

EVENTS OF 1833

General Events of 1834

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

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

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



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July	August	September

EVENTS OF 1835

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THE RHODE-ISLAND [ALMANACK](#) FOR 1834. By Isaac Bickerstaff. [Providence, Rhode Island](#): Hugh H. Brown.

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.

ASA GREEN

The Spanish [Inquisition](#) instituted in the 13th century finally was abolished.

A Department of Indian Affairs established by Congress set up Indian territory west of the Mississippi. Florida Seminoles were ordered to move west in accordance with a treaty.

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➡ John Astor sold his fur interests as beaver pelts became scarce. He had made himself the richest man in America and was reinvesting in real estate in New York. Pelts sold for \$6 apiece in peak years enabled trappers to make \$1,000 per season, but Astor charged enormous prices for supplies hauled to summer rendezvous points. Thus, the beaver were about gone and the mountain men who risked their lives were still poor.

➡ [Friedlieb Ferdinand Runge](#) noticed that upon distilling coal tar, if treated with bleaching powder aniline would produce a bright blue color (this would lead 22 years later to development of [aniline dyes](#)).

➡ Having demonstrated much academic promise, [Johann Mendel](#) was admitted to the Gymnasium in Troppau, Silesia (now the Czech Republic town of Opava, home to Silesian University). The fees at Troppau being difficult for the Mendels to afford, Johann was enrolled as on “half rations.”

GREGOR MENDEL

➡ The name of the [Church Christ](#) was changed, to The Church of the Latter Day Saints.

➡ A woodcut-maker from Meiringen in the Bernese Oberland, name not of record, advocated a theory of an Ice Age to [Jean de Charpentier](#). (Comparable explanations were also heard from the Val de Ferret in the Valais and the Seeland in western Switzerland, and in Goethe’s SCIENTIFIC WORK. Similar explanations would also be found in other parts of the world.)



OUR MOST RECENT GLACIATION


De Charpentier presented a paper on this Ice Age before the *Schweizerische Naturforschende Gesellschaft*.


THE SCIENCE OF 1834

➡ In Paris during this year, [Nicolò Paganini](#) commissioned Hector Berlioz to write a concerto for viola and orchestra (he would later turn it down). After a tour of Belgium he would return to England, putting on concerts during this year and the following one in London and other cities.

➡ David Wilkie’s A CANAL JOURNEY IN 1834.

The walls of the [Erie Canal](#) lock at Tonawanda were raised a foot to bring the river water closer to the canal’s level.

 Federal troops were ordered to put down a riot by workers along the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal. It is the first time federal troops have been used to settle a labor battle in the United States of America. It would not be the last.

 The Portage Railroad opened, using [canal](#) and railroad, between Pittsburgh and Philadelphia.

Scottish [canal](#) engineer Thomas Telford died.

US [canal](#) engineer Canvass White, 44, died in Florida.

Improvements on the [Pennsylvania Main Line Canal](#) were completed.


E. H. Gill became chief engineer of the [Sandy and Beaver Canal](#), connecting the Ohio River (in Pennsylvania) with the [Ohio and Erie Canal](#) at Bolivar, Ohio.


Illinois elections centered around the [canal](#) vs. railroad issue, with [canal](#) proponents “winning” (for the voters to side with the canals after the railroads had already won hands down, of course, means that the voters were going to lose their collective shirts, which explains why I have placed scarequotes around the term “winning”).

A survey was authorized for a [Genesee Valley Canal](#).

The Cohoes Company completed most of its hydraulic [canals](#).

The charter of the [Auburn and Owasco Canal Company](#) was renewed (the canal was never dug).

 This year’s currency inflation would be:¹

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

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

1834

1834

→ [Fanny Kemble](#)'s 2d American tour.



→ [William White Cooper](#) began study at St Bartholomew's Hospital, where he would become a private pupil of the surgeon Edward Stanley.

→ [Johann Ludwig Krapf](#) graduated from Tübingen University in Württemberg, [Germany](#).

→ [Dr. Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan](#) was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Lower [Canada](#), for Yamaska.

→ [Henry Hallam](#)'s THE REMAINS IN PROSE AND VERSE OF ARTHUR HENRY HALLAM, WITH A SKETCH OF HIS LIFE.

→ [William Henry Harvey](#)'s "Algological illustrations. No. 1; Remarks on some British algae and descriptions of a new species recently added to our flora," in [Hooker's Journal of Botany](#) (1:296-305).

→ [Sir William Jardine](#) and his youngest brother, John Jardine, went with Mr. Selby, and Mr. James Wilson on a tour through Sutherlandshire, a region that had not yet been examined by naturalists. The expedition, in a boat on wheels drawn by Highland ponies, was fully equipped to accumulate specimens of plants, birds, and fish (they would for instance collect the great lake trout *Salmo ferox*). In inclement weather their boat/wagon could be inverted to furnish shelter.

→ [Walter Savage Landor](#)'s [CITATION AND EXAMINATION OF WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE EUSEBY TREEN JOSEPH CARNABY AND SILAS GOUGH CLERK BEFORE THE WORSHIPFUL SIR THOMAS LUCY KNIGHT TOUCHING DEER-STEALING ON THE 19TH DAY OF SEPTEMBER IN THE YEAR OF GRACE 1582 NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM ORIGINAL PAPERS. TO WHICH IS ADDED A CONFERENCE OF MASTER EDMUND SPENSER A GENTLEMAN OF NOTE WITH THE EARL OF ESSEX TOUCHING THE STATE OF IRELAND A.D. 1595](#) (London: Saunders and Otley of Conduit Street).

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE



After December 23, 1845: ... {One-fourth page blank} [Landor](#)'s works are
1st A small volume of poems 1793 out of print

WALTER SAVAGE LANDOR



1834

1834

next Poems of “Gebir” “Chrysaor”, the “Phocaeans” &c
The “Gebir” eulogized by Southey & Coleridge
Wrote verses in Italian & Latin.
The dramas “Andrea of Hungary” “Giovanna of Naples” and “Fra Rupert.”
“Pericles & Aspasia”
“Poems from the Arabic & Persian” 1800 pretending to be translations.
“A Satire upon Satirists, and Admonition to Detractors” printed 1836 not published
Letters called “High & Low Life in Italy”
“Imaginary Conversations”
“Pentameron & Pentalogia”
“Examination of William Shakspeare before Sir Thomas Lucy, Knt., touching Deer-stealing.”
{*One-fourth page blank*} Vide again Richard’s sail in “Rich. 1st & the Abbot”
Phocion’s remarks in conclusion of “Eschines & Phocion”
“Demosthenes & Eubulides”
In Milton & Marvel speaking of the Greek poets –he says
“There is a sort of refreshing odor flying off it perpetually; not enough to oppress or to satiate; nothing is beaten
or bruized; nothing smells of the stalk; the flower itself is half-concealed by the Genius of it hovering round.”
Pericles & Sophocles
Marcus Tullius Cicero & his Brother Quintus in this a sentence on Sleep and Death.
Johnson & Tooke for a criticism on words. {*Three-fifths page blank*} ...

HDT

WHAT?

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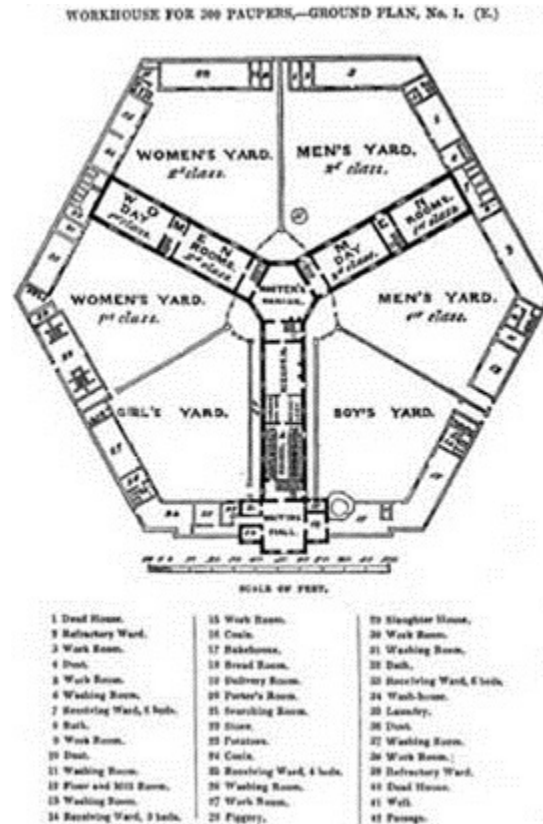
 [Thomas Hood](#)'s TYLNEY HALL.



1834

1834

➡ Under a new amendment to the Poor Law, one that created 554 new “workhouse” institutions for the better management of the improvident of England and Wales, and presumably due to the influence of Lord Brougham, [Sir Francis Bond Head](#) received preferment as an assistant to the Poor Law Commissioner for Kent.



In this year, publication by John Murray in London of his BUBBLES FROM THE BRUNNENS OF NASSAU (a piece of easy reading if ever there was one).

➡ [Dr. Samuel George Morton](#)'s SYNOPSIS OF THE ORGANIC REMAINS OF THE CRETACEOUS GROUP OF THE UNITED STATES, and his ILLUSTRATIONS OF PULMONARY CONSUMPTION.

➡ [James Rennie](#), who had since 1830 been the Professor of Natural History and Zoology at King's College, Cambridge, began to support himself by the authoring of books on natural history, in this year providing ALPHABET OF BOTANY FOR USE OF BEGINNERS.

➡ Midshipman [William Lewis Herndon](#) was promoted to Passed Midshipman.

➡ The [Ohio](#) Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Zanesville.

[Theodatus Garlick](#) graduated from the University of Maryland in [Baltimore](#). While a college student he had prepared wax medallion portraits of Dean of the Faculty Eli Geddings and of several of his professors, and had been invited to fashion wax medallion portraits also of Dr. Jared Kirtland, Henry Clay, and President Andrew Jackson (the President had in fact sat for him four times).

By a vote of 28 to 18, the US Senate censured President Andrew Jackson.



(But see the events of 1837 ➡)


➡ The Reverend Professor [Ralph Emerson](#)'s translation, with notes, of Wiggins's AUGUSTINIANISM AND PELAGIANISM was published at Andover. Also, his biography of his brother, LIFE OF REV. [JOSEPH EMERSON](#), PASTOR OF THE THIRD CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH IN BEVERLY, MS. AND SUBSEQUENTLY PRINCIPAL OF A FEMALE SEMINARY, was published in Boston (Crocker and Brewster, 47, Washington Street) and in New-York (Leavitt, Lord, & Co., 182, Broadway).²

THE LIFE OF MY BROTHER

➡ Leaving the fur trade, John Jacob Astor asked [Washington Irving](#) to write up a history of his fur-trading colony in the American Northwest, Fort Astoria. He placed Ramsay Crooks in control of his American Fur Company. [Gabriel Franchère](#) would be dispatched to direct the facility at Sault Ste. Marie.

2. At the end of this volume appears a genealogy of the Emerson family, done by [Joseph Emerson](#).

EMERSON GENEALOGY

 [William Galbraith, M.A.](#)'s MATHEMATICAL AND ASTRONOMICAL TABLES: FOR THE USE OF STUDENTS IN MATHEMATICS, PRACTICAL ASTRONOMERS, SURVEYORS, ENGINEERS, AND NAVIGATORS; PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTION, CONTAINING THE CONSTRUCTION OF LOGARITHMIC AND TRIGONOMETRICAL TABLES, PLANE AND SPHERICAL TRIGONOMETRY, THEIR APPLICATION TO NAVIGATION, ASTRONOMY, SURVEYING, AND GEODETICAL OPERATIONS, WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE TABLES, ILLUSTRATED BY NUMEROUS PROBLEMS AND EXAMPLES ... (2d Edition, greatly enlarged and improved; Edinburgh: Published by Oliver & Boyd, Tweeddale Court; Simpkin & Marshall, and J.W. Norie & Co., London. 1834).

WM. GALBRAITH'S TABLES

[Francis Joseph Grund](#) edited THE MERCHANT'S ASSISTANT AND MERCANTILE INSTRUCTOR. CONTAINING A FULL ACCOUNT OF THE MONEYS, COINS, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES OF THE PRINCIPAL TRADING NATIONS AND THEIR COLONIES; TOGETHER WITH THEIR VALUES IN UNITED STATES CURRENCY, WEIGHTS AND MEASURES. TRANSLATED FROM THE SEVENTH EDITION OF [GEORG THOMAS] FLÜGEL; WITH ADDITIONS AND ALTERATIONS FROM THE WORKS OF KELLY, NELCENERECHTER, KRUSE, Mc'CULLOCH, AND OTHERS (Boston: Hilliard, Gray & Co.).

MERCANTILE INSTRUCTOR

In India, 19th century, a nominal unit of mass used for the trade in pearls, which were priced per chow.
 In Madras, the real weight was measured in mangelins (about 0.389 gram). To calculate the number of chows, square the weight in mangelins of a group of pearls. Take ¾ of the result, and divide by the number of pearls. Multiply the result by the price per chow (Grund suggests 96 shillings sterling per chow).
 In Madras the chow was divided into 16 parts.
 In Bombay, the real weight was the tank. To calculate the number of chows, square the number of tanks, multiply by 330, and divide by the number of pearls. There the chow was divided as follows:


			chow
		quarter	4
	docra	25	100
buddam	16	400	1600

[Grund](#)'s AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON GEOMETRY: SIMPLIFIED FOR BEGINNERS NOT VERSED IN ALGEBRA, PART I, CONTAINING PLANE GEOMETRY, WITH ITS APPLICATION TO THE SOLUTION OF PROBLEMS (Boston: Charles J. Hendee, and G.W. Palmer and Company)

TREATISE ON GEOMETRY

(Evidently we do not know for sure, which volume or volumes of this geometry text [Henry Thoreau](#) owned.)

 [Henry William Herbert](#)'s THE BROTHERS: A TALE OF THE FRONDE.

 [John Wells Foster](#) graduated at Connecticut Wesleyan University in Middletown. He would begin the study of law, relocate to Ohio, study law there in the office of Goddard & Convers, and be admitted to the bar at Zanesville.

DEMON. The area of the triangle BCD (Fig. I. and II.) is equal to the area of the triangle BDE; because these two triangles are upon the same basis, BD, and between the same parallels, BD, CE (page 90, 3dly); consequently (Fig. I.), the *sum* of the areas of the two triangles ABD and BDC, is equal to the sum of the areas of the two triangles ABD, BDE; that is, the area of the quadrilateral ABCD is equal to the sum of the areas of the two triangles ABD, BDE, which is the area of the triangle ABE.

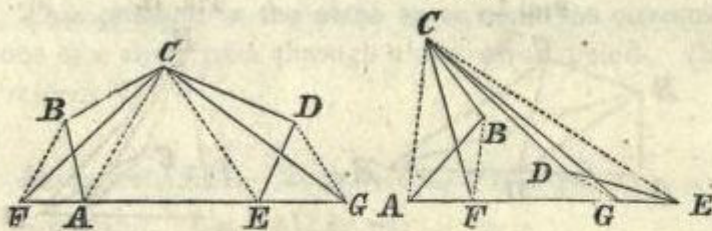
And in figure II. the *difference* between the areas of the two triangles ABD, BCD, that is, the quadrilateral ABCD, is equal to the difference between the triangles ABD, EBD, which is the triangle ABE.

PROBLEM XXIV. *To transform a given pentagon into a triangle, whose vertex shall be in a given angle of the pentagon, and whose base upon one of its sides.*

SOLUTION. Let ABCDE (Fig. I. and II.), be the given pentagon; let the vertex of the triangle, which is to be equal to it, be in C.

FIG. I.

FIG. II.



1. From C draw the diagonals CA, CE.
2. From B draw BF parallel to CA, and from D draw DG parallel to CE.
3. From F and G, where these parallels cut AE or its further extension, draw the lines CF, CG; CFG is the triangle required.

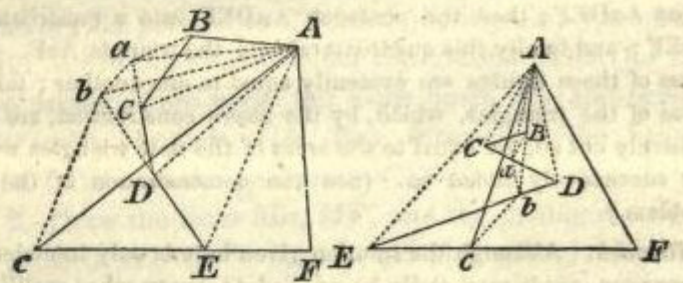
DEMON. In both figures, we have the area of the triangle CBA equal to the area of the triangle CFA; because these two triangles are upon the same basis, CA, and between the same par-

allels, AC, FB; and for the same reason is the area of the triangle CDE equal to the area of the triangle CGE; therefore in figure I. the *sum* of the areas of the three triangles CAE, CBA, CDE, is equal to the sum of the areas of the triangles CAE, CFA, CGE; that is, the area of the pentagon ABCDE is equal to the area of the triangle CFG; and in figure II. the *difference* between the area of the triangle CAE and the areas of the two triangles CBA, CDE, is equal to the difference between the area of the same triangle CAE, and the areas of the two triangles CFA, CGE; that is, the area of the pentagon ABCDE is equal to the area of the triangle CFG.

PROBLEM XXV. *To convert any given figure into a triangle, whose vertex shall be in a given angle of the figure, and whose basis shall fall upon one of its sides.*

FIG. I.

FIG. II.



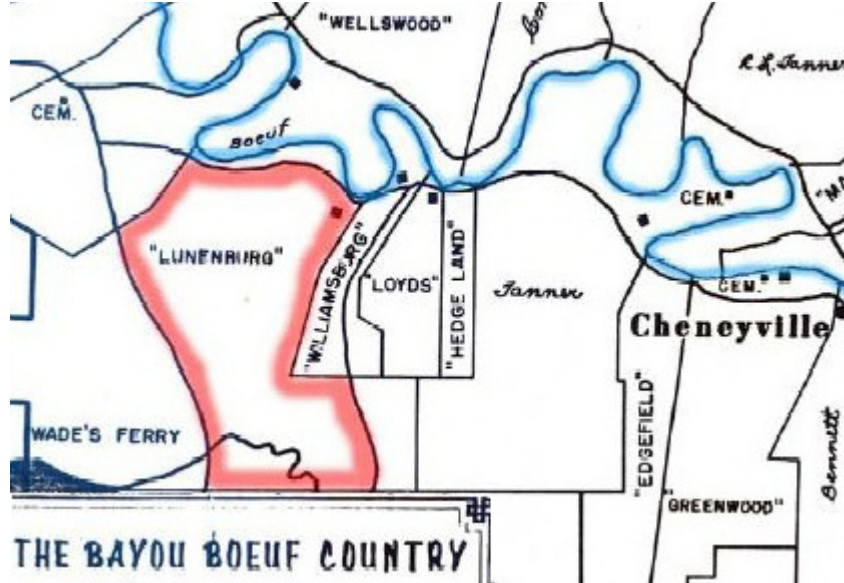
Let ABCDEF (Fig. I. and II.) be the given figure (in this case a hexagon), and A the angle in which the vertex of the required triangle shall be situated. For the sake of perspicuity, I shall enumerate the angles and sides of the figure from A, and call the first angle A, the second B, the third C, and so on; further, AB the first side, BC the second, DE the third, and so on. We shall then have the following general solution.

1. From A to all the angles of the figure, draw the diagonals AC, AD, AE, which, according to the order in which they stand here, call the first, second, and third diagonal.

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➔ The [Reverend Timothy Flint](#)'s translation of THE BACHELOR RECLAIMED OR CELIBACY VANQUISHED, FROM THE FRENCH (Philadelphia). Also, a 2d edition of his FRANCIS BERRIAN; OR, THE [MEXICAN PATRIOT](#) (Philadelphia, London). He traveled in New England and Canada, and made a visit to Europe (or so he would allege), and then returned from New-York to his "Lunenburg"³ slave plantation near Cheneyville, Louisiana.



Colonel Juan Almonte suggested to Benjamin Lundy that he re-petition for land on which to set up a colony for manumitted US slaves in [Mexico](#), this time in the state of Tamaulipas just south of [Texas](#) straddling the Rio Grande River, territory which had not been included in the 1830 law of passports.⁴

➔ [Theodore Sedgwick Fay](#)'s "The Author," "An Outline Sketch," "Snorers," and "The Little Hard-Faced Old Gentleman" got included in the two volumes of THE ATLANTIC CLUB-BOOK: BEING SKETCHES IN PROSE AND VERSE, BY MESSRS. PAULDING, HALLECK, COX, BRYANT, LEGGETT, MARTIN, SIMMS, STUART, WILLIS, PALMER, WOODWORTH, POWER, HACKETT, SANFORD, BIRD, MRS. LEARNED, MRS. SIGOURNEY, MRS. EMBURY, MISS KEMBLE, AND OTHER AUTHORS.

➔ The final volume of [Prideaux John Selby](#)'s ILLUSTRATIONS OF BRITISH ORNITHOLOGY (began in 1821).




The previous year's tour through Sutherlandshire had been so productive of information on the fauna and flora of the north of Scotland that Dr. Robert Kaye Greville, Mr. James Wilson, Sir William Jardine, and [Selby](#) organized a more extensive expedition.

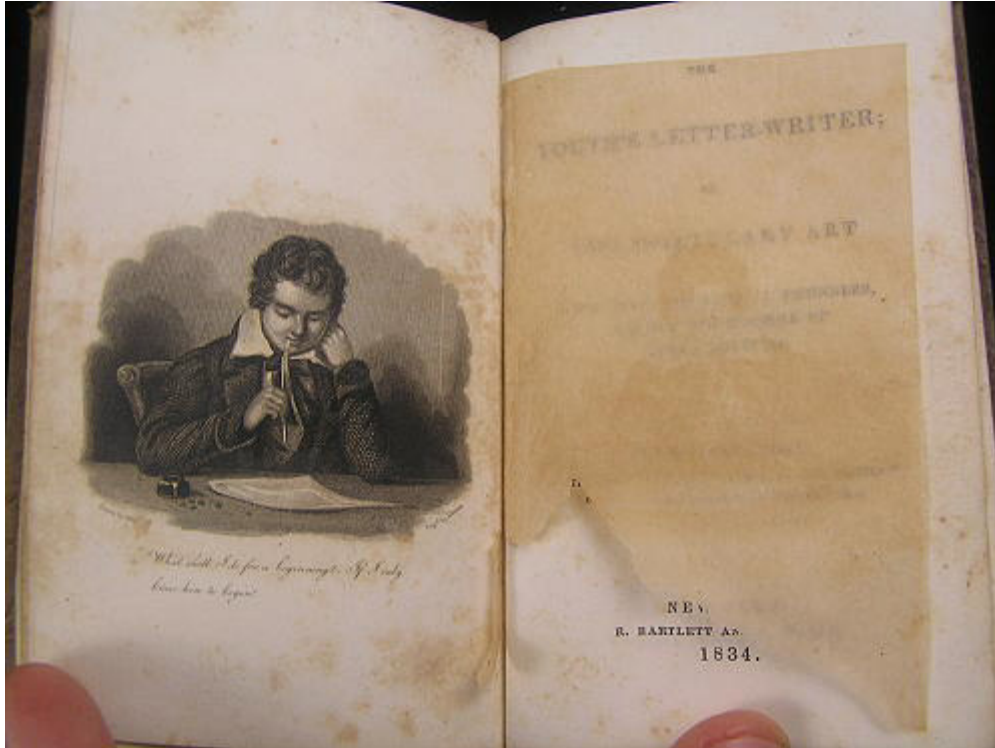
3. Isn't it interesting that he named his slave plantation "Lunenburg," after having been so savaged by the good church folks of Lunenburg, Massachusetts, who had so sadly neglected to grasp what a marvelous fellow their pastor was? –This could only be his retribution.

4. Merton Dillon. BENJAMIN LUNDY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR NEGRO FREEDOM (Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1966), page 180.

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 [Mrs. John Farrar](#) [[Eliza Ware Rotch Farrar](#)]'s THE YOUTH'S LETTER WRITER, OR, THE EPISTOLARY ART. MADE PLAIN AND EASY TO BEGINNERS, THROUGH THE EXAMPLE OF HENRY MORETON (New York: R. Bartlett and S. Raynor).



