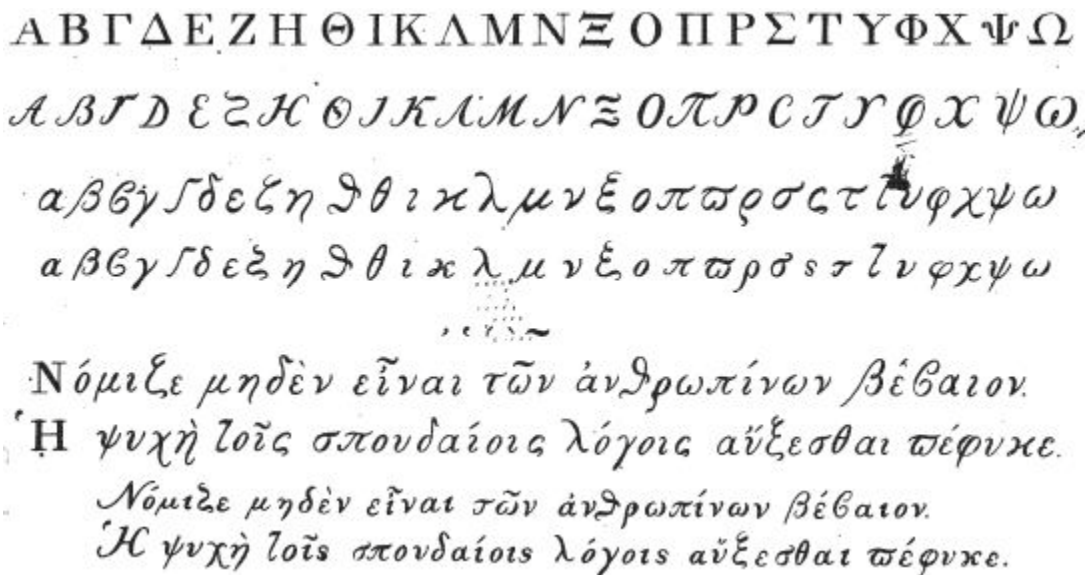
> Before the evening was half over, Jo felt so completely *désillusionnée*, that she sat down in a corner to recover herself. Mr. Bhaer soon joined her, looking rather out of his element, and presently several of the philosophers, each mounted on his hobby, came ambling up to hold an intellectual tournament in the recess. The conversations were miles beyond Jo's comprehension, but she enjoyed it, though Kant and Hegel were unknown gods, the Subjective and Objective unintelligible terms, and the only thing 'evolved from her inner consciousness' was a bad headache after it was all over. It dawned upon her gradually that the world was being picked to pieces, and put together on new and, according to the talkers, on infinitely better principles than before, that religion was in a fair way to be reasoned into nothingness, and intellect was to be the only God. Jo knew nothing about philosophy or metaphysics of any sort, but a curious excitement, half pleasurable, half painful, came over her as she listened with a sense of being turned adrift into time and space, like a young balloon out on a holiday.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

32. Eventually a group of English educators would come to consider Bronson to be "the Concord Plato."

February 5, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, GREEK EXERCISES; CONTAINING THE SUBSTANCE OF THE GREEK SYNTAX, ILLUSTRATED BY PASSAGES FROM THE BEST GREEK AUTHORS, TO BE WRITTEN OUT FROM THE WORDS GIVEN IN THEIR SIMPLEST FORM. BY BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FISK. CONSUETUDO ET EXERCITATIO FACILITATEM MAXIME PARIT. QUINTIL (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, Little, and Wilkins, 1831).[33]

IT'S ALL GREEK TO ME



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 5th of 2nd M 1834 / Our Select Meeting to day was to me a comfortable time. — I had good Unity with Lydia Breeds testimony & also with Mary B Allens. —*
> *Our Meeting for Sufferings was also a time of Some favour & freedom, this Afternoon & I have enjoyed the company here this evening some of whom have come from Salen Lynn & ware to attend Quarterly Meeting &c at this time. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

33. Benjamin Franklin Fisk graduated from Harvard College with the Class of 1824 (Elias Hasket Derby, Edward Bliss Emerson, John Mark Gourgas, and died in 1832.

February 12, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, Volumes 1 and 2 of Washington Irving's A CHRONICLE OF THE CONQUEST OF GRANADA. FROM THE MSS. OF [the nonexistent] FRAY ANTONIO AGAPIDA (Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1829).

CONQUEST OF GRANADA

CONQUEST OF GRANADA

He also checked out Professor Charles Dexter Cleveland's AN EPITOME OF GRECIAN ANTIQUITIES. FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS (Boston, 1827).[34]

CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND

34. 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.

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

MARCH 1834

March: While the sheets of Lemuel Shattuck's massive A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD; MIDDLESEX COUNTY, MASSACHUSETTS, FROM ITS EARLIEST SETTLEMENT TO 1832; AND OF THE ADJOINING TOWNS, BEDFORD, ACTON, LINCOLN, AND CARLISLE; CONTAINING VARIOUS NOTICES OF COUNTY AND STATE HISTORY NOT BEFORE PUBLISHED were passing through the press in preparation for the September 12, 1835 celebration of the 200th anniversary of Concord's incorporation, the Reverend Ezra Ripley surrendered title to land in his cow pasture for the reopening of an east bank access path and a Battle Monument at the Old North Bridge site. There was a rumor going around, that the reverend had simply appropriated this land and added it to his cow pasture anyway, that it actually had always belonged to the town, and that rumor may have been true or may have been false but true or false it was doing damage and needed to be dealt with. In public, citizens were saying that they were upset that no memorial had been placed where their militiamen had fallen upon which the Battle at the North Bridge had taken place and where the 1st British soldier had been killed and buried, along with a right of way to these grounds. Therefore the Reverend in formally donating the title insisted upon a condition, that Concord must erect a suitable monument there in commemoration, by the 4th of July three years following. Daniel Shattuck, Ephraim Merriam, and Joseph Davis would come to constitute a committee to fulfil this obligation. At the last moment, Shattuck added an updating footnote to his work in recognition of this recent event.

This history of Concord contained a chapter on the town's geology which Henry Thoreau would surely study, that had been loosely based on the "Neptunism" of Abraham Gottlob] Werner's *KURZE KLASSIFIKATION UND BESCHREIBUNG DER VERSCHIEDEN GEBIRGSARTEN* (Dresden, 1787).[35]

35. 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.)

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

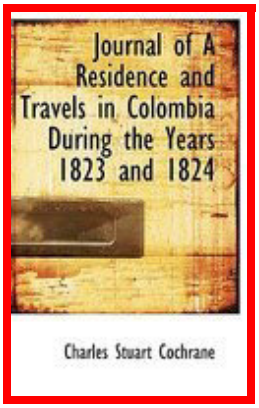
THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

March 6, Thursday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, Mary Barney's A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE LATE COMMODORE JOSHUA BARNEY (1832).

COMM. JOSHUA BARNEY

WAR OF 1812

He also checked out the 1st of the 2 volumes of Captain Charles Stuart Cochrane's JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE AND TRAVELS IN COLOMBIA DURING THE YEARS 1823 AND 1824 (London: Henry Colburn, 1825).



COCHRANE IN COLUMBIA

VOL. II (NOT CONSULTED)

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

York, in Upper Canada, was incorporated as the city of Toronto.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *5th day 6th of 3rd M 1834 / A tranquil pleasant day - for which I desire thankfulness of heart*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The author, in Columbia (in drag?):

In this volume Thoreau would learn of the poison frogs *Phyllobates terribilis, Phyllobates bicolor*, and *Phyllobates aurotaenia* occurring from Nicaragua to about 20 degrees latitude in South America. The family *Dendrobatidae* includes at least 170 species of frogs only these three of which, called "rana de veneno" locally, can produce the extraordinary toxins, more potent than curare, that are used by natives to tip their blowgun darts. Cochrane encountered these frogs as he crossed the western Andes on foot.[36]

> Those who use this poison catch the frogs in the woods, and confine them in a hollow cane, where they regularly feed them until they want the poison, when they take one of the unfortunate reptiles, and pass a pointed piece of wood down his throat, and out one of his legs. This torture makes the poor frog perspire very much, especially on the back, which becomes covered with a white froth: this is the most powerful poison that he yields, and in this they dip or roll the points of their arrows, which will preserve their destructive power for a year. Afterwards, below this white substance, appears a yellow oil, which is carefully scraped off, and retains its deadly influence for four to six months, according to the goodness (as they say) of the frog. By this means, from one frog sufficient poison is obtained for about fifty arrows.

36. The blowgun darts were about eight inches in length, with a spiral groove cut into their pointed tip to convey the poison. The blowguns were of reed, about 12 feet in length. Maximum effective range was approximately 100 yards.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

March 8, Saturday: William Lloyd Garrison reviewed, in The Liberator, the 1st American edition of Friend Jonathan Dymond's ESSAYS ON THE PRINCIPLES OF MORALITY, AND ON THE PRIVATE AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF MANKIND. BY JONATHAN DYMOND ... WITH A PREFACE BY THE REV. G. BUSH [1796-1859] (NY: Harper & Brothers). Terming Friend Jonathan "the Lord Bacon of our times," Garrison recommended the power and perception of this book as "almost super-human." This British Friend's thoughts finally were reaching their American audience!

READ THIS BOOK

It was in this manner that Friend Jonathan's thoughts on "Civil Obedience" (Essay III, Chapter 5) and the Quaker Peace Testimony reached an American audience. The page header for one of the pages of the chapter on "Civil Obedience" (Essay III, Chapter 5) was "RESISTANCE TO THE CIVIL POWER," and at that point the author was observing that "satisfactory knowledge may be deduced respecting **resistance** to the civil power," that the true and original Christian will, where appropriate, such as in regard to "acts of bloodshed and violence, or instigations to such acts," decline to participate. This would constitute a "resistance to ... civil power" based upon "non-compliance":

> When the first Christians refused obedience to some of the existing authorities, — they did not resist. They exemplified their own precepts, — to prefer the will of God before all; and if this preference subjected them to evils, to bear them without violating other portions of His will in order to ward them off.

WAR RESISTERS LEAGUE

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *7th day 8th of 3rd M / I do not remember to have been more seriously struck than I was this Morning on reading in the Newport Paper Notices of the death of Catherine T Jordan aged 29 Years in Hudson where She lived with her husband - & also of Catherine F Bailey aged 26 wife of Saml Bailey & daughter of our next door neighbour E Pascal Faisnear —*
> *With Catherine Jordan I have known & been acquainted from her childhood - she was when a child a dilligent Attender of Friends Meeting in Newport & seldom Missed being there with her Mother on First days & she & her Husband are intimate acquaintances of our Son John in Hudson —*
> *Hannah T Bailey we have also known from her infancy & was a very pleasant pretty & clever girl & play Mate with John living side by side we were in habits of intimacy*
> *Both were in the bloom & blush of life both called away at an early age & well may we say, in the Midst of life we are in death - Man cometh up like a flower & is cut down, & to whom shall we seek for Succor but from Thee O God. — This language with several passages of Scripture have dwelt much on my Mind thro' the day. —— I have also noticed in this evenings paper the decease of Doctor Gustavas Baylies who I well remember as a practitioner in Newport when I was a boy, The paper says he was 70 Years old, but from his appearance then I should think he was older. — he Died at Newtown on Lng Island. —*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 12, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the initial volume of ANTAR, A BEDOUEEN ROMANCE. TRANSLATED FROM THE ARABIC. BY TERRICK HAMILTON, ESQ. ORIENTAL SECRETARY TO THE BRITISH EMBASSY AT CONSTANTINOPLE (London: John Murray, Albemarle-street. 1819).[37]

A BEDOUEEN ROMANCE

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

37. The ROMANCE OF 'ANTAR (referring to the black poet Sirat'Antar ibn Shaddad) was an anonymous work out of the Middle Ages that had been handed down by oral tradition, which had by this point grown in Arabic to immense proportions. Although portions of this had been translated by the diplomat Terrick Hamilton under the title ANTAR, A BEDOUEEN ROMANCE and published in London in 1819-1820, more recently this longish poem has been published more fully in 10 volumes in Beirut, Lebanon in 1871, and in 32 volumes in Cairo, Egypt in 1889.

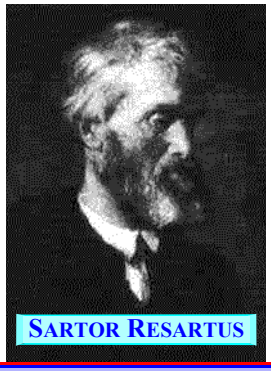
Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 12th of 3rd M 1834 / Our friend Anna A Jenkins was here today, & attended our Meeting, her testimony I thought was sound & of excellent savour & I have no doubt was both instructive & comfortable to most that were present —*
> *Wrote this evening to my wife at Newport*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

March 12, Wednesday: In this month appeared the 4th of the eight installments of Thomas Carlyle's SARTOR RESARTUS. Though he had not yet received any of the issues of Fraser's Magazine containing this, Waldo Emerson wrote to the Reverend James Freeman Clarke to inform him of the series.

> 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.



SARTOR RESARTUS

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

March 13, Thursday: Lydia Jackson, 31 years of age and unmarried, had a chance to meet and talk to Waldo Emerson after a lecture in Plymouth, Massachusetts.

March 16, Sunday: While Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka and his sister were in Berlin, they received word that their father had died. They would immediately return to Russia. This would be Glinka's 1st return to his homeland in almost four years.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *1st day 16th of 3rd M 1834 / Morning Meeting Silent — In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here the first time in about three Months he preached from the text "That which makes manifest is light"*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

From this day to the 28th, those institutionalized at Harvard College would be composing a petition to "the Honourable Faculty" of that institution, as follows:

> We have no doubt that the original design of this system was good. But at the present time instead of being as it was probably intended by those who introduced it a consequence resulting from labour with higher and nobler motive in view, it has become in a great degree the primary and sole object and with its attainment, in whatever manner, all exertion ceases. That this system tends to produce envy and jealousy among those whose interests require that they should at least in some degree be united we think is evident. We believe moreover that the time has arrived when literary standing must depend on something more than mere college rank, when a nobler motive must prompt the student to action than the petty emulation of the schoolboy, when he must have a higher standard of action than the mere marks of his instructor. Again we think the direct tendency of this system to produce superficial scholars is a strong argument in favour of its abolition.... Impressed with these views we submit them to your consideration with the request that some measures may be taken for the abolition of that system which has produced so universal disatisfaction [*sic*].

From this point in time into July, during the 3d term of his Freshman year, David Henry Thoreau would be studying the Italian language under the Harvard instructor Pietro Bachi. (Thoreau would be enrolled in the study of Italian for four terms, in the study of French for four terms, in the study of German for four terms, and in the study of Spanish for two terms under an instructor named Sales.)

DEPARTMENT OF MODERN LANGUAGES.

> This is at present under the superintendence of George Ticknor, A.M., Smith Professor of the French and Spanish Languages and Literature, and Professor of Belles Lettres; assisted by four Instructers, Viz. Francis Sales, Esq., Instructer in French and Spanish; Pietro Bachi, A.M., J.U.D., Instructer in Italian; Charles Follen, J.U.D., Professor of the German Language and Literature; and Francis M.J. Surault, Instructer in French.
> The principles which regulate the study of the modern languages are these: 1. No student is compelled to study anyone of them. 2. A student choosing to study any one, is bound to persevere; be is not permitted to quit the study until he has learnt the language. 3. Those, who enter upon the study of any language, are formed into sections, and carried forward according to their proficiency, without reference to the distinction of Classes. 4. The Instructers are paid only for one half their time, and the days of instruction are Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.
> The Recitations are held generally during study hours; or A.M. from Study Bell till 12 o'clock, and P.M. from 2 o'clock till prayers; but, to avoid interference with recitations in other branches, some sessions have been heard from 12 to 1 o'clock, and some in the evening, during the past year.
> Two things should be borne in mind, when considering the state of this department during the academical year of 1832-3.
> 1. Neither Freshmen nor Seniors attended in it, except as *volunteers*; that is, the Students pursuing the study of some language entirely beyond the regular course. The *regular* Students, therefore, were all either Sophomores or Juniors, who chose some Modern Language, as a substitute for other prescribed studies.

2. The Graduates attending on the instructions of this department, whose number is considerable, are not noted.

First Statement.

Number of Undergraduates taught during each term; the languages in which they were instructed; and the proportion of regular Students and Volunteers.

	Fr.	Sp.	It.	German.	Pg.	Volunteers.	Regular.	Total.
First Term	112	15	46	39	7	112	107 =	219
Second Term	109	22	55	49	5	132	108 =	240
Third Term	80	27	71	63	3	129	115 =	244

The system of volunteer study was begun in this Department with thirteen students in 1826; has constantly increased ever since; and is now of more consequence than the system of regular study, embracing large numbers and advancing further.

Second Statement.

Examination was held in each of the terms by the Committee of the Overseers, who attended punctually and examined the students carefully themselves; and there were passed during the year, as having learned French 47; Spanish 16; Italian 21; German 18; Portuguese 2; Total 104.

March 18, Tuesday, 19, Wednesday, and 20, Thursday: In Boston, the Reverends Adin Ballou and Daniel D. Smith debated each other to a standstill in regard to the burning issue of whether God was going to punish them after death for their sins. Their important remarks in regard to this perplexity would later, of course, be printed out pretty much in full so that those who had not been able to be present for the entire fascinating 3-day slugathon between the two heavyweight divines would be able to profit at their leisure from all this careful intellectual lifting:

REPORT OF A PUBLIC DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE REVS. ADIN BALLOU, AND DANIEL D. SMITH; ON THE QUESTION, "DO THE HOLY SCRIPTURES TEACH THE DOCTRINE, THAT MEN WILL BE PUNISHED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THIS LIFE, OR AFTER DEATH, FOR THE DEEDS DONE IN THIS LIFE?" HELD IN BOSTON, ON TUESDAY MARCH 18, A.D. 1834, AND CONTINUED THROUGH WEDNESDAY AND THURSDAY.

DAMN YOU TO ALL HELL

March 19, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the 2d volume of William Bullock's SIX MONTHS' RESIDENCE AND TRAVELS IN MEXICO; CONTAINING REMARKS ON THE PRESENT STATE OF NEW SPAIN, ITS NATURAL PRODUCTIONS, STATE OF SOCIETY, MANUFACTURES, TRADE, AGRICULTURE, AND ANTIQUITIES, &C WITH PLATES AND MAPS (London: John Murray, 1825).