[Professor Sylvestre François Lacroix](#)'s AN ELEMENTARY TREATISE ON ARITHMETIC, TAKEN PRINCIPALLY FROM THE ARITHMETIC OF S.F. LACROIX, AND TR. FROM THE FRENCH WITH SUCH ALTERATIONS AND ADDITIONS AS WERE FOUND NECESSARY IN ORDER TO ADAPT IT TO THE USE OF AMERICAN STUDENTS. | BY [JOHN FARRAR](#), LL.D., HOLLIS PROFESSOR OF MATHEMATICS AND NATURAL PHILOSOPHY. | FOURTH EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED. (Boston: Hilliard, Gray, and Company).⁵

A general, disposing his army into a square, finds he has 284 soldiers over and above; but increasing each side with one soldier, he wants 25 to fill up the square; how many soldiers had he? *Ans.* 24000.

There is a prize of 212*l.* 14*s.* 7*d.* to be divided among a captain, 4 men, and a boy; the captain is to have a share and a half; the men each a share; and the boy $\frac{1}{3}$ of a share; what ought each person to have?

Ans. The captain 54*l.* 14*s.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*, each man 36*l.* 9*s.* 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*, and the boy 12*l.* 3*s.* 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ *d.*

A cistern, containing 60 gallons of water, has 3 unequal cocks for discharging it; the greatest cock will empty it in one hour, the second in 2 hours, and the third in 3; in what time will it be emptied, if they all run together? *Ans.* 32 $\frac{3}{7}$ minutes.

In an orchard of fruit trees, $\frac{1}{3}$ of them bear apples, $\frac{1}{4}$ pears, $\frac{1}{5}$ plums, and 50 of them cherries; how many trees are there in all? *Ans.* 600.

A can do a piece of work alone in 10 days, and B in 13; if both be set about it together, in what time will it be finished?

Ans. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{3}$ days.

A, B, and C are to share 100000*l.* in the proportion of $\frac{1}{3}$, $\frac{1}{4}$, and $\frac{1}{5}$, respectively; but C's part being lost by his death, it is required to divide the whole sum properly between the other two.

Ans. A's part is 57142 $\frac{2}{3}$ *l.*, and B's 42857 $\frac{1}{3}$ *l.*

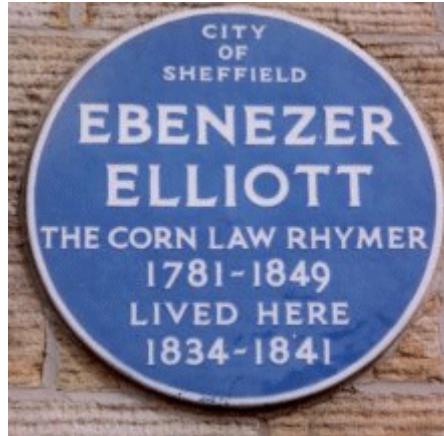
LACROIX ON ARITHMETIC

5. [Professor John Farrar](#) had been the one who, after the Great September Gale of 1815, created the understanding that hurricanes consisted of "a moving vortex and not the rushing forward of a great body of the atmosphere." He would be Hollis Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy at Harvard College from 1807 until in 1836 he would become seriously ill.

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→ [Ebenezer Elliott](#) removed to rural Uppertorpe near Sheffield. There he would sponsor the creation of a Sheffield Anti-Corn Law Society and set up a Sheffield Mechanics' Institute.



→ For the following six years autobiographical offerings by [Thomas De Quincey](#) would be appearing in [Tait's Edinburgh Magazine](#) under the rubric LAKE REMINISCENCES — what he would reveal would be considered by [William Wordsworth](#) and other of the Lake poets to constitute an offensive invasion of their privacy. Upon the death of William Blackwood his sons Robert and Alexander Blackwood would take over management of this magazine.

During this period the author would be three times summoned into court on account of his debts.

ATTITUDES ON DE QUINCEY

Wordsworth's Poems, in Chronological Sequence


- Lines written in the Album of the Countess of Lonsdale. November 5, 1834
- To the Moon. (Composed by the Seaside, — on the Coast of Cumberland)
- To the Moon. (Rydal)
- Written after the Death of Charles Lamb
- Extempore Effusion upon the death of James Hogg
- Upon seeing a coloured Drawing of the Bird of Paradise in an Album
- Composed after reading a Newspaper of the Day
- By a blest Husband guided, Mary came
- Sonnets
- Desponding Father! mark this altered bough
- Roman Antiquities discovered at Bishopstone, Herefordshire
- St. Catherine of Ledbury
- Why art thou silent! Is thy love a plant
- Four fiery steeds impatient of the rein
- To ———
- Said Secrecy to Cowardice and Fraud

→ [James Fenimore Cooper](#) relocated his family to a townhouse at 4 St. Marks Place in New-York.



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 [James Ellsworth De Kay](#) became Recording Secretary of the Lyceum of Natural History of New York. His “Examination of the facts and arguments by which it is attempted to prove that lava has not been subjected to great elevations of temperature” ([American Journal of Science](#) Volume 27 Number 1:148).


THE SCIENCE OF 1834


Mary Somerville’s THE CONNECTION OF THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES.

Mary Roberts’s THE CONCHOLOGIST’S COMPANION.


 [John Gardner Wilkinson](#) was elected to the Royal Society.

The head and torso of the statue known then as “younger Memnon” was relocated from the old Townley Galleries building to the [Egyptian](#) Sculpture Room of the new British Museum.

 [Eliza Wainwright Channing](#) died. [Doctor Walter Channing](#)’s THOUGHTS ON THE ORIGIN, NATURE, PRINCIPLES AND PROSPECTS OF THE TEMPERANCE REFORM.

 [Thomas Campbell](#) visited Paris and Algiers. He was in the process of creating his LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH, which would be printed in 1837.

[Heinrich Heine](#) fell in love with an illiterate salesgirl, Crecence Eugénie Mirat (in his poems, “Mathilde”). Seven years into their relationship, they would marry. Although Mathilde would prove to be something of a spendthrift, during her husband’s eight long years of illness she would tend to him faithfully and tenderly.

 [Francis Trevelyan Buckland](#), who until the age of 8 had been being home-schooled by his mother, was at this point sent out to a boarding school in Cotterstock (a village in Northamptonshire in the England East Midlands).

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➡ [Henry Marie Brackenridge](#)'s RECOLLECTIONS OF PERSONS AND PLACES IN THE WEST (J. Kay, jun. and brother).



➡ The Reverend [John Lauris Blake](#)'s CONVERSATIONS ON VEGETABLE PHYSIOLOGY AND BOTANY.

➡ [John Cockburn Thomson](#) was born, a son of Professor Anthony Todd Thomson (1778-1849) of London University and his 2d wife Katherine Byerley Thomson (another of the sons was the barrister Henry William Byerley Thomson).

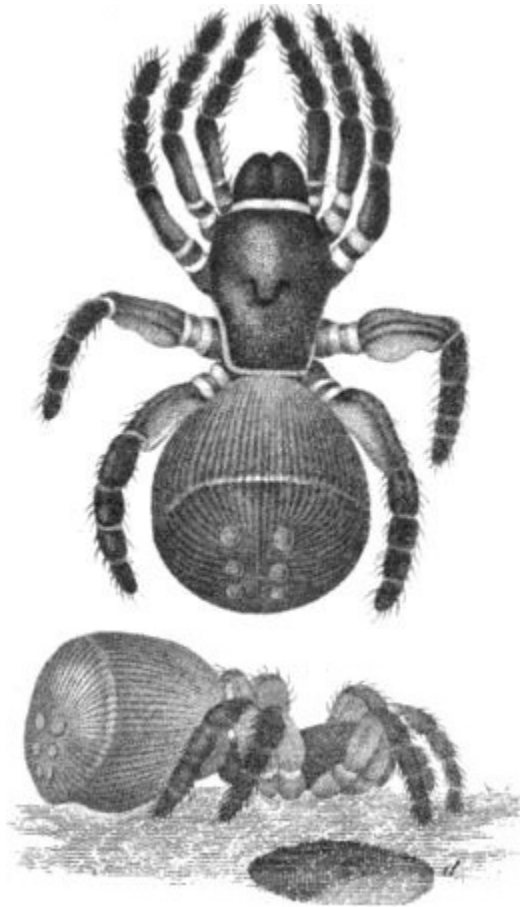
➡ Third Vatican Mythographer. *SCRIPTORES RERUM MYTHICARUM LATINI TRES ROMAE NUPER REPERTI*, I. Ed. [George Henry Bode](#) (Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1996).

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➡ Beginning of the Boston Journal of Natural History. (Under the leadership of Amos Binney, this would create 7 volumes of papers before being closed out in 1863 in favor of the society's MEMOIRS READ BEFORE THE BOSTON SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY.)

Nicholas Marcellus Hentz, who would be contributing a series on spiders to this Boston Journal of Natural History, and his wife the novelist Mrs. Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz, relocated from Cincinnati, Ohio to Florence, Alabama, where they would be conducting the Locust Dell Academy for white young ladies.



➡ John Bowring edited two volumes of BENTHAM'S DEONTOLOGY and published a volume entitled MINOR MORALS.



JEREMY BENTHAM

➡ [Asher Benjamin](#) designed the Thatcher Magoun, Jr. Mansion of Medford, Massachusetts (in this photo taken before 1893 the mansion appears at the extreme right, but it has been since demolished).⁶



➡ [Thomas Green Fessenden](#)'s COMPLETE FARMER AND RURAL ECONOMIST.

➡ Volume the 1st of [George Bancroft](#)'s A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, FROM THE DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

BANCROFT'S US, I

The historian alleged his intent to be “to follow the steps by which a favoring Providence, calling our institutions into being, has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory.”

The HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FROM THE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA TO THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON is treated by Bancroft in three parts. The first, Colonial History from 1492 to 1748, occupies more than one fourth of his pages. The second part, the American Revolution, 1748 to 1782, claims more than one half of the entire work, and is divided into four epochs: – the first, 1748-1763, is entitled THE OVERTHROW OF THE EUROPEAN COLONIAL SYSTEM; the second, 1763-1774, HOW GREAT BRITAIN ESTRANGED AMERICA; the third, 1774-1776, AMERICA DECLARES ITSELF INDEPENDENT; the fourth, 1776-1782, THE INDEPENDENCE OF AMERICA IS ACKNOWLEDGED. The last part, THE HISTORY OF THE FORMATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, 1782-1789, though published as a separate work, is essentially a continuation of the History proper, of which it forms in bulk rather more than one tenth.... (Austin Scott)



“The critic’s joking comment that Bancroft wrote American history as if it were the history of the Kingdom of Heaven, had a trifle of truth in it.”

– [Russel Blaine Nye](#)



6. T. Magoun & Son was a big shipbuilding firm. Junior would eventually donate the mansion to the town for use as a library.

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It was impossible to imagine that anyone could do worse with the Native Americans of the [California](#) coast, than the Franciscan fathers had done since the day of Father Junípero Serra so ready with the scourge, and therefore control of the string of concentration camps along the coast, referred to as “missions,” was passed from the church to: the Spanish army. The Spanish army would, of course, complete the job, and by the date of California’s first census, there would be not one single Native American tribe left in existence in any single coastal California county in which there had been one of these Spanish missions.

On the other hand, [Paul Émile Botta](#)’s pocket gopher would be doing just fine and thank you for asking:



VALLEY POCKET GOPHER *THOMOMYS BOTTAE*



During Ewing Young’s journey to Oregon, his party of travelers murdered several native Americans and buried their bodies where the party camped. (In the next year, an 8-person American fur trapping party was passing through as these bodies were discovered by the local tribe, and an attempt would be made at retaliation — four of the trappers would be killed, with William J. Bailey and George Gay as two of the survivors.)



The Reverend [Beriah Green](#), a long-time friend and confidant of Gerrit Smith, having been active in the formation of the American Anti-Slavery Society, became its president.



[Alexander Bryan Johnson](#) was again discovered to have perpetrated a trick — similar to the manner in which previously he had founded an insurance company by pretending this was to be instead a bank.



Lieutenant [Jacob Whitman Bailey](#) became an assistant to the professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology at the U.S. Military Academy at West Point.

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California populations of the Valley Pocket Gopher

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➡ The Whigs lost control of the English government. Henry Peter Brougham would never again attain to government office.



➡ Passed Midshipman [Charles Henry Davis](#) was promoted to Lieutenant and reassigned to the *USS Vincennes*.

➡ [Dr. John Abercrombie](#) became a doctor of honour of medicine at the University of Oxford, and vice president of the Royal Society of Edinburgh.

➡ C.L. von Buch's THEORY OF VOLCANISM.

VOLCANISM

➡ [Sir Archibald Alison](#) became Sheriff of Lanarkshire.




➡ [John Claudius Loudon](#)'s AN ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF AGRICULTURE: COMPRISING THE THEORY AND PRACTICE OF THE VALUATION, TRANSFER, LAYING OUT, IMPROVEMENT, AND MANAGEMENT OF LANDED PROPERTY; AND THE CULTIVATION AND ECONOMY OF THE ANIMAL AND VEGETABLE PRODUCTIONS OF AGRICULTURE, INCLUDING ALL THE LATEST IMPROVEMENTS; A GENERAL HISTORY OF AGRICULTURE IN ALL COUNTRIES; AND A STATISTICAL VIEW OF ITS PRESENT STATE, WITH SUGGESTIONS FOR ITS FUTURE PROGRESS IN THE BRITISH ISLES. BY J.C. LOUDON, F.L.G.Z. & H.S. &C. AUTHOR OF THE ENCYCLOPÆDIA OF GARDENING, AND CONDUCTOR OF THE GARDINER'S MAGAZINE, AND OF THE MAGAZINE OF NATURAL HISTORY. THIRD EDITION [the 2d edition having come across the presses in 1831]. ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF ELEVEN HUNDRED ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD BY BRANSTON. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans).

LOUDON'S 1831 EDITION

➡ The 2d year of a 3-year famine in [Japan](#), destined to be even worse than the one which had occurred in 1783.

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 London publication of the 7th edition, revised, of [Friend Joseph John Gurney](#)'s OBSERVATIONS ON THE RELIGIOUS PECULIARITIES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, retitled less offensively as OBSERVATIONS ON THE DISTINGUISHING VIEWS AND PRACTICES OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

STUDY THE 7TH EDITION



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➡ [Mrs. Felicia Hemans](#)'s NATIONAL LYRICS AND SONGS FOR MUSIC; SCENES AND HYMNS OF LIFE WITH OTHER RELIGIOUS POEMS (dedicated to William Wordsworth); HYMNS FOR CHILDHOOD; paper on [Johann Wolfgang von Goethe](#)'s "*Torquato Tasso*" as it appeared in [New Monthly](#).⁷

At some point prior to 1835 the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) visited this poet in her home near Windermere and commented that he had heard her hymn "The Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England" sung by a large crowd, on the spot where allegedly the Pilgrims had landed.



But when she asked him about this "stern and rock-bound" coast this divine was forced to advise her that it was actually nothing more than a low strip of featureless sand — and the poet began to sob. One wonders what would have happened had the Reverend gone on to advise her that in addition this American town stood at the mouth of no River Plym.⁸



FELICIA DOROTHEA HEMANS

➡ [Lydia Howard Huntley Sigourney](#)'s SKETCHES, and her POETRY FOR CHILDREN.

➡ Having won a seat in the legislature of [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln bought his first suit. It cost \$60, a remarkable sum for those times, and he seems promptly to have gotten a haircut and a shave and to have had his Daguerreotype made in this suit, with his left elbow casually positioned upon a prop studio book to make doubly sure that everyone read the picture correctly.

7. The play had been created in 1790 and would be translated into English in 1861.

8. And what would her reaction have been had she learned that the white Plymouth Rock is a strain of domestic poultry raised for broiler meat and brown eggs? (but that wouldn't begin until 1865 when the Dominic strain and the Black Cochin strain of chickens would be crossed to produce the 1st novelty version, the Barred Plymouth Rock).

➡ Since 1822 the “Brothertown Indians” on the Oneida reservation in upstate New York, a group which included many [Narragansett](#), had been relocating with the Oneida and Stockbridge (Mahican) to northern Wisconsin. At this point the move was completed. During 1856, the Stockbridge and the Brothertown who wished to retain tribal ownership of their land would merge and relocate to a separate reservation west of Green Bay. The other Brothertown Indians would at that time accept citizenship and allotment, and many of their descendants still live on the east side of Lake Winnebago in Wisconsin.

➡ By this date we had completely ringed Boston Common in elms. Nobody knew our stately elms, like our sturdy chestnuts, were doomed.

➡ Weekly steamboat service between Buffalo, [New York](#) and [Chicago](#) was inaugurated (during this year 80,000 people would shuffle off from Buffalo heading in a westerly direction).

➡ With the completion of the 10 volumes of her POOR LAWS AND PAUPERS ILLUSTRATED and her 5 volume ILLUSTRATIONS OF TAXATION, the 25th and final volume of [Harriet Martineau](#)'s ILLUSTRATIONS OF POLITICAL ECONOMY was published in [Boston](#) by the firm of Bowles. Her THE TENDENCY OF STRIKES AND STICKS TO PRODUCE LOW WAGES AND OF UNION BETWEEN MASTERS AND MEN TO ENSURE GOOD WAGES also was published in this year. The author was free to begin her tour of the USA (until 1836).

➡ There was another outbreak of the [Asiatic cholera](#) in New-York.



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Above normal temperatures persisted at Fort Snelling in the Minneapolis Territory, and the summer was moist.

Largest Scale Global Weather Oscillations 1833-1839

	Southern Oscillation	South Pacific current reversal	Indonesian monsoon	Australian droughts	Indian monsoon	Annual Nile flood
1833	very strong	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	extremely poor
1834	absent	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	adequate
1835	moderate	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	adequate	extremely poor
1836	moderate	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	2d year, very low
1837	strong	warm El Niño moderate +	adequate	drought	deficient	3d year, extremely poor
1838	strong	cold La Niña	drought	adequate	deficient	4th year, quite weak
1839	strong	cold La Niña	adequate	adequate	adequate	5th year, very low
<p>The southern ocean / atmosphere “seesaw” links to periodic Indonesian east monsoon droughts, Australian droughts, deficient Indian summer monsoons, and deficient Ethiopian monsoon rainfall causing weak annual Nile floods. This data is presented from Tables 6.2-6.3 of Quinn, William H. “A study of Southern Oscillation-related climatic activity for AD 622-1900 incorporating Nile River flood data,” pages 119-49 in Diaz, Henry F. and Vera Markgraf, eds. EL NIÑO: HISTORICAL AND PALEOCLIMATIC ASPECTS OF THE SOUTHERN OSCILLATION. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1992.</p>						



The American board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions authorized T.S. Williamson to found a mission among the “Sioux” of Minnesota, and raise them from their heathen superstition into the light of God’s truth.

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[Henry Hastings Sibley](#) arrived at the white *Mendota* “Mouth of the River” settlement on the [Minnesota River](#),



and the missionaries Samuel William “*Tamakoche Red Eagle*” Pond and Gideon Hollister “*Matohota Grizzly Bear*” Pond (who were New England boys who had experienced “conversion” at a tent meeting and had immediately set out for the West with no training or background whatever, to become “missionaries” and witness to their new truth among all the benighted savages who had not yet had conversion experiences — I’m sure you’ve encountered this type of enthusiast) arrived at *Marpiyawicasta*’s village “Eatonville” on the shore of *Mde Medoza* “Lake of the Loons” or “Lake Calhoun” just above Fort Snelling to build themselves a two-room log cabin and take notes on local practices, which they would later publish for their white audience as “heathen superstitions.”

There were 125 of these Matantonwan Dakota farmers. *Marpiyawicasta* himself took the brothers out for a walk and pointed out the cabin site to them, choosing a place from which they would be able to watch the loons on the lake through their window. The cabin was of peeled oak logs, the peeling proving to be a mistake. It had two rooms and was 12 feet by 16 feet and stood 8 feet high. Its bark roof was fastened with strips of bark around tamarack poles used for rafters. Its floor was of split logs, its ceiling of slabs sawed at the old government sawmill. Its door was made of slabs hand-hewed from a log with an axe, and had wood hinges and

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a latch string. The total cost was one shilling for nails used in the door, the window being a gift from the fort.



Gideon was the older brother. He was receiving a salary of \$600.⁰⁰/year as the band's agricultural adviser from the U.S. Army, plus housing allowance, enough money to enable him to marry while at Lake Calhoun. When he left, he had some of this money saved, and gave it away. (At that time the standard sustenance for a missionary family was \$100.⁰⁰ per year per adult plus a \$50.⁰⁰ allowance for each child.) This was a princely sum, amounting to perhaps a salary of \$60,000.⁰⁰ a year nowadays,⁹ and represented the topical government boondoggle of the day as these funds did not come from the general ledger but were all drawn out of escrow accounts containing moneys promised in Indian treaties, but to do this missionary justice he didn't spend all the money on himself, for when he left he gave his savings to the other white missionaries.

We can learn about this boondoggle from a letter written by another such "Farmer":



I was appointed by the Indian department as Farmer agreeable to the Treaty of 1837 providing farmers and Blacksmiths to the several different Bands with Salerys of Six Hundred Dollars each anually to be paid Quarterly for the Term of Twenty Years Houses and impliments are furnished by Government I have a large two Story House and am the only occupant while it is sorounded with Icewxteastipis or Sioux Houses. I am any thing but being lonesome But ...



9. Consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>

➡ [Marpiyawicasta Cloud Man](#) and some other native Americans, while hunting buffalo out on the plains near the Missouri River, were overwhelmed by a blizzard and snowed under. Samuel W. Pond would write that Cloud Man told him that while he had lain buried beneath the snow, starving and freezing, he had remembered how often Major Taliaferro, the Indian Agent at Fort Snelling, had tried to induce him and other Indians to become farmers of the rich land around Lake Calhoun, and raise bountiful supplies of provisions and not be dependent upon the uncertain results of the chase and the hunt for subsistence during the long, cold winters, and indeed in all seasons. Cloud Man said that while shivering in his snow bed he solemnly vowed that if he lived to return to Fort Snelling he would become a farmer and induce others of his band to join him.

➡ The Freewill [Baptist](#) minister David Marks entered [George Whitefield's](#) tomb but found the coffin about a third full of black earth, from which projected a few bones. The skull had at this point been oriented face down.



THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS

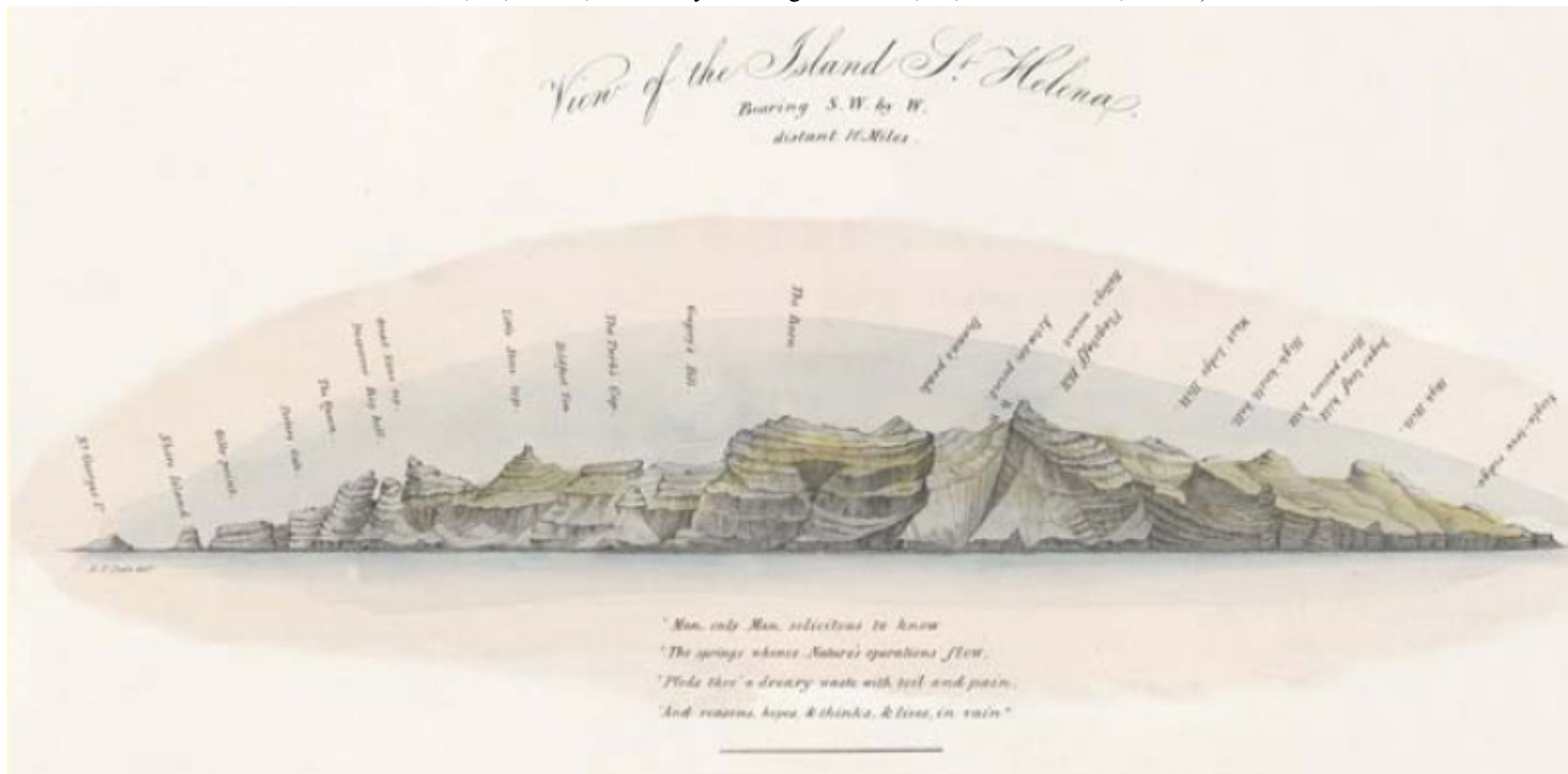
➡ The Ottomans, who had a long tradition of religious education, established their initial secular institution of higher learning, a military academy along Prussian lines (its instructors would include Lieutenant Helmuth von Moltke, who eventually would head the Prussian General Staff). To prepare young Turks for such a foreign education it would be necessary for the Turks to create a secondary school system, and by 1897 they would have 29 secondary schools housing about 8,000 students.

1834

1834

➡ During a controlled test undertaken at Woolwich Arsenal, British soldiers fired 6,000 rounds from a Brown Bess musket and 6,000 from a comparable percussion shoulder weapon and recorded that the Brown Bess had misfired 26 times more often. This statistic would motivate the British government to begin replacing its Brown Besses.

Robert F. Seale's THE GEOGNOSEY OF THE ISLAND [ST. HELENA](#), ILLUSTRATED IN A SERIES OF VIEWS, PLANS AND SECTIONS; ACCOMPANIED WITH EXPLANATORY REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS (London: Ackermann and Co., 96, Strand; Printed by Redding and Turtle, 30, Arundel Street, Strand).



GEOGNOSEY OF ST. HELENA

➡ Johann Werner introduced the form of gymnastics known as “Turnen” at his School for the Female Children. Competition would be dismissed as unwomanly, and exercises such as the horizontal bar and the balance beam would be prohibited as indecent, but in 1843 girls in Magdeburg, Germany would be taught gymnastics, and in 1847 adult women would be taught gymnastics in Mannheim. “Distance and height are not the point,” German educators would be informed in 1908 — instead female athletes would be encouraged to achieve “a steady and attractive performance.”

➡ From this year into 1842, John Henry Newman's PAROCHIAL AND PLAIN SERMONS.

➡ Harriet Beecher Stowe at the Table Rock of [Niagara Falls](#):

Oh, it is lovelier than it is great, it is like the Mind that made it: great, but so veiled in beauty that we gaze without terror. I felt as if I could have gone over with the waters;

it would be so beautiful a death; there would be no fear in it.

➡ A pantomime *Bampfylde Moore Carew, Or, Harlequin King of the Beggars* was staged at the Theatre on Queen's Ferry.

MUMPERY

➡ While Eugene Ring was 7 his family moved to New-York where his father Moses Ely Ring went into a leather business with Epaphras Cook Ely. Mr. Ely, Moses Ring's uncle, was a leather merchant on Ferry Street, in the "Swamp" section of the city. He imported hides from several South American ports.

WOMEN HANGED IN ENGLAND DURING 1834

Date	Name	Place of execution	Crime
17/02	Maria Canning	Dublin	Murder
19/03	Mary Holden	Lancaster Castle	Murder of child
19/03	Mary Smith	Stafford	Murder

➡ Publication of [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#)'s "The Mortal Immortal."

➡ In New Rochelle, New York, Lewis A. Seacor and William Lawton were growing a variety of blackberry that would come to be known as the "New Rochelle blackberry."

➡ With the father of [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), Stephen Higginson, dying this year, the son, at this point eleven years of age, would be growing up in an all-female household.

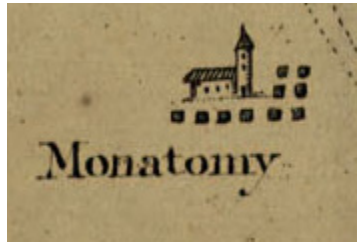
➡ [Horace Wells](#) began to study dentistry in [Boston](#).



1834

1834

→ The 1st sidewalks were installed in what is now Arlington.



→ The Broadway Tabernacle was being built in New-York for the Reverend Charles Grandison Finney, by his supporters.

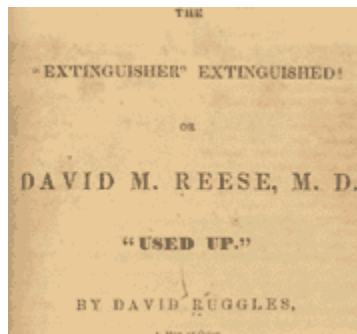


→ [David Ruggles](#)'s THE "EXTINGUISHER" EXTINGUISHED OR DAVID M. REESE, M.D., "USED UP" was published in New-York.




"EXTINGUISHER"


A white medical doctor had charged that the American Anti-Slavery Society was encouraging interracial marriage. This black author pointed out common-sensically in response, that the main perpetrators of the amalgamation of the races in America happened to be the white [slaveholders](#) whom this society was struggling to subdue!



1834

1834

 Robert Lucas Chance began to use a German process to produce finer quality and larger flat panes of glass. This was a cylinder sheet process. Such glass would be useful as an architectural material, as in the Crystal Palace. The process would be used extensively to make [glass windows](#) until early in the 20th Century. From this period onward industrial machines would be developed to automate the production first of obscured glass and then of clear window glass.

 John Scott Russell of Scotland was watching a boat being drawn along the Union Canal in Scotland, and noted how its bow was generating a standing wave that was moving along the canal ahead of it without apparent change of shape. He termed this standing wave a “wave of translation” but now we term them “solitary waves.” Study of this phenomenon would lead us to the idea of the “soliton,” an optical analogue of this water wave which helps us understand what goes on inside optic fibres.

HISTORY OF OPTICS

1834

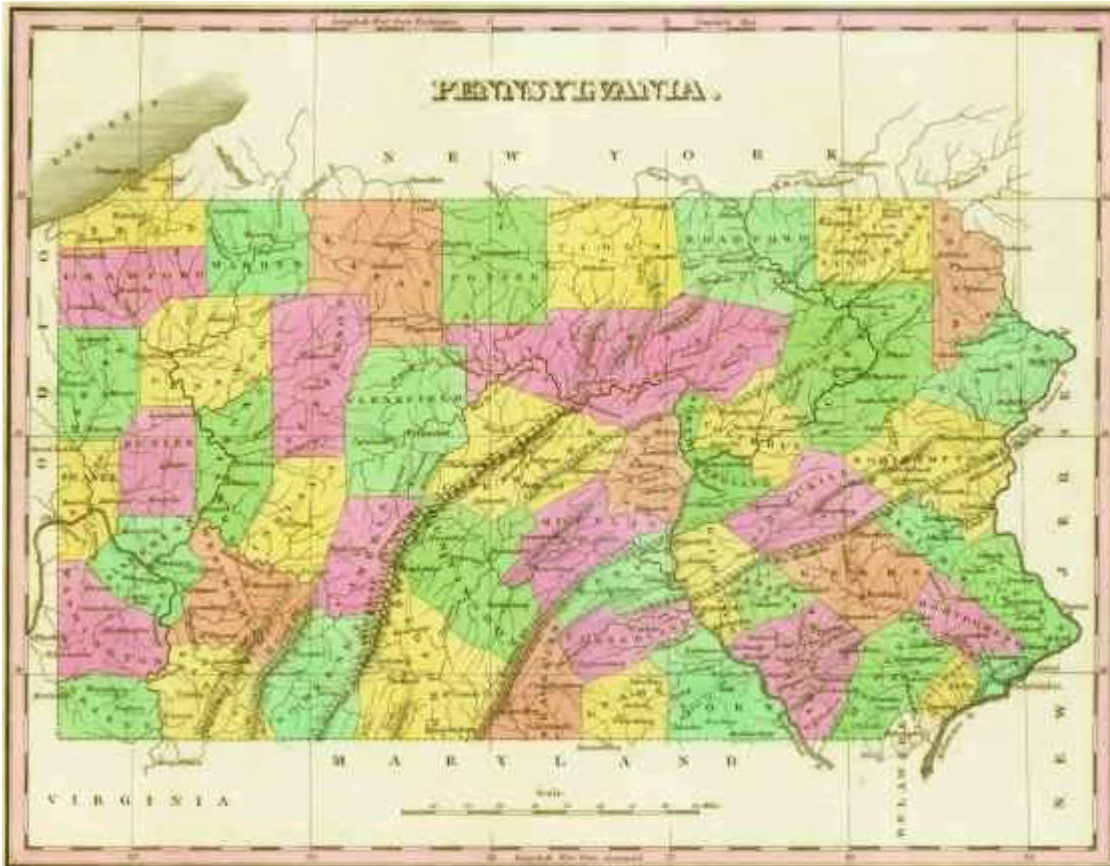
1834

➡ There were 170 young scholars enrolled at the [Yearly Meeting School](#) in [Providence](#). Enrollment would begin to decline.

In the previous year the government of [Rhode Island](#) had been in need of some extra cash, and so of course it had forced itself a loan out of its educational fund. By this point the state owed the fund \$12,884.30. (By 1838 it would “owe” its education fund \$14,662.)

The “Act to provide for the education of children at public expense within the City and County of Philadelphia” that had been proposed in 1818 by [Friend](#) Roberts Vaux, an overseer of [Quaker](#) schools, was at this point enacted by the Pennsylvania Legislature. The bill provided for schoolhouses, teachers, and supervision by state controllers.

This is likely to have been the map of Pennsylvania available to Henry Thoreau, from the atlas of Anthony Finley:



1834

1834

➡ Sir Robert Peel's "Tamworth Manifesto" set out the principles of New Toryism.

In this year a group of Whigs purchased control of the Morning Chronicle. Thomas Barnes, disagreeing with the manner in which the Morning Chronicle was giving "slavish support to the government," had talks with the leaders of the Conservative Party — and after they had agreed that they would not attempt to interfere with reforms introduced by the Whigs such as the 1832 Reform Act and the Tithe Act, he agreed that his newspaper would become a supporter of Sir Robert Peel and his new government.



"The modern man's daily prayer is reading the daily newspaper."

— G.W.F. Hegel



➡ Professor Richard Harlan's most notable record of the fossil fauna of America was his "Critical Notices of Various Organic Remains Hitherto Discovered in North America," published nearly simultaneously in Pennsylvania and Scotland.

Part 6 of Thomas Say's AMERICAN CONCHOLOGY, OR DESCRIPTIONS OF THE SHELLS OF NORTH AMERICA ILLUSTRATED FROM COLOURED FIGURES FROM ORIGINAL DRAWINGS EXECUTED FROM NATURE was issued in New Harmony, Indiana (Part 1 had appeared in 1830; Part 7, the final part, would be issued in Philadelphia in 1836).



➡ Allan Cunningham's BIOGRAPHICAL AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH LITERATURE OF THE LAST FIFTY YEARS (Paris: Baudry's Foreign Library).

➡ Sir Henry Taylor's tragedy PHILIP VAN ARTEVELDE.


➡ Richard Monckton Milnes, 1st Baron Houghton's MEMOIRS OF A TOUR IN SOME PARTS OF GREECE, CHIEFLY POETICAL.

➡ Maria Edgeworth's HELEN.


➡ Frederick Marryat's PETER SIMPLE, JACOB FAITHFUL.


1834

1834


 Marguerite Power Gardiner, countess of Blessington's [A JOURNAL OF THE CONVERSATIONS OF LORD BYRON WITH THE COUNTESS OF BLESSINGTON](#) (London: H. Colburn; the conversations had appeared in Colburn's New Monthly Magazine).

GEORGE GORDON, LORD BYRON

 [Tsar Nicholas I](#) of Russia, by using frequent changes of horse and carriage, accomplished the trip from St. Petersburg to Berlin in but 4 days. History does not record why he was in such a hurry, but he and his traveling companions on horseback would be the subject of a rather grand painting.

 [John Singleton Copley the younger, Lord Lyndhurst](#) declared [Henry Heterington's Poor Man's Guardian](#) to be a legal publication despite its [Chartist](#) politics, because not a newspaper.

 William Harrison Ainsworth's [ROOKWOOD](#).

 James Brewer Stewart has offered, of the year 1834, that it might be used to mark a dramatic change in the character of American political culture — because the sorts of thing that had been safe for the abolitionists to say publicly in 1831 were no longer safe to say: “suddenly violence was an all-too-common and accepted feature of everyday life.” When I read this I considered it to be revelatory, because in fact there had been in 1834 **no such sudden change in the level of violence**. Sociologically, the level of violence in human society may be taken as almost a constant, for it is obvious to all that what changes is not so much its incidence as the manner of its expression. What had been transacted as of this year 1834 that this historian had noted was that the level of violence **seemed** to have increase, because history is so largely an account of what happens to white people, and because the violence which had previously been expressed by whites against non-whites and therefore “underreported,” was in that decade being expanded to include violence by whites against other whites, whites who had come to **represent** non-whites, whites who had become identified with/had identified themselves with non-whites rather than with whites. What this historian James Brewer Stewart meant to say (but, we see, he betrayed himself) was something like “suddenly violence was an all-too-common and accepted feature **of the everyday life of certain people who mattered, because they were white, and who had made themselves honorary non-whites and were being honored by being treated occasionally in the manner that non-white people had been being treated constantly by white people in America.**”




1834

1834

 Wendell Phillips, with no intention whatever of practicing law, was admitted to the bar.



 In [Charleston, South Carolina](#), Bishop John England established the Ursulines.

CATHOLICS
URSULINES

1834

1834



Charles Plummer Tidd was born in Palermo, Maine to William Tidd and Elizabeth Powell Tidd.



(He would emigrate to Kansas in 1856 with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of Worcester in search of excitement. After joining John Brown's party at Tabor in 1857 he would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who returned to Kansas in 1858 to raid into Missouri. During the Winter 1857-1858 encampment of the Brown forces in the Iowa Territory, he would "ruin" a [Quaker](#) girl and the other members of the team would need to sneak him away from Springdale IA during the night. Nevertheless, the group would obtain some recruits not overly impressed with the Peace Testimony of George Fox from among the residents of this town, such as the brothers Barclay Coppoc and Edwin Coppoc. He and John E. Cook would be particularly warm friends. He opposed the attack on Harpers Ferry but nevertheless took part both in the raid on the planter Washington's home and on the federal arsenal itself, escaped, and made his way on foot toward the northwestern part of Pennsylvania. He and John Brown's son Owen Brown would find work and safety, under assumed names, on an oil well in the vicinity of Crawford County PA. He would visit Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Canada and take part in the planning for the rescue of Aaron D. Stevens and Albert Hazlett while the Mason Commission of the Congress was presuming that he had been killed in the fighting at Harpers Ferry. On July 19, 1861 he would be able to enlist under the name "Charles Plummer" and would become a 1st Sergeant of the 21st Massachusetts Volunteers. On February 8, 1862 he would die of fever aboard the transport *Northerner* during the battle of Roanoke Island, a battle he had particularly wished to take part in because ex-Governor Henry A. Wise of Virginia, the nemesis of the Harpers Ferry raiders, was in command of the Confederates. Charles Plummer Tidd's grave is #40 in the National Cemetery in New Berne NC.)

1834

1834



At the institution of higher education which would become [Brown University](#), the original College Edifice of 1770, which is on the right in the postcard image below, had been supplemented in 1822 by the Hope College structure on the left. In this year Manning Hall was being added, between these two edifices.)



A [Providence](#) lawyer named [Thomas Dorr](#) was elected to the [Rhode Island](#) legislature.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

A facetious monody on [Sam Patch](#) of [Pawtucket, Rhode Island](#) was issued by Robert C. Sands in his WRITINGS, in volume 2, on page 347.



Robert C. Sands


ROBERT C. SANDS

At this point the [Providence, Rhode Island Baptists](#) renovated their meetinghouse, removing the 126 square pews on the main floor. They tore out the old pulpit and sounding board and installed a pulpit having long slips.

[Zachariah Allen](#) invented an automatic steam-engine cutoff.

1834

1834

 James Gillespie Birney [manumitted](#) all the slaves whom he had inherited.



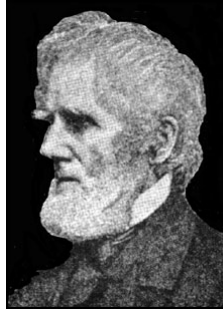
Since he had become persuaded of the fact that any gradual [emancipation](#) would merely stimulate the interstate slave trade, and since he had become persuaded that the dangers of a mixed labour system were greater than those of a straightforward [emancipation](#), he formally repudiated all colonization projects and abandoned the Whig party. He delivered anti-slavery addresses in the North, accepted the vice-presidency of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and announced that his intention was to establish in the following year an anti-slavery journal in Danville. Kentucky society began to shun him. No one would grant him access to a public hall for a lecture and no printer would publish him. Such materials as he was able to get printed, such as ON THE SIN OF HOLDING SLAVES and LETTER ON COLONIZATION, and in the following year VINDICATION OF ABOLITIONISTS, were confiscated by the Southern postmasters.

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

1834

1834

➡ Arthur Tappan was seen in public with a mulatto minister, and his white co-religionists objected. After this incident the abolitionist would refrain from any further public association with any person of color, except in what would be understood by all as a clearly business context.



➡ Robert Dale Owen helped establish the Grand National Consolidated Trade Union.

➡ [Silvio Pellico](#)'s *DES DEVOIRS DES HOMMES*. Traduit de l'Italien avec une introduction par Antoine De Latour (Paris: Fournier). Au cours de sa "crise" religieuse Pellico nous livre cette oeuvre de moralité dans laqu'elle il part du postulat suivant: si l'homme captif de l'homme a ses devoirs; l'homme prisonnier de Dieu, comme on disait à Port-Royal, a également les siens.



➡ In this year [William Lloyd Garrison](#) voted. (He would not be able to bring himself again to cast a ballot, until 1871.)

1834

1834

→ Inks of the 1820s were often acidic and therefore corrosive. One of the reasons that steel nibs had to be cheap was that they rusted rather quickly or corroded in [ink](#). They also wore down with use. After 30 years of trials, John Isaac Hawkins found that small particles of native osmium and iridium alloy or nearly pure iridium would harden the tip of a steel-nib pen and help it to last longer, and that he could solder, or sweat, the iridium pellets to the tip of the nib. At first he used two pellets, one for each tine, but polishing the inner surfaces proved difficult. Later he would use a single pellet by learning to saw a slit through its center. Such [pens](#) were quite expensive but Czar Nicholas I would purchase several orders for himself and his court.



→ Educator Louis Braille (1809-1852) invented a system of writing and printing for blind and visually impaired people. Letters and numbers were represented by a patterns of raised dots, and thus could be distinguished by touch.

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

- [Thomas Davenport](#), the Vermont blacksmith who had invented a commutator-type American motor powered by batteries, installed this in a small vehicle on a section of track, creating one of the 1st electric conveyances (he and his wife would in 1837 obtain US Patent #132, but would go bankrupt because of the high cost of the zinc electrodes required by their batteries).
- In England, Charles Babbage designed an analytical engine which we now know would have been an effective tool had it been completed, and Ada Lovelace pioneered the first software development for use by this hardware, but they were unable to see their project through its funding and development states. By refusing funding, the government effectively delayed the development of computers for something like 13 years, until 1855 when G. Schentz of Stockholm constructed a





1834

1834

working model of Babbage's calculating engine, exhibited it at the Paris Exhibition, and marketed it as a calculator.

- Pehr George Scheutz of Stockholm, after reading a brief description of Babbage's project, produced a small difference engine in wood.


 William Henry Fox Talbot, a British amateur scientist, began experimenting in photography.


 [George Back](#) led an expedition to complete the surveys of the northern coast of North America begun by [Sir John Franklin](#) in the 1819-1826 timeframe. He would explore along a river which would receive the name "Back River" in recognition of his accomplishment.


[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

W. MacKay compiled a map of Nova Scotia more accurate and complete than any before.


[CARTOGRAPHY](#)

 [Jacob Perkins](#) was able to freeze water by machine. His compression/expansion device relied upon a volatile liquid obtained from the distilling of natural rubber.

 [Johann Carl Friedrich Gauss](#) showed that the origin of the Earth's magnetic field must lie deep inside the Earth. He relied upon the measurements of the magnetic field made by the physicist Paul Erman in 1828.

 [Joseph Chaley](#) created the Fribourg suspension bridge over the Sarine River in [Switzerland](#) and demonstrated the feasibility of wire cable for long-span bridges. This bridge's span of 870 feet set a world record that would stand for 15 years.

[BRIDGE DESIGN](#)

 The mid-13th-Century *Hofbrücke* of [Lucerne](#) (2d half of the famous Chapel Bridge, leading from St. Peter's Chapel to Hofkirche over marshy ground) was demolished, and a new lakeside promenade (*Schweizerhofquai*) was built to attract [tourists](#). Many old buildings and the medieval fortifications on the left side of the River Reuss (originally more than 40 towers and gates) were razed to allow rapid development of the *Neustadt* (new city) quarter. While other cities in [Switzerland](#) did away completely with their fortifications, Lucerne has preserved its northern Musegg Wall with seven towers as a unique historical monument, separating downtown Lucerne from the 20th-Century boomtown quarters.



1834

1834



In the case *Rex v. Cousins* in England, George Gilbert was accused of bestiality with a sheep. A farm laborer, Albert Harris, was called as witness for the Crown:

Prosecutor: Mr. Harris on the day in question were you proceeding along a line adjacent to the farm of Mr. Clark?

Harris: I was.

Prosecutor: Could you describe for His Lordship what you saw?

Harris: Well George Gilbert was standing in the doorway of the barn with a sheep.

Prosecutor: Yes, and what was he doing?

Harris: Well he was, um, um, messing around with the sheep.

Prosecutor: By that statement, are we to understand that the accused was having sexual intercourse with the sheep?

Harris: Uh, yes.

Prosecutor: Mr. Harris, what did you do when you observed this shocking spectacle?

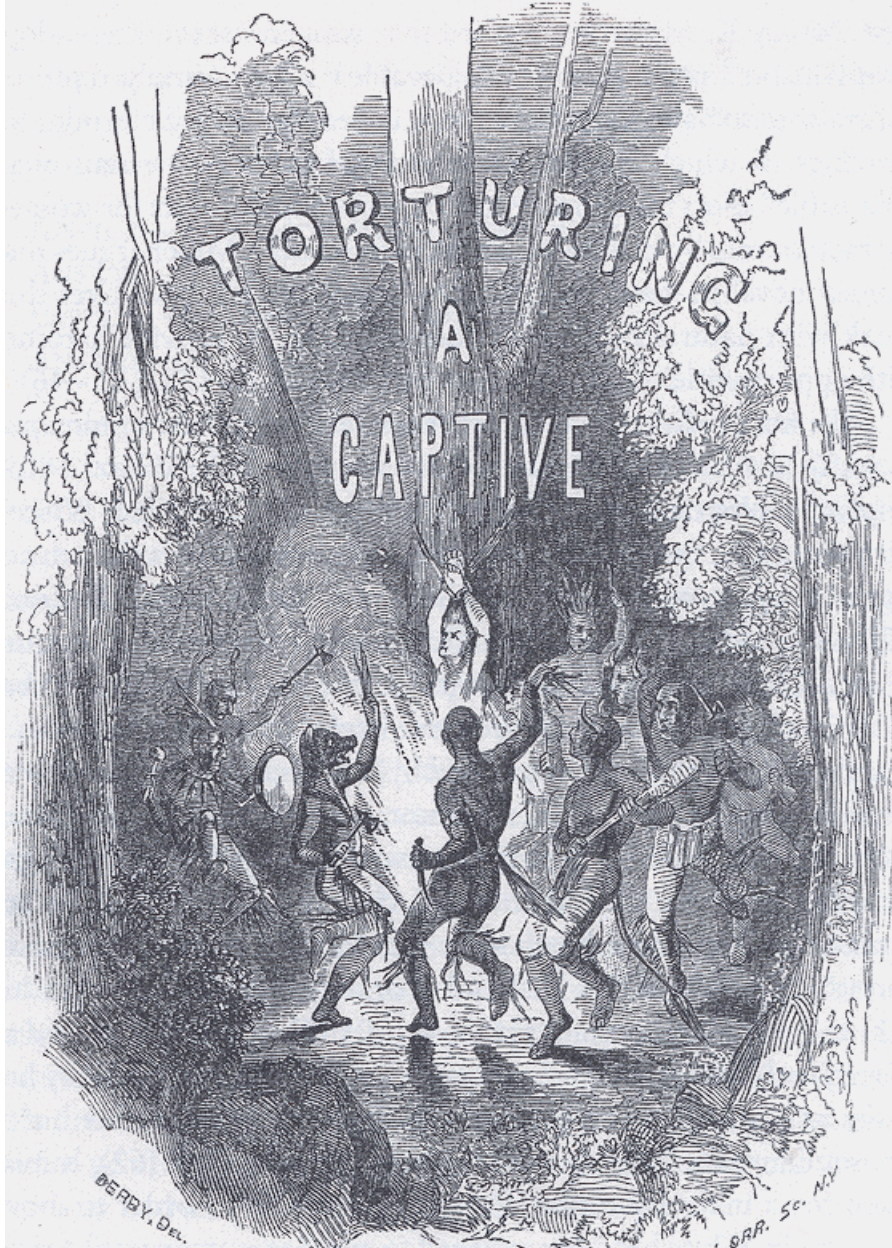
Harris: I said "Morning George."