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson

BULLOCK'S MEXICO, II

March 26, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, Thomas Gray's THE VESTAL, OR A TALE OF POMPEII, which although it was a historical novel offered more than 35 pages of explanatory notes in the 1830 edition published in Boston by the firm of Gray and Bowen.[38]

THE VESTAL ... OF POMPEII

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 26 of 3 M 1834 / Attended Moy* [Monthly] *Meeting held in Town —Wm Greene preached - followed by Wm Almy. — In the last there was considerable buisness & a time of exercise & some*

38. Would this have been where Thoreau learned of the ruts of Pompeii, which in 1851 he would mention in his journal?

July 7, Monday, 1851: ...Even the facts of science may dust the mind by their dryness –unless they are in a sense effaced each morning or rather rendered fertile by the dews of fresh & living truth. Every thought that passes through the mind helps to wear & tear it & to deepen the ruts which as in the streets of Pompeii evince how much it has been used. How many things there are concerning which we might well deliberate whether we had better know them. Routine –conventionality manners &c &c –how insensibly and undue attention to these dissipates & impoverishes the mind –robs it of its simplicity & strength emasculates it. Knowledge doe[s] not cone [come] to us by details but by lieferungs from the gods. What else is it to wash & purify ourselves? Conventionalities are as bad as impurities. Only thought which is expressed by the mind in repose as it wer[e] lying on its back & contemplating the heaven's –is adequately & fully expressed– What are side long –transient passing half views? The writer expressing his thought –must be as well seated as the astronomer contemplating the heavens –he must not occupy a constrained position. The facts the experience we are well poised upon –! Which secures our whole attention!

distress but things ended pretty well.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

On the north boreal slope of Canada, Commander George Back received news from York Factory.

> (Page 240) ... a person arrived late in the evening with the packet from York Factory, which we had been expecting daily for the last six weeks. The happiness which this announcement instantly created can be appreciated by those only who, like us, have been outside the pale of civilisation, and felt the blessing of communication with their friends but once through a long twelvemonth.

THE FROZEN NORTH

SPRING 1834

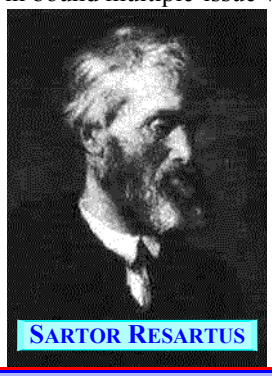
DATE: At some point Lydia Jackson's older sister Mrs. Lucy Cotton Jackson Brown was abandoned by her husband Mr. Charles Brown, a merchant, who dropped out of sight leaving her to provide for their two young children Francis C. "Frank" Brown and Sophia Brown. The Reverend Waldo Emerson, preaching in a church in Plymouth, Massachusetts, was seen and heard by Lydia for the 2d time.

APRIL 1834

April: Congressman David Crockett began a political tour of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, and Boston.

April 7, Monday: Felix Mendelssohn's overture Melusine, or the Mermaid and the Knight was performed for the initial time, in London. It would become known as "Die schone Melusine."

In this month appeared the 5th of the eight installments of Thomas Carlyle's SARTOR RESARTUS.
The Reverend James Freeman Clarke copied the letter he had received from Waldo Emerson about this strange text and sent it to his cousin Margaret Fuller in Groton. Fuller would be reading the work in Fraser's Magazine eventually as that magazine came out in bound multiple-issue volumes.[39]


SARTOR RESARTUS

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

The Boston and Worcester Rail-Road experimented with a run of their locomotive "Meteor" from Boston as far as Davis's tavern in Newton, a distance of 8½ miles, under the observation of a party of Directors and some 50 or 60 other spectators. Caroline J. Barker of West Newton described the engine as looking like "an old boiler." A top speed of 20 miles per hour was found to be feasible, and an average speed of 18 miles per hour.[40]

April 8, Tuesday: There were more tests on the Boston and Worcester Rail-Road run from Boston toward Newton, but the tests were not successful on this day as the equipment kept breaking down.

39. Another Transcendentalist who was reading along serially in SARTOR RESARTUS was Bronson Alcott.
40. I have an attestation that this Boston and Worcester Railroad was later to be using passenger engines named "Nathan Hale" and David Henshaw" (this one with a straight smokestack), but that freight engines had names such as "Elephant," "Lion," "Tiger," "Bison," "Camel," "Leopard," "Mercury," "Ajax," "Hercules," "Vesuvius," "Aetna," "Hecla," "Fury" (had a bad rep for constantly breaking down), and "Comet" (with an old-style funnel-shaped smokestack).

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

April 11, Friday: Concerto da camera op.10/2 by Valentin Alkan was performed for the initial time, in Bath, England.

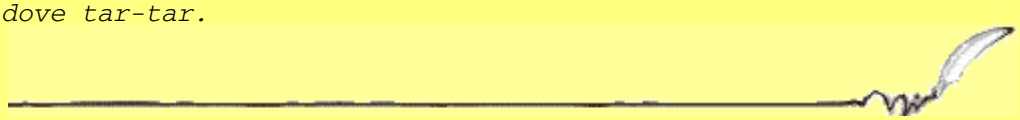
Waldo Emerson to his journal:

Went yesterday to Cambridge and spent most of the day at Mount Auburn [cemetery]; got my luncheon at Fresh Pond, and went back again to the woods. After much wandering and seeing many things, four snakes gliding up and down a hollow for no purpose that I could see — not to eat, not for love, but only gliding; then a whole bed of Hepatica triloba, cousins of the Anemone, all blue and beautiful, but constrained by niggard nature to wear their last year's faded jacket of leaves; then a black-capped titmouse, who came upon a tree, and when I would know his name, sang chick-a-dee-dee; then a far-off tree full of clamorous birds, I know not what, but you might hear them half a mile; I forsook the tombs, and found a sunny hollow where the east wind would not blow, and lay down against the side of a tree to most happy beholdings. At least I opened my eyes and let what would pass through them into the soul. I saw no more my relation, how near and petty, to Cambridge or Boston; I heeded no more what minute or hour our Massachusetts clocks might indicate — I saw only the noble earth on which I was born, with the great Star which warms and enlightens it. I saw the clouds that hang their significant drapery over us. It was Day — that was all Heaven said. The pines glittered with their innumerable green needles in the light, and seemed to challenge me to read their riddle. The drab oak-leaves of the last year turned their little somersets and lay still again. And the wind bustled high overhead in the forest top. This gay and grand architecture, from the vault to the moss and lichen on which I lay, — who shall explain to me the laws of its proportions and adornments?

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

I had a visitor today in my ancient oak tree. Walking across the yard I saw a shadow and glanced up in time to see a very large bird light in my tree. It was a red tailed hawk – not unusual for these parts, but fairly uncommon in town. Interestingly, the fellow had caught and was in the process of plucking a very large mourning dove held firmly in his talons. I crept closer for a look as feathers floated downwards. Unfortunately, my sudden presence startled the hawk who released his still living prey. The dove dropped to the ground, but quickly seemed to come to its senses and flew off without even so much as a nod of gratitude to me. (I have two ancient mourning doves in my home as pets, ring necks they are – Pip and Hazel and they are very expressive birds. Their soft cooing is much admired by the neighbors as they spend their summer months in a large cage on my front porch.) I felt both guilty for losing the hawk his dinner and relief for the dove who had narrowly escaped becoming dove tar-tar.



April 16, Wednesday: The 1st railroad passenger service in Massachusetts began on the nine-mile run between Boston and West Newton. Three trips would be made per day, carrying two to eight passengers on each trip.

April 23, Wednesday: At the top of Ladder Hill, the Royal Standard was hoisted over the island of St. Helena (everybody got all misty-eyed).

David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the 1st volume of the Reverend Vicesimus Knox II, D.D.'s ELEGANT EXTRACTS: OR, USEFUL AND ENTERTAINING PIECES OF POETRY, SELECTED FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF YOUNG PERSONS: BEING SIMILAR IN DESIGN TO ELEGANT EXTRACTS IN PROSE (London: C. Robinson; Weybridge: S. Hamilton?, 1800). He also checked out an unidentified volume labeled both "Lewis & Clapperton" and "10.1.4." This volume, the first of a series, may have consisted of some publication by Meriwether Lewis and/or some publication by Hugh Clapperton (such as the JOURNAL OF A SECOND EXPEDITION INTO THE INTERIOR OF AFRICA which he had published in London in 1829), bound together or put out as a series of volumes.

April 30, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the 1st volume of Walter Wilson, Esq.'s MEMOIRS OF THE LIFE AND TIMES OF DANIEL DE FOE (London, 1830).

THE MAINE WOODS: Setting out on our return to the river, still at an early hour in the day, we decided to follow the course of the torrent, which we supposed to be Murch Brook, as long as it would not lead us too far out of our way. We thus travelled about four miles in the very torrent itself, continually crossing and recrossing it, leaping from rock to rock, and jumping with the stream down falls of seven or eight feet, or sometimes sliding down on our backs in a thin sheet of water. This ravine had been the scene of an extraordinary freshet in the spring, apparently accompanied by a slide from the mountain. It must have been filled with a stream of stones and water, at least twenty feet above the present level of the torrent. For a rod or two, on either side of its channel, the trees were barked and splintered up to their tops, the birches bent over, twisted, and sometimes finely split, like a stable-broom; some, a foot in diameter, snapped off, and whole clumps of trees bent over with the weight of rocks piled on them. In one place we noticed a rock, two or three feet in diameter, lodged nearly twenty feet high in the crotch of a tree. For the whole four miles, we saw but one rill emptying in, and the volume of water did not seem to be increased from the first. We travelled thus very rapidly with a downward impetus, and grew remarkably expert at leaping from rock to rock, for leap we must, and leap we did, whether there was any rock at the right distance or not. It was a pleasant picture when the foremost turned about and looked up the winding ravine, walled in with rocks and the green forest, to see, at intervals of a rod or two, a red-shirted or green-jacketed mountaineer against the white torrent, leaping down the channel with his pack on his back, or pausing upon a convenient rock in the midst of the torrent to mend a rent in his clothes, or unstrap the dipper at his belt to take a draught of the water. At one place we were startled by seeing, on a little sandy shelf by the side of the stream, the fresh print of a man's foot, and for a moment realized how Robinson Crusoe felt in a similar case; but at last we remembered that we had struck this stream on our way up, though we could not have told where, and one had descended into the ravine for a drink. The cool air above, and the continual bathing of our bodies in mountain water, alternate foot, sitz, douche, and plunge baths, made this walk exceedingly refreshing, and we had travelled only a mile or two, after leaving the torrent, before every thread of our clothes was as dry as usual, owing perhaps to a peculiar quality in the atmosphere.

ROBINSON CRUSOE

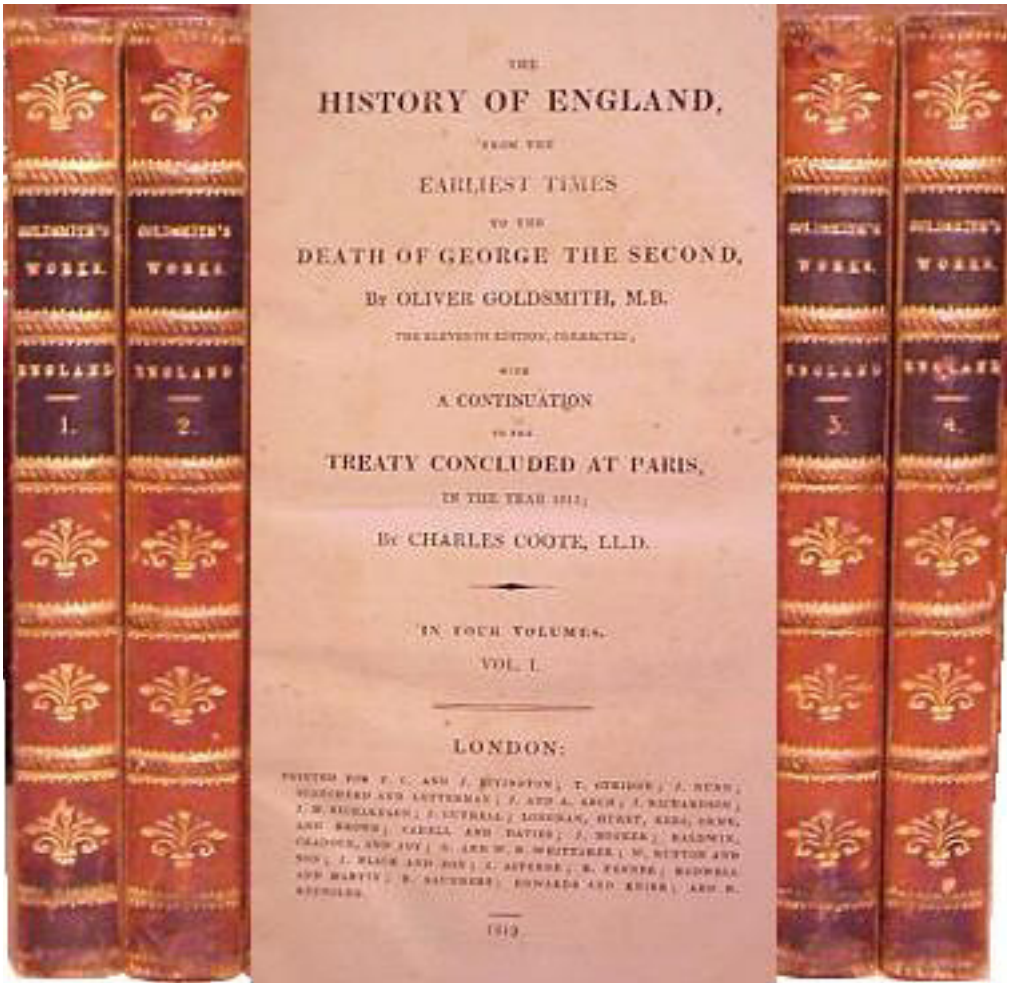
THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Thoreau also checked out Oliver Goldsmith's THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND, ... WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE TREATY CONCLUDED AT PARIS IN THE YEAR 1815.

GOLDSMITH'S ENGLISH, I
GOLDSMITH'S ENGLISH, II
GOLDSMITH'S ENGLISH, III
GOLDSMITH'S ENGLISH, IV

This had originally been issued in 1771 and had covered the history of England only down to 1760.
The volumes Thoreau consulted may have been from any one of a number of expanded editions, for instance an expanded edition by Charles Coote (1819) that continued the history of England into the year 1815:



Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

> *4th day 30th of 4 M / Rode this Morning to Greenwich to attend the Quarterly Meeting - The Select Meeting this day held was a season of favour After the Meeting for Sufferings in the*

Afternoon We went to Daniel Howlands & lodged

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

MAY 1834

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: Early in the month, Waldo Emerson received half the cash from the estate of Mrs. Ellen Louisa Tucker Emerson.

For a real howler: Emerson scholar George J. Stack has described this Tucker inheritance as "modest" — actually it amounted, in that period, to a truly staggering sum. At one fell swoop Waldo had made himself exceedingly comfortably. As I recall the figure, this initial half of the settlement alone amounted to some $12,000 (at that time one should have been able to purchase almost the finest home in Concord for merely some $800, in effect leaving of the eventual $24,000 total of the cash portion of the estate some $23,200 after providing indefinitely for all one's extended family's future housing needs). Since one might in that era expect to provide everything one's family needed by way of food and clothing and education, richly, for some $500 per year, this means that not even taking interest income into consideration, whatever family Emerson would choose to establish was at this point amply provided for during the following 23 X 2 = 46 years of their lives. That is by no one's description (not even Professor Stack's) a "modest" amount of money. Consider for instance how much of today's currency it would take –in winning a PowerBall lottery maybe– to equal that size of windfall. To purchase even a modest home in Concord today would set you back better than a million dollars up front. Then, to provide for one's family for 46 years at a decent standard of living would require perhaps $50,000 per year, or a sum total of another $2,300,000. This means that the very 1st installment of the Tucker inheritance, alone, would have been the equivalent of a lottery winning, tax free, of better than three million dollars today. A "modest" triple millionaire in an era in which this very term "millionaire" itself had only seven years before been coined![41]

May 7, Wednesday: Waldo Emerson lectured at the Natural History Society in Boston.
(This was "The Naturalist" as later to be printed in EARLY LECTURES, Volume I, pages 69-83.)

41. This egregious blunder on the part of an Emerson scholar reminds me of a more recent egregious blunder, in which an incautious Thoreau scholar characterized Franklin Benjamin Sanborn of Concord as having been "short" when the man happened to have been the very tallest man not only in Concord but anywhere to be found during this period — taller than for instance Abraham Lincoln, taller even than the remarkably tall Thomas Cholmondeley of England and New Zealand!

May 7, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, some volume by Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney (1791-1865), presumably her anonymous TRAITS OF THE ABORIGINES OF AMERICA A POEM (Cambridge MA: Hilliard and Metcalf, 1822), a long piece of blank verse urging the conversion of the native Americans to Christianity. Since in 1833 she had acknowledged that she had published poetry, he may or may not at the time of his reading or later have been aware that he was perusing something authored by a woman.

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

In the US Senate, Daniel Webster orated about President Andrew Jackson's objection to the Senate's resolution of March 28th:[42]

> Mr. President,— I feel the magnitude of this question. We are coming to a vote which cannot fail to produce important effects on the character of the Senate, and the character of the government.
> Unhappily, Sir, the Senate finds itself involved in a controversy with the President of the United States; a man who has rendered most distinguished services to his country, who has hitherto possessed a degree of popular favor perhaps never exceeded, and whose honesty of motive and integrity of purpose are still admitted by those who maintain that his administration has fallen into lamentable errors.
> On some of the interesting questions in regard to which the President and Senate hold opposite opinions, the more popular branch of the legislature concurs with the executive. It is not to be concealed that the Senate is engaged against imposing odds. It can sustain itself only by its own prudence and the justice of its cause. It has no patronage by which to secure friends; it can raise up no advocates through the dispensation of favors, for it has no favors to dispense. Its very constitution, as a body whose members are elected for a long term, is capable of being rendered obnoxious, and is daily made the subject of opprobrious remark. It is already denounced as

42. 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).

independent of the people, and aristocratic. Nor is it, like the other house, powerful in its numbers; not being, like that, so large as that its members come constantly in direct and extensive contact with the whole people. Under these disadvantages, Sir, which, we may be assured, will be pressed and urged to the utmost length, there is but one course for us. The Senate must stand on its rendered reasons. It must put forth the grounds of its proceedings, and it must then rely on the intelligence and patriotism of the people to carry it through the contest.