1834

1834



In St. Michaels, [Maryland](#), Frederick Douglass was assigned by his owner to work for a white farmer, Edward “The Snake” Covey, who had the reputation of a “nigger-breaker,” on his 150-acre rented farm some seven miles to the northwest of St. Michaels, but Mr. Covey had a spot of difficulty with this particular nigger. We notice that at no point was Douglass trying to kill Covey, something reasonable and easy, for he was trying to do something considerably more fraught, get such a person’s attention and then talk turkey to him: “I seized Covey hard by the throat.... I told him....” Strange to relate, although in this struggle Douglass drew blood from Covey and could reasonably have anticipated that as soon as order and propriety had been restored he would be [tortured](#) to death by “The Snake” and his crowd — he found that instead he was no longer being



lashed. Douglass seems to have attributed this to his master’s economic need to obtain maximum work from him with minimum expenditure of effort. Consider this as bravado, in the face of the fact that the only difficulty Covey would have had in killing Douglass, other than in ordering the other laborers to dig a shallow hole in

the field alongside the corpse, would have come when he had to reimburse Thomas Auld for his economic loss:



I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me.

But one wonders whether this hopeless resistance may have inspired Thomas Covey to respect Frederick Douglass as a man and as a human. I offer that this fight in the fields of [Maryland](#) may well have been a turning-point not only in the individual life of Douglass, but also –unfortunately– in the ideology of nonresistance to evil as espoused by William Ladd, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#),



[Abby Kelley](#), John A. Collins, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, Edmund Quincy, John Humphrey Noyes (!),



and [William Lloyd Garrison](#). For later on Douglass would use this memory as fuel for his breach with other antislavery advocates over Garrison’s principled nonresistance to evil and as fuel for the encouragement, by the allies of John Brown, of an indigenous uprising of the black slaves of the South, when Douglass began in 1851 to find alternate funding from the “Liberty Party” created by the intemperate wealthy white man Gerrit Smith.

[Richard Hildreth](#)’s 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 AND REWARDED SUBSEQUENTLY TO THIS LIFE, OR AFTER DEATH, FOR THE DEEDS DONE IN THIS LIFE?”



1834

1834

[Hildreth](#) created a pamphlet defending Abner Kneeland against a charge of blasphemy, APPEAL TO COMMON SENSE AND THE CONSTITUTION ON BEHALF OF UNLIMITED FREEDOM OF DISCUSSION.

Suffering from [tuberculosis](#), and clinically depressed, the author and editor sold his share in Boston's [The Atlas](#) and sought the more healthful climate of Florida. He would find lodgings on a [slave](#) plantation. During 18 months of tropical sunshine he would create the 1st American antislavery novel, THE SLAVE, OR MEMOIRS OF A FUGITIVE, while laboring toward a description of the deleterious effects on our economic and political development of the South's racist "peculiar institution," that would see publication in 1840 as DESPOTISM IN AMERICA.

His wife, his child, his toil, his blood, his life,
and everything that gives his life a value, they are not his;
he holds them all but at his master's pleasure.



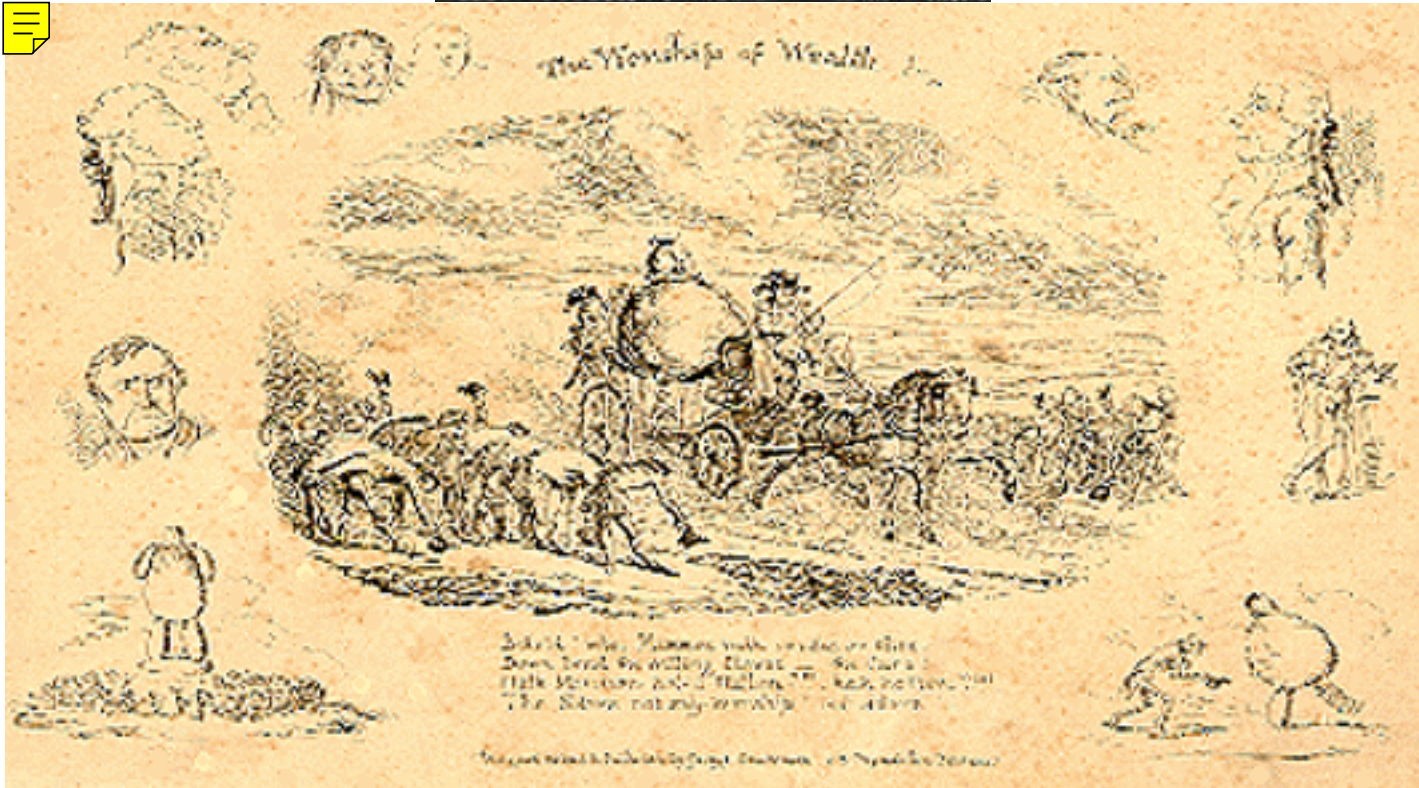
1834

1834



Because the [Reverend Hosea Hildreth](#) had been exchanging services with pastors of the new [Unitarian](#) persuasion, the Essex Association expelled him as Congregationalist minister over the First Parish Church of Gloucester, Massachusetts. Until his death in the following year, the Reverend Hildreth would be serving as minister of a Unitarian congregation in Westboro, Massachusetts.

1834

1834




We see that Frederick Douglass believed he had already put what would become the doctrine of *ahimsa* to the ultimate test, and that he had already discovered this doctrine to be ultimately wrongheaded — and was following the path of Nehru rather than the path of [Gandhiji](#).

 Nathan Johnson and the Reverend Jacob Perry, minister of the African Christian Church ([New Bedford](#)'s first black religious congregation — remember, Johnson had in 1822  petitioned the all-white Quakers for membership in the [Religious Society of Friends](#), and had of course been utterly stonewalled on account of his race) and president of the New-Bedford Union Society (its first antislavery society, formed not by the all-white New Bedford Friends but by the local free people of color), attended the 5th National Negro Convention in Philadelphia. This Convention adopted a nonviolent declaration similar to the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, as written by half-black William Whipper of Pennsylvania.



SERVILE INSURRECTION

 This year produced the 1st of a number of investigations into [Eastern State Penitentiary](#)'s finances, punishment practices, and deviations from the Pennsylvania System of confinement.


There had never been more than about a hundred “Free Quakers,” even during the Revolution. At this point there were only two of the [disowned](#) “Free Quakers,” or “Pretend Quakers,” still regularly attending at the special meetinghouse constructed in 1783 in Philadelphia — Friend “Betsy” Ross and Friend John Price Wetherill. There was no longer any attempt being made, to hold meetings for worship. In this year these two permanently closed the doors of their meetinghouse, so that it could be rented out and converted successively into a school, a apprentice library, and then a plumbing warehouse, as a source of income for them.¹⁰

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

10. The persons who would continue to be members of this group would continue only for purposes of property ownership, out of their entitlement to a share in the brick building at the corner of 5th Street and Arch Street in Philadelphia. Presently it is the headquarters for the Junior League of Philadelphia, although annually the descendants of the Free Quakers meet there to decide upon the distribution of funds generated by rental of the hall and income invested for charitable purposes. Inside are two of the original benches, and an original window exists nearly intact. The balcony is a recent addition. Among the exhibits is the 5-pointed star tissue pattern that Friend Betsy had allegedly used in making the 1st American flag (but the legend of her making such a flag is simply that, a legend and nothing more).

1834

1834

 The English reformer George Thompson was lecturing across the USA at the invitation of [William Lloyd](#)



[Garrison](#). His tour of the northern states would be said to have led to the formation of more than 150 anti-slavery societies. [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), while a ministerial student at Lane Theological Seminary in Cincinnati, helped the young men there create one such abolitionist group, and also he had begun working with black leaders to start a practical night school for black grownups. These “Lane Rebels” would relocate themselves from Cincinnati’s seminary to Oberlin College, bringing new students, faculty and the first college president, Asa Mahan (1835-1850), but Weld himself would withdraw to become an agent for the American Anti-Slavery Society.



I don’t have an illustration of what Lane Theological Seminary looked like before this concerned group’s departure, but this is what it would like in 1846, quite a while after the impact of the exodus had been absorbed

and theology-as-usual had been reestablished:



Oberlin, Ohio's population grew to include 200 colonists and 100 students. For the education of children, an Oberlin School District was organized.



The emancipation of the English [slaveholder](#) that began in this Year of Our Lord 1834 would not be complete until the Year of Our Lord 1838 — however, this idea of liberation would take a bit longer to chew its way out of the brains of less enlightened populations. For instance, the French and the Danish slavemasters would not be similarly emancipated until 1848, and the American ... we'll need to wait awhile for the other shoe to drop in our great land of freedom on the North American continent. The cost of abolition of [slavery](#) by the English Parliament was being put at £20,000,000 sterling, for compensation of all the innocent slaveholders being deprived of owned assets. For instance, as slavery was being abolished throughout the British colonies, 35,000 human beings were being purchased and freed in South Africa.



In this year John Brown was acting as a postmaster under President Jackson, at Randolph, Pennsylvania — evidently this job was a political plum issued as a reward for support. He wrote his brother Frederick Brown that he purposed to make active war upon the institution of human [slavery](#), by bringing together some “first-rate abolitionist families” and by undertaking the education of young blacks.

If once the Christians of the free states would set to work in earnest teaching the blacks, the people of the slaveholding states would find themselves constitutionally driven to set about the work of emancipation immediately.

This letter was officially franked and sent for free by Postmaster Brown, as was then the practice.

1834

1834



The Female Anti-Slavery Society of Salem MA, which had been organized as a segregated (black) association, was reorganizing to allow the participation of white women.

In the face of all these moral dilemmas, the young white man Walt Whitman knew exactly what was needed. We, the very righteous Northerners, needed to **stand up** in a **manly** way, and take **control** of the situation, and resist being dominated by all those dastardly Southerners.

[WHITMAN'S FIRST PUBLISHED POEM APPEARS ON THE NEXT SCREEN]



**DOUGH-FACE SONG**

— Like dough; soft; yielding to pressure; pale.
— Webster's Dictionary.

We are all docile dough-faces,
They knead us with the fist,
They, the dashing southern lords,
We labor as they list;
For them we speak — or hold our tongues,
For them we turn and twist.
We join them in their howl against
Free soil and “abolition,”
That firebrand — that assassin knife —
Which risk our land's condition,
And leave no peace of life to any
Dough-faced politician.
To put down “agitation,” now,
We think the most judicious;
To damn all “northern fanatics,”
Those “traitors” black and vicious;
The “reg'lar party usages”
For us, and no “new issues.”
Things have come to a pretty pass,
When a trifle small as this,
Moving and bartering nigger slaves,
Can open an abyss,
With jaws a-gape for “the two great parties”;
A pretty thought, I wis! [Page 1077]
Principle — freedom! — fiddlesticks!
We know not where they're found.
Rights of the masses — progress! — bah!
Words that tickle and sound;
But claiming to rule o'er “practical men”
Is very different ground.
Beyond all such we know a term
Charming to ears and eyes,
With it we'll stab young Freedom,
And do it in disguise;
Speak soft, ye wily dough-faces —
That term is “compromise.”

And what if children, growing up,
In future seasons read
The thing we do? and heart and tongue
Accuse us for the deed?
The future cannot touch us;
The present gain we heed.
Then, all together, dough-faces!
Let's stop the exciting clatter,
And pacify slave-breeding wrath
By yielding all the matter;
For otherwise, as sure as guns,
The Union it will shatter.
Besides, to tell the honest truth
(For us an innovation,)
Keeping in with the slave power
Is our personal salvation;
We've very little to expect
From t' other part of the nation.
Besides it's plain at Washington
Who likeliest wins the race,
What earthly chance has “free soil”
For any good fat place?
While many a daw has feather'd his nest,
By his creamy and meek dough-face. [Page 1078]
Take heart, then, sweet companions,
Be steady, Scripture Dick!
Webster, Cooper, Walker,
To your allegiance stick!
With Brooks, and Briggs and Phoenix,
Stand up through thin and thick!
We do not ask a bold brave front;
We never try that game;
'Twould bring the storm upon our heads,
A huge mad storm of shame;
Evade it, brothers — “compromise”
Will answer just the same.

A reminiscence pertaining to himself in this period, by Walt Whitman:

“Specimen Days”

GROWTH — HEALTH — WORK

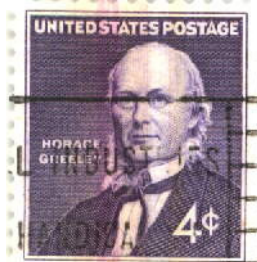
I develop'd (1833-4-5) into a healthy, strong youth (grew too fast, though, was nearly as big as a man at 15 or 16.) Our family at this period moved back to the country, my dear mother very ill for a long time, but recover'd. All these years I was down Long Island more or less every summer, now east, now west, sometimes months at a stretch. At 16, 17, and so on, was fond of debating societies, and had an active membership with them, off and on, in Brooklyn and one or two country towns on the island. A most omnivorous novel-reader, these and later years, devour'd everything I could get. Fond of the theatre, also, in New York, went whenever I could — sometimes witnessing fine performances.

1836-7, work'd as compositor in printing offices in New York city. Then, when little more than eighteen, and for a while afterwards, went to teaching country schools down in Queens and Suffolk counties, Long Island, and “boarded round.” (This latter I consider one of my best experiences and deepest lessons in human nature behind the scenes, and in the masses.) In '39, '40, I started and publish'd a weekly paper in my native town, Huntington NY. Then returning to New York city and Brooklyn, work'd on as printer and writer, mostly prose, but an occasional shy at “poetry.”

➡ In this year in which any number of young Americans were coming into an attitude that they could, in adequate sincerity and innocence, live “secure from sin,”¹¹ John Humphrey Noyes and James Boyle were putting out a magazine entitled Perfectionist which pandered to that attitude. (We can term this “Antinomianism,” since that is what it was termed in Europe while it was being put down as a heresy. Fucking was being held to be holy so long as the male partner refrained from orgasm.¹² This attitude would be centered in places such as Brimfield MA and Putney VT, and Noyes would go on to imbed his sexual preferences in the Oneida Community.¹³)

ANTINOMIAN CONTROVERSY

➡ At New-York, there were race riots. —Wasn't Horace Greeley indignant? If so, there's no record of it.



11. We notice that this is the doctrine that had gotten local Messiah William Dorrell, at this point still alive in western Massachusetts although ancient and entirely “retired” from his Messiah role, into such bad trouble back in 1798.
 12. Apparently it was holy for the female partner to orgasm — or perhaps that issue was unavailable because female orgasm was not at the time categorized as a sexual event, being categorized instead as a “hysterical paroxysm,” something medical which a physician making home calls might well for the patient’s relief induce with his finger?
 13. The Oneida Community and The Oneida Institution were entirely separate entities.

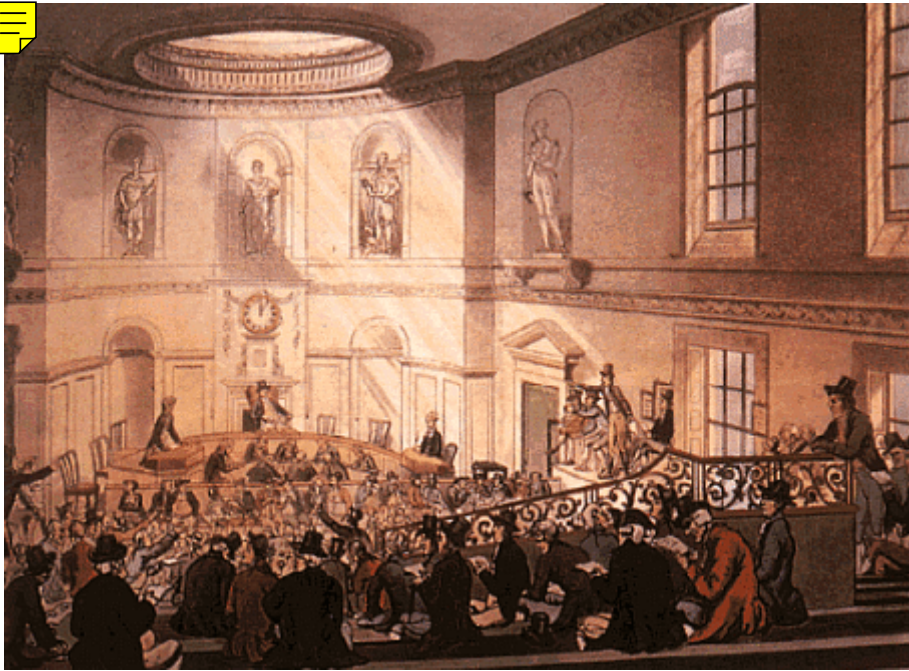
1834

1834

→ J. Mathison, D.W.C. Olymphant, Elijah Bridgeman, and Charles Gutzlaff founded a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, the function of which would be the bringing of the arts and sciences from the West into [China](#).

→ William John Napier arrived in the port city of [Canton](#) as the chief superintendent of British trade with [China](#).

→ Parliament revoked the monopoly on [opium](#) which it had granted to the East [India](#) Company.



The Reverend [Robert Spence Hardy](#)'s ON THE CONNECTION OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WITH THE IDOLATRY OF [CEYLON](#).¹⁴

→ Joseph B. Felt's HISTORY OF IPSWICH, ESSEX AND HAMILTON explained that although the lightning rod had been invented by [Benjamin Franklin](#) (that had been in about 1749), at this point, although an entire span of human life had passed, this device had been but little used in any part of [Ipswich](#) — except on the old jail. By this year, although still none of the structures in either Essex or Hamilton were protected by lightning rods, yet there had been a grand sum total of merely seven installed in Ipswich. A likely reason for such inertia would have been the general Colonial sentiment that such devices testified to a reluctance to rely upon God's Providence, causing the electric fluid to deviate from its natural and direct course. By this point in time, however, a change was being accomplished in the public thinking, and such a Christian sentiment in opposition to the marvels of science and technology was coming to be generally condemned under the rubric "Mahommedan fatality."

14. "Idolatory" is not a misprint for "Idolatry."

**HILLS**

These, as well as other features of the soil, will be put down, partly preceded by the year, when first found upon record, though most of them must have been previously designated. The reason of the hills being called as they are, is, for the most part, suggested by their names. Those not mentioned as belonging elsewhere, are within the present limits of [Ipswich](#), and their situation may be seen on the map of this place.

- 1634: Castle
- 1635: Great bare — Heart-Break
- 1637: Rabbit — Hurtleberry — Captain Turner's — Little Turner's — Turkey
- 1647: Rocky
- 1655: Bartholomew
- 1662: Wilderness
- 1665: Red-Root
- 1673: Averill's
- 1676: Wigwam
- 1678: Wind-Mill
- 1689: Paine's
- 1691: Bragg's
- 1702: Long — Brush — Tobacco-Pipe — Scott's — Pigeon — Pine — Timber — Steep

Some of the hills contained on the map of Ipswich may be partly among those on the preceding list, but with changed names; as North Ridge — Town — Jewett — Prospect — Boar — Eagle — Plover — Burnham — White's — Perkins's, and Eveleth's now in Essex

- 1638: Sagamore
- 1678: Lamson's
- 1702: Whipple or Job's — Vineyard — Dean's — Wigwam — Brown's and Independent, Sagamore hill, and the others which follow it in the paragraph, are all in Hamilton. The two last are modern names.

PLAIN

This was denominated Wolf-Pen, a place for catching wolves.

MEADOWS

- 1634: Rocky
- 1635: Far
- 1637: West
- 1647: New, between Topsfield and Hamilton — Nealand and Conant's, on Topsfield bounds — Perley's, in Essex.

SWAMPS

- 1635: Great Pine
- 1678: Cedar — Bear, in Hamilton — Long, in Essex.

MARSHES

- 1635: Reed — Rocky.

CREEKS

- 1634: Labor-in-vain
 - 1635: Chebacco, in Essex
 - 1650: Robinson — Walker
 - 1667: Green
 - 1672: Whitred
 - 1678: Muscle
- Other creeks, Sluice — Dane — Fox — Boardman — Paine
- On the map are the following: Rodgers — Lord — Treadwell — Neck — Six-Geese — Metcalf — Broad — Law — Wallis — Stacy — Kimball — Hart — Baker — West — Grape — Pine.

**COVES**

1638: Great
1716: Muscle — Neck — Lord's.

POINTS

1635: Moore
1667: Green — Cedar — Brewer — Safford — Hog Island — Deacon Sam — Cross Bank — Holland — Sawyer — Bar Island.

NECKS

1635: Little — Great — Jeffrey
1655: Castle — Croke's.

BANKS

Thatch — Cross — Nub — Hart — Beach — Neck, or Patch.

PARTICULAR PLACES

Turkey Shore — Diamond's Stage
1635: Great Crook
1639: Aspine Rock
1643: Poor Man's Field
1650: Far Chebacco, towards Gloucester — The Hundreds
1662: Argilla
1678: Great Pasture, near Gloucester line — Cow-Keeper Rock — The Eighths — Town Landing — Sheep Walks, several places where shepherds kept flocks of sheep
1707: Blind Hole.

SPRINGS

Indian
1678: Lummus, on Wenham line — Bath — Bear Swamp, in Hamilton.

BROOKS

1635: Mile, running from Wenham pond to Ipswich river
1637: Gravel
1649: Pye
1660: Saunders
1681: Black, in Hamilton — Howlet, on Topsfield bounds — Choate, in Essex — Bull — Potter — Norton.

PONDS

1662: Pleasant, on Wenham line
1671: Baker, on Topsfield limits — Prichard — Duck — Perley, in Essex — Chebacco, partly in Essex and partly in Hamilton — Beck — Round and Gravel, in Hamilton.

RIVERS

Ipswich. Speaking of this, Johnson says, 1646, "A faire and delightful river, whose first rise or spring begins about twenty-five miles farther up the country, issuing forth a very pleasant pond. But soon after, it betakes its course through a most hideous swamp of large extent, even for many miles, being a great harbour for bears. After its coming forth this place, it groweth larger by the income of many small rivers, and issues forth in the sea, due east against the Island of Sholes, a great place of fishing for our English nation."
1634, Chebacco, having falls and running from Chebacco pond, in Essex
1635: North, or Egypt, flowing into Rowley river
1637: Muddy, emptying into the same — Rodgers Island
1707: Mill, running out of long swamp into the great pond, beyond Chebacco river.

ISLANDS

Plumb. In the grant of King James, 1621, to Captain John Mason, of land between Naumkeag and Merrimack rivers, there is the subsequent clause; "The great Isle, henceforth to be called, Isle of Mason, lying near or before the bay, harbour, or river of [Agawam](#)." This must have been Plumb Island, part of which was set off to [Ipswich](#) by the General Court, 1639

1637: Hog, in Essex

1662: Diamon

1668: Perkins — Boreman

1673: Bagwell — Birch — Rogers — Treadwell — Tilton — Bull — Horse — Manning — Grape — Millstone — Holy — Eagle — Mighill's Garden — Groce — Bar, — Story — Round — Corn — Cross; the four last in Essex.

INLAND ISLANDS

1707: Gregory, in Chebacco Pond — Hemlock, on Wenham line.

HARBOUR

Smith says of [Agawam](#), — "This place might content a right curious judgment; but there are many sands at the entrance of the harbour, and the worst is, it is imbayed too farre from the deepe sea." His opinion, though differing from that of the first settlers at Plymouth, was correct. Had the harbour of [Ipswich](#) been deep and capacious, it would probably have been a metropolis. The natural advantages or disadvantages of a place, make it either great or small, in the process of ages.



Construction began on Georges Island in Boston Harbor for Fort Warren, which would be built with massive blocks of Quincy granite, and which would be found to be useful during the US Civil War as a POW camp.





1834

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Thomas B. Loughton, a businessman of Portsmouth, [New Hampshire](#), purchased Appledore Island, Cedar Island, Malaga Island, and Smuttynose Island of the Isles of Shoals from Captain Samuel Haley, resident upon Smuttynose.



In his search for new subscribers, [John James Audubon](#) and family again went to England. Audubon reviewed the work being produced by Havell and was pleased with the progress that was being made.



Taking a suggestion from Persian “Titan” legends about the Siwalik Hills, [paleontologist](#) Hugh Falconer would there be excavating literally tons of proboscidian and giraffid fossils.

Friedrich von Alverti named the Triassic System (which would later be identified as that of the initial dinosaurs).

[BIOLOGY](#)

1834

1834



[Professor Charles Lyell](#) made an excursion to Denmark and Sweden, the result of which would be his Bakerian lecture to the Royal Society “On the Proofs of the gradual Rising of Land in certain Parts of Sweden.” Lyell also would bring before the Geological Society a paper “On the Cretaceous and Tertiary Strata of Seeland and Möen.”



THE SCIENCE OF 1834



What appears below in the blue box is part of an extended dialogue, by Mason Locke Weems, over the first couple of questions of the catechism allegedly between a preschool [William Penn](#) and his mommy — something that was first published in this year:

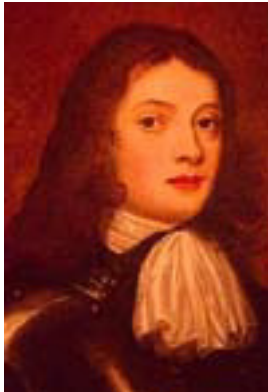
"No indeed, my son, no more than that stone there. When I married your dear father, I did not know any better than that stone, whether I was to have you or not. Or whether you were to be a little boy or not; or whether you were to have fine black eyes or not. I make you, indeed, William! when I cannot make even "one hair of your head white or black." And O how could I have made so fearful and wonderful a frame as yours, when even now that it is made, it is all a perfect mystery to me. See! I place my hand upon my son's heart, and I feel it beating against my fingers; but still I know nothing about how it beats. I put my hand upon his sweet bosom, and feel it heaving as he breathes, but still I am ignorant of it all. And when I look at him every morning, as he breakfasts on his little basin of milk and bread, Oh I'm lost! I'm lost! I'm lost!"

"Heigh, for what, mother?" cried William, surprised. Why for wonder how his milk and bread, white as snow, should be turned into blood red as crimson; and how that blood soft as milk should be turned, some into sweet little teeth, white and hard as ivory; and some into soft flowing hair like silk; some into sweet polished cheeks like rose buds; and some into bright shining eyes like diamonds! "Could I have made you, William, after this wonderful manner? Oh no my son, no — not all the men on earth, nor all the angels in heaven, could have done it. No, none but the great God could have made you."

As good Mrs. Penn uttered these words, which she did with great emphasis, William appeared lost in thought; however, after some silence, and with a deep sigh, he looked up to his mother, and thus went on with his questions again.

"Well, mother, what did God make me for?"

"Why, for his goodness' sake, my son, which loved you so, he wanted to make you happy."



Question 1. *WHAT* is the chief and highest end of Man?
Answer. Man's chief and highest end is to glorify God,^a and fully to enjoy him for ever.^b

This year also saw the 12th reissue of Friend [William Penn](#)'s classic 1695 account of the history of his [Quakers](#):

**A BRIEF ACCOUNT
OF THE
RISE AND PROGRESS
OF THE PEOPLE
CALLED QUAKERS,
IN WHICH THEIR
FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE,
DOCTRINES, WORSHIP, MINISTRY,
AND DISCIPLINE, ARE PLAINLY DECLARED.**



The initial major outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease in farm animals was on the Hungarian plains, which extended then to Bohemia, Austria, and Saxony. In a few years this epidemic would spread to [Switzerland](#), Belgium, [France](#), and Holland, affecting all cattle with cloven hooves (cows, pigs, sheep, and goats).

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➡ The British game of “rounders,” predecessor of [baseball](#), began to be played in the USA. Baserunning was clockwise rather than counterclockwise, and a baserunner could be made out by throwing the ball at him and hitting him. The full-fledged game of baseball would not appear until a formally organized match between the Knickerbockers and the New Yorks at Elysian Fields on June 19, 1846, baseball uniforms would not appear until 1851, players would not receive pay until 1864, gloves would not appear until 1875, and the first electrically lighted game would not be played until 1883.

SPORTS

➡ In his search for a way to combat the [yellow fever](#) and benefit his patients, Dr. John Goorrie suspended buckets of ice in front of fans and directed cool air at his patients by means of ducts. (Air conditioning by means of electricity would not come along until 1902, and would then initially be developed because Willis Carrier needed to prevent printing-press jams and product losses due to the physical changes of paper under heat and humidity.)

➡ Miguel Tacón was appointed as Captain-General of Cuba.

➡ On Spy Pond, Abner Wyman began making tools for cutting ice. His endeavor would evolve into the Gifford-Wood Company, eventually the largest manufacturer of ice-cutting equipment in the country. The 1st shipment of [ice](#) to [India](#) was being accomplished from Fresh Pond. The ice had been carefully and tightly packed in the hold of a ship in waste sawdust and it was being demonstrated that better than 80% of it might be anticipated to survive the heat of the voyage through the doldrums of the Indian Ocean. Meanwhile, Jacob Perkins of Newburyport MA was being granted a British patent for the making of artificial ice. He was achieving this production in the manner with which we are familiar –a continuous cycle of vaporization and condensation of a volatile fluid– utilizing equipment which we now term a compressor, a condenser, an expansion valve, and an evaporator. The vapor he utilized in his process was, however, ether.

➡ [Benjamin Disraeli](#) was defeated at High Wycombe by the election of a Tory.

➡ Edward Henty, a rancher, and his brothers settled a colony known as Victoria, landing at Portland, on the south coast of Australia.

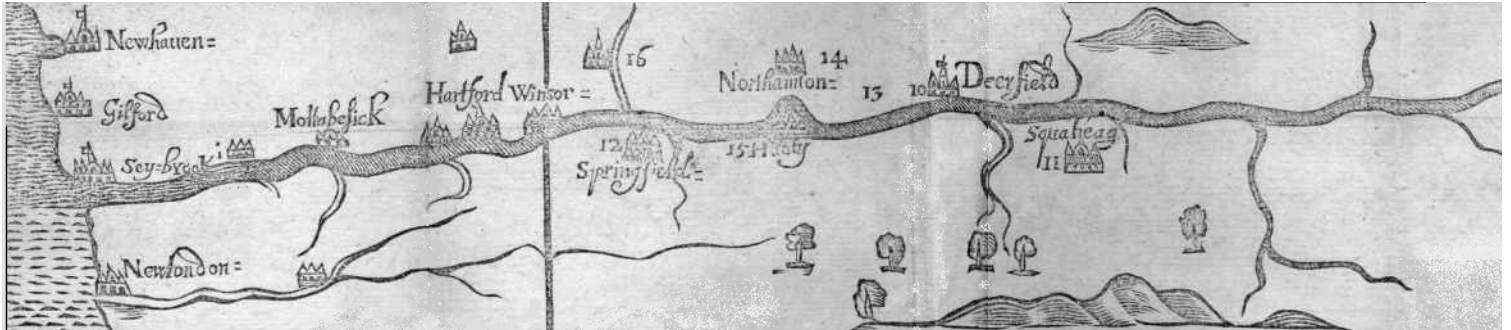


1834

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At [Northampton](#), which was just then becoming connected to other Connecticut communities by way of a canal and in the next year would become connected by a railroad as well, the “Old Oil Mill” on the Mill River was occupied by the Northampton Silk Company and a new brick factory structure was begun.



Cuttings of *Morus multicaulis* were being sold for \$3 to \$5 a hundred. They would soon be being sold at \$25, \$50, \$100, \$200, and even \$500 a hundred in what would come to be referred to later as the “*Morus multicaulis* Mania,” a [silk](#) investment frenzy which would collapse in the summer of 1839.

1834

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In this year [Sojourner Truth](#) (still as Isabella Van Wagenen) would have been approximately 37 years old.



1834

1834

The fraud trial against the [Reverend Robert "The Prophet Matthias" Mathews](#) was abandoned as it became clear that it would be necessary to prove that he was not in fact a prophet of the Lord. He was remanded for trial for the poisoning on July 28, 1834 of Elijah "The Tishbite" Pierson.



The Concord fulling mill toward the west end of town, which had passed to John Brown and Ephraim Hartwell in 1808, was sold to Calvin C. Damon. At this time it was a wooden structure of five stories, a hundred feet in length. The factory village that grew up around it came to be termed "Damondale."

CONCORD
ZOOM
MAP

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[Mary Howitt](#)'s SKETCHES OF NATURAL HISTORY, a book of verse.

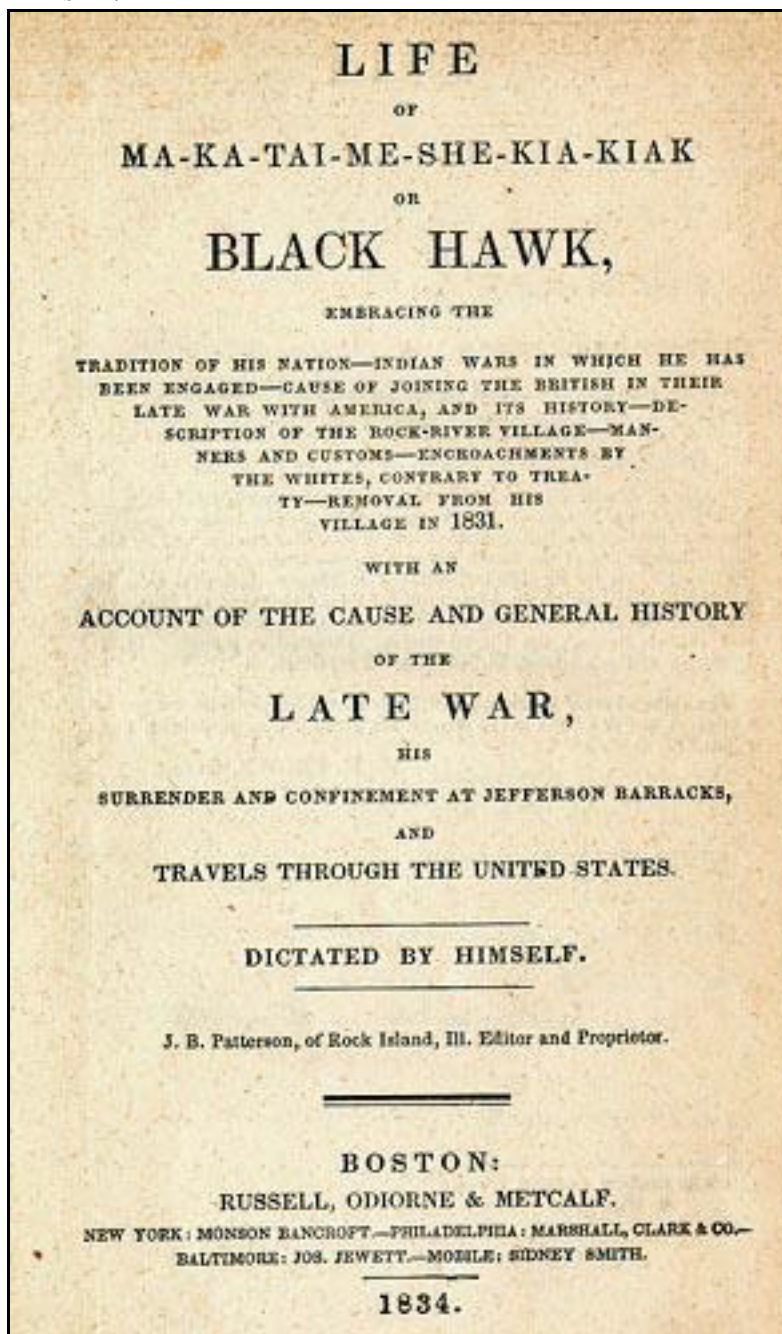


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THE LIFE OF MA-KA-TAI-ME-SHE-KIA-KIAK OR BLACK HAWK, EMBRACING THE TRADITION OF HIS NATION — INDIAN WARS IN WHICH HE HAS BEEN ENGAGED — CAUSE OF JOINING THE BRITISH IN THEIR LATE WAR WITH AMERICA, AND ITS HISTORY — DESCRIPTION OF THE ROCK-RIVER VILLAGE — MANNERS AND CUSTOMS — ENCROACHMENTS BY THE WHITES, CONTRARY TO TREATY — REMOVAL FROM HIS VILLAGE IN 1831. WITH AN ACCOUNT OF THE CAUSE AND GENERAL HISTORY OF THE LATE WAR, HIS SURRENDER AND CONFINEMENT AT JEFFERSON BARRACKS, AND TRAVELS THROUGH THE UNITED STATES. DICTATED BY HIMSELF:



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WHAT?

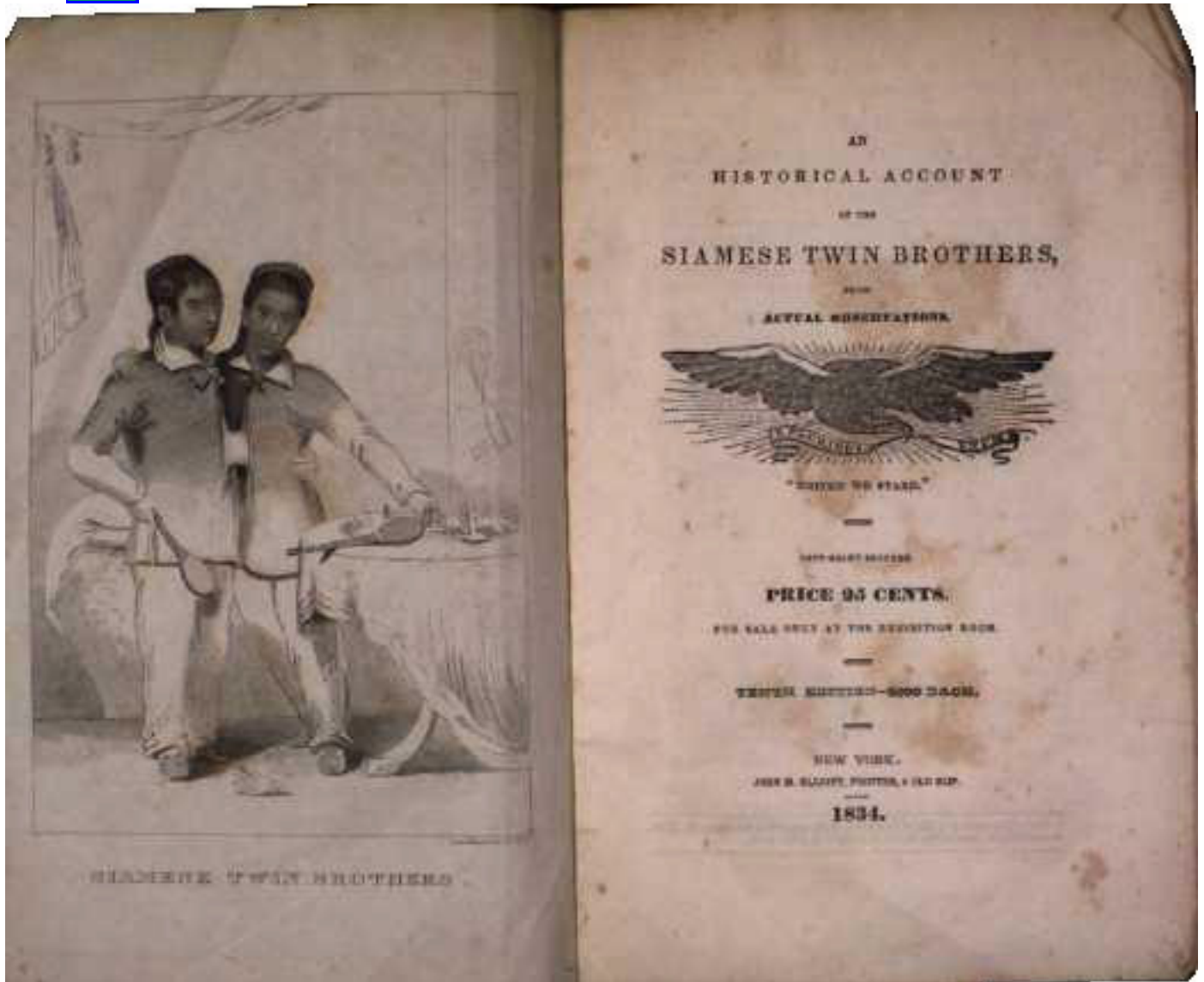
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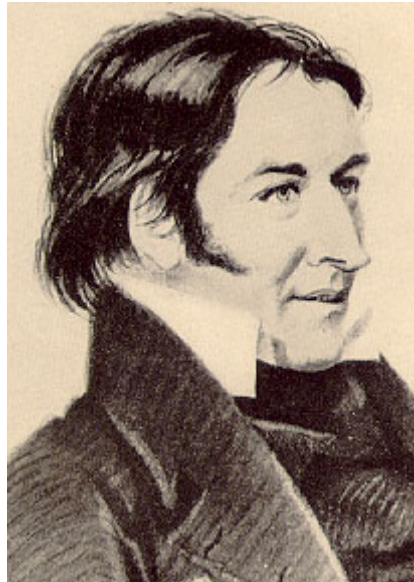


Chang and Eng Bunker's biography was issued:





David Crockett published his autobiography of frontier life, NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF DAVID CROCKETT OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE:



Bear Hunting in Tennessee

But the reader, I expect, would have no objection to know a little about my employment during the two years while my competitor was in Congress. In this space I had some pretty tuff times, and will relate some few things that happened to me. So here goes, as the boy said when he run by himself.

In the fall of 1825, I concluded I would build two large boats, and load them with pipe staves for market. So I went down to the lake, which was about twenty-five miles from where I lived, and hired some hands to assist me, and went to work; some at boat building, and others to getting staves.

I worked on with my hands till the bears got fat, and then I turned out to hunting, to lay in a supply of meat. I soon killed and salted down as many as were necessary for my family; but about this time one of my old neighbours, who had settled down on the lake about twenty-five miles from me, came to my house and told me he wanted me to go down and kill some bears about in his parts. He said they were extremely fat, and very plenty. I know'd that when they were fat, they were easily taken, for a fat bear can't run fast or long. But I asked a bear no favours, no way, further than civility, for I now had eight large dogs, and as fierce as painters; so that a bear stood no chance at all to get away from them. So I went home with him, and then went on down towards the Mississippi, and commenced hunting.

We were out two weeks, and in that time killed fifteen bears. Having now supplied my friend with plenty of meat, I engaged occasionally again with my hands in our boat building and getting staves. But I at length couldn't stand it any longer without another hunt. So I concluded to take my little son, and cross over the lake, and take a hunt there. We got over, and that evening turned out and killed three bears, in little or no time. The next morning we drove up four forks, and made a sort of scaffold, on which we salted up our meat, so as to have it



out of the reach of the wolves, for as soon as we would leave our camp, they would take possession. We had just eat our breakfast, when a company of hunters came to our camp, who had fourteen dogs, but all so poor, that when they would bark they would almost have to lean up against a tree and take a rest. I told them their dogs couldn't run in smell of a bear, and they had better stay at my camp, and feed them on the bones I had cut out of my meat. I left them there, and cut out; but I hadn't gone far, when my dogs took a first-rate start after a very large fat old he-bear, which run right plump towards my camp. I pursued on, but my other hunters had heard my dogs coming, and met them, and killed the bear before I got up with him. I gave him to them, and cut out again for a creek called Big Clover, which wa'n't very far off. Just as I got there, and was entering a cane brake, my dogs all broke and went ahead, and, in a little time, they raised a fuss in the cane, and seemed to be going every way. I listened a while, and found my dogs was in two companies, and that both was in a snorting fight. I sent my little son to one, and I broke for ttother. I got to mine first, and found my dogs had a two-year-old bear down, a-wooling away on him; so I just took out my big butcher, and went up and slap'd it into him, and killed him without shooting. There was five of the dogs in my company. In a short time, I heard my little son fire at his bear; when I went to him he had killed it too. He had two dogs in his team. Just at this moment we heard my other dog barking a short distance off, and all the rest immediately broke to him. We pushed on too, and when we got there, we found he had still a larger bear than either of them we had killed, treed by himself. We killed that one also, which made three we had killed in less than half an hour. We turned in and butchered them, and then started to hunt for water, and a good place to camp. But we had no sooner started, than our dogs took a start after another one, and away they went like a thunder-gust, and was out of hearing in a minute. We followed the way they had gone for some time, but at length we gave up the hope of finding them, and turned back. As we were going back, I came to where a poor fellow was grubbing, and he looked like the very picture of hard times. I asked him what he was doing away there in the woods by himself? He said he was grubbing for a man who intended to settle there; and the reason why he did it was, that he had no meat for his family, and he was working for a little.

I was mighty sorry for the poor fellow, for it was not only a hard, but a very slow way to get meat for a hungry family; so I told him if he would go with me, I would give him more meat than he could get by grubbing in a month. I intended to supply him with meat, and also to get him to assist my little boy in packing in and salting up my bears. He had never seen a bear killed in his life. I told him I had six killed then, and my dogs were hard after another. He went off to his little cabin, which was a short distance in the brush, and his wife was very anxious he should go with me. So we started and went to where I had left my three bears, and made a camp. We then gathered my meat and salted, and scuffled it, as I had done the other.

Night now came on, but no word from my dogs yet. I afterwards found they had treed the bear about five miles off, near to a man's house, and had barked at it the whole enduring night. Poor



fellows! many a time they looked for me, and wondered why I didn't come, for they knowed there was no mistake in me, and I know i they were as good as ever fluttered. In the morning, as soon as it was light enough to see, the man took his gun and went to them, and shot the bear, and killed it. My dogs, however, wouldn't have anything to say to this stranger; so they left him, and came early in the morning back to me.

We got our breakfast, and cut out again; and we killed four large and very fat bears that day. We hunted out the week, and in that time we killed seventeen, all of them first-rate. When we closed our hunt, I gave the man over a thousand weight of fine fat bear-meat, which pleased him mightily, and made him feel as rich as a Jew. I saw him the next fall, and he told me he had plenty of meat to do him the whole year from his week's hunt. My son and me now went home. This was the week between [Christmas](#) and New-year that we made this hunt.