As an individual member of the Senate, it gives me great pain to be engaged in such a conflict with the executive government. The occurrences of the last session are fresh in the recollection of all of us; and having felt it to be my duty, at that time, to give my cordial support to highly important measures of the administration, I ardently hoped that nothing might occur to place me afterwards in an attitude of opposition. In all respects, and in every way, it would have been far more agreeable to me to find nothing in the measures of the executive government which I could not cheerfully support. The present occasion of difference has not been sought or made by me. It is thrust upon me, in opposition to strong opinions and wishes, on my part not concealed. The interference with the public deposits dispelled all hope of continued concurrence with the administration, and was a measure so uncalled for, so unnecessary, and, in my judgment, so illegal and indefensible, that, with whatever reluctance it might be opposed by me, opposition was unavoidable.

The paper before us has grown out of this interference. It is a paper which cannot be treated with indifference. The doctrines which it advances, the circumstances which have attended its transmission to the Senate, and the manner in which the Senate may now dispose of it, will form a memorable era in the history of the government. We are either to enter it on our journals, concur in its sentiments, and submit to its rebuke, or we must answer it, with the respect due to the chief magistrate, but with such animadversion on its doctrines as they deserve, and with the firmness imposed upon us by our public duties.

I shall proceed, then, Sir, to consider the circumstances which gave rise to this Protest; to examine the principles which it attempts to establish; and to compare those principles with the Constitution and the laws.

On the 28th day of March, the Senate adopted a resolution declaring that, "in the late executive proceedings in relation to the public revenue, the President had assumed a power not conferred by the Constitution and laws, but in derogation of both." In that resolution I concurred.

It is not a direct question, now again before us, whether the President really had assumed such illegal power; that point is decided, so far as the Senate ever can decide it. But the Protest denies that, supposing the President to have assumed such illegal power, the Senate could properly pass the resolution; or, what is the same thing, it denies that the Senate could, in this way, express any opinion about it. It denies that the Senate has any right, by resolution, in this or any other case, to express disapprobation of the President's conduct, let that

conduct be what it may; and this, one of the leading doctrines of the Protest, I propose to consider. But as I concurred in the resolution of the 28th of March, and did not trouble the Senate, at that time, with any statement of my own reasons, I will avail myself of this opportunity to explain, shortly, what those reasons were.

In the first place, then, I have to say, that I did not vote for the resolution on the mere ground of the removal of Mr. Duane from the office of Secretary of the Treasury. Although I disapprove of the removal altogether, yet the power of removal does exist in the President, according to the established construction of the Constitution; and therefore, although in a particular case it may be abused, and, in my opinion, was abused in this case, yet its exercise cannot be justly said to be an assumption or usurpation. We must all agree that Mr. Duane is out of office. He has, therefore, been removed by a power constitutionally competent to remove him, whatever may be thought of the exercise of that power under the circumstances of the case.

If, then, the act of removing the Secretary be not the assumption of power which the resolution declares, in what is that assumption found? Before giving a precise answer to this inquiry, allow me to recur to some of the principal previous events.

At the end of the last session of Congress, the public moneys of the United States were still in their proper place. That place was fixed by the law of the land, and no power of change was conferred on any other human being than the Secretary of the Treasury. On him the power of change was conferred, to be exercised by himself, if emergency should arise, and to be exercised for reasons which he was bound to lay before Congress. No other officer of the government had the slightest pretence of authority to lay his hand on these moneys for the purpose of changing the place of their custody. All the other heads of departments together could not touch them. The President could not touch them. The power of change was a trust confided to the discretion of the Secretary, and to his discretion alone. The President had no more authority to take upon himself this duty, thus assigned expressly by law to the Secretary, than he had to make the annual report to Congress, or the annual commercial statements, or to perform any other service which the law specially requires of the Secretary. He might just as well sign the warrants for moneys, in the ordinary daily disbursements of government, instead of the Secretary. The statute had assigned the especial duty of removing the deposits, if removed at all, to the Secretary of the Treasury, and to him alone. The consideration of the propriety or necessity of removal must be the consideration of the Secretary; the decision to remove, his decision; and the act of removal, his act.

Now, Sir, on the 18th day of September last, a resolution was taken to remove these deposits from their legislative, that is to say, their legal custody. **Whose resolution was this?** On the 1st of October, they were removed. **By whose power was this done?** The papers necessary to accomplish the removal (that is, the orders and drafts) are, it is true, signed by the Secretary. The President's name is not subscribed to them; nor does the

Secretary, in any of them, recite or declare that he does the act by direction of the President, or on the President's responsibility. In form, the whole proceeding is the proceeding of the Secretary, and, as such, had the legal effect. The deposits were removed. But whose act was it, in truth and reality? Whose will accomplished it? On whose responsibility was it adopted?

These questions are all explicitly answered by the President himself, in the paper, under his own hand, read to the Cabinet on the 18th of September, and published by his authority. In this paper the President declares, in so many words, that he begs his Cabinet to consider the proposed measure as his own; that its responsibility has been assumed by him; and that he names the first day of October as a period proper for its execution.

Now, Sir, it is precisely this which I deem an assumption of power not conferred by the Constitution and laws. I think the law did not give this authority to the President, nor impose on him the responsibility of its exercise. It is evident that, in this removal, the Secretary was in reality nothing but the scribe; he was the pen in the President's hand, and no more. Nothing depended on his discretion, his judgment, or his responsibility. The removal, indeed, has been admitted and defended in the Senate, as the direct act of the President himself. This, Sir, is what I call assumption of power. If the President had issued an order for the removal of the deposits in his own name, and under his own hand, it would have been an illegal order, and the bank would not have been at liberty to obey it. For the same reason, if the Secretary's order had recited that it was issued by the President's direction, and on the President's authority, it would have shown on its face that it was illegal and invalid. No one can doubt that. The act of removal, to be lawful, must be the *bonâ fide* act of the Secretary; **his** judgment, the result of **his** deliberations, the volition of **his** mind. All are able to see the difference between the power to remove the Secretary from office, and the power to control him, in all or any of his duties, while in office. The law charges the officer, whoever he may be, with the performance of certain duties. The President, with the consent of the Senate, appoints an individual to be such officer; and this individual he may remove, if he so please; but, until removed, he is the officer, and remains charged with the duties of his station, duties which nobody else can perform, and for the neglect or violation of which he is liable to be impeached.

The distinction is visible and broad between the power of removal and the power to control an officer not removed. The President, it is true, may terminate his political life; but he cannot control his powers and functions, and act upon him as a mere machine, while he is allowed to live. The power of control and direction, nowhere given, certainly, by any express provision of the Constitution or laws, is derived, by those who maintain it, from the right of removal; that is to say, it is a constructive power; it has no express warrant in the Constitution. A very important power, then, is raised by construction in the first place; and being thus raised, it becomes a fountain out of which other important powers, raised

also by construction, are to be supplied. There is no little danger that such a mode of reasoning may be carried too far. It cannot be maintained that the power of direct control necessarily flows from the power of removal. Suppose it had been decided in 1789, when the question was debated, that the President does not possess the power of removal; will it be contended, that, in that case, his right of interference with the acts and duties of executive officers would be less than it now is? The reason of the thing would seem to be the other way. If the President may remove an incumbent when he becomes satisfied of his unfaithfulness and incapacity, there would appear to be less necessity to give him also a right of control, than there would be if he could not remove him.

We may try this question by supposing it to arise in a judicial proceeding. If the Secretary of the Treasury were impeached for removing the deposits, could he justify himself by saying that he did it by the President's direction? If he could, then no executive officer could ever be impeached who obeys the President; and the whole notion of making such officers impeachable at all would be farcical. If he could not so justify himself, (and all will allow he could not,) the reason can only be that the act of removal is his own act; the power, a power confided to him, for the just exercise of which the law looks to his discretion, his honesty, and his direct responsibility.

Now, Sir, the President wishes the world to understand that he himself decided on the question of the removal of the deposits; that he took the whole responsibility of the measure upon himself; that he wished it to be considered **his own act**; that he not only himself decided that the thing should be done, but regulated its details also, and named the day for carrying it into effect.

I have always entertained a very erroneous view of the partition of powers, and of the true nature of official responsibility under our Constitution, if this be not a plain case of the assumption of power.

The legislature had fixed a place, by law, for the keeping of the public money. They had, at the same time and by the same law, created and conferred a power of removal, to be exercised contingently. This power they had vested in the Secretary, by express words. The law did not say that the deposits should be made in the bank, unless the President should order otherwise; but it did say that they should be made there, unless the Secretary of the Treasury should order otherwise. I put it to the plain sense and common candor of all men, whether the discretion thus to be exercised over the subject was not the Secretary's own personal discretion; and whether, therefore, the interposition of the authority of another, acting directly and conclusively on the subject, deciding the whole question, even in its particulars and details, be not an assumption of power?

The Senate regarded this interposition as an encroachment by the executive on other branches of the government; as an interference with the legislative disposition of the public treasure. It was strongly and forcibly urged, yesterday, by the honorable member from South Carolina, that the true and only mode of preserving any balance of power, in mixed governments, is to keep an exact balance. This is very true, and to this end

encroachment must be resisted at the first step. The question is, therefore, whether, upon the true principles of the Constitution, this exercise of power by the President can be justified. Whether the consequences be prejudicial or not, if there be an illegal exercise of power, it is to be resisted in the proper manner. Even if no harm or inconvenience result from transgressing the boundary, the intrusion is not to be suffered to pass unnoticed. Every encroachment, great or small, is important enough to awaken the attention of those who are intrusted with the preservation of a constitutional government. We are not to wait till great public mischiefs come, till the government is overthrown, or liberty itself put into extreme jeopardy. We should not be worthy sons of our fathers were we so to regard great questions affecting the general freedom. Those fathers accomplished the Revolution on a strict question of principle. The Parliament of Great Britain asserted a right to tax the Colonies in all cases whatsoever; and it was precisely on this question that they made the Revolution turn. The amount of taxation was trifling, but the claim itself was inconsistent with liberty; and that was, in their eyes, enough. It was against the recital of an act of Parliament, rather than against any suffering under its enactments, that they took up arms. They went to war against a preamble. They fought seven years against a declaration. They poured out their treasures and their blood like water, in a contest against an assertion which those less sagacious and not so well schooled in the principles of civil liberty would have regarded as barren phraseology, or mere parade of words. They saw in the claim of the British Parliament a seminal principle of mischief, the germ of unjust power; they detected it, dragged it forth from underneath its plausible disguises, struck at it; nor did it elude either their steady eye or their well-directed blow till they had extirpated and destroyed it, to the smallest fibre. On this question of principle, while actual suffering was yet afar off, they raised their flag against a power, to which, for purposes of foreign conquest and subjugation, Rome, in the height of her glory, is not to be compared; a power which has dotted over the surface of the whole globe with her possessions and military posts, whose morning drum-beat, following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England.

The necessity of holding strictly to the principle upon which free governments are constructed, and to those precise lines which fix the partitions of power between different branches, is as plain, if not as cogent, as that of resisting, as our fathers did, the strides of the parent country against the rights of the Colonies; because, whether the power which exceeds its just limits be foreign or domestic, whether it be the encroachment of all branches on the rights of the people, or that of one branch on the rights of others, in either case the balanced and well-adjusted machinery of free government is disturbed, and, if the derangement go on, the whole system must fall.

But the case before us is not a case of merely theoretic infringement; nor is it one of trifling importance. Far otherwise. It respects one of the highest and most important of

all the powers of government; that is to say, the custody and control of the public money. The act of removing the deposits, which I now consider as the President's act, and which his friends on this floor defend as his act, took the national purse from beneath the security and guardianship of the law, and disposed of its contents, in parcels, in such places of deposit as he chose to select. At this very moment, every dollar of the public treasure is subject, so far as respects its custody and safe-keeping, to his unlimited control. We know not where it is to-day; still less do we know where it may be to-morrow.

But, Mr. President, this is not all. There is another part of the case, which has not been so much discussed, but which appears to me to be still more indefensible in its character. It is something which may well teach us the tendency of power to move forward with accelerated pace, if it be allowed to take the first step. The Bank of the United States, in addition to the services rendered to the treasury, gave for its charter, and for the use of the public deposits, a **bonus** or outright sum of one million and a half of dollars. This sum was paid by the bank into the treasury soon after the commencement of its charter. In the act which passed both houses for renewing the charter, in 1832, it was provided that the bank, for the same consideration, should pay two hundred thousand dollars a year during the period for which it was proposed to renew it. A similar provision is in the bill which I asked leave to introduce some weeks ago. Now, Sir, this shows that the custody of the deposits is a benefit for which a bank may well afford to pay a large annual sum. The banks which now hold the deposits pay nothing to the public; they give no **bonus**, they pay no annuity. But this loss of so much money is not the worst part of the case, nor that which ought most to alarm us. Although they pay nothing to the public, they do pay, nevertheless, such sums, and for such uses, as may be agreed upon between themselves and the executive government. We are officially informed that an officer is appointed by the Secretary of the Treasury to inspect or superintend these selected banks; and this officer is compensated by a salary fixed by the executive, agreed to by the banks, and paid by them. I ask, Sir, if there can be a more irregular or a more illegal transaction than this? Whose money is it out of which this salary is paid? Is it not money justly due to the United States, and paid, because it is so due, for the advantage of holding the deposits? If a dollar is received on that account, is not its only true destination into the general treasury of the government? And who has authority, without law, to create an office, to fix a salary, and to pay that salary out of this money? Here is an inspector or supervisor of the deposit banks. But what law has provided for such an officer? What commission has he received? Who concurred in his appointment? What oath does he take? How is he to be punished or impeached if he colludes with any of these banks to embezzle the public money or defraud the government? The value of the use of this public money to the deposit banks is probably two hundred thousand dollars a year; or, if less than that, it is yet, certainly, a very great sum. May the President appoint whatever officers he pleases, with whatever duties he pleases, and pay them as much as he pleases, out of the moneys thus paid by the banks, for the

sake of having the deposits?
Mr. President, the executive claim of power is exactly this, that the President may keep the money of the public in whatever banks he chooses, on whatever terms he chooses, and apply the sums which these banks are willing to pay for its use to whatever purposes he chooses. These sums are not to come into the general treasury. They are to be appropriated before they get there; they are never to be brought under the control of Congress; they are to be paid to officers and agents not known to the law, not nominated to the Senate, and responsible to nobody but the executive itself. I ask gentlemen if all this be lawful. Are they prepared to defend it? Will they stand up and justify it? In my opinion, Sir, it is a clear and most dangerous assumption of power. It is the creation of office without law; the appointment to office without consulting the Senate; the establishment of a salary without law; and the payment of that salary out of a fund which itself is derived from the use of the public treasures. This, Sir, is my other reason for concurring in the vote of the 28th of March; and on these grounds I leave the propriety of that vote, so far as I am concerned with it, to be judged of by the country.
But, Sir, the President denies the power of the Senate to pass any such resolution, on any ground whatever. Suppose the declaration contained in the resolution to be true; suppose the President had, in fact, assumed powers not granted to him; does the Senate possess the right to declare its opinion, affirming this fact, or does it not? I maintain that the Senate does possess such a power; the President denies it.
Mr. President, we need not look far, nor search deep, for the foundation of this right in the Senate. It is close at hand, and clearly visible. In the first place, it is the right of self-defence. In the second place, it is a right founded on the duty of representative bodies, in a free government, to defend the public liberty against encroachment. We must presume that the Senate honestly entertained the opinion expressed in the resolution of the 28th of March; and, entertaining that opinion, its right to express it is but the necessary consequence of its right to defend its own constitutional authority, as one branch of the government. This is its clear right, and this, too, is its imperative duty.
If one or both the other branches of the government happen to do that which appears to us inconsistent with the constitutional rights of the Senate, will any one say that the Senate is yet bound to be passive, and to be silent? to do nothing, and to say nothing? Or, if one branch appears to encroach on the rights of the other two, have these two no power of remonstrance, complaint, or resistance? Sir, the question may be put in a still more striking form. Has the Senate a right **to have an opinion** in a case of this kind? If it may have an opinion, how is that opinion to be ascertained but by resolution and vote? The objection must go the whole length; it must maintain that the Senate has not only no right to express opinions, but no right to form opinions, on the conduct of the executive government, though in matters intimately affecting the powers and duties of the Senate itself. It is not possible, Sir, that such a doctrine can be maintained for a single moment. All political bodies

resist what they deem encroachments by resolutions expressive of their sentiments, and their purpose to resist such encroachments. When such a resolution is presented for its consideration, the question is, whether it be true; not whether the body has authority to pass it, admitting it to be true. The Senate, like other public bodies, is perfectly justifiable in defending, in this mode, either its legislative or executive authority. The usages of Parliament, the practice in our State legislatures and assemblies, both before and since the Revolution, and precedents in the Senate itself, fully maintain this right. The case of the Panama mission is in point. In that case, Mr. Branch, from North Carolina, introduced a resolution, which, after reciting that the President, in his annual message and in his communication to the Senate, had asserted that he possessed an authority to make certain appointments, **although the appointments had not been made**, went on to declare that "**a silent acquiescence on the part of this body may, at some future time, be drawn into dangerous precedent**"; and to resolve, therefore, that the President does not possess the right or power said to be claimed by him. This resolution was discussed, and finally laid on the table. But the question discussed was, whether the resolution was correct, in fact and principle; not whether the Senate had any right to pass such resolution. So far as I remember, no one pretended that, if the President had exceeded his authority, the Senate might not so declare by resolution. No one ventured to contend that, whether the rights of the Senate were invaded or not, the Senate must hold its peace.