When I got home, one of my neighbours was out of meat, and wanted me to go back, and let him go with me, to take another hunt. I couldn't refuse; but I told him I was afraid the bear had taken to house by that time, for after they get very fat in the fall and early part of the winter, they go into their holes, in large hollow trees, or into hollow logs, or their cane-houses, or the hurricanes; and lie there till spring, like frozen snakes. And one thing about this will seem mighty strange to many people. From about the first of January to about the last of April, these varments lie in their holes altogether. In all that time they have no food to eat; and yet when they come out, they are not an ounce lighter than when they went to house. I don't know the cause of this, and still I know it is a fact; and I leave it for others who have more learning than myself to account for it. They have not a particle of food with them, but they just lie and suck the bottom of their paw all the time. I have killed many of them in their trees, which enables me to speak positively on this subject. However, my neighbour, whose name was McDaniel, and my little son and me, went on down to the lake to my second camp, where I had killed my seventeen bears the week before, and turned out to hunting. But we hunted hard all day without getting a single start. We had carried but little provisions with us, and the next morning was entirely out of meat. I sent my son about three miles off, to the house of an old friend, to get some. The old gentleman was much pleased to hear I was hunting in those parts, for the year before the bears had killed a great many of his hags. He was that day killing his bacon hogs, and so he gave my son some meat, and sent word to me that I must come in to his house that evening that he would have plenty of feed for my dogs, and some accommodations for ourselves; but before my son got back, we had gone out hunting, and in a large cane brake my dogs found a big bear in a cane-house, which he had fixed for his winter-quarters, as they some. times do.

When my lead dog found him, and raised the yell, all the rest broke to him, but none of them entered his house until we got up. I encouraged my dogs, and they knowed me so well, that I could have made them seize the old serpent himself, with all his horns and heads, and cloven foot and ugliness into the bargain, if he would only have come to light, so that they could have seen him. They bulged in, and in an instant the bear followed



them out, and I told my friend to shoot him, as he was mighty wrathful to kill a bear. He did so, and killed him prime. We carried him to our camp, by which time my son had returned; and after we got our dinners we packed up, and cut for the house of my old friend, whose name was Davidson.

We got there, and staid with him that night; and the next morning having salted up our meat, we left it with him, and started to take a hunt between the Obion lake and the Red-foot lake; as there had been a dreadful hurricane, which passed between them, and I was sure there must be a heap of bears in the fallen timber. We had gone about five miles without seeing any sign at all; but at length we got on some high cony ridges, and, as we rode along, I saw a hole in a large black oak, and on examining more closely, I discovered that a bear had clomb the tree. I could see his tracks going up, but none coming down, and so I was sure he was in there. A person who is acquainted with bear-hunting, can tell easy enough when the varment is in the hollow; for as they go up they don't slip a bit, but as they come down they make long scratches with their nails.

My friend was a little ahead of me, but I called him back, and told him there was a bear in that tree, and I must have him out. So we lit from our horses, and I found a small tree which I thought I could fall so as to lodge against my bear tree, and we fell to work chopping it with our tomahawks. I intended, when we lodged the tree against the other, to let my little son go up, and look into the hole, for he could climb like a squirrel. We had chop'd on a little time and stop'd to rest, when I heard my dogs barking mighty severe at some distance from us, and I told my friend I knowed they had a bear, for it is the nature of a dog, when he finds you are hunting bears, to hunt for nothing else; he becomes fond of the meat, and considers other game as "not worth a notice," as old Johnson said of the devil. We concluded to leave our tree a bit, and went to my dogs, and when we got there, sure enough they had an eternal great big fat bear up a tree, just ready for shooting. My friend again petitioned me for liberty to shoot this one also. I had a little rather not, as the bear was so big, but I couldn't refuse; and so he blazed away, and down came the old fellow like some great log had fell. I now missed one of my dogs, the same that I before spoke of as having treed the bear by himself sometime before, when I had started the three in the cane break. I told my friend that my missing dog had a bear somewhere, just as sure as fate; so I left them to butcher the one we had just killed, and I went up on a piece of high ground to listen for my dog.

I heard him barking with all his might some distance off, and I pushed ahead for him. My other dogs hearing him broke to him, and when I got there, sure enough again he had another bear ready treed; if he hadn't, I wish I may be shot. I fired on him, and brought him down; and then went back, and help'd finish butchering the one at which I had left my friend. We then packed both to our tree where we had left my boy. By this time, the little fellow had cut the tree down that we intended to lodge, but it fell the wrong way; he had then feather'd in on the big tree, to cut that, and had found that it was nothing but a shell on the outside, and all doted in the middle, as too many of our big men are in these days, having only an outside appearance.



My friend and my son cut away on it, and I went off about a hundred yards with my dogs to keep them from running under the tree when it should fall. On looking back at the hole, I saw the bear's head out of it, looking down at them as they were cutting. I hollered to them to look up, and they did so; and McDaniel caught up his gun, but by this time the bear was out, and coming down the tree. He fired at it, and as soon as it touch'd ground the dogs were all round it, and they had a roll-and-tumble fight to the fact of the hill, where they stop'd him. I ran up, and putting my gun against the bear, fired and killed him. We now had three, and so we made our scaffold and salted them up.

In the morning I left my son at the camp, and we started on towards The harricane; and when we had went about a mile, we started a very large bear, but we got along mighty slow on account of the cracks in the earth occasioned by the earthquakes. We, however, made out to keep in hearing of the dogs for about three miles, and then we came to the harricane. Here we had to quit our horses, as old Nick himself couldn't have got through it without sneaking it along in the form that he put on, to make a fool of our old grandmother Eve. By this time several of my dogs had got tired and come back; but we went ahead on fact for some little time in the hurricane, when we met a bear coming straight to us, and not more than twenty or thirty yards off. I started my tired dogs after him, and McDaniel pursued them, and I went on to where my other dogs were. I had seen the track of the bear they were after, and I knowed he was a screamer. I followed on to about the middle of the harricane; but my dogs pursued him so close, that they made him climb an old stump about twenty feet high. I got in shooting distance of him and fired, but I was all over in such a flutter from fatigue and running, that I couldn't hold steady; but, however, I broke his shoulder, and he fell. I run up and loaded my gun as quick as possible, and shot him again and killed him. When I went to take out my knife to butcher him, I found I had lost it in coming through the harricane. The vines and briars was so thick that I would sometimes have to get down and crawl like a varment to get through at all; and a vine had, as I supposed, caught in the handle and pulled it out. While I was standing and studying what to do my friend came to me. He had followed my trail through the harricane, and had found my knife, which was mighty good news to me; as a hunter hates the worst in the world to lose a good dog, or any part of his hunting-tools. I now left McDaniel to butcher the bear, and I went after our horses, and brought them as near as the nature of case would allow. I then took our bags, and went back to where he was; and when we had skin'd the bear, we fleeced off the fat and carried it to our horses at several loads. We then packed it up on our horses, and had a heavy pack of it on each one. We now started and went on till about sunset, when I concluded we must be near our camp; so I hollered and my son answered me, and we moved on in the direction to the camp. We had gone but a little way when I heard my dogs make a warm start again; and I jumped down from my horse and gave him up to my friend, and told him I would follow them. He went on to the camp, and I went ahead after my dogs with all my might for a considerable distance, till at last night came on. The woods were very rough and hilly, and all covered over with cane.



I now was compel'd to move on more slowly; and was frequently falling over logs, and into the cracks made by the earthquakes, so that I was very much afraid I would break my gun. However I went on about three miles, when I came to a good big creek, which I waded. It was very cold, and the creek was about knee-deep; but I felt no great inconvenience from it just then, as I was all over wet with sweat from running, and I felt hot enough. After I got over this creek and out of the cane, which was very thick on all our creeks, I listened for my dogs. I found they had either treed or brought the bear to a stop, as they continued barking in the same place. I pushed on as near in the direction to the noise as I could, till I found the hill was too steep for me to climb, and so I backed and went down the creek some distance till I came to a hollow, and then took up that, till I come to a place where I could climb up the hill. It was mighty dark, and was difficult to see my way or anything else. When I got up the hill, I found I had passed the dogs; and so I turned and went to them. I found, when I got there, they had treed the bear in a large forked poplar, and it was setting in the fork. I could see the lump, but not plain enough to shoot with any certainty, as there was no moonlight; and so I set in to hunting for some dry brush to make me a light; but I could find none, though I could find that the ground was torn mightily to pieces by the cracks.

At last I thought I could shoot by guess, and kill him; so I pointed as near the lump as I could, and fired away. But the bear didn't come, he only clomb up higher, and got out on a limb, which helped me to see him better. I now loaded up again and fired, but this time he didn't move at all. I commenced loading for a third fire, but the first thing I knowed, the bear was down among my dogs, and they were fighting all around me. I had my big butcher in my belt, and I had a pair of dressed buckskin breeches on. So I took out my knife, and stood, determined, if he should get hold of me, to defend myself in the best way I could. I stood there for some time, and could now and then see a white dog I had, but the rest of them, and the bear, which were dark coloured, I couldn't see at all, it was so miserable dark. They still fought around me, and sometimes within three feet of me; but, at last, the bear got down into one of the cracks, that the earthquakes had made in the ground, about four feet deep, and I could tell the biting end of him by the hollering of my dogs. So I took my gun and pushed the muzzle of it about, till I thought I had it against the main part of his body, and fired; but it happened to be only the fleshy part of his foreleg. With this, he jumped out of the crack, and he and the dogs had another hard fight around me, as before. At last, however, they forced him back into the crack again, as he was when I had shot.

I had laid down my gun in the dark, and I now began to hunt for it; and, while hunting, I got hold of a pole, and I concluded I would punch him awhile with that. I did so, and when I would punch him, the dogs would jump in on him, when he would bite them badly, and they would jump out again. I concluded, as he would take punching so patiently, it might be that he would lie still enough for me to get down in the crack, and feel slowly along till I could find the right place to give him a dig with



my butcher. So I got down, and my dogs got in before him and kept his head towards them, till I got along easily up to him; and placing my hand on his rump, felt for his shoulder, just behind which I intended to stick him. I made a lounge with my long knife, and fortunately stock him right through the heart; at which he just sank down, and I crawled out in a hurry. In a little time my dogs all come out too, and seemed satisfied, which was the way they always had of telling me that they had finished him. I suffered very much that night with cold, as my leather breeches, and every thing else I had on, was wet and frozen. But I managed to get my bear out of this crack after several hard trials, and so I butchered him, and laid down to try to sleep. But my fire was very bad, and I couldn't find any thing that would burn well to make it any better; and I concluded I should freeze, if I didn't warm myself in some way by exercise. So I got up, and hollered a while, and then I would just jump up and down with all my might, and throw myself into all sorts of motions. But all this wouldn't do; for my blood was now getting cold, and the chills coming all over me. I was so tired, too, that I could hardly walk; but I thought I would do the best I could to save my life, and then, if I died, nobody would be to blame. So I went to a tree about two feet through, and not a limb on it for thirty feet, and I would climb up it to the limbs, and then lock my arms together around it, and slide down to the bottom again. This would make the insides of my legs and arms feel mighty warm and good. I continued this till daylight in the morning, and how often I clomb up my tree and slid down I don't know, but I reckon at least a hundred times.

In the morning I got my bear hong up so as to be safe, and then set out to hunt for my camp. I found it after a while, and McDaniel and my son were very much rejoiced to see me get back, for they were about to give me up for lost. We got our breakfasts, and then secured our meat by building a high scaffold, and covering it over. We had no fear of its spoiling, for the weather was so cold that it couldn't.

We now started after my other bear, which had caused me so much trouble and suffering; and before we got him, we got a start after another, and took him also. We went on to the creek I had crossed the night before and camped, and then went to where my bear was, that I had killed in the crack. When we examined the place, McDaniel said he wouldn't have gone into it, as I did, for all the bears in the woods.

We took the meat down to our camp and salted it, and also the last one we had killed; intending, in the morning, to make a hunt in the harricane again.

We prepared for resting that night, and I can assure the reader I was in need of it. We had laid down by our fire, and about ten o'clock there came a most terrible earthquake, which shook the earth so, that we were rocked about like we had been in a cradle. We were very much alarmed; for though we were accustomed to feel earthquakes, we were now right in the region which had been torn to pieces by them in 1812, and we thought it might take a notion and swallow us up, like the big fish did Jonah.

In the morning we packed up and moved to the harricane, where we made another camp, and turned out that evening and killed a very large bear, which made eight we had now killed in this hunt.



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The next morning we entered the harricane again, and in little or no time my dogs were in full cry. We pursued them, and soon came to a thick cane brake, in which they had stop'd their bear. We got up close to him, as the cane was so thick that we couldn't see more than a few feet. Here I made my friend hold the cane a little open with his gun till I shot the bear, which was a mighty large one. I killed him dead in his tracks. We got him out and butchered him, and in a little time started another and killed him, which now made ten we had killed; and we know'd we couldn't pack any more home, as we had only five horses along; therefore we returned to the camp and salted up all our meat, to be ready for a start homeward next morning. The morning came, and we packed our horses with the meat, and had as much as they could possibly carry, and sure enough cut out for home. It was about thirty miles, and we reached home the second day. I had now accommodated my neighbour with meat enough to do him, and had killed in all, up to that time, fifty-eight bears, during the fall and winter. As soon as the time come for them to quit their houses and come out again in the spring, I took a notion to hunt a little more, and in about one month I killed forty-seven more, which made one hundred and five bears I had killed in less than one year from that time.

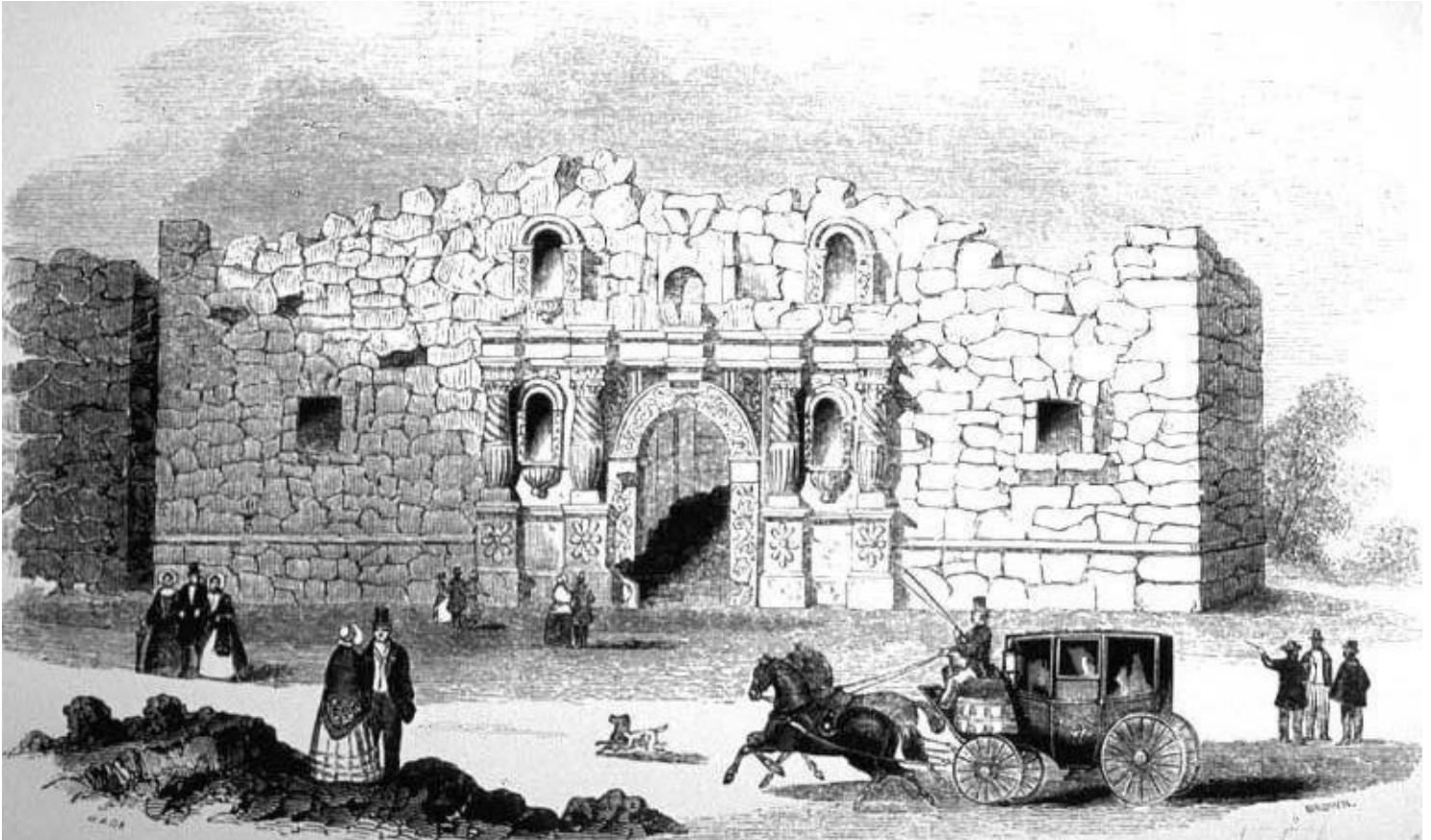
1834

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■ David Crockett. A NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF DAVID CROCKETT OF THE STATE OF TENNESSEE. 1834. ¹⁵

LIFE OF DAVID CROCKETT

Facsimile edition with annotations and introduction by James A. Shackford and Stanley J. Folmsbee. Knoxville TN: U of Tennessee P, 1973



15. This book contains the first known use of the term “pinhook,” a synonym for “petty, small-time” meaning “to act as a pinhooker, ... a small-time speculator in farm products, esp. tobacco, esp. one who buys directly from farmers” (a little settlement locally known as Pinhook would develop roughly where the traffic circle of the Erwin Tower is in present-day Durham, North Carolina).



"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

David Crockett declares in the preface to this "autobiography" that he means to correct the misinformation about his life that had been popularized by the preceding year's *THE LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF COLONEL DAVID CROCKETT OF WEST TENNESSEE* (reprinted that same year as *SKETCHES AND ECCENTRICITIES OF COLONEL DAVID CROCKETT OF TENNESSEE*). Crockett claims not to have known the author of that work, but in fact, the author – Matthew St. Clair Clarke, a clerk in the House of Representatives – had operated as Crockett's ghost writer on the book, just as Thomas Chilton, a congressman from Kentucky, would later ghost-write the *NARRATIVE* for Crockett. Despite Crockett's assertion that the "whole book is my own, and every sentiment and sentence in it," Chilton added many grammatical errors and colorful colloquialisms in order to add flavor to Crockett's frontier stew. Still, the guiding spirit is Crockett's, and the autobiography is the most authentic document we have of the historical Crockett. Folmsbee offers three reasons for the importance of the *NARRATIVE*: As a literary work, it is one of the earliest autobiographies to be published, only a decade and a half after the virtually complete version of the first of all, [Benjamin Franklin](#)'s. Another American success story, it belongs in the long series of autobiographies telling similar stories, from Franklin to Malcolm X. It is also a very early extended example of American humor, the first of the Southwest variety, appearing just a year after Seba Smith's *LIFE AND WRITINGS OF MAJOR JACK DOWNING OF DOWNINGVILLE* (Boston, 1833), the first example of the Yankee variety. It is, furthermore, a document of importance in the history of American English, being replete with dialectical usages, proverbial expressions, and spellings representing non-standard pronunciations. Crockett is credited, in fact, with being the first to use in print some half a dozen such locutions. His *NARRATIVE* is, finally, a historical document. (ix) The *NARRATIVE* was designed as a campaign document to help Crockett win re-election to the US House of Representatives in 1835, but it was more effective as the impetus for the immensely popular Crockett almanacs that burst upon the scene that same year and for the widespread popularization of Old Southwest humor. (Crockett lost the election.) The text that Shackford and Folmsbee use is an authentic first edition. This is important because the best-known twentieth-century edition (*AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF DAVID CROCKETT*, with an Introduction by Hamlin Garland, 1923) contains in addition to the original work two spurious accounts of Crockett's life: *AN ACCOUNT OF COL. CROCKETT'S TOUR OF THE NORTH AND DOWN EAST*, comprised mainly of newspaper reprints, and *COL. CROCKETT'S EXPLOITS AND ADVENTURES IN TEXAS*, which purports to be the reproduction of a diary found at the Alamo. The facsimile pages are accompanied by extensive notes, primarily of a historical nature and somewhat deficient from a literary standpoint.

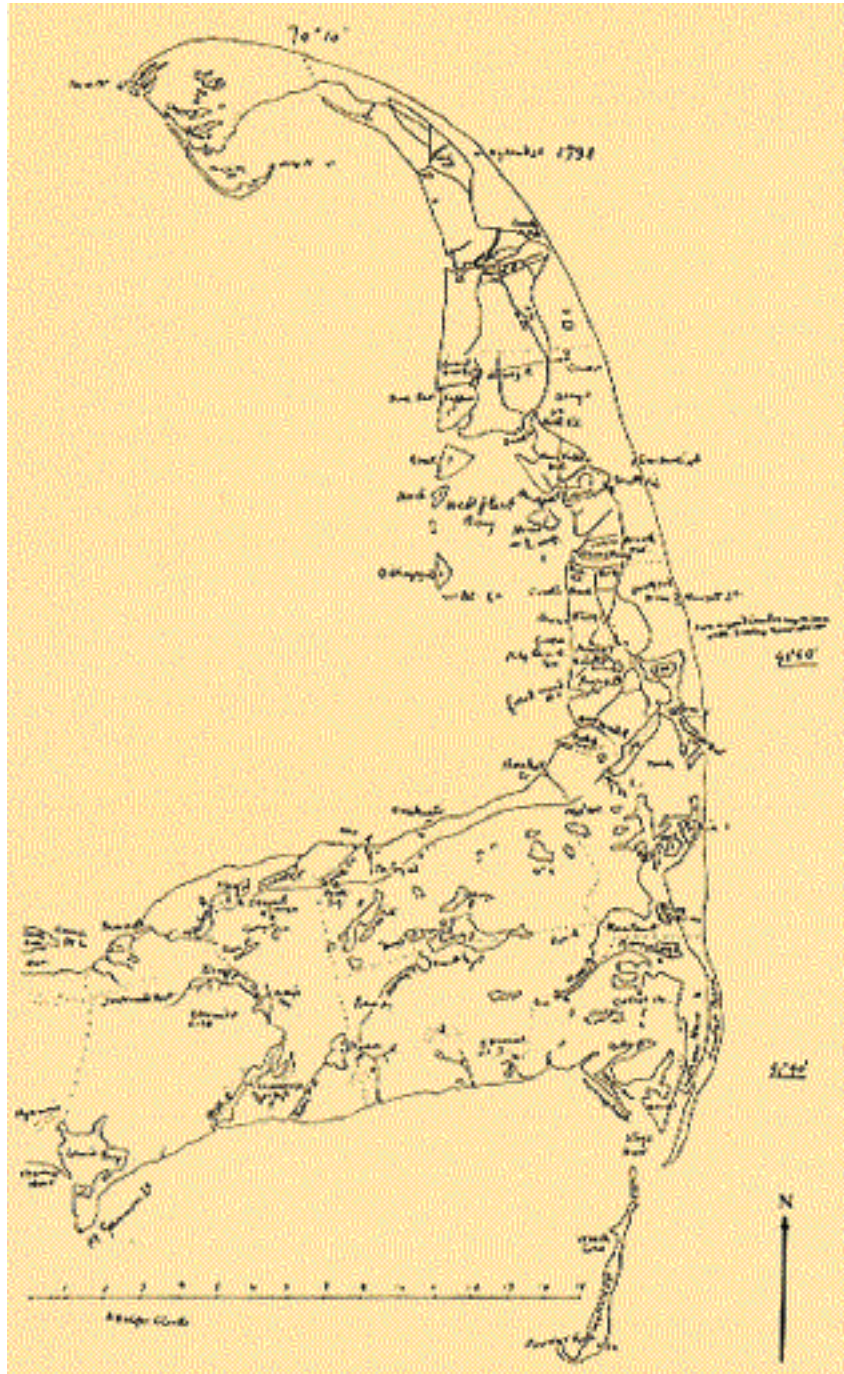
(Lane Stiles, Winter 1992)

1834

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The Native American residents of the Mashpee “plantation” achieved the right to elect their own selectmen.




It would appear that this was traced by Thoreau himself.

View Cornell University Library’s webpage of an 1869 history of this Cape Cod town by Frederick Freeman:

<http://historical.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/cul.cdl/docviewer?did=cd1447&view=50&frames=0&seq=17>

 Jane Welsh Carlyle's LETTERS AND MEMORIALS:

The diameter of the fashionable ladies at present is about three yards; their bustles (false bottoms) are the size of an ordinary sheep's fleece. The very servant girls wear bustles; Eliza told me of a maid of their went on Sunday with three kitchen dusters pinned on as a substitute.

 Founding of the [London](#) Statistical Society. Average family expenditures for bare necessities in this decade in England were being said to be:

Rent 1s 2d
Bread 9s
Tea 2d
Potatoes 1s
Sugar 3.5d
Soap 3d
Thread 2.5d
Candles 3d
Salt 0.5d
Coal and Wood 9d
Butter 4.5d
Cheese 3d
Total 13s 9d¹⁶

The actuary of the Equitable Assurance Company of London constructed the first mortality expectancy table based upon data from the [insurance](#) industry itself.

Backers of the New Poor Law being enacted in this year were arguing that indiscriminate relief had the effect of demoralizing its beneficiaries, abolishing outdoor relief, and maintaining workhouse inmates at a salary level below the lowest paid workers. A group of farm laborers of Dorset, England was chanting:

“Hedging and ditching,
To plough and to reap
How can a man live
On nine shillings a week?”

At first the Dorset farmers agreed to increase the daily wage of their labor force to ten shillings, but then attempted to cut the pay to eight. The protesting laborers joined a [London](#) society named The Grand National Consolidated Trade Union and swore a solemn oath of loyalty to the Union they were forming, to be known as their Friendly Society of Agricultural Labourers. The Government proceeded to prosecute them under the

16. To get a sense of what that amounted to in today's money, consult <http://www.measuringworth.com/exchange/>

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Mutiny Act of 1797, a naval enactment, for their having taken an oath of loyalty other than to their Monarch, and they were sentenced to seven years convict labor in Van Diemens Land. In [London](#), there were protests against the transportation of these “Tolpuddle Martyrs.”



([The Times](#) of [London](#) was campaigning for the rights of such trade unionists, and in 1836 while the laborers were still being held in a British prison at Dorchester awaiting transportation, Lord Russell, the Home Secretary, would pardon them. Thoreau would write, in “Civil Disobedience,” “... If a man who has no property refuses but once to earn nine shillings for the State, he is put in prison for a period unlimited by any law that I know, and....” Would that have been a reference to the “Tolpuddle Martyrs” of 1834-1836, or would it perchance have been a reference to the Newgate case of 1831 in which a 13-year-old had been offered for the nine shillings he was carrying home?)

1834

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➡ During this year the Great Western Railroad between [London](#) and Birmingham would be begun:



➡ In [London](#), the Royal Institute of British Architects met for the 1st time.

➡ In [London](#), Charing Cross Hospital was built.

➡ The North [London](#) Hospital (later to be known as the University College Hospital) opened.

➡ In [London](#), the new Lyceum Theatre opened.

➡ In [London](#), Sydney Smirke converted the Parthenon, a building that had been used as a theatre and for public promenade, into a bazaar or shopping mall.

➡ Currants, or “raisins de Corinthe,” had been first introduced into England during the 16th Century, when they were called “Corinthes,” from the part of Greece in which they are produced in the greatest abundance. An attempt had been made during the reign of King Henry VIII to introduce the culture of this particular vine in England. At this point the duty on currants, which was very high, began to be reduced.

PLANTS



1834

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The red-hot idea in the study of the mental powers and dispositions of this era was that an individual's intellectual abilities and personality traits could be revealed through measurement of his or her skullbone.

E L E M E N T S
O F
P H R E N O L O G Y .

BY GEORGE COMBE,
LATE PRESIDENT OF THE PHRENOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

SECOND AMERICAN EDITION

IMPROVED AND ENLARGED, FROM THE THIRD EDINBURGH,
BY THE AUTHOR.

W I T H E N G R A V I N G S .
B O S T O N :
M A R S H , C A P E N & L Y O N .
1834.

JANUARY

➡ January: The circulation of Benjamin Day's Sun newspaper reached 5,000.

➡ January: The Rhode Island general assembly declared that unless property devoted to religious or educational purposes was under a charter granted by that assembly, it would be subject to taxation. Religious bodies were forbidden to possess real estate over and above their several churches and the lots upon which these churches stood, exceeding \$10,000 in value.

YEARLY MEETING SCHOOL

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

➡ January: It was the custom of Dr. Augustus Addison Gould to rise at 4AM and walk to the rooms of the Boston Society of Natural History to work on its insect collections before beginning his daily routine as a personal physician. Among his first publications was a monograph on *Dymria amenorrhagia* in this month's issue of the Medical Magazine (also, during this year, he would achieve publication of a piece on the *Cicindelidæ* of Massachusetts in the Boston Journal of Natural History, i, Art. iv, pp. 41-55.

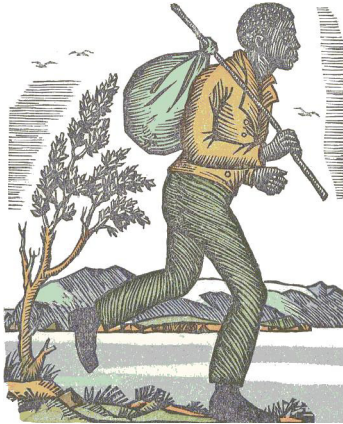


A *Cicindela sexguttata* wandering around loose in Worcester — with an agenda of its own
From this month until perhaps July, Dr. Asa Gray was teaching science at the Utica Gymnasium.

1834

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➡ January: After being for his first twenty years a [slave](#), William Wells Brown escaped.



He would add the name “Wells Brown” to his given name, William, in honor of the Ohio Quaker helper to whom, eventually, he would dedicate his escape narrative.

TO WELLS BROWN, OF OHIO.

THIRTEEN years ago, I came to your door, a weary fugitive from chains and stripes. I was a stranger, and you took me in. I was hungry, and you fed me. Naked was I, and you clothed me. Even a name by which to be known among men, slavery had denied me. You bestowed upon me your own. Base, indeed, should I be, if I ever forget what I owe to you, or do anything to disgrace that honored name!

As a slight testimony of my gratitude to my earliest benefactor, I take the liberty to inscribe to you this little narrative of the sufferings from which I was fleeing when you had compassion upon me. In the multitude that you have succored, it is very possible that you may not remember me; but until I forget God and myself, I can never forget you.

Your grateful friend,
WILLIAM WELLS BROWN.

1834

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Brown would spend the next couple of years working on a Lake Erie steamboat while running fugitive slaves into [Canada](#).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD



There's a celebratory map for this, done in 1906:



1834

1834



January: Fifteen [slave ships](#) (negreros) captured by the Royal Navy were being held in James Bay.

During this month three Spanish negreros, the *Carlota*, master G. Loureiro, on its only known Middle Passage, the *Francisca*, master M. Martorell, on one of its five known Middle Passages, and the *Belencita*, master S. Alonzo, on one of its four known Middle Passages, were arriving in Cuban waters, loaded with an unknown number of new black [slaves](#) from unknown points along the African coastline.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE




January: Yale College's professor of natural philosophy, Denison Olmstead, made his report on the strange flashes and streaks in the sky during the pre-dawn hours of November 13, 1833. He noted that this phenomenon had not been observed in Europe. He also believed, falsely, that this phenomenon had not been observed west of Ohio, simply because it had not been reported farther west than Ohio **by white people**. He noted that the coordinates of the point of radiation in the constellation of Leo had been RA = 150 degrees, DEC = +20 degrees. (Professor A.C. Twining at West Point, New York estimated the radiant at RA = 148.4 degrees, DEC = +22.3 degrees and W. E. Aiken of Emmittsburg, Maryland estimated the radiant at RA = 148.2 degrees, DEC = +23.8 degrees.) Professor Olmstead theorized correctly that the [meteors](#) had originated from a swarm of particles in space, although he failed to associate this swarm of particles with a disintegrating comet.

Eventually it would be noted that at Cumana, South America on the night of November 12, 1799, F.H.A. Humboldt had made an observation of similar thousands of bright meteors, and that other similar observations had been made from the Equator to Greenland. When, during November 1834, the swarm would reappear and would again come out of the constellation Leo, it would become apparent that this was an annual phenomenon although the intensity of the swarm had been varying from year to year. By 1837, Heinrich Wilhelm Matthias Olbers would be able to combine the available data and establish that the Leonid swarm had a period of 33 or 34 years, and would be able to accurately predict a strong return during November 1867.

SKY EVENT

 January: No installment of [Thomas Carlyle's SARTOR RESARTUS](#) appeared in this month's issue of [Fraser's Magazine](#).

 January 1, Wednesday: A [Zollverein](#) or customs union among 18 [German](#) states, headed by Prussia, went into effect.

Frederick Douglass later reported that:



At daybreak I was ordered to get a load of wood from a forest about two miles from the house.... I had never driven oxen before.... Once the gate was opened in front of them, my oxen charged through full tilt. They caught the huge gate between the wheel and the cart body, crushing it into splinters and coming within a few inches of crushing me with it.... Covey told me that he would now teach me how to break gates and idle away my time.... [He] ordered me to take off my clothes.... "If you beat me," I thought, "you shall do so over my clothes." After many threats he rushed at me..., tore off the few thin clothes I had on, and proceeded to wear out on my back the heavy goads which he had cut from the gum tree.... [D]uring the first six months there I was whipped, either with sticks or a cowhide whip, every week.... I was sometimes tempted to take my life and that of Covey but was prevented by a combination of hope and fear.

"The morning of January 1, 1834, found me on the road to Covey's. The chilling wind and pinching frost matched the winter of my own mind as I trudged along.... [Chesapeake Bay] was now white with foam raised by a heavy northwest wind." Frederick Douglass the troublemaker who had attempted to set up a Sunday School for black children, had been contracted by his owner to Mr. Edward "The Snake" Covey's on his 150-acre rented farm some seven miles to the northwest of St. Michaels, [Maryland](#)—where discipline was



by whip— to work for the first time as field rather than house slave:

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

In my new employment, I found myself even more awkward than a country boy appeared to be in a large city. I had been at my new home but one week before Mr. Covey gave me a very severe whipping, cutting my back, causing the blood to run, and raising ridges on my flesh as large as my little finger. The details of this affair are as follows: Mr. Covey sent me, very early in the morning of one of our coldest days in the month of January, to the woods, to get a load of wood. He gave me a team of unbroken oxen. He told me which was the in-hand ox, and which the off-hand one. He then tied the end of a large rope around the horns of the in-hand ox, and gave me the other end of it, and told me, if the oxen started to run, that I must hold on upon the rope. I had never driven oxen before, and of course I was very awkward. I, however, succeeded in getting to the edge of the woods with little difficulty; but I had got a very few rods into the woods, when the oxen took fright, and started full tilt, carrying the cart against trees, and over stumps, in the most frightful manner. I expected every moment that my brains would be dashed out against the trees. After running thus for a considerable distance, they finally upset the cart, dashing it with great force against a tree, and threw themselves into a dense thicket. How I escaped death, I do not know. There I was, entirely alone, in a thick wood, in a place new to me. My cart was upset and shattered, my oxen were entangled among the young trees, and there was none to help me. After a long spell of effort, I succeeded in getting my cart righted, my oxen disentangled, and again yoked to the cart. I now proceeded with my team to the place where I had, the day before, been chopping wood, and loaded my cart pretty heavily, thinking in this way to tame my oxen. I then proceeded on my way home. I had now consumed one half of the day. I got out of the woods safely, and now felt out of danger. I stopped my oxen to open the woods gate; and just as I did so, before I could get hold of my ox-rope, the oxen again started, rushed through the gate, catching it between the wheel and the body of the cart, tearing it to pieces, and coming within a few inches of crushing me against the gate-post. Thus twice, in one short day, I escaped death by the merest chance. On my return, I told Mr. Covey what had happened, and how it happened. He ordered me to return to the woods again immediately. I did so, and he followed on after me. Just as I got into the woods, he came up and told me to stop my cart, and that he would teach me how to trifle away my time, and break gates. He then went to a large gum-tree, and with his axe cut three large switches, and, after trimming them up neatly with his pocketknife, he ordered me to take off my clothes. I made him no answer, but stood with my clothes on. He repeated his order. I still made him no answer, nor did I move to strip myself. Upon this he rushed at me with the fierceness of a tiger, tore off my clothes, and lashed me till he had worn out his switches, cutting me so savagely as to leave the marks visible for a long time after. This whipping was the first of a number just like it, and for similar offences.

Mr. Covey had a reputation as a “nigger-breaker,” but was going to experience considerable difficulties, even a threat to his professional standing, in his attempts to break this particular nigger.

[We will notice, however, that at no point in the struggle would Douglass try to kill Edward Covey, something reasonable and easy, for he was trying to do something considerably more fraught, get such a person's attention and then talk turkey to him: “I seized Covey hard by the throat.... I told him....” Strange to relate, although in this struggle Douglass had drawn blood from Covey and could reasonably have anticipated that as soon as order and propriety had been restored he would be tortured to death by “The Snake” and his Christian crowd — he would find that instead he was no longer being lashed. Douglass seems to have attributed this to his master's economic need to obtain maximum work from him with minimum expenditure of effort. Consider this as bravado, in the face of the fact that the only difficulty Covey would have had in killing Douglass, other

than in ordering the other laborers to dig a shallow hole in the field alongside the corpse, would have come when he had to reimburse Thomas Auld for his economic loss:



I did not hesitate to let it be known of me, that the white man who expected to succeed in whipping, must also succeed in killing me.

But one wonders whether it was not precisely this hopeless resistance which may have inspired Covey to respect Douglass as a man and as a human. I offer that these fights in the fields of [Maryland](#) may well have been a turning-point not only in the individual life of Douglass, but also –unfortunately– in the ideology of nonresistance to evil as espoused by William Ladd, the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), the Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#), [Abby Kelley](#), John A. Collins, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, Edmund Quincy, John Humphrey Noyes of the [Perfectionist](#), and [William Lloyd Garrison](#). For later on Douglass would use this memory as fuel for his breach with other antislavery advocates over Garrison’s principled nonresistance to evil and as fuel for the encouragement, by the allies of John Brown, of an indigenous uprising of the black slaves of the South, when Douglass began in 1851 to find alternate funding from the “Liberty Party” created by the intemperate wealthy white man Gerrit Smith. We see that Frederick Douglass believed he had already put what would become the doctrine of *ahimsa* to the ultimate test, and that he had already discovered this doctrine to be ultimately wrongheaded — and was following the path of Nehru rather than the path of [Gandhiji](#).]

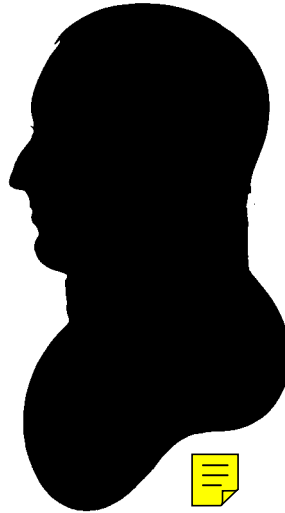
SLAVERY

While this sturm-und-drang about becoming free from slavery was going on in [Maryland](#), in [Newport, Rhode Island](#), the quietist Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) was writing in his journal about becoming free from sin:

4th day 1st of 1 M 1834 / I am thankful in being Able to insert today that is has been a day of some favour - a good day, wherein my soul has experienced some access to the fountain of good, & been enabled to cry in Secret Abba Father.— Our Meeting which was silent was free from conflict which has often awaited me of late. — I rejoice in it & most ardently have I desired for help & preservation.¹⁷

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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




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

5th day 2 of 1st M / Attended Meeting in Town, it was Small, but a season of some favour to my mind, for which I desire to be thankful. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 January 3, Friday: In [Mexico City](#), [Stephen F. Austin](#) was thrown in jail.


 January 5, Sunday: The [Gazette Musicale](#) appeared for the 1st time, in Paris. One of its founders was Franz Liszt.

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

1st day 5 of 1 M / Both Meetings silent, & times of some favour to me, & I thought in the general a pretty solid covering was felt. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 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



1834

1834

"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 9, Thursday: The HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) arrived in Port San Julian, Patagonia.

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

*5th day 9 of 1 M / Felt an inclination to attend the Meeting in
Town which to me was a more solid time than I have sometimes
enjoyed there Wm Almy preached a good sermon on the necessity
of Overcoming &c. –*

*After Meeting I called to see John Griscom who last evening in
going from the Institution was over set & very considerably hurt
– Mary who was with him was also some hurt but not badly.*






RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 January 12, Sunday: William Wyndham Grenville, 1st Baron Grenville, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom died.

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

*1st day 12 of 1 M / Our Meeting this Morning was a pretty good solid Season – Lydia Breed was favoured in a short pertinent testimony
Silent & pretty good meeting in the Afternoon. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

-  January 15, Wednesday: Francisco Martinez de la Rosa replaced Francisco Cea Bermudez as prime minister of Spain.
-  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 19, Sunday: Over the course of ten days, [Henry C. Wright](#) would religiously view every piece of Scott memorabilia there was to be seen at Abbotsford. Wright had read Scott’s SCOTTISH CHIEFS and had concluded, on September 28-29, 1833, that such works were “pernicious.” He visited Scott’s gravesite. His summation was that despite the manner in which other [tourists](#) were treating this place as if it were some sort of shrine, the reputation which [Sir Walter Scott](#) had left behind was an 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

1834

1834

strength to resist temptation.



Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford

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

*1st day 19 of 1 M / I have been quite unwell for some days with a cold Cough & some fever, but feel some better this evening. –
–Our meetings were both silent but I was favoured with some feeling – A portion of J J Gurneys Portable Evidences were read this evening in our School collection, & tho' I do not unit with every thing he has written, yet I thought what was read was very good. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



January 21, Tuesday: Richard Wagner moved back to Leipzig from Wurzburg.

1834

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➡ 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

In 1823 the ship of Frederick Beechey had penetrated the lagoon of the [Gambier Archipelago](#) in French Polynesia. These islands are volcanic and lie at the eastern end of the Tuamotu Archipelago about 900 miles from Tahiti. The inhabitable islands are Mangareva (Pearl), Taravai (Belcher), Temoe, Aukena (Elson), and Akamaru (Wainwright), which with some smaller islands are surrounded by an outer coral reef through which there are three deep passages. On this day [Father Honoré Laval](#), 26 years of age, and 3 other fathers of the [Order of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar](#) (Chrysostome Liausu and François Caret, and Friar Columban Murphy), embarked on the *Sylphide* at Bordeaux for the Gambiers, to travel by way of Peru and Valparaiso, Chile.

➡ January 23, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

5th day 23rd of 1 M 1834 / Attended Preparative Meeting in Town - Wm Almy preached in the first meeting - In the last for the concerns of society - the Queries were Answered & a young man brought forward by the Overseers for Marrying out of the Order of Society


The Select Meeting which followed was a season of searching & distress to most present - indeed I believe it will be safe to say all were brought into a State of feeling on acct of the State of Society & particularly the state of the Ministry in various parts of this Continent & in England. - There are doctrines advanced in writing, in the Gallery, & in private conversation, which are at variance with the Doctrines of the Gospel as professed & preached by our dear Ancient Friends whose memory & spirit is precious to me - & if on acct of this, & some other things, the ways of Zion do not Mourn & distress is felt within her borders, then I do not understand the bleating of Sheep & the loing [lowing] of the Oxen which I hear in mine ears. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS




1834

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 January 24, Friday: “An Act making appropriations for the naval service,” etc. “For carrying into effect the acts for the suppression of the slave trade,” etc., \$5,000 (STATUTES AT LARGE, IV. 670, 671).

[INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE](#)

 January 25, Saturday: Fire destroyed business buildings on Rochester, [New York](#)'s Main Street Bridge.

1834

1834

 January 27, Monday: [Dmitri Mendeleev](#) was born in Tobolsk, Russia.

[Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) got married with [Friend Maria Louisa Sampson](#).

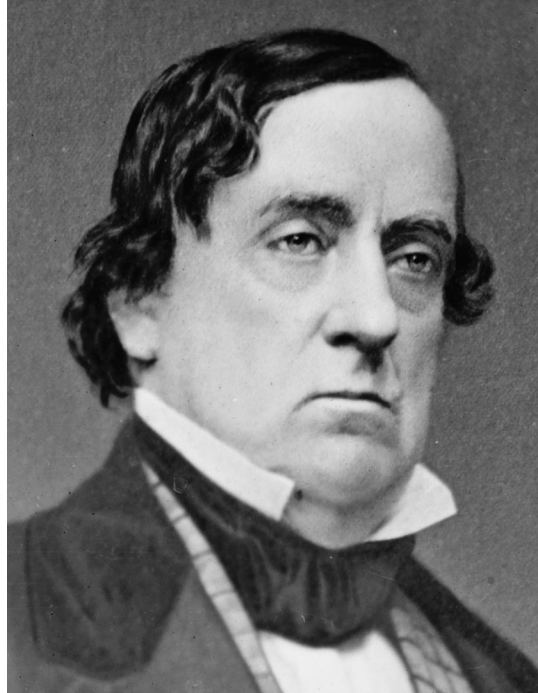


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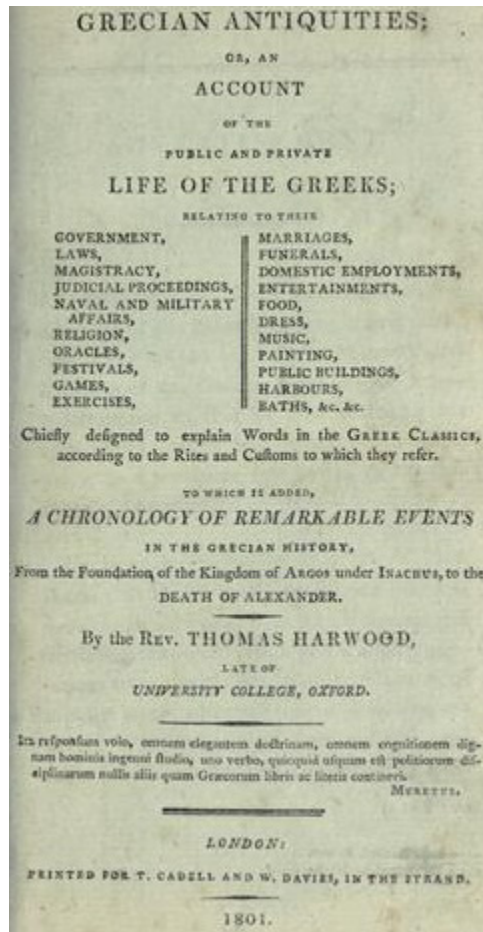


January 29, Wednesday: President Andrew Jackson instructed Secretary of War [Lewis Cass](#) to use troops to quell workers' riots along the [Chesapeake and Ohio Canal](#) — this would be the initial use of federal troops to quell labor conflicts.



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

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



January 30, Thursday: Excerpt from a school essay by Jabez Huntington Tomlinson of Stratford, Connecticut:¹⁸

*... The ancient Romans had **slavery**. Our ancestors who fought so hard & sacrificed so much for liberty held slaves ... and it would seem that a practice sanctioned by the formers of a government could not be opposed by the government.... For the reasons before stated I do not think [slavery] either unconstitutional or unchristian. Still, slavery is an evil but it is unavoidable in the present state of things & its abolition would be a much greater evil. Enthusiasts may talk of abolition & amalgamation but neither will ever take place while the*

18. In this year the Sovereign State of Connecticut was enacting a law making it illegal to provide a free education for black students.



present generation or one with like sentiments & feelings are upon the state. Do they suppose the southern ladies will ever consent to associate with their own Negroes. It is visionary to suppose such a thing.



January 31, Friday: Duelists from [Boston](#) fought on the [Moses Brown](#) farm (it seems likely that the [duel](#) occurred near the Cold Spring on the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) side of the Red Bridge). The duelists were Robert C. Hooper, Esq., a merchant, and Joseph Jones, Esq. (familiarily known as “Shocko” Jones because his hometown was [Shocko, North Carolina](#)). The North Carolinian was a student at the Harvard Law School and the quarrel was over an alleged slur on the honor of a Miss Marian Marshall. The duel was fought with pistols at eight paces. After exchanging shots the parties returned to Boston, arriving at Tremont House at 11:30 P.M.

[Daniel Webster](#) delivered an address on “The Removal of the Deposts” in the US Senate in which he derogated the presumption that the poor, because they are poor, inherently harbor animosity toward the rich, because they are rich. What a silly supposition, the exact opposite of the truth!¹⁹

Sir, there is one other subject on which I wish to raise my voice. There is a topic which I perceive is to become the general war-cry of party, on which I take the liberty to warn the country against delusion. Sir, the cry is to be raised that this is a question between the poor and the rich. I know, Sir, it has been proclaimed, that one thing was certain, that there was always a hatred on the part of the poor toward the rich; and that this hatred would support the late measures, and the putting down of the bank. Sir, I will not be silent at the threat of such a detestable fraud on public opinion. If but ten men, or one man, in the nation will hear my voice, I will still warn them against this attempted imposition.