The Protest labors strenuously to show that the Senate adopted the resolution of the 28th of March, under its **judicial** authority. The reason of this attempt is obvious enough. If the Senate, in its judicial character, has been trying the President, then he has not had a regular and formal trial; and, on that ground, it is hoped the public sympathy may be moved. But the Senate has acted not in its judicial, but in its legislative capacity. As a legislative body, it has defended its own just authority, and the authority of the other branch of the legislature. Whatever attacks our own rights and privileges, or whatever encroaches on the power of both houses, we may oppose and resist, by declaration, resolution, or other similar proceedings. If we look to the books of precedents, if we examine the journals of legislative bodies, we find everywhere instances of such proceedings.

It is to be observed, Sir, that the Protest imposes silence on the House of Representatives as well as on the Senate. It declares that no power is conferred on either branch of the legislature, to consider or decide upon official acts of the executive, for the purpose of censure, and without a view to legislation or impeachment. This, I think, Sir, is pretty high-toned pretension. According to this doctrine, neither house could assert its own rights, however the executive might assail them; neither house could point out the danger to the people, however fast executive encroachment might be extending itself, or whatever danger it might threaten to the public liberties. If the two houses of Congress may not express an opinion of executive conduct by resolution, there is the same reason why

they should not express it in any other form, or by any other mode of proceeding. Indeed, the Protest limits both houses, expressly, to the case of impeachment. If the House of Representatives are not about to impeach the President, they have nothing to say of his measures or of his conduct; and unless the Senate are engaged in trying an impeachment, their mouths, too, are stopped. It is the practice of the President to send us an annual message, in which he rehearses the general proceedings of the executive for the past year. This message we refer to our committees for consideration. But, according to the doctrine of the Protest, they can express no opinion upon any executive proceeding upon which it gives information. Suppose the President had told us, in his last annual message, what he had previously told us in his cabinet paper, that the removal of the deposits was **his** act, done on **his** responsibility; and that the Secretary of the Treasury had exercised no discretion, formed no judgment, presumed to have no opinion whatever, on the subject. This part of the message would have been referred to the committee on finance; but what could they say? They think it shows a plain violation of the Constitution and the laws; but the President is not impeached; therefore they can express no censure. They think it a direct invasion of legislative power, but they must not say so. They may, indeed, commend, if they can. The grateful business of praise is lawful to them; but if, instead of commendation and applause, they find cause for disapprobation, censure, or alarm, the Protest enjoins upon them absolute silence.

Formerly, Sir, it was a practice for the President to meet both houses, at the opening of the session, and deliver a speech, as is still the usage of some of the State legislatures. To this speech there was an answer from each house — and those answers expressed, freely, the sentiments of the house upon all the merits and faults of the administration. The discussion of the topics contained in the speech, and the debate on the answers, usually drew out the whole force of parties, and lasted sometimes a week. President Washington's conduct, in every year of his administration, was thus freely and publicly canvassed. He did not complain of it; he did not doubt that both houses had a perfect right to comment, with the utmost latitude, consistent with decorum, upon all his measures. Answers, or amendments to answers, were not unfrequently proposed, very hostile to his own course of public policy, if not sometimes bordering on disrespect. And when they did express respect and regard, there were votes ready to be recorded against the expression of those sentiments. To all this President Washington took no exception; for he well knew that these, and similar proceedings, belonged to the power of popular bodies. But if the President were now to meet us with a speech, and should inform us of measures, adopted by himself in the recess, which should appear to us the most plain, palpable, and dangerous violations of the Constitution, we must, nevertheless, either keep respectful silence, or fill our answer merely with courtly phrases of approbation.

Mr. President, I know not who wrote this Protest, but I confess I am astonished, truly astonished, as well at the want of

knowledge which it displays of constitutional law, as at the high and dangerous pretensions which it puts forth. Neither branch of the legislature can express censure upon the President's conduct! Suppose, Sir, that we should see him enlisting troops and raising an army, can we say nothing, and do nothing? Suppose he were to declare war against a foreign power, and put the army and the fleet in action; are we still to be silent? Suppose we should see him borrowing money on the credit of the United States; are we yet to wait for impeachment? Indeed, Sir, in regard to this borrowing money on the credit of the United States, I wish to call the attention of the Senate, not only to what might happen, but to what has actually happened. We are informed that the Post-Office Department, a department over which the President claims the same control as over the rest, **has actually borrowed near half a million of money on the credit of the United States.**

Mr. President, the first power granted to Congress by the Constitution is the power to lay taxes; the second, the power to borrow money on the credit of the United States. Now, Sir, where does the executive find its authority, in or through any department, to borrow money without authority of Congress? This proceeding appears to me wholly illegal, and reprehensible in a very high degree. It may be said that it is not true that this money is borrowed on the credit of the United States, but that it is borrowed on the credit of the Post-Office Department. But that would be mere evasion. The department is but a name. It is an office, and nothing more. The banks have not lent this money to any officer. If Congress should abolish the whole department to-morrow, would the banks not expect the United States to replace this borrowed money? The money, then, is borrowed on the credit of the United States, an act which Congress alone is competent to authorize. If the Post-Office Department may borrow money, so may the War Department and the Navy Department. If half a million may be borrowed, ten millions may be borrowed. What, then, if this transaction shall be justified, is to hinder the executive from borrowing money to maintain fleets and armies, or for any other purpose, at his pleasure, without any authority of law? Yet even this, according to the doctrine of the Protest, we have no right to complain of. We have no right to declare that an executive department has violated the Constitution and broken the law, by borrowing money on the credit of the United States. Nor could we make a similar declaration, if we were to see the executive, by means of this borrowed money, enlisting armies and equipping fleets. And yet, Sir, the President has found no difficulty, heretofore, in expressing his opinions, **in a paper not called for by the exercise of any official duty**, upon the conduct and proceedings of the two houses of Congress. At the commencement of this session, he sent us a message, commenting on the land bill which the two houses passed at the end of the last session. That bill he had not approved, nor had he returned it with objections. Congress was dissolved; and the bill, therefore, was completely dead, and could not be revived. No communication from him could have the least possible effect as an official act. Yet he saw fit to send a message on the subject, and in that message he very freely declares his opinion that the bill which had passed

both houses **began with an entire subversion of every one of the compacts by which the United States became possessed of their Western domain**; that one of its provisions **was in direct and undisguised violation of the pledge given by Congress to the States**; that the Constitution provides that these compacts shall be untouched by the legislative power, which can only make needful rules and regulations; and that all beyond that is **an assumption of undelegated power**.

These are the terms in which the President speaks of an act of the two houses; not in an official paper, not in a communication which it was necessary for him to make to them; but in a message, adopted only as a mode through which to make public these opinions. After this, it would seem too late to enjoin on the houses of Congress a total forbearance from all comment on the measures of the executive.

Not only is it the right of both houses, or of either, to resist, by vote, declaration, or resolution, whatever it may deem an encroachment of executive power, but it is also undoubtedly the right of either house to oppose, in like manner, any encroachment by the other. The two houses have each its own appropriate powers and authorities, which it is bound to preserve. They have, too, different constituents. The members of the Senate are representatives of States; and it is in the Senate alone that the four-and-twenty States, as political bodies, have a direct influence in the legislative and executive powers of this government. He is a strange advocate of State rights, who maintains that this body, thus representing the States, and thus being the strictly federal branch of the legislature, may not assert and maintain all and singular its own powers and privileges, against either or both of the other branches.

If any thing be done or threatened derogatory to the rights of the States, as secured by the organization of the Senate, may we not lift up our voices against it? Suppose the House of Representatives should vote that the Senate ought not to propose amendments to revenue bills; would it be the duty of the Senate to take no notice of such proceeding? Or, if we were to see the President issuing commissions to office to persons who had never been nominated to the Senate, are we not to remonstrate?

Sir, there is no end of cases, no end of illustrations. The doctrines of the Protest, in this respect, cannot stand the slightest scrutiny; they are blown away by the first breath of discussion.

And yet, Sir, it is easy to perceive why this right of declaring its sentiments respecting the conduct of the executive is denied to either house, in its legislative capacity. It is merely that the Senate might be presented in the odious light of **trying** the President, judicially, without regular accusation or hearing. The Protest declares that the President is **charged with a crime, and, without hearing or trial, found guilty and condemned**. This is evidently an attempt to appeal to popular feeling, and to represent the President as unjustly treated and unfairly tried. Sir, it is a false appeal. The President has not been tried at all; he has not been accused; he has not been charged with crime;

he has not been condemned. Accusation, trial, and sentence are terms belonging to judicial proceedings. But the Senate has been engaged in no such proceeding. The resolution of the 28th of March was not an exercise of judicial power, either in form, in substance, or in intent. Everybody knows that the Senate can exercise no judicial power until articles of impeachment are brought before it. It is then to proceed, by accusation and answer, hearing, trial, and judgment. But there has been no impeachment, no answer, no hearing, no judgment. All that the Senate did was to pass a resolution, in legislative form, declaring its opinion of certain acts of the executive. This resolution imputed no crime; it charged no corrupt motive; it proposed no punishment. It was directed, not against the President personally, but against the act; and that act it declared to be, in its judgment, an assumption of authority not warranted by the Constitution.

It is in vain that the Protest attempts to shift the resolution to the judicial character of the Senate. The case is too plain for such an argument to be plausible. But, in order to lay some foundation for it, the Protest, as I have already said, contends that neither the Senate nor the House of Representatives can express its opinions on the conduct of the President, except in some form connected with impeachment; so that if the power of impeachment did not exist, these two houses, though they be representative bodies, though one of them be filled by the immediate representatives of the people, though they be constituted like other popular and representative bodies, could not utter a syllable, although they saw the executive either trampling on their own rights and privileges, or grasping at absolute authority and dominion over the liberties of the country! Sir, I hardly know how to speak of such claims of impunity for executive encroachment. I am amazed that any American citizen should draw up a paper containing such lofty pretensions; pretensions which would have been met with scorn in England, at any time since the Revolution of 1688. A man who should stand up, in either house of the British Parliament, to maintain that the house could not, by vote or resolution, maintain its own rights and privileges, would make even the Tory benches hang their heads for very shame.

There was, indeed, a time when such proceedings were not allowed. Some of the kings of the Stuart race would not tolerate them. A signal instance of royal displeasure with the proceedings of Parliament occurred in the latter part of the reign of James the First. The House of Commons had spoken, on some occasion, "of its own undoubted rights and privileges." The king thereupon sent them a letter, declaring that **he would not allow that they had any undoubted rights; but that what they enjoyed they might still hold by his own royal grace and permission**. Sir Edward Coke and Mr. Granville were not satisfied with this title to their privileges; and, under their lead, the house entered on its journals a resolution asserting its privileges, **as its own undoubted right**, and manifesting a determination to maintain them as such. This, says the historian, so enraged his Majesty, that he sent for the journal, had it brought into the Council, and there, in the presence of his lords and great officers of state, tore out the offensive

resolution with his own royal hand. He then dissolved Parliament, and sent its most refractory members to the Tower. I have no fear, certainly, Sir, that this English example will be followed, on this occasion, to its full extent; nor would I insinuate that any thing outrageous has been thought of, or intended, except outrageous pretensions; but such pretensions I must impute to the author of this Protest, whoever that author may be.

When this and the other house shall lose the freedom of speech and debate; when they shall surrender the rights of publicly and freely canvassing all important measures of the executive; when they shall not be allowed to maintain their own authority and their own privileges by vote, declaration, or resolution, — they will then be no longer free representatives of a free people, but slaves themselves, and fit instruments to make slaves of others.

The Protest, Mr. President, concedes what it doubtless regards as a liberal right of discussion to the people themselves. But its language, even in acknowledging this right of the **people** to discuss the conduct of their servants, is qualified and peculiar. The free people of the United States, it declares, have an undoubted right to discuss the official conduct of the President in such language and form as they may think proper, "subject only to the restraints of truth and justice." But, then, who is to be judge of this truth and justice? Are the people to judge for themselves, or are others to judge for them? The Protest is here speaking of **political** rights, and not moral rights; and if restraints are imposed on **political** rights, it must follow, of course, that others are to decide whenever the case arises whether these restraints have been violated. It is strange that the writer of the Protest did not perceive that, by using this language, he was pushing the President into a direct avowal of the doctrines of 1798. The text of the Protest and the text of the obnoxious act[43] of that year are nearly identical.

But, Sir, if the people have a right to discuss the official conduct of the executive, so have their representatives. We have been taught to regard a representative of the people as a sentinel on the watch-tower of liberty. Is he to be blind, though visible danger approaches? Is he to be deaf, though sounds of peril fill the air? Is he to be dumb, while a thousand duties impel him to raise the cry of alarm? Is he not, rather, to catch the lowest whisper which breathes intention or purpose of encroachment on the public liberties, and to give his voice breath and utterance at the first appearance of danger? Is not his eye to traverse the whole horizon with the keen and eager vision of an unhooded hawk, detecting, through all disguises, every enemy advancing, in any form, towards the citadel which he guards? Sir, this watchfulness for public liberty; this duty of foreseeing danger and proclaiming it; this promptitude and boldness in resisting attacks on the Constitution from any quarter; this defence of established landmarks; this fearless resistance of whatever would transcend or remove them, — all belong to the representative character, are interwoven with its very nature. If deprived of them, an active, intelligent,

43. Commonly called the Sedition Act, approved 14th July, 1798.

faithful agent of the people will be converted into an unresisting and passive instrument of power. A representative body, which gives up these rights and duties, gives itself up. It is a representative body no longer. It has broken the tie between itself and its constituents, and henceforth is fit only to be regarded as an inert, self-sacrificed mass, from which all appropriate principle of vitality has departed for ever.

I have thus endeavored to vindicate the right of the Senate to pass the resolution of the 28th of March, notwithstanding the denial of that right in the Protest.

But there are other sentiments and opinions expressed in the Protest, of the very highest importance, and which demand nothing less than our utmost attention.

The first object of a free people is the preservation of their liberty; and liberty is only to be preserved by maintaining constitutional restraints and just divisions of political power. Nothing is more deceptive or more dangerous than the pretence of a desire to simplify government. The simplest governments are despotisms; the next simplest, limited monarchies; but all republics, all governments of law, must impose numerous limitations and qualifications of authority, and give many positive and many qualified rights. In other words, they must be subject to rule and regulation. This is the very essence of free political institutions. The spirit of liberty is, indeed, a bold and fearless spirit; but it is also a sharp-sighted spirit, it is a cautious, sagacious, discriminating, far-seeing intelligence; it is jealous of encroachment, jealous of power, jealous of man. It demands checks; it seeks for guards; it insists on securities; it intrenches itself behind strong defences, and fortifies itself with all possible care against the assaults of ambition and passion. It does not trust the amiable weaknesses of human nature, and therefore it will not permit power to overstep its prescribed limits, though benevolence, good intent, and patriotic purpose come along with it. Neither does it satisfy itself with flashy and temporary resistance to illegal authority. Far otherwise. It seeks for duration and permanence. It looks before and after; and, building on the experience of ages which are past, it labors diligently for the benefit of ages to come. This is the nature of constitutional liberty; and this is **our** liberty, if we will rightly understand and preserve it. Every free government is necessarily complicated, because all such governments establish restraints, as well on the power of government itself as on that of individuals. If we will abolish the distinction of branches, and have but one branch; if we will abolish jury trials, and leave all to the judge; if we will then ordain that the legislator shall himself be that judge; and if we will place the executive power in the same hands, we may readily simplify government. We may easily bring it to the simplest of all possible forms, a pure despotism. But a separation of departments, so far as practicable, and the preservation of clear lines of division between them, is the fundamental idea in the creation of all our constitutions; and, doubtless, the continuance of regulated liberty depends on maintaining these boundaries.

In the progress, Sir, of the governments of the United States,

we seem exposed to two classes of dangers or disturbances; one external, the other internal. It may happen that collisions arise between this government and the governments of the States. That case belongs to the first class. A memorable instance of this kind occurred last year. It was my conscientious opinion, on that occasion, that the authority claimed by an individual State [South Carolina] was subversive of the just powers of this government, and, indeed, incompatible with its existence. I gave a hearty co-operation, therefore, to measures which the crisis seemed to require. We have now before us what appears, to my judgment, to be an instance of the latter kind. A contest has arisen between different branches of the same government, interrupting their harmony, and threatening to disturb their balance. It is of the highest importance, therefore, to examine the question carefully, and to decide it justly.

The separation of the powers of government into three departments, though all our constitutions profess to be founded on it, has, nevertheless, never been perfectly established in any government of the world, and perhaps never can be. The general principle is of inestimable value, and the leading lines of distinction sufficiently plain; yet there are powers of so undecided a character, that they do not seem necessarily to range themselves under either head. And most of our constitutions, too, having laid down the general principle, immediately create exceptions. There do not exist, in the general science of government, or the received maxims of political law, such precise definitions as enable us always to say of a given power whether it be legislative, executive, or judicial. And this is one reason, doubtless, why the Constitution, in conferring power on all the departments, proceeds not by general definition, but by specific enumeration. And, again, it grants a power in general terms, but yet, in the same or some other article or section, imposes a limitation or qualification on the grant; and the grant and the limitation must, of course, be construed together. Thus the Constitution says that all legislative power, therein granted, shall be vested in Congress, which Congress shall consist of a Senate and a House of Representatives; and yet, in another article, it gives to the President a qualified negative over all acts of Congress. So the Constitution declares that the judicial power shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and such inferior courts as Congress may establish. It gives, nevertheless, in another provision, judicial power to the Senate; and, in like manner, though it declares that the executive power shall be vested in the President, using, in the immediate context, no words of limitation, yet it elsewhere subjects the treaty-making power, and the appointing power, to the concurrence of the Senate. The irresistible inference from these considerations is, that the mere nomination of a department, as one of the three great and commonly acknowledged departments of government, does not confer on that department any power at all. Notwithstanding the departments are called the legislative, the executive, and the judicial, we must yet look into the provisions of the Constitution itself, in order to learn, first, what powers the Constitution regards as legislative, executive, and judicial; and, in the next place, what portions or quantities of these

powers are conferred on the respective departments; because no one will contend that **all** legislative power belongs to Congress, **all** executive power to the President, or **all** judicial power to the courts of the United States.

The first three articles of the Constitution, as all know, are taken up in prescribing the organization, and enumerating the powers, of the three departments. The first article treats of the legislature, and its first section is, "All legislative power, **herein granted**, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives." The second article treats of the executive power, and its first section declares that "the executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America." The third article treats of the judicial power, and its first section declares that "the judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish." It is too plain to be doubted, I think, Sir, that these descriptions of the persons or officers in whom the executive and the judicial powers are to be vested no more define the extent of the grant of those powers, than the words quoted from the first article describe the extent of the legislative grant to Congress. All these several titles, heads of articles, or introductory clauses, with the general declarations which they contain, serve to designate the departments, and to mark the general distribution of powers; but in all the departments, in the executive and judicial as well as in the legislative, it would be unsafe to contend for any specific power under such clauses.

If we look into the State constitutions, we shall find the line of distinction between the departments still less perfectly drawn, although the general principle of the distinction is laid down in most of them, and in some of them in very positive and emphatic terms. In some of these States, notwithstanding the principle of distribution is adopted and sanctioned, the legislature appoints the judges; and in others it appoints both the governor and the judges; and in others, again, it appoints not only the judges, but all other officers.

The inferences which, I think, follow from these views of the subject, are two: first, that the denomination of a department does not fix the limits of the powers conferred on it, nor even their exact nature; and, second (which, indeed, follows from the first), that in our American governments, the chief executive magistrate does not necessarily, and by force of his general character of supreme executive, possess the appointing power. He may have it, or he may not, according to the particular provisions applicable to each case in the respective constitutions.

The President appears to have taken a different view of this subject. He seems to regard the appointing power as originally and inherently in the executive, and as remaining absolute in his hands, except so far as the Constitution restrains it. This I do not agree to, and I shall have occasion hereafter to examine the question further. I have intended thus far only to insist on the high and indispensable duty of maintaining the division of power **as the Constitution has marked out that division**, and

to oppose claims of authority not founded on express grants or necessary implication, but sustained merely by argument or inference from names or denominations given to departments.

Mr. President, the resolutions now before us declare, that the Protest asserts powers as belonging to the President inconsistent with the authority of the two houses of Congress, and inconsistent with the Constitution; and that the Protest itself is a breach of privilege. I believe all this to be true. The doctrines of the Protest are inconsistent with the authority of the two houses, because, in my judgment, they deny the just extent of the law-making power. I take the Protest as it was sent to us, without inquiring how far the subsequent message has modified or explained it. It is singular, indeed, that a paper, so long in preparation, so elaborate in composition, and which is put forth for so high a purpose as the Protest avows, should not be able to stand an hour's discussion before it became evident that it was indispensably necessary to alter or explain its contents. Explained or unexplained, however, the paper contains sentiments which justify us, as I think, in adopting these resolutions.

In the first place, I think the Protest a clear breach of privilege. It is a reproof or rebuke of the Senate, in language hardly respectful, for the exercise of a power clearly belonging to it as a legislative body. It entirely misrepresents the proceedings of the Senate. I find this paragraph in it, among others of a similar tone and character: "A majority of the Senate, whose interference with the preliminary question has, for the best of all reasons, been studiously excluded, anticipate the action of the House of Representatives, assume not only the function which belongs exclusively to that body, but convert themselves into accusers, witnesses, counsel, and judges, and prejudge the whole case; thus presenting the appalling spectacle, in a free state, of judges going through a labored preparation for an impartial hearing and decision, by a previous *ex parte* investigation and sentence against the supposed offender."

Now, Sir, this paragraph, I am bound to say, is a total misrepresentation of the proceedings of the Senate. A majority of the Senate have not anticipated the House of Representatives; they have not assumed the functions of that body; they have not converted themselves into accusers, witnesses, counsel, or judges; they have made no *ex parte* investigation; they have given no sentence. This paragraph is an elaborate perversion of the whole design and the whole proceedings of the Senate. A Protest, sent to us by the President, against votes which the Senate has an unquestionable right to pass, and containing, too, such a misrepresentation of these votes as this paragraph manifests, is a breach of privilege.

But there is another breach of privilege. The President interferes between the members of the Senate and their constituents, and charges them with acting contrary to the will of those constituents. He says it is his right and duty to look to the journals of the Senate to ascertain who voted for the resolution of the 28th of March, and then to show that individual Senators have, by their votes on that resolution, disobeyed the instructions or violated the known will of the legislatures who

appointed them. All this he claims as his right and his duty. And where does he find any such right or any such duty? What right has he to send a message to either house of Congress telling its members that they disobey the will of their constituents? Has any English sovereign since Cromwell's time dared to send such a message to Parliament? Sir, if he can tell us that some of us disobey our constituents, he can tell us that all do so; and if we consent to receive this language from him, there is but one remaining step, and that is, that since we thus disobey the will of our constituents, he should disperse us and send us home. In my opinion, the first step in this process is as distinct a breach of privilege as the last. If Cromwell's example shall be followed out, it will not be more clear then than it is now that the privileges of the Senate have been violated. There is yet something, Sir, which surpasses all this; and that is, that, after this direct interference, after pointing out those Senators whom he would represent as having disobeyed the known will of their constituents, **he disclaims all design of interfering at all**! Sir, who could be the writer of a message, which, in the first place, makes the President assert such monstrous pretensions, and, in the next line, affront the understanding of the Senate by disavowing all right to do that very thing which he is doing? If there be any thing, Sir, in this message, more likely than the rest of it to move one from his equanimity, it is this disclaimer of all design to interfere with the responsibility of members of the Senate to their constituents, after such interference had already been made, in the same paper, in the most objectionable and offensive form. If it were not for the purpose of telling these Senators that they disobeyed the will of the legislatures of the States they represent, **for what purpose was it** that the Protest has pointed out the four Senators, and paraded against them the sentiments of their legislatures? There can be no other purpose. The Protest says, indeed, that "these facts belong to the history of these proceedings"! To the history of what proceedings? To any proceeding to which the President was party? To any proceeding to which the Senate was party? Have they any thing to do with the resolution of the 28th of March? But it adds, that these facts **are important to the just development of the principles and interests involved in the proceedings**. All this might be said of any other facts. It is mere words. To what principles, to what interests, are these facts important? They can be important but in one point of view; and that is as proof, or evidence, that the Senators have disobeyed instructions, or acted against the known will of their constituents in disapproving the President's conduct. They have not the slightest bearing in any other way. They do not make the resolution of the Senate more or less true, nor its right to pass it more or less clear. Sir, these proceedings of the legislatures were introduced into this Protest for the very purpose, and no other, of showing that members of the Senate have acted contrary to the will of their constituents. Every man sees and knows this to have been the sole design; and any other pretence is a mockery to our understandings. And this purpose is, in my opinion, an unlawful purpose; it is an unjustifiable intervention between us and our constituents; and is, therefore,

a manifest and flagrant breach of privilege.

In the next place, the assertions of the Protest are inconsistent with the just authority of Congress, because they claim for the President a power, independent of Congress, to possess the custody and control of the public treasures. Let this point be accurately examined; and, in order to avoid mistake, I will read the precise words of the Protest.

> "The custody of the public property, under such regulations as may be prescribed by legislative authority, has always been considered an appropriate function of the executive department in this and all other governments. In accordance with this principle, every species of property belonging to the United States, (excepting that which is in the use of the several co-ordinate departments of the government, as means to aid them in performing their appropriate functions,) is in charge of officers appointed by the President, whether it be lands, or buildings, or merchandise, or provisions, or clothing, or arms and munitions of war. The superintendents and keepers of the whole are appointed by the President, and removable at his will.
>
> "Public money is but a species of public property. It cannot be raised by taxation or customs, nor brought into the treasury in any other way except by law; but whenever or howsoever obtained, its custody always has been, and always must be, unless the Constitution be changed, intrusted to the executive department. No officer can be created by Congress, for the purpose of taking charge of it, whose appointment would not, by the Constitution, at once devolve on the President, and who would not be responsible to him for the faithful performance of his duties."

And, in another place, it declares that "Congress cannot, therefore, take out of the hands of the executive department the custody of the public property or money, without an assumption of executive power, and a subversion of the first principles of the Constitution." These, Sir, are propositions which cannot receive too much attention. They affirm, that the custody of the public money constitutionally and necessarily belongs to the executive; and that, until the Constitution is changed, Congress cannot take it out of his hands, nor make any provision for its custody, except by such superintendents and keepers as are appointed by the President and removable at his will. If these assertions be correct, we have, indeed, a singular constitution for a republican government; for we give the executive the control, the custody, and the possession of the public treasury, by original constitutional provision; and when Congress appropriates, it appropriates only what is already in the President's hands.

Sir, I hold these propositions to be sound in neither branch. I maintain that the custody of the public money does not necessarily belong to the executive, under this government; and I hold that Congress may so dispose of it, that it shall be under the superintendence of keepers not appointed by the President,

nor removable at his will. I think it competent for Congress to declare, as Congress did declare in the bank charter, that the public deposits should be made in the bank. When in the bank, they were not kept by persons appointed by the President, or removable at his will. He could not change that custody; nor could it be changed at all, but according to provisions made in the law itself. There was, indeed, a provision in the law authorizing the **Secretary** to change the custody. But suppose there had been no such provision; suppose the contingent power had not been given to the Secretary; would it not have been a lawful enactment? Might not the law have provided that the public moneys should remain in the bank, until Congress itself should otherwise order, leaving no power of removal anywhere else? And if such provision had been made, what power, or custody, or control, would the President have possessed over them? Clearly, none at all. The act of May, 1800, directed custom-house bonds, in places where the bank which was then in existence was situated, or in which it had branches, to be deposited in the bank or its branches for collection, without the reservation to the Secretary, or anybody else, of any power of removal. Now, Sir, this was an unconstitutional law, if the Protest, in the part now under consideration, be correct; because it placed the public money in a custody beyond the control of the President, and in the hands of keepers not appointed by him, nor removable at his pleasure. One may readily discern, Sir, the process of reasoning by which the author of the Protest brought himself to the conclusion that Congress could not place the public moneys beyond the President's control. It is all founded on the power of appointment and the power of removal. These powers, it is supposed, must give the President complete control and authority over those who actually hold the money, and therefore must necessarily subject its custody, at all times, to his own individual will. This is the argument.

It is true, that the appointment of all public officers, with some exceptions, is, by the Constitution, given to the President, with the consent of the Senate; and as, in most cases, public property must be held by some officer, its keepers will generally be persons so appointed. But this is only the common, not a necessary consequence, of giving the appointing power to the President and Senate. Congress may still, if it shall so see fit, place the public treasure in the hand of no officer appointed by the President, or removable by him, but in hands quite beyond his control. Subject to one contingency only, it did this very thing by the charter of the present bank; and it did the same thing absolutely, and subject to no contingency, by the law of 1800. The Protest, in the first place, seizes on the fact that all officers must be appointed by the President, or on his nomination; it then assumes the next step, that all officers are, and **must be**, removable at his pleasure; and then, insisting that public money, like other public property, must be kept by **some public officer**, it thus arrives at the conclusion that it **must** always be in the hands of those who are appointed by the President, and who are removable at his pleasure. And it is very clear that the Protest means to maintain that the **tenure of office cannot be so regulated by law, as that public officers**

shall not be removable at the pleasure of the President.
The President considers the right of removal as a fixed, vested, constitutional right, which Congress cannot limit, control, or qualify, until the Constitution shall be altered. This, Sir, is doctrine which I am not prepared to admit. I shall not now discuss the question, whether the law may not place the tenure of office beyond the reach of executive pleasure; but I wish merely to draw the attention of the Senate to the fact, that any such power in Congress is denied by the principles and by the words of the Protest. According to that paper, we live under a constitution by the provisions of which the public treasures are, necessarily and unavoidably, always under executive control; and as the executive may remove all officers, and appoint others, at least temporarily, without the concurrence of the Senate, he may hold those treasures, in the hands of persons appointed by himself alone, in defiance of any law which Congress has passed or can pass. It is to be seen, Sir, how far such claims of power will receive the approbation of the country. It is to be seen whether a construction will be readily adopted which thus places the public purse out of the guardianship of the immediate representatives of the people.
But, Sir, there is, in this paper, something even yet more strange than these extraordinary claims of power. There is a strong disposition, running through the whole Protest, to represent the executive department of this government as the peculiar protector of the public liberty, the chief security on which the people are to rely against the encroachment of other branches of the government. Nothing can be more manifest than this purpose. To this end, the Protest spreads out the President's official oath, reciting all its words in a formal quotation; and yet the oath of members of Congress is exactly equivalent. The President is to swear that he will "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution"; and members of Congress are to swear that they will "support the Constitution." There are more words in one oath than the other, but the sense is precisely the same. Why, then, this reference to his official oath, and this ostentatious quotation of it? Would the writer of the Protest argue that the oath itself is any grant of power; or that, because the President is to "preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution," he is therefore to use what means he pleases for such preservation, protection, and defence, or any means except those which the Constitution and laws have specifically given him? Such an argument would be absurd; but if the oath be not cited for this preposterous purpose, with what design is it thus displayed on the face of the Protest, unless it be to support the general idea that the maintenance of the Constitution and the preservation of the public liberties are especially confided to the safe discretion, the sure moderation, the paternal guardianship, of executive power? The oath of the President contains three words, all of equal import; that is, that he will **preserve**, **protect**, and **defend** the Constitution. The oath of members of Congress is expressed in shorter phrase; it is, that they will **support** the Constitution. If there be any difference in the meaning of the two oaths, I cannot discern it; and yet the Protest solemnly and formally argues thus: "The duty of defending, so far as in him lies, the

integrity of the Constitution, would, indeed, have resulted from the very nature of his office; but by thus expressing it in the official oath or affirmation, which, in this respect, differs from that of every other functionary, the founders of our republic have attested their sense of its importance, and have given to it a peculiar solemnity and force."

Sir, I deny the proposition, and I dispute the proof. I deny that the duty of defending the integrity of the Constitution is, in any peculiar sense, confided to the President; and I deny that the words of his oath furnish any argument to make good that proposition. Be pleased, Sir, to remember **against whom it is** that the President holds it **his** peculiar duty to defend the integrity of the Constitution. It is not against external force; it is not against a foreign foe; no such thing; **but it is against the representatives of the people and the representatives of the States**! It is against these that the founders of our republic have imposed on him the duty of defending the integrity of the Constitution; a duty, he says, of the importance of which they have attested their sense, and to which they have given peculiar solemnity and force, by expressing it in his official oath!

Let us pause, Sir, and consider this most strange proposition. The President is the chief executive magistrate. He is commander-in-chief of the army and navy; nominates all persons to office; claims a right to remove all at will, and to control all, while yet in office; dispenses all favors; and wields the whole patronage of the government. And the proposition is, that the duty of defending the integrity of the Constitution against the representatives of the States and against the representatives of the people, **results to him from the very nature of his office**; and that the founders of our republic have given to this duty, thus confided to him, peculiar solemnity and force!

Mr. President, the contest, for ages, has been to rescue Liberty from the grasp of executive power. Whoever has engaged in her sacred cause, from the days of the downfall of those great aristocracies which had stood between the king and the people to the time of our own independence, has struggled for the accomplishment of that single object. On the long list of the champions of human freedom, there is not one name dimmed by the reproach of advocating the extension of executive authority; on the contrary, the uniform and steady purpose of all such champions has been to limit and restrain it. To this end the spirit of liberty, growing more and more enlightened and more and more vigorous from age to age, has been battering, for centuries, against the solid butments of the feudal system. To this end, all that could be gained from the imprudence, snatched from the weakness, or wrung from the necessities of crowned heads, has been carefully gathered up, secured, and hoarded, as the rich treasures, the very jewels of liberty. To this end, popular and representative right has kept up its warfare against prerogative, with various success; sometimes writing the history of a whole age in blood, sometimes witnessing the martyrdom of Sidneys and Russells, often baffled and repulsed, but still gaining, on the whole, and holding what it gained with a grasp which nothing but the complete extinction of its own being could compel it to relinquish. At length, the great conquest over

executive power, in the leading western states of Europe, has been accomplished. The feudal system, like other stupendous fabrics of past ages, is known only by the rubbish which it has left behind it. Crowned heads have been compelled to submit to the restraints of law, and the PEOPLE, with that intelligence and that spirit which make their voice resistless, have been able to say to prerogative, "Thus far shalt thou come, and no farther." I need hardly say, Sir, that into the full enjoyment of all which Europe has reached only through such slow and painful steps we sprang at once, by the Declaration of Independence, and by the establishment of free representative governments; governments borrowing more or less from the models of other free states, but strengthened, secured, improved in their symmetry, and deepened in their foundation, by those great men of our own country whose names will be as familiar to future times as if they were written on the arch of the sky.

Through all this history of the contest for liberty, executive power has been regarded as a lion which must be caged. So far from being the object of enlightened popular trust, so far from being considered the natural protector of popular right, it has been dreaded, uniformly, always dreaded, as the great source of its danger.

And now, Sir, who is he, so ignorant of the history of liberty, at home and abroad; who is he, yet dwelling in his contemplations among the principles and dogmas of the Middle Ages; who is he, from whose bosom all original infusion of American spirit has become so entirely evaporated and exhaled, that he shall put into the mouth of the President of the United States the doctrine that the defence of liberty **naturally results to** executive power, and is its peculiar duty? Who is he, that, generous and confiding towards power where it is most dangerous, and jealous only of those who can restrain it, — who is he, that, reversing the order of the state, and upheaving the base, would poise the pyramid of the political system upon its apex? Who is he, that, overlooking with contempt the guardianship of the representatives of the people, and with equal contempt the higher guardianship of the people themselves, — who is he that declares to us, through the President's lips, that the security for freedom rests in executive authority? Who is he that belies the blood and libels the fame of his own ancestors, by declaring that **they**, with solemnity of form, and force of manner, have invoked the executive power to come to the protection of liberty? Who is he that thus charges them with the insanity, or the recklessness, of putting the lamb beneath the lion's paw? No, Sir. No, Sir. Our security is in our watchfulness of executive power. It was the constitution of this department which was infinitely the most difficult part in the great work of creating our present government. To give to the executive department such power as should make it useful, and yet not such as should render it dangerous; to make it efficient, independent, and strong, and yet to prevent it from sweeping away every thing by its union of military and civil authority, by the influence of patronage, and office, and favor, — this, indeed, was difficult. They who had the work to do saw the difficulty, and we see it; and if we would maintain our system, we shall act wisely to that end, by preserving every restraint

and every guard which the Constitution has provided. And when we, and those who come after us, have done all that we can do, and all that they can do, it will be well for us and for them, if some popular executive, by the power of patronage and party, and the power, too, of that very popularity, shall not hereafter prove an overmatch for all other branches of the government.

I do not wish, Sir, to impair the power of the President, as it stands written down in the Constitution, and as great and good men have hitherto exercised it. In this, as in other respects, I am for the Constitution as it is. But I will not acquiesce in the reversal of all just ideas of government; I will not degrade the character of popular representation; I will not blindly confide, where all experience admonishes me to be jealous; I will not trust executive power, vested in the hands of a single magistrate, to be the guardian of liberty.

Having claimed for the executive the especial guardianship of the Constitution, the Protest proceeds to present a summary view of the powers which are supposed to be conferred on the executive by that instrument. And it is to this part of the message, Sir, that I would, more than to all others, call the particular attention of the Senate. I confess that it was only upon careful reperusal of the paper that I perceived the extent to which its assertions of power reach. I do not speak now of the President's claims of power as opposed to legislative authority, but of his opinions as to his own authority, duty, and responsibility, as connected with all other officers under the government. He is of opinion that the whole executive power is vested in him, and that he is responsible for its entire exercise; that among the duties imposed on him is that of "taking care that the laws be faithfully executed"; and that, "being thus made responsible for the entire action of the executive department, it is but reasonable that the power of appointing, overseeing, and controlling those who execute the laws, a power in its nature executive, should remain in his hands. It is, therefore, not only his right, but the Constitution makes it his duty, to 'nominate, and, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, appoint,' all 'officers of the United States whose appointments are not in the Constitution otherwise provided for,' with a proviso that the appointment of inferior officers may be vested in the President alone, in the courts of justice, or in the heads of departments."

The first proposition, then, which the Protest asserts, in regard to the President's powers as executive magistrate, is, that, the general duty being imposed on him by the Constitution of taking care that the laws be faithfully executed, **he thereby becomes himself responsible for the conduct of every person employed in the government**; "for the entire action," as the paper expresses it, "of the executive department." This, Sir, is very dangerous logic. I reject the inference altogether. No such responsibility, nor any thing like it, follows from the general provision of the Constitution making it his duty to see the laws executed. If it did, we should have, in fact, but one officer in the whole government. The President would be everybody. And the Protest assumes to the President this whole responsibility for every other officer, for the very purpose of making the President everybody, of annihilating every thing like

independence, responsibility, or **character**, in all other public agents. The whole responsibility is assumed, in order that it may be more plausibly argued that all officers of government are not agents of the law, but the President's agents, and therefore responsible to him alone. If he be responsible for the conduct of all officers, and they be responsible to him only, then it may be maintained that such officers are but his own agents, his substitutes, his deputies. The first thing to be done, therefore, is to assume the responsibility for all; and this you will perceive, Sir, is done, in the fullest manner, in the passages which I have read. Having thus assumed for the President the entire responsibility of the whole government, the Protest advances boldly to its conclusion, and claims, at once, absolute power over all individuals in office, as being merely the President's agents. This is the language: "The whole executive power being vested in the President, who is responsible for its exercise, it is a necessary consequence that he should have a right to employ agents of his own choice to aid him in the performance of his duties, and to discharge them when he is no longer willing to be responsible for their acts."

This, Sir, completes the work. This handsomely rounds off the whole executive system of executive authority. First, the President has the whole responsibility; and then, being thus responsible for all, he has, and ought to have, the whole power. We have heard of political **units**, and our American executive, as here represented, is indeed a **unit**. We have a charmingly simple government! Instead of many officers, in different departments, each having appropriate duties, and each responsible for his own duties, we are so fortunate as to have to deal with but one officer. The President carries on the government; all the rest are but sub-contractors. Sir, whatever **name** we give him, we have but ONE EXECUTIVE OFFICER. A Briareus sits in the centre of our system, and with his hundred hands touches every thing, moves every thing, controls every thing. I ask, Sir, Is this republicanism? Is this a government of laws? Is this legal responsibility?

According to the Protest, the very duties which every officer under the government performs are the duties of the President himself. It says that the President has a right to employ **agents** of his **own choice**, to aid HIM in the performance of HIS duties. Mr. President, if these doctrines be true, it is idle for us any longer to talk about any such thing as a government of laws. We have no government of laws, not even the semblance or shadow of it; we have no legal responsibility. We have an executive, consisting of one person, wielding all official power, and which is, to every effectual purpose, completely **irresponsible**. The President declares that he is "responsible for the entire action of the executive department." Responsible? What does he mean by being "responsible"? Does he mean legal responsibility? Certainly not. No such thing. Legal responsibility signifies liability to punishment for misconduct or maladministration. But the Protest does not mean that the President is liable to be impeached and punished if a secretary of state should commit treason, if a collector of the customs should be guilty of bribery, or if a treasurer should embezzle the public money. It does not mean, and cannot mean, that he should be answerable for

any such crime or such delinquency. What then, is its notion of that **responsibility** which it says the President is under for all officers, and which authorizes him to consider all officers as his own personal agents? Sir, it is merely responsibility to public opinion. It is a liability to be blamed; it is the chance of becoming unpopular, the danger of losing a re-election. Nothing else is meant in the world. It is the hazard of failing in any attempt or enterprise of ambition. This is all the responsibility to which the doctrines of the Protest hold the President subject.

It is precisely the **responsibility** under which Cromwell acted when he dispersed Parliament, telling its members, not in so many words, indeed, that they disobeyed the will of their constituents, but telling them that the people were sick of them, and that he drove them out "for the glory of God and the good of the nation." It is precisely the responsibility upon which Bonaparte broke up the popular assembly of France. I do not mean, Sir, certainly, by these illustrations, to insinuate designs of violent usurpation against the President; far from it; but I do mean to maintain, that such responsibility as that with which the Protest clothes him is no legal responsibility, no constitutional responsibility, no republican responsibility, but a mere liability to loss of office, loss of character, and loss of fame, if he shall choose to violate the laws and overturn the liberties of the country. It is such a responsibility as leaves every thing in his discretion and his pleasure.

Sir, it exceeds human belief that any man should put sentiments such as this paper contains into a public communication from the President to the Senate. They are sentiments which give us all one master. The Protest asserts an absolute right to remove all persons from office at pleasure; and for what reason? Because they are incompetent? Because they are incapable? Because they are remiss, negligent, or inattentive? No, Sir; these are not the reasons. But he may discharge them, one and all, simply because "he is no longer willing to be responsible for their acts"! It insists on an absolute right in the President to **direct and control** every act of every officer of the government, except the judges. It asserts this right of direct **control** over and over again. The President may go into the treasury, among the auditors and comptrollers, and **direct** them how to settle every man's account; what abatements to make from one, what additions to another. He may go into the custom-house, among collectors and appraisers, and may **control** estimates, reductions, and appraisements. It is true that these officers are sworn to discharge the duties of their respective offices honestly and fairly, according to their **own** best abilities; it is true, that many of them are liable to indictment for official misconduct, and others responsible, in suits of individuals, for damages and penalties, if such official misconduct be proved; but notwithstanding all this, the Protest avers that all these officers are but the **President's agents**; that they are but aiding **him** in the discharge of **his** duties; that **he** is responsible for their conduct, and that they are removable at his will and pleasure. And it is under this view of his own authority that the President calls the Secretaries **his** Secretaries, not once only, but repeatedly. After half a century's administration of

this government, Sir;— after we have endeavored, by statute upon statute, and by provision following provision, to define and limit official authority; to assign particular duties to particular public servants; to define those duties; to create penalties for their violation; to adjust accurately the responsibility of each agent with his own powers and his own duties; to establish the prevalence of equal rule; to make the law, as far as possible, every thing, and individual will, as far as possible, nothing;— after all this, the astounding assertion rings in our ears, that, throughout the whole range of official agency, in its smallest ramifications as well as in its larger masses, there is but ONE RESPONSIBILITY, ONE DISCRETION, ONE WILL! True indeed is it, Sir, if these sentiments be maintained, — true indeed is it that a President of the United States may well repeat from Napoleon what he repeated from Louis the Fourteenth, "I am the state"!

The argument by which the writer of the Protest endeavors to establish the President's claim to this vast mass of accumulated authority, is founded on the provision of the Constitution that the executive power shall be vested in the President. No doubt the executive power is vested in the President; but what and how much executive power, and how limited? To this question I should answer, "Look to the Constitution, and see; examine the particulars of the grant, and learn what that executive power is which is given to the President, either by express words or by necessary implication." But so the writer of this Protest does not reason. He takes these words of the Constitution as being, of themselves, a general original grant of all executive power to the President, subject only to such express limitations as the Constitution prescribes. This is clearly the writer's view of the subject, unless, indeed, he goes behind the Constitution altogether, as some expressions would intimate, to search elsewhere for sources of executive power. Thus, the Protest says that it is not only the **right** of the President, but that the Constitution makes it his **duty**, to appoint persons to office; as if the **right** existed before the Constitution had created the **duty**. It speaks, too, of the power of removal, not as a power **granted** by the Constitution, but expressly as "an original executive power, **left** unchecked by the Constitution." How original? Coming from what source higher than the Constitution? I should be glad to know how the President gets possession of any power by a title earlier, or more **original**, than the grant of the Constitution; or what is meant by an **original** power, which the President possesses, and which the Constitution has **left** unchecked in his hands. The truth is, Sir, most assuredly, that the writer of the Protest, in these passages, was reasoning upon the British constitution, and not upon the Constitution of the United States. Indeed, he professes to found himself on authority drawn from the constitution of England. I will read, Sir, the whole passage. It is this:—

> "In strict accordance with this principle, the power of removal, which, like that of appointment, is an original executive power, is left unchecked by the Constitution in relation to all executive officers, for whose conduct the President is responsible; while it is taken from him in relation to judicial officers, for whose acts he is

> not responsible. **In the government from which many of the fundamental principles of our system are derived, the head of the executive department originally had power to appoint and remove at will all officers, executive and judicial.** It was to take the judges out of this general power of removal, and thus make them independent of the executive, that the tenure of their offices was changed to good behavior. Nor is it conceivable why they are placed, in our Constitution, upon a tenure different from that of all other officers appointed by the executive, unless it be for the same purpose."

Mr. President, I do most solemnly protest (if I, too, may be permitted to make a protest) against this mode of reasoning. The analogy between the British constitution and ours, in this respect, is not close enough to guide us safely; it can only mislead us. It has entirely misled the writer of the Protest. The President is made to argue, upon this subject, as if he had some right **anterior** to the Constitution, which right is by that instrument checked, in some respects, and in other respects is left unchecked, but which, nevertheless, still derives its being from another source; just as the British king had, in the early ages of the monarchy, an uncontrolled right of appointing and removing all officers at pleasure, but which right, so far as it respects the judges, has since been checked and controlled by act of Parliament; the right being original and inherent, the **check** only imposed by law. Sir, I distrust altogether British precedents, authorities, and analogies, on such questions as this. We are not inquiring how far our Constitution has imposed checks on a pre-existing authority. We are inquiring what extent of power that Constitution has **granted**. The grant of power, the whole source of power, as well as the restrictions and limitations which are imposed on it, is made in and by the Constitution. It has no other origin. And it is this, Sir, which distinguishes our system so very widely and materially from the systems of Europe. **Our** governments are limited governments; limited in their origin, in their very creation; limited, because none but specific powers were ever granted, either to any department of government, or to the whole: **theirs** are limited, whenever limited at all, by reason of restraints imposed at different times on governments originally unlimited and despotic. Our American questions, therefore, must be discussed, reasoned on, decided, and settled, on the appropriate principles of our own constitutions, and not by inapplicable precedents and loose analogies drawn from foreign states.

Mr. President, in one of the French comedies, as you know, in which the dulness and prolixity of legal argument is intended to be severely satirized, while the advocate is tediously groping among ancient lore having nothing to do with his case, the judge grows impatient, and at last cries out to him to **come down to the flood**! I really wish, Sir, that the writer of this Protest, since he was discussing matters of the highest importance to us as Americans, and which arise out of our own peculiar Constitution, had kept himself, not only on this side the general deluge, but also on this side the Atlantic. I desire that the broad waves of that wide sea should continue to roll

between us and the influence of those foreign principles and foreign precedents which he so eagerly adopts.

In asserting power for an American President, I prefer that he should attempt to maintain his assertions on American reasons. I know not, Sir, who the writer was (I wish I did); but whoever he was, it is manifest that he argues this part of his case, throughout, on the principles of the constitution of England. It is true, that, in England, the king is regarded as the original fountain of all honor and all office; and that anciently, indeed, he possessed all political power of every kind. It is true that this mass of authority, in the progress of that government, has been diminished, restrained, and controlled, by charters, by immunities, by grants, and by various modifications, which the friends of liberty have, at different periods, been able to obtain or to impose. All liberty, as we know, all popular privileges, as indeed the word itself imports, were formerly considered as favors and concessions from the monarch. But whenever and wherever civil freedom could get a foothold, and could maintain itself, these favors were turned into rights. Before and during the reigns of the princes of the Stuart family, they were acknowledged only as favors or privileges graciously allowed, although, even then, whenever opportunity offered, as in the instance to which I alluded just now, they were contended for as rights; and by the Revolution of 1688 they were acknowledged as the rights of Englishmen, by the prince who then ascended the throne, and as the condition on which he was allowed to sit upon it. But with us there never was a time when we acknowledged original, unrestrained, sovereign power over us. Our constitutions are not made to limit and restrain pre-existing authority. They are the instruments by which the people confer power on their own servants. If I may use a legal phrase, the people are grantors, not grantees. They give to the government, and to each branch of it, all the power it possesses, or can possess; and what is not given they retain. In England, before her revolution, and in the rest of Europe since, if we would know the extent of liberty or popular right, we must go to grants, to charters, to allowances and indulgences. But with us, we go to grants and to constitutions to learn the extent of the powers of government. No political power is more original than the Constitution; none is possessed which is not there granted; and the grant, and the limitations in the grant, are in the same instrument.

The powers, therefore, belonging to any branch of our government, are to be construed and settled, not by remote analogies drawn from other governments, but from the words of the grant itself, in their plain sense and necessary import, and according to an interpretation consistent with our own history and the spirit of our own institutions. I will never agree that a President of the United States holds the whole undivided power of office in his own hands, upon the theory that he is responsible for the entire action of the whole body of those engaged in carrying on the government and executing the laws. Such a responsibility is purely ideal, delusive, and vain. There is, there can be, no substantial responsibility, any further than every individual is answerable, not merely in his reputation, not merely in the opinion of mankind, but **to the**

law, for the faithful discharge of his own appropriate duties. Again and again we hear it said that the President is responsible to the American people! that he is responsible to the bar of public opinion! For whatever he does, he assumes accountability to the American people! For whatever he omits, he expects to be brought to the high bar of public opinion! And this is thought enough for a limited, restrained, republican government! an undefined, undefinable, ideal responsibility to the public judgment!

Sir, if all this mean any thing, if it be not empty sound, it means no less than that the President may do any thing and every thing which he may expect to be tolerated in doing. He may go just so far as he thinks it safe to go; and Cromwell and Bonaparte went no farther. I ask again, Sir, is this legal responsibility? Is this the true nature of a government with written laws and limited powers? And allow me, Sir, to ask, too, if an executive magistrate, while professing to act under the Constitution, is restrained only by this responsibility to public opinion, what prevents him, on the same responsibility, from proposing a change in that Constitution? Why may he not say, "I am about to introduce new forms, new principles, and a new spirit; I am about to try a political experiment on a great scale; and when I get through with it, I shall be responsible to the American people, I shall be answerable to the bar of public opinion"?

Connected, Sir, with the idea of this airy and unreal responsibility to the public is another sentiment, which of late we hear frequently expressed; and that is, **that the President is the direct representative of the American people**. This is declared in the Protest in so many words. "The President," it says, "**is the direct representative of the American people**." Now, Sir, this is not the language of the Constitution. The Constitution nowhere calls him the representative of the American people; still less, their direct representative. It could not do so with the least propriety. He is not chosen directly by the people, but by a body of electors, some of whom are chosen by the people, and some of whom are appointed by the State legislatures. Where, then, is the authority for saying that the President is the **direct representative of the people**? The Constitution calls the members of the other house Representatives, and declares that they shall be chosen by the people; and there are no other direct or immediate representatives of the people in this government. The Constitution denominates the President simply the President of the United States; it points out the complex mode of electing him, defines his powers and duties, and imposes limits and restraints on his authority. With these powers and duties, and under these restraints, he becomes, when chosen, President of the United States. That is his character, and the denomination of his office. How is it, then, that, on this official character, thus cautiously created, limited, and defined, he is to engraft another and a very imposing character, namely, the character **of the direct representative of the American people**? I hold this, Sir, to be mere assumption, and dangerous assumption. If he is the representative of **all** the American people, he is the only representative which they all have. Nobody else presumes to

represent all the people. And if he may be allowed to consider himself as the SOLE REPRESENTATIVE OF ALL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, and is to act under no other responsibility than such as I have already described, then I say, Sir, that the government (I will not say the people) has already a master. I deny the sentiment, therefore, and I protest against the language; neither the sentiment nor the language is to be found in the Constitution of the country; and whoever is not satisfied to describe the powers of the President in the language of the Constitution may be justly suspected of being as little satisfied with the powers themselves. The President is President. His office and his name of office are known, and both are fixed and described by law. Being commander of the army and navy, holding the power of nominating to office and removing from office, and being by these powers the fountain of all patronage and all favor, what does he not become if he be allowed to superadd to all this the character of single representative of the American people? Sir, he becomes what America has not been accustomed to see, what this Constitution has never created, and what I cannot contemplate but with profound alarm. He who may call himself the single representative of a nation may speak in the name of the nation, may undertake to wield the power of the nation; and who shall gainsay him in whatsoever he chooses to pronounce to be the nation's will?

I will now, Sir, ask leave to recapitulate the general doctrines of this Protest, and to present them together. They are,—

That neither branch of the legislature can take up, or consider, for the purpose of censure, any official act of the President, without some view to legislation or impeachment;

That not only the passage, but the discussion, of the resolution of the Senate of the 28th of March, was unauthorized by the Constitution, and repugnant to its provisions;

That the custody of the public treasury always must be intrusted to the executive; that Congress cannot take it out of his hands, nor place it anywhere under such superintendents and keepers as are appointed by him, responsible to him, and removable at his will;

That the whole executive power is in the President, and that therefore the duty of defending the integrity of the Constitution **results to him from the very nature of his office**; and that the founders of our republic have attested their sense of the importance of this duty, and, by expressing it in his official oath, have given to it peculiar solemnity and force;

That, as he is to take care that the laws be faithfully executed, he is thereby made responsible for the entire action of the executive department, with the power of appointing, overseeing, and **controlling** those who execute the laws;

That the power of removal from office, like that of appointment, is an **original** executive power, and is **left** in his hands **unchecked** by the Constitution, except in the case of judges; that, being responsible for the exercise of the whole executive power, he has a right to employ agents of his own choice to assist **him** in the performance of **his** duties, and to discharge them when he is no longer willing to be responsible for their acts;

That the Secretaries are **his** Secretaries, and all persons

appointed to offices created by law, except the judges, **his** agents, responsible to him, and removable at his pleasure;
And, finally, that he is the **direct representative of the American people**.
These, Sir, are some of the leading propositions contained in the Protest; and if they be true, then the government under which we live is an elective monarchy. It is not yet absolute; there are yet some checks and limitations in the Constitution and laws; but, in its essential and prevailing character, it is an elective monarchy.
Mr. President, I have spoken freely of this Protest, and of the doctrines which it advances; but I have spoken deliberately. On these high questions of constitutional law, respect for my own character, as well as a solemn and profound sense of duty, restrains me from giving utterance to a single sentiment which does not flow from entire conviction. I feel that I am not wrong. I feel that an inborn and inbred love of constitutional liberty, and some study of our political institutions, have not on this occasion misled me. But I have desired to say nothing that should give pain to the chief magistrate personally. I have not sought to fix arrows in his breast; but I believe him mistaken, altogether mistaken, in the sentiments which he has expressed; and I must concur with others in placing on the records of the Senate my disapprobation of those sentiments. On a vote which is to remain so long as any proceeding of the Senate shall last, and on a question which can never cease to be important while the Constitution of the country endures, I have desired to make public my reasons. They will now be known, and I submit them to the judgment of the present and of after times. Sir, the occasion is full of interest. It cannot pass off without leaving strong impressions on the character of public men. A collision has taken place which I could have most anxiously wished to avoid; but it was not to be shunned. We have not sought this controversy; it has met us, and been forced upon us. In my judgment, the law has been disregarded, and the Constitution transgressed; the fortress of liberty has been assaulted, and circumstances have placed the Senate in the breach; and, although we may perish in it, I know we shall not fly from it. But I am fearless of consequences. We shall hold on, Sir, and hold out, till the people themselves come to its defence. We shall raise the alarm, and maintain the post, till they whose right it is shall decide whether the Senate be a faction, wantonly resisting lawful power, or whether it be opposing, with firmness and patriotism, violations of liberty and inroads upon the Constitution.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

May 14, Wednesday: Waldo Emerson lectured at the Lyceum in Concord.

The Reverend Orestes Augustus Brownson was installed as the Unitarian pastor of the 1st Congregational Church and society in Canton, Massachusetts.

The installation sermon was preached by the Reverend George Ripley. The Reverend Adin Ballou took an important part in the proceedings and would later describe that sermon and its aftermath as follows:

> The council was composed mostly of members of the Unitarian denomination, the sermon being preached by Rev. George Ripley of Boston, from Heb. 13:8: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, today, and forever." Mr. Brownson was a ripe scholar, an able preacher, and a writer of rare ability. But in theology, metaphysics, ethics, and ecclesiasticism, his convictions, positions, and associations underwent strange vicissitudes. Soon after his settlement at Canton, he became a Transcendentalist, subsequently espousing the "Workingmen's Movement" (of which he was for awhile a distinguished champion), and later went over to the Roman Catholic church, resting there from his religio-philosophical journeyings, and rising to eminence as the author of several works devoted chiefly to the defence of the doctrines, polity, and traditions of the papal hierarchy. Rev. Mr. Ripley afterwards acquired a wide notoriety as the leader of the "Brook Farm" community, and later still, as literary editor for a generation of the New York Tribune.

May 19, Monday: Infelice op.94 for soprano and orchestra by Felix Mendelssohn was performed for the initial time, in London.

Marie, daughter of Medora Leigh and her brother-in-law, Henry Trevanion, was born.

That morning at Harvard College an unfortunate tendency had begun to develop: A freshman had been reciting in Mr. Christopher Dunkin's class in Greek, and, as his performance was being critiqued, appeared to that Tutor to be displaying some sort of attitude of questioning, of the judgment of his betters. Unfortunately, also, as Tutor displayed a bad reaction, other of the students began to make "catcalls," appearing to be in support of this student.

May 20, Tuesday: Students smashed the furniture of the Greek recitation room at Harvard College, and later that day they stoned dormitory windows.

Abba Alcott had a miscarriage and came close to dying. Bronson Alcott moved back in with his family.

> *Once did I wander a little way from the Kingdom of Heaven, but childhood's sweet and holy voice hath recalled me, and now I am one with them in this same Kingdom, a child redeemed.*

Lafayette died in Paris. At his order, trunkloads of soil he had brought back from Bunker Hill would be used to top off his grave.[44] Whence Henry Thoreau's sarcasm:

> WALDEN: 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.

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

LAFAYETTE
SAM PATCH

44. Hence the WWI slogan which is sometimes translated as "*Lafayette, you are icky.*" :-)

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

In Bunker Hill Soil

Americans would learn of their French hero's death on June 19th:

civilized world to mourn the loss of a great patriot and a good man. The following we copy from the Liverpool Journal:

DEATH OF LAFAYETTE.

General Lafayette died on Tuesday morning at five o'clock. The close of his earthly career is an event which will be duly recoreded in the history of France. During the last 15 years of his life he was the only individual alive who had taken a leading part, and figured in a conspicuous manner, in the event of the first revolution. His political career is so well known, that it would be hardly necessary to enter into any thing like an account of it here. Up to his last hour he retained the fullest possession of his mental faculties. The infirmities of age had only visited his physicial frame. Both he and his intimate friends had perceived many months ago that he had began to sink. The decay of nature, however, was more rapid with him than it had threatened when its first decided symptoms became visible. The venerable General was born on the 1st of September, 1757, and consequently wanted little more than three months to complete the age of 77. The wonderous scenes in both the New World and Old, in which the name of Lafayette was prominently distinguished, are among the most remarkable in the annals of mankind, and we may say of every (without entering into abstract opinions on political doctrines) that history does not in all her records possess a name which has passed through the searching ordeal of public opinion, even in the darkest and most tempestuous times, more pure and unsullied than his whose death his country is called upon to deplore. The Chamber of Deputies paid him on Monday the distinguished compliment of sending in its name to inquire after the state of his health.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Where would Henry Thoreau get the idiom "maggot in his head" that he would use in WALDEN in regard to patriotism? He would get it from a bit of doggerel published in this year by Seba Smith about Pawtucket, Rhode Island's famous "jumper," Sam Patch:

> But still a maggot, in his head,
> Told Sam he was a ninny,
> To spend his life in twirling thread,
> Just like a spinning Jenney.

READ THE ENTIRE PIECE OF DOGGEREL

PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN

May 21, Wednesday: At Harvard College's compulsory morning chapel, the prayers became impossible due to the shuffling of student feet and groaning from members of the Sophomore class — save for three students, the entire class would be "rusticated," that is, sent packing with readmission being only a contingent and eventual possibility.

Waldo Emerson to his journal:

I will thank God of myself & for that I have. I will not manufacture remorse of the pattern of others, nor feign their joys. I am born tranquil, not a stern economist of Time but never a keen sufferer. I will not affect to suffer. Be my life then a long gratitude. I will trust my instincts. For always a reason halts after an instinct, & when I have deviated from the instinct, comes somebody with a profound theory teaching that I ought to have followed it. Some Goethe, Swedenborg, or Carlyle. I stick at scolding the boy, yet conformably to rule, I scold him. By & by the reprimand is a proven error. "Our first & third thought coincide." I was the true philosopher in college, & Mr Farrar & Mr Hedge & Dr Ware the false. Yet what seemed then to me less probable?

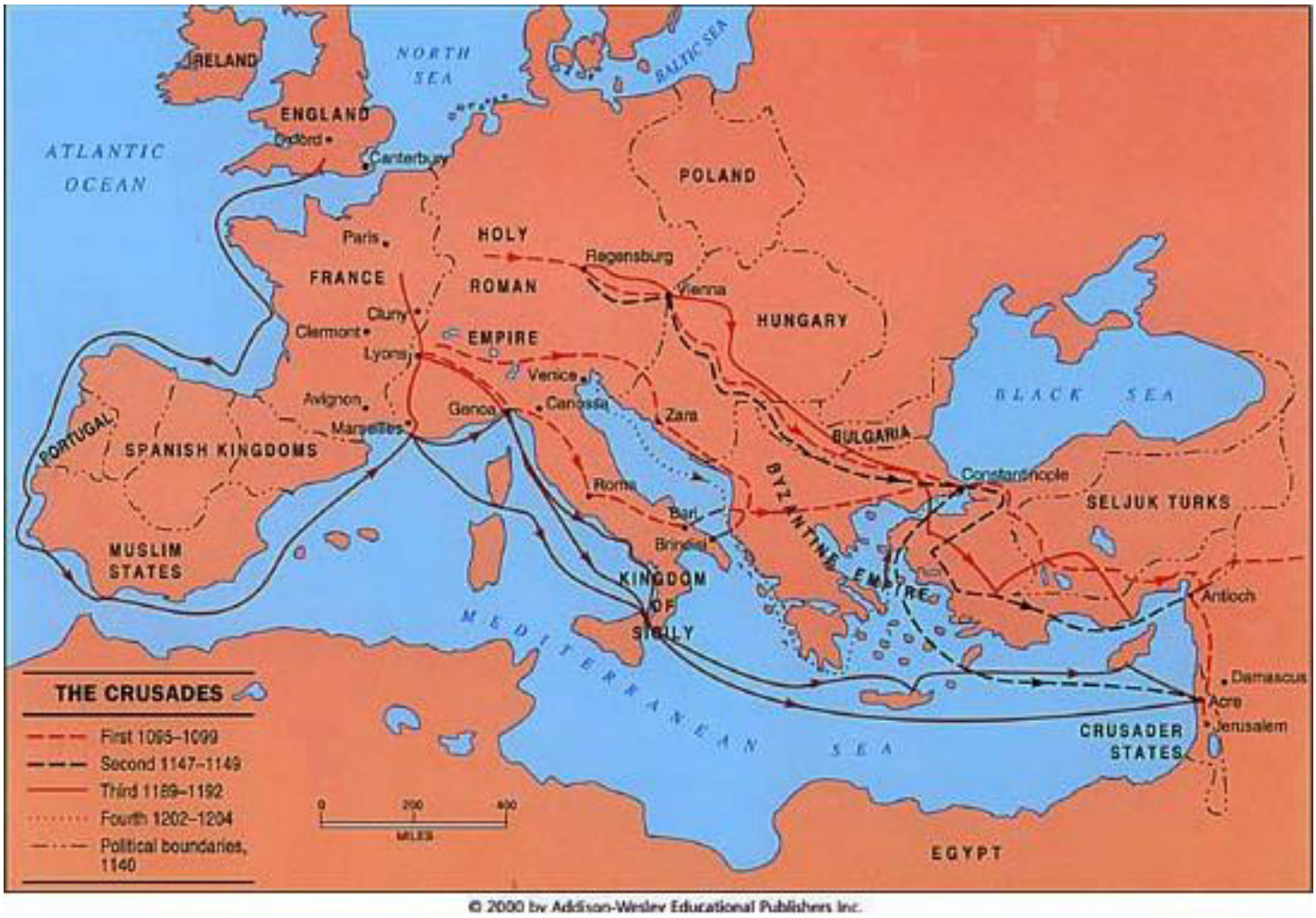
THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA

THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

May 25, Sunday: Waldo Emerson's 31st birthday.

May 28, Wednesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, the first volume of Charles Mills (1788-1826)'s HISTORY OF THE CRUSADES FOR THE RECOVERY AND POSSESSION OF THE HOLY LAND (London: Longman, 1820).

"There is no Frigate like a Book
To take us Lands away"
— Emily Dickinson



All monasteries, backers of King Miguel, were abolished in Portugal.

Toward the end of the month, the summer weather on the north boreal slope was truly amazing:

> (Page 252) Towards the end of the month, the weather became sultry, the temperature in the sun being 106°; an extraordinary contrast to that of the 17th January, when it was 70° below zero.

THE FROZEN NORTH
GEORGE BACK

JUNE 1834

June 1, Sunday: Former King Miguel of Portugal boarded a British ship at Sines south of Lisbon and was transported toward exile in Genoa (thence to Austria).

Yanked out of the classroom of Phineas Allen on account of that teacher's anti-Mason activities, John Shepard Keyes would begin to attend a new private class kept by Mr. William Whiting (Junior) in the upper hall of the same Academy building.

> In a year and a quarter I learned more ten times over from Mr. Whiting than I had in the seven years of Mr. Allen, and acquired habits of study and application I had never before imagined possible. Latin became a delight and an actual language instead of a dead and buried tongue. Greek unfolded its mysteries and beauties. French its grace, and Arithmetic and Algebra became the fascinations of exact science. He introduced us to Shakespeare, to Plutarch to Burke and English Literature generally and he made ardent students out of idle boys, and brilliant scholars of bright girls. What a revelation and awakening that time was to me, and to most of the others.
>
> J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

John Augustus Stone committed suicide by throwing himself into the Schuylkill River. There were some who were not obviously impressed either by this successful attempt at a play or by this successful attempt at a suicide:

> Mr. Stone did what he could to atone for the injury he inflicted upon the world by the production of this play ... he drowned himself on 1 June 1834, in the Schuylkill River. We will accept his presumptive apology.

Edwin Forrest, who had paid Stone $500.00 for his play *METAMORA*: OR THE LAST OF THE *WAMPANOAGS*, an often-staged play which usually grossed approximately that amount per night (as well as another $500.00 for another less performed play entitled THE ANCIENT BRITON), would thoughtfully fund the monument for the grave:

WAMPANOAG

IN MEMORY OF THE AVTHOR OF "METAMORA"
BY HIS FRIEND, E. FORREST

After the drowning, Stone's wife, the actress Mrs. Legge, would remarry to N.H. Bannister. During this year Forrest anticipated Waldo Emerson's project for American literary independence, to be propounded at Harvard College three years later, in 1837, by declaring with enviable simplicity:

Our literature should be independent.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

June 10, Tuesday: David Henry Thoreau checked out, from Harvard Library, John Marshall (1755-1835)'s A HISTORY OF THE COLONIES PLANTED BY THE ENGLISH ON THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA, FROM THEIR SETTLEMENT, TO THE COMMENCEMENT OF THAT WAR WHICH TERMINATED IN THEIR INDEPENDENCE.... (Philadelphia: Abraham Small, 1824).

More than 3,000 gathered at Brown's Race to celebrate Jonathan Child's inauguration as Rochester, New York's first mayor.

HMS *Beagle* with Charles Darwin sailed up the Pacific coast of the South American continent.

In Leipzig, Richard Wagner's 1st published essay "Die deutsche Oper" appeared in Zeitung fur die elegante Welt.

In Oxford, England, "Captivity of Judah," an oratorio by William Crotch to words of Schomberg and Owen, was performed for the initial time, at ceremonies installing the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the university (also performed was the premiere of Crotch's ode "When these are days of old" to words of Keble).

Thomas Carlyle and Jane Welsh Carlyle moved to 5 Great Cheyne Row (now 24 Cheyne Row) in the Chelsea district of London near the Thames River.

> He has spent the last quarter of his life in London, writing books; has the fame, as all readers know, of having made England acquainted with Germany, in late years, and done much else that is novel and remarkable in literature. He especially is the literary man of those parts. You may imagine him living in altogether a retired and simple way, with small family, in a quiet part of London, called Chelsea, a little out of the din of commerce, in "Cheyne Row," there, not far from the "Chelsea Hospital." "A little past this, and an old ivy-clad church, with its buried generations lying around it," writes one traveller, "you come to an antique street running at right angles with the Thames, and, a few steps from the river, you find Carlyle's name on the door."

With the exception of the soundproofed room which the writer would have constructed at the top of the house during the 1850s, the building now preserved by the Carlyle's House Memorial Trust and by the National Trust still very much echoes this contemporary description, which is of Carlyle's penning:

> The House itself is eminent, antique; wainscotted to the very ceiling, and has been all new-painted and repaired; broadish stair, with massive balustrade (in the old style) corniced and as thick as one's thigh; floors firm as a rock, wood of them here and there worm-eaten, yet capable of cleanness, and still with thrice the strength of a modern floor. And then as to room

... Three stories besides the sunk story; in every one of them three apartments in depth (something like 40 feet in all; for it was 13 of my steps!): Thus there is a front dining room (marble chimney-piece &c); then a back dining room (or breakfast-room) a little narrower (by reason of the kitchen stair); then out from this, and narrower still (to allow a back-window, you consider), a china room, or pantry, or I know not what, all shelved, and fit to hold crockery for the whole street. Such is the ground-area, which of course continues to the top, and furnishes every Bedroom with a dressing room, or even with a second bedroom ... a most massive, roomy, sufficient old house; with places, for example, to hang say three dozen hats or cloaks on; and as many crevices, and queer old presses, and shelved closets (all tight and new painted in their way) as would gratify the most covetous Goody. Rent £35!

June 26, Thursday: Waldo Emerson to his journal:

Next door to us lives a young man who is learning to drum. He studies hard at his science every night. I should like to reward his music with a wreath of smilax peduncularis.

Emerson's "*Smilax peduncularis*" would be the *Smilax herbacea L.*, also known as "stinkweed" and "carrion flower" on account of its odor, and congratulations to Waldo for having been able to recognize at least one member of the vegetable kingdom! Do you suppose possibly that Emerson's "drummer" would have been the male Ruffed Grouse *Bonasa umbellus*, whirring his wing feathers atop a sounding log during the Concord night? Females can lose an initial clutch of eggs to predators and try again, so the males continue into the early summer to advertise their services with their "drum beat at dead of night" (Thomas Campbell's 1800 poem "Hohenlinden"). –Not until slow-motion moving pictures could be made in 1931 would it be established that this woodland sound was being produced by the male grouse fanning the air.

CURRENT YOUTUBE VIDEO

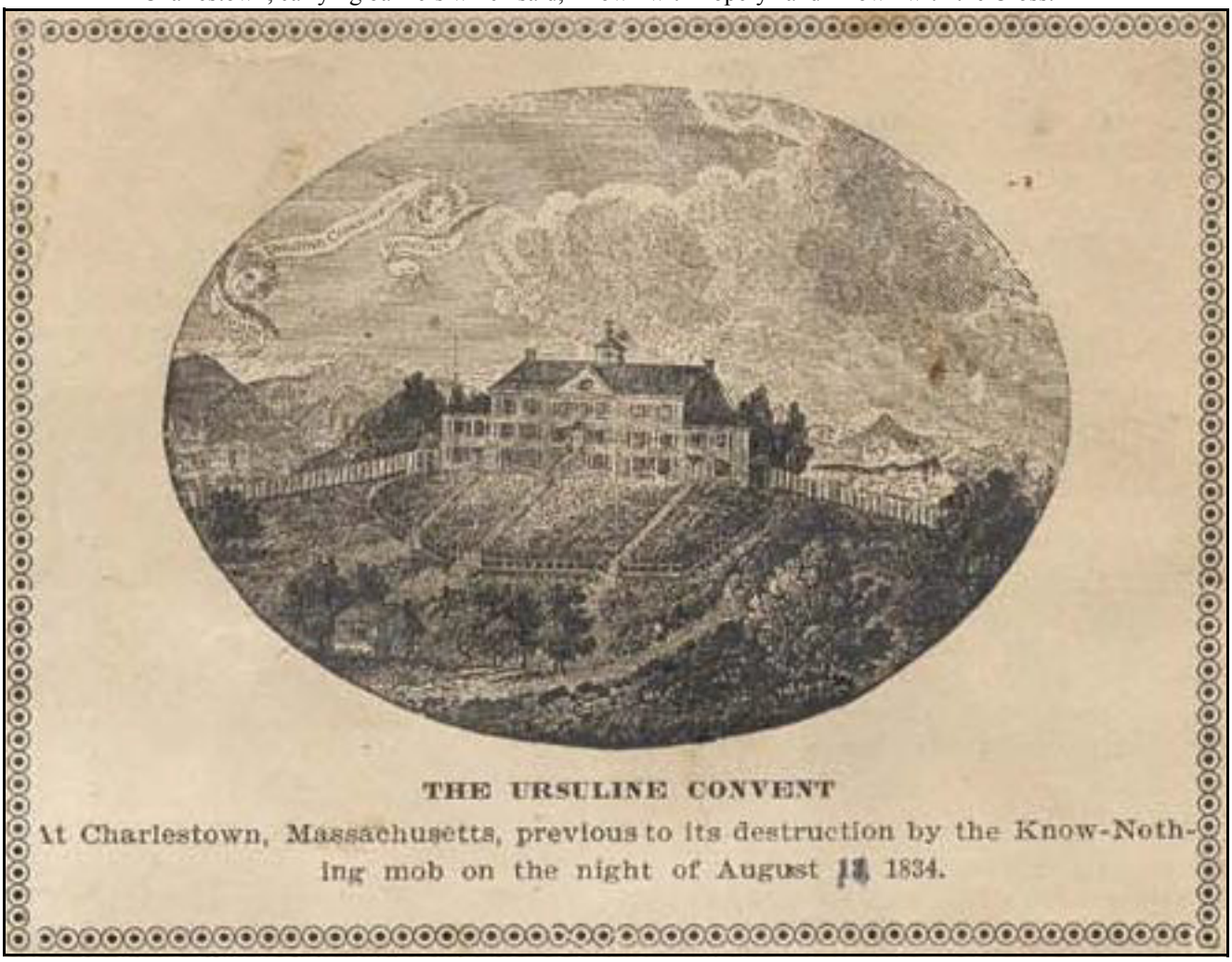
SUMMER 1834

Summer: The Reverend Waldo Emerson was preaching in Bangor, Maine and visiting in Oldtown while spending a rustic summer at a rented farmhouse in Newton, Massachusetts. Here is the *E.L. Miller*, built by the company of Mathias W. Baldwin of Philadelphia in 1834:

That summer the railroad tracks ended in Waltham, Massachusetts, but twice a day, two miles distant, Emerson was able to hear the shrill whistle of the locomotive.

THOREAU'S 17TH STANZA THOREAU'S 17TH YEAR

Summer: The Reverend Lyman Beecher returned from his presidency of Lane Theological Seminary near Cincinnati, Ohio to Boston to deliver three anti-Catholic sermons in various churches on a single day. He succeeded in rallying the Protestants together and the next day a mob gathered at the Ursuline Convent school in Charlestown, carrying banners which said, "Down with Popery" and "Down with the Cross."

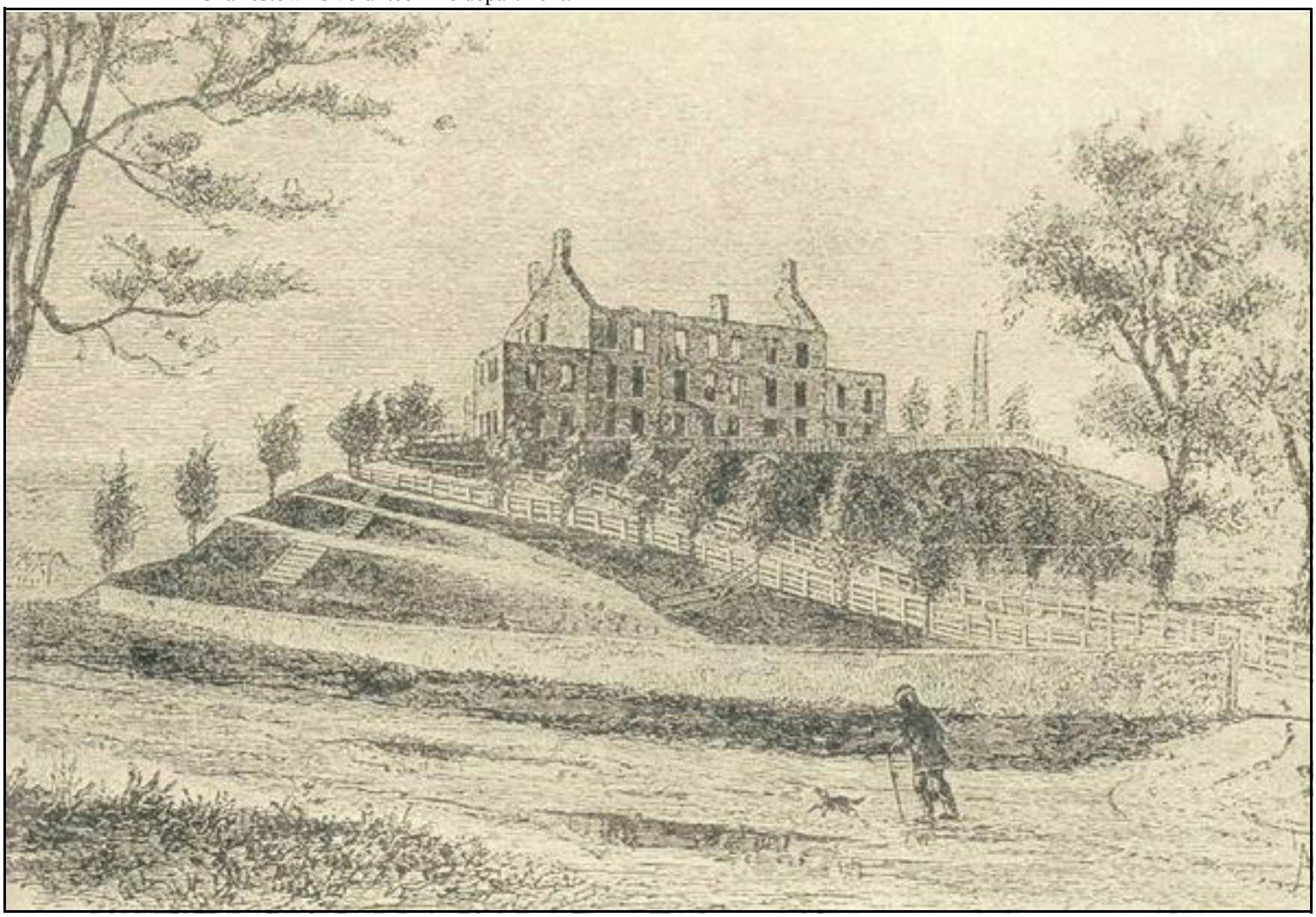


THE URSULINE CONVENT

At Charlestown, Massachusetts, previous to its destruction by the Know-Nothing mob on the night of August 11 1834.

While the sisters and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, 50 men broke down the doors of the Catholic convent and set everything on fire. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown, and their complicity went at least to the extent of failing to call out the militia.

Also present in the mob which watched the Ursuline Convent burn to the ground were members of Charlestown's volunteer fire department:



Although the arsonists made no secret of their identity, none would ever be found guilty. They would be tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but would declare that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns and would all be acquitted.[45] Mob attacks on Catholic churches in New England would soon become so frequent that insurance companies would refuse to insure Catholic buildings. The Reverend Beecher would return to Cincinnati and publish his rabble-rousing sermon as a pamphlet titled PLEA FOR THE WEST. He amplified the papal plot envisaged by Samuel F.B. Morse, maintaining that Catholic schools would win converts who would ally themselves with Catholic immigrants to control the west. Many would join the Reverend Beecher, allying themselves against immigrant Catholics.

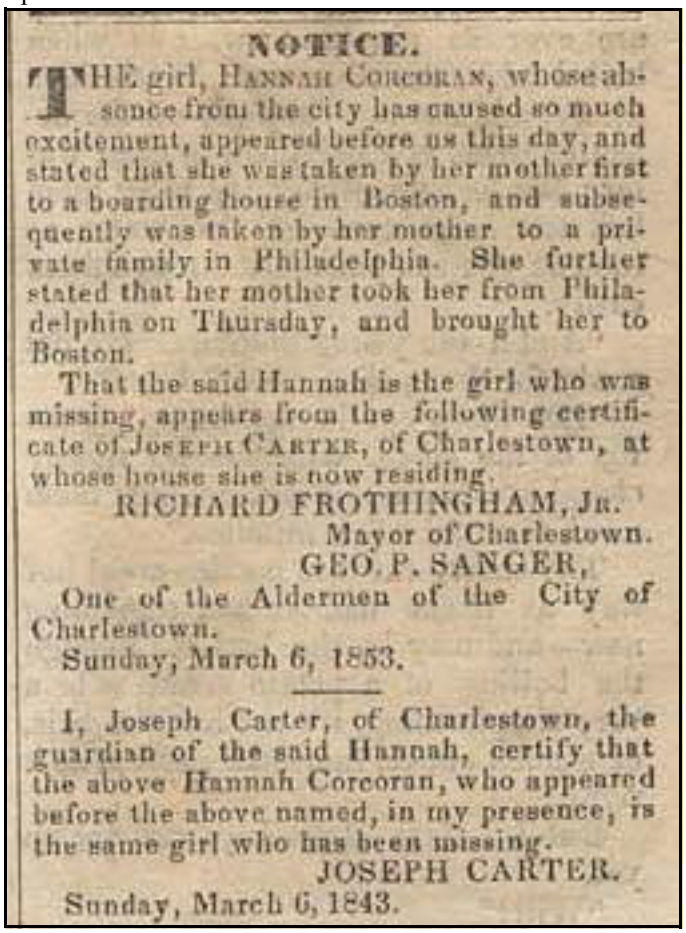
45.There was one particular woman who was being given shelter in the convent, who was having some sort of mental difficulties, and this act of consideration by the sisters may have been just the thing that was needed to inflame the active imaginations of the righteously malicious Beast-of-Rome haters in the Protestant Boston area. In fact the mob made no particular effort to identify and retrieve this woman, who was fleeing with the sisters and taking refuge at a neighboring farm. Refer to:

Whitney, Louisa G. THE BURNING OF THE CONVENT. Boston, 1844.

Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington. HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943. New York, 1944.

The Nativist presence under the leadership of Beecher in Cincinnati would prompt the Catholic bishop of that city, in erecting a new cathedral which would become the tallest building west of the Allegheny River at the time, to design the structure without any windows at all in the lower walls. The circumference of the building is solid stone all the way up to 45 feet, in order to protect against anyone throwing incendiaries into the building as had been happening in New England church burnings.

The missing Protestant girl whose absence had triggered the mob turned up safe and sound. It had all been a mistake or a presumption:



NOTICE.

THE girl, HANNAH CORCORAN, whose absence from the city has caused so much excitement, appeared before us this day, and stated that she was taken by her mother first to a boarding house in Boston, and subsequently was taken by her mother to a private family in Philadelphia. She further stated that her mother took her from Philadelphia on Thursday, and brought her to Boston.

That the said Hannah is the girl who was missing, appears from the following certificate of JOSEPH CARTER, of Charlestown, at whose house she is now residing.

RICHARD FROTHINGHAM, JR.
Mayor of Charlestown.
GEO. P. SANGER,
One of the Aldermen of the City of Charlestown.
Sunday, March 6, 1853.

I, Joseph Carter, of Charlestown, the guardian of the said Hannah, certify that the above Hannah Corcoran, who appeared before the above named, in my presence, is the same girl who has been missing.

JOSEPH CARTER.
Sunday, March 6, 1843.

Subsequently, there were rumors going around that enraged Papists were going to exact their revenge by attacking Harvard College, and the selectmen of Cambridge responded by creating a "patrol watch" around

Harvard Yard and stationing men at alarm bells.

There were "criars" (*sic*) sent into the streets of Cambridge to summon the populace to an indignation meeting, and this meeting created a committee which was charged with having at least two of its members "in session through the night," so that it could promptly summon "military power" from Boston if this were needed to defend the edifices of their College. This committee, with its "patrol watch" and official bell-ringers, would evolve over the course of years into the first municipal police force and the first alarm system of the city of Cambridge.

Here is a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:

> At the time of this attack upon the Convent there were within its wall about sixty female children and ten adults; one of whom was in the last stages of pulmonary consumption, another suffering under convulsion fits, and the unhappy female, who had been the immediate cause of the excitement, was by the agitation of the night in raving delirium.
>
> No warning was given of the intended assault, nor could the miscreants, by whom it was made, have known whether their missiles might not kill or wound the helpless inmates of this devoted dwelling. Fortunately for them, cowardice prompted what mercy and manhood denied: after the first attack, the assailants paused awhile from the fear that some secret force was concealed in the Convent or in ambush to surprise them; and in this interval the Governess was enabled to secure the retreat of her little flock and terrified sisters into the garden. But before this was fully effected, the rioters, finding they had nothing but women and children to contend against, regained their courage, and ere all the inmates could escape, entered the building.

JULY 1834

July: Reading his musings on education and the early life of children, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody became convinced that Bronson Alcott was "like an embodiment of intellectual light," and rounded up seven students for him to found a school upon. Since he had no qualifications either as a linguist or as a mathematician, he needed an assistant and she was it. In 1834 Elizabeth looked something like this.

THE ALCOTT FAMILY

July 3, Thursday: David Henry Thoreau was elected to the oldest debating fraternity at Harvard College, which was during that period known as "The Institute of 1770" after having gone through several name changes.

> *In consequence of all the immediate members of the Society being absent, a special meeting was called by Cushing, the last Junior President, for the purpose of choosing a Librarian, and Fresh*[men] *into the Society. The meeting being called to order — Cushing was chosen President and Brooks Sec. pro tem — The Society then proceeded to the choice of a Librarian, and chose Lyon. The nomination list of Freshmen left by the Sophomores was next taken up, and Hildreth, Richardson, Eustis, Thomas, Perry, Trull, Thoreau, were chosen from this list. Russell, Rice, Barnes, Wight, Phelps, Davis, Treat, Lane, Williams 1st and Wheeler were nominated to be chosen at the next meeting.*

This is the club which, after several more name changes, would become immortal as our "Hasty Pudding Club." We note in passing that of the Emerson brothers, Judge William Emerson, Edward Bliss Emerson, and Charles Chauncy Emerson had been members, but –for some unknown reason– not Waldo Emerson.

WALDO'S RELATIVES

July 7, Monday: Per the records of the "Institute of 1770", after a lengthy report on the library,

> *Voted to adjourn to Friday evening next. Previous to adjournment the following freshmen were chosen, viz. Messrs. Barnes, Wight, Lane, Russell, Rice, Phelps, Treat, Wheeler, Davis 2d, Williams 1st. Nominations for next term were Messrs. Vose, Fellowes, Kimball, Allen, Kendall, Peabody, Holmes 1st, Kettell, Bigelow,*

Hayward, Bacon, Dale [or Dall].

July 11, Friday: Records of the "Institute of 1770":

... the following members of the Freshman class were chosen. Messrs. Vose, Fellowes, Kimball, Allen, Holmes 1st, Bigelow, Hayward, Bacon. Nominated for next meeting: Belcher, Kettell, Haskins. Voted to adjourn to the third Wednesday in next term.

David Henry Thoreau's 18th stanza began on his birthday, July 12th, Saturday, 1834.

- Samuel Taylor Coleridge died.
- Richard Henry Dana, Jr. got permission from his dad to drop out of Harvard for the time being, and sign onto a ship sailing to California, for a couple of years of adventuring as an ordinary seahand.
- The long process of emancipating Britain's colonial slaves began.
- When a plank on a Concord bridge gave way, two girls drowned.
- Louisa May Alcott almost drowned in the Boston frogpond.
- Bronson Alcott opened a school in Boston's Masonic Hall. He was comparing himself to Jesus.
- Jones Very became Harvard's poet of the year.
- In an incident that Thoreau would later report in Walden, Josiah Haynes of Sudbury removed an inverted tree from White Pond near his home.
- Captain John Thoreau completed his tour of duty in the Caribbean and headed back to England.
- Miss Elizabeth Peabody published her diary of Bronson Alcott's School of Human Culture.
- To the people who were engaging in the antislavery struggle, the year 1835 would come to be known as "the mob year."
- Waldo Emerson was courting Miss. Lydia Jackson of Plymouth.

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1834

BACKGROUND EVENTS OF 1835

"My life has been the poem I would have writ,
But I could not both live and utter it."
— Henry Thoreau

"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.