Mr. President, this is an eventful moment. On the great questions which occupy us, we all look for some decisive movement of public opinion. As I wish that movement to be free, intelligent, and unbiassed, the true manifestation of the public will, I desire to prepare the country for another appeal, which I perceive is about to be made to popular prejudice, another attempt to obscure all distinct views of the public good, to overwhelm all patriotism and all enlightened self-interest, by loud cries against false danger, and by exciting the passions of one class against another. I am not mistaken in the omen; I see the magazine whence the weapons of this warfare are to be drawn. I hear already the din of the hammering of arms preparatory to the combat. They may be such arms, perhaps, as reason, and justice, and honest patriotism cannot resist. Every effort at resistance, it is possible, may be feeble and powerless; but, for one, I shall make an effort, – an effort to be begun now, and to be carried on and continued, with untiring zeal, till the end of the contest.

Sir, I see, in those vehicles which carry to the people sentiments from high places, plain declarations that the present controversy is but a strife between one part of the community and another. I hear it boasted as the unfailing security, the solid ground, never to be shaken, on which recent measures rest, **that the poor naturally hate the rich.** I know that, under the cover of the roofs of the Capitol, within the last twenty-four

19. 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).



hours, among men sent here to devise means for the public safety and the public good, it has been vaunted forth, as matter of boast and triumph, that one cause existed powerful enough to support every thing and to defend every thing; and that was, **the natural hatred of the poor to the rich.**

Sir, I pronounce the author of such sentiments to be guilty of attempting a detestable fraud on the community; a double fraud; a fraud which is to cheat men out of their property, and out of the earnings of their labor, by first cheating them out of their understandings.

"The natural hatred of the poor to the rich!" Sir, it shall not be till the last moment of my existence, -it shall be only when I am drawn to the verge of oblivion, when I shall cease to have respect or affection for any thing on earth, -that I will believe the people of the United States capable of being effectually deluded, cajoled, and **driven about in herds**, by such abominable frauds as this. If they shall sink to that point, if they so far cease to be men, thinking men, intelligent men, as to yield to such pretences and such clamor, they will be slaves already; slaves to their own passions, slaves to the fraud and knavery of pretended friends. They will deserve to be blotted out of all the records of freedom; they ought not to dishonor the cause of self-government, by attempting any longer to exercise it; they ought to keep their unworthy hands entirely off from the cause of republican liberty, if they are capable of being the victims of artifices so shallow, of tricks so stale, so threadbare, so often practised, so much worn out, on serfs and slaves.

"The natural hatred of the poor against the rich!" "The danger of a moneyed aristocracy!" "A power as great and dangerous as that resisted by the Revolution!" "A call to a new declaration of independence!" Sir, I admonish the people against the object of outcries like these. I admonish every industrious laborer in the country to be on his guard against such delusion. I tell him the attempt is to play off his passions against his interests, and to prevail on him, in the name of liberty, to destroy all the fruits of liberty; in the name of patriotism, to injure and afflict his country; and in the name of his own independence, to destroy that very independence, and make him a beggar and a slave. Has he a dollar? He is advised to do that which will destroy half its value. Has he hands to labor? Let him rather fold them, and sit still, than be pushed on, by fraud and artifice, to support measures which will render his labor useless and hopeless.

Sir, the very man, of all others, who has the deepest interest in a sound currency, and who suffers most by mischievous legislation in money matters, is the man who earns his daily bread by his daily toil. A depreciated currency, sudden changes of prices, paper money, falling between morning and noon, and falling still lower between noon and night, - these things constitute the very harvest-time of speculators, and of the whole race of those who are at once idle and crafty; and of that other race, too, the Catilines of all times, marked, so as to be known for ever by one stroke of the historian's pen, **those greedy of other men's property and prodigal of their own.** Capitalists, too, may outlive such times. They may either prey on the earnings of labor, by their **cent. per cent.**, or they may



hoard. But the laboring man, what can he hoard? Preying on nobody, he becomes the prey of all. His property is in his hands. His reliance, his fund, his productive freehold, his all, is his labor. Whether he work on his own small capital, or another's, his living is still earned by his industry; and when the money of the country becomes depreciated and debased, whether it be adulterated coin or paper without credit, that industry is robbed of its reward. He then labors for a country whose laws cheat him out of his bread. I would say to every owner of every quarter-section of land in the West, I would say to every man in the East who follows his own plough, and to every mechanic, artisan, and laborer in every city in the country, - I would say to every man, everywhere, who wishes by honest means to gain an honest living, "Beware of wolves in sheep's clothing. Whoever attempts, under whatever popular cry, to shake the stability of the public currency, bring on distress in money matters, and drive the country into the use of paper money, stabs your interest and your happiness to the heart."

The herd of hungry wolves who live on other men's earnings will rejoice in such a state of things. A system which absorbs into their pockets the fruits of other men's industry is the very system for them. A government that produces or countenances uncertainty, fluctuations, violent risings and fallings in prices, and, finally, paper money, is a government exactly after their own heart. Hence these men are always for change. They will never let well enough alone. A condition of public affairs in which property is safe, industry certain of its reward, and every man secure in his own hard-earned gains, is no paradise for them. Give them just the reverse of this state of things; bring on change, and change after change; let it not be known to-day what will be the value of property to-morrow; let no man be able to say whether the money in his pockets at night will be money or worthless rags in the morning; and depress labor till double work shall earn but half a living, - give them this state of things, and you give them the consummation of their earthly bliss.

Sir, the great interest of this great country, the producing cause of all its prosperity, is labor! labor! labor! We are a laboring community. A vast majority of us all live by industry and actual employment in some of their forms. The Constitution was made to protect this industry, to give it both encouragement and security; but, above all, security. To that very end, with that precise object in view, power was given to Congress over the currency, and over the money system of the country. In forty years' experience, we have found nothing at all adequate to the beneficial execution of this trust but a well-conducted national bank. That has been tried, returned to, tried again, and always found successful. If it be not the proper thing for us, let it be soberly argued against; let something better be proposed; let the country examine the matter coolly, and decide for itself. But whoever shall attempt to carry a question of this kind by clamor, and violence, and prejudice; whoever would rouse the people by appeals, false and fraudulent appeals, to their love of independence, to resist the establishment of a useful institution, because it is a bank, and deals in money, and who artfully urges these appeals wherever he thinks there is more

of honest feeling than of enlightened judgment, – means nothing but deception. And whoever has the wickedness to conceive, and the hardihood to avow, a purpose to break down what has been found, in forty years' experience, essential to the protection of all interests, by arraying one class against another, and by acting on such a principle as **that the poor always hate the rich**, shows himself the reckless enemy of all. An enemy to his whole country, to all classes, and to every man in it, he deserves to be marked especially **as the poor man's curse!**

FEBRUARY

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).

Early in this year, Samuel Ringgold Ward again was able to hear the respected white Reverend Simeon S. Jocelyn speak — but this time with a difference, as the topic on which the Reverend was speaking was the evil of human [slavery](#). This was in fact the very first antislavery lecture that the escaped slave Ward had ever heard! He also heard an antislavery lecture by E. Wright of Boston, a college professor who had that spring given up his academic career in order to enter on this crusade at a much lower salary:

That the announcement of a meeting for the formation of an anti-slavery society should create a sensation among the coloured people of New York no one will wonder. Having been abused, and befooled, and slandered, disparaged, ridiculed, and traduced, by the Colonizationists, we could not but look on, first, with very great distrust upon any persons stepping forward with schemes professedly for our good. But a young printer had suffered imprisonment in [Baltimore](#), for exposing there what Clarkson had long before exposed in Liverpool – viz., the paraphernalia of a systematic, authorized, lucrative slave trade; and this young man being released through the munificence of one of our then wealthiest Pearl Street merchants, we could not doubt the real motives of either of these. Garrison would not suffer imprisonment in our behalf, insincerely; Arthur Tappan would not liberate Garrison from imprisonment, on such a charge, at the cost of one thousand dollars, insincerely; indeed, we know too well that no white man would suffer for our sakes, without more than ordinary philanthropy. These gentlemen deserved, and they received, our confidence. In 1830 I heard, in New Haven, Connecticut, at the Temple Street Coloured Congregational Church, the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn preach. I learned that, when a young man, a bank-note engraver by trade, he studied theology and entered the ministry, on purpose to serve the coloured people. When a lecture was announced to be



1834

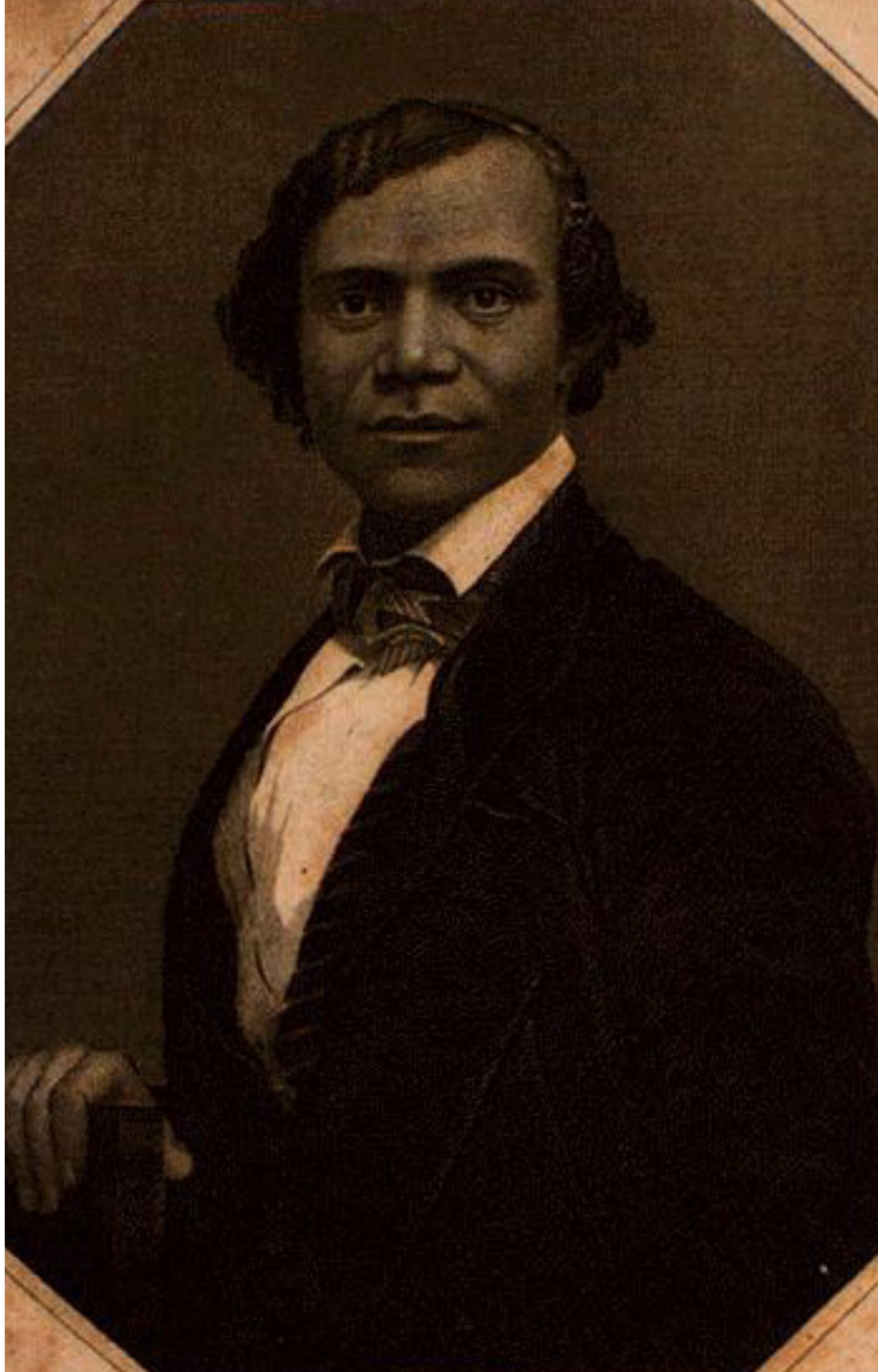
1834

delivered on the subject of slavery by that gentleman, I was but too glad to hear him. I learned to love him as a child; I now have the honour of his friendship as a man. His was the first anti-slavery lecture I ever heard. In the spring of the same year Professor E. Wright, jun., who had been in the enjoyment of a Professorship in a Western College, but relinquished it, and with it surrendered a salary of eleven hundred dollars for one of four hundred, that he might be at liberty to serve the anti-slavery cause, lectured upon the same subject. I was among his many delighted auditors. The same gentleman is now E. Wright, Esq., of Boston, the Douglas Jerrold of America.

1834

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→ Early in the year: [Henry Bibb](#) was sold by his owner, Albert G. Sibley, an exhorter in the local Methodist Episcopal Church, to Al's brother, a Sunday School class-leader in that church, for \$850, and then by that brother for the same price to William Gatewood, another member of that congregation. In consequence Henry and the girl he was courting, Malinda, Gatewood's slave, would be able to cohabit more conveniently in the married relationship (the sacred institution of marriage itself being of course very off limits for mere slaves such as them).²⁰





1834

1834



February: Commander [George Back](#) planned the construction, from scratch, of two boats.

(Page 236) The uncertainty of the means of subsistence, and the almost daily distresses and disappointments by which we were harassed, had interfered with many, and altogether marred some, of my plans; among others, the important task of preparing the materials for the construction of two light boats to take us along the coast had been hitherto suspended. The time, however, had now arrived when further delay was impossible. Accordingly, the two carpenters, with Sinclair (a steersman), were sent to the clump of pines found by De Charlôit in September last, and directed to saw sufficient planking for the purpose.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

20. For some reason, despite this great boon [Henry Bibb](#) was not going to be grateful to these white men. Being allowed to cohabit in the creation of a baby slave was only going to make him want to set himself and his family free!

1834

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February: Over the next seven months [Bronson Alcott](#) would read [Plato](#),²¹ [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



February: The 3d 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 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

21. Eventually a group of English educators would come to consider Bronson to be “the Concord [Plato](#).”

died away, and always inspiring us to worthier and more persistent endeavors.



February: A [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag, the *Fortuna*, master F.P. Viana, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, arrived at a port of Cuba.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
RACE SLAVERY

February: Rochester, [New York](#)'s "Obediah Dogberry" published the final edition of his weekly journal Liberal Advocate.

February: Volume I of the Reverend Professor [Jared Sparks](#) of [Harvard College](#)'s THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

LIBRARY OF AM. BIOG. I

This encompassed four contributions:

- LIFE OF JOHN STARK by [Edward Everett](#)

LIFE OF JOHN STARK

- LIFE OF CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN by William H. Prescott

CHARLES BROCKDEN BROWN

- LIFE OF RICHARD MONTGOMERY by General John Armstrong

RICHARD MONTGOMERY

- LIFE OF ETHAN ALLEN by the Reverend Professor [Jared Sparks](#)

LIFE OF ETHAN ALLEN

February 2, Sunday: Die drei Wunsche, a singspiel by Carl Loewe to words of Raupach, was performed for the initial time, in the Berlin Schauspielhaus.



February 4, Tuesday: The [negrero](#) *Encomium*, carrying a cargo of 45 [slaves](#) from [Charleston](#), South Carolina, to New Orleans, was wrecked near Fish Key, Abaco, and the slaves were carried to Nassau, in New Providence, British West Indies and there set free. Naughty, naughty Great Britain would eventually need to pay the American owners an indemnity for having so mishandled their slave properties (SENATE DOCUMENT, 24th Congress, 2d session II, No. 174; 25th Congress, 3d session, III, No. 216).

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

[Henry Stephens Randall](#) got married in Auburn, [New York](#) with Jane Rebecca Polhemus, daughter of the Reverend Henry Polhemus and Mrs. Jane Anderson Polhemus.

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

3rd day 4th M 2nd 1834 / Sub Committee Meeting. - A pretty pleasant Day - & my mind very quiet. - We hear by those who come from [Rhode Island](#) that Sister Ruth is no better - her case pretty decidedly a Cancer in the breast.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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).²²

IT'S ALL GREEK TO ME

Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
 Α Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ Ι Κ Λ Μ Ν Ξ Ο Π Ρ Σ Τ Υ Φ Χ Ψ Ω
 α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ ς τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 α β γ δ ε ζ η θ ι κ λ μ ν ξ ο π ρ σ ς τ υ φ χ ψ ω
 Νόμιζε μηδέν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον.
 Ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις λόγοις αὔξασθαι πέφυκε.
 Νόμιζε μηδέν εἶναι τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων βέβαιον.
 Ἡ ψυχὴ τοῖς σπουδαίοις λόγοις αὔξασθαι πέφυκε.

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 &

22. 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.

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



February 6, Thursday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 6th of 2nd M 1834 / Our Quarterly Meeting was a truly good one throughout - it was a Season of favour & there was Much good preaching - Our friends Danl Howland Thos Anthony - Anna A Jenkins Hannah Dennis & Mary B Allen bore testimony in succession & there was a prayer by a female which I could not hear one word of & I apprehend was heard by few & those who were near to her -
We had but little buisness in the last Meeting, but harmony was prevalent. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



February 7, Friday: The 1st locomotive in Massachusetts, the “Meteor” built at the shop of George Stephenson, began its nine-mile run between Boston and West Newton, under the control of an engineer brought over from England with the engine. (An American locomotive, the “Yankee,” was being constructed locally.) (Note: this was freight, not passengers.)



February 8, Saturday: [Joseph Ivimey](#) died. A short while before he had made a comment:

Not a wave of trouble rolls



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Across my peaceful breast.

He was referring, of course, to the famous hymn “When I can read my title clear” by Isaac Watts, published in 1707 and arranged by J.C. Lowry in 1817 to the Scottish melody “Pisgah”:

When I can read my title clear
To mansions in the skies,
I bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.
And wipe my weeping eyes,
And wipe my weeping eyes
I bid farewell to every fear,
And wipe my weeping eyes.
Should earth against my soul engage,
And hellish darts be hurled,
Then I can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world.
And face a frowning world,
And face a frowning world,
Then I can smile at Satan's rage,
And face a frowning world.
Let cares, like a wild deluge come,
And storms of sorrow fall!
May I but safely reach my home,
My God, my heav'n, my All.
My God, my heav'n, my All,
My God, my heav'n, my All,
May I but safely reach my home,
My God, my heav'n, my All.
There shall I bathe my weary soul
In seas of heav'nly rest,
And not a wave of trouble roll
Across my peaceful breast.
Across my peaceful breast,
Across my peaceful breast,
And not a wave of trouble roll
Across my peaceful breast.



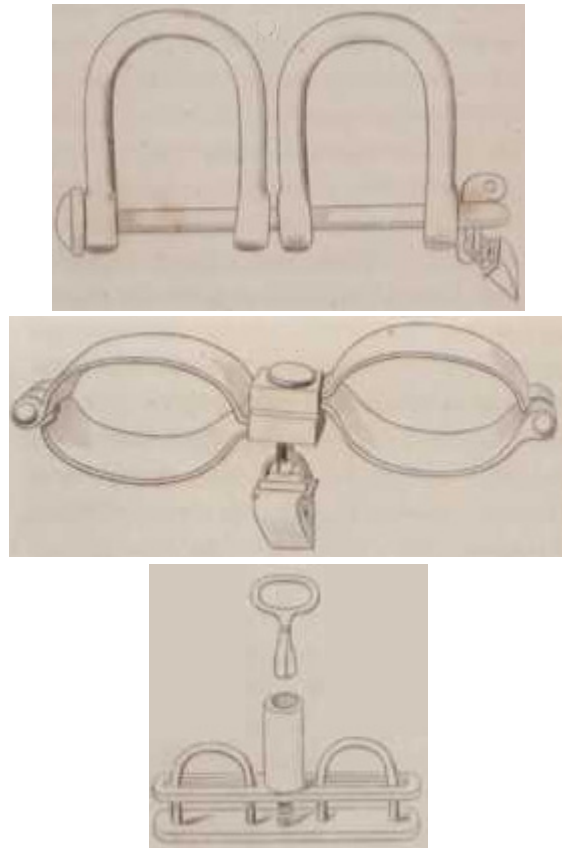
February 9, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 9th of 2n M 1834 / Silent meetings & rather poor as to
life but solid setting & I apprehend some were favoured. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 10, Monday: [Brigham Young](#) “got married with” Mary Ann Angel.

Responders to a fire in the mansion of Madame Delphine LaLaurie at the corner of Royal Street and Governor Nicholls Street –quite an elite address– in New Orleans, Louisiana found that there was a 70-year-old [slave](#) woman chained in the kitchen. The slave had remained chained and at risk while Mrs. LaLaurie busied herself saving her furniture. The household’s slaves led their rescuers to a domestic [torture](#) chamber in the attic where 7 slaves were immobilized in spiked iron collars. One shackled man, still alive, had a stick protruding from a hole in his skull, the stick having been employed to stir his brains. Genitals had been severed. A woman’s mouth had been stuffed with animal excrement and then sewn shut. Heads and human organs were found in buckets.



The police remembered that in the previous year this mistress had chased a small girl with a whip until the slave fell from the roof, and had then attempted to cover up the murder by dumping the body down a well — the matter had been disposed of by a fine and a stipulation that the remainder of the slaves in the estate would be sold off, but Mme. LaLaurie had then arranged for her relatives and friends to take title to the slaves. When news of the torture chamber spread, a mob would assemble and Mme. LaLaurie and her husband would flee by boat, leaving their butler –who had participated in the torture– to face the wrath of the mob alone (it is believed that Mme LaLaurie died in Paris during December 1842).



1834


1834

The official truth which this discovery challenged was of course that slavery to the superior white race was the best situation for the inherently inferior black race, in restraining their innate savagery, and that white masters and mistresses were only occasionally and marginally less than benevolent (it was easier for Southerners to explain away rural cruelty as displayed in Frederick Douglass's tale about that uneducated marginal farmer, Mr. Covey) as they bore the burden of having to provide for their improvident charges.²³

So far as the legal system was concerned, sentiment alone could function in these United States of America as a check upon the cruelty of any master toward his or her servant, who must remain under any circumstance entirely defenseless:

The protections already afforded by several statutes, that all-powerful motive, the private interest of the owner, the benevolences towards each other, seated in the hearts of those who have been born and bred together, the frowns and deep execrations of the community upon the barbarian who is guilty of excessive and brutal cruelty to his unprotected slave, all combined, have produced a mildness of treatment and attention to the comforts of the unfortunate class of slaves, greatly mitigating the rigors of servitude and ameliorating the condition of the slaves.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

 February 11, Tuesday: New-York's Platt Street opened.

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

*3rd day 11 of 2 m Rode in the Stage to Pawtucket to attend the funeral of Timothy Greene – I learn Timothy was much favoured in his last Illness & apparantly made a good close. – his corpse was singularly tranquil in countenance, & to me this has seemed an earnest of a quiet spirit in an after state – for tho' I have known some instances of this kind where it was justifiable to entertain doubts of future well being – yet not knowing how far the Mediatlional office of Jesus Church may prevail with the Father – I feel most satisfied to consider the countenance of Corpse Somewhat of an Index of an After State – The setting was a solid one – Lydia Breed was much favoourd in testimony & many people were present. –
After the funeral I walked back to the [Institution](#) thro' the New turnpike rode*

[RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS](#)

23. Because this torture chamber was discovered in 1834, I will proceed to attribute the following incident to 1834 also, even though we cannot sure that it happened during this specific calendar year. This did happen in [Baltimore](#) at some time within this span of years in which the torture was going on in New Orleans: Frederick Douglass's crippled cousin Henny had fallen into a fire and burned her hands so badly that she could not open them. Mrs. Auld complained to Mr. Auld, who tied Henny up and whipped her while reciting the Good News from LUKE 12:47 from memory:

"That servant which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes."

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).²⁴



CHARLES DEXTER CLEVELAND


24. 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.



1834

1834

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


 February 16, Sunday: A new law went into effect in France giving local officials wide authority to refuse permits to sell newspapers and pamphlets.

Ernst Haeckel was born.

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

1st day 16th of 2nd M 1834 / Our friend John Wilbur was at Meeting this Morning & engaged in testimony in a manner that was consoling to some Minds present as well as instructive to the Scholars – Silent in the Afternoon sitting

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 17, Monday: Representatives of Spain and the United States signed the Van Ness Convention in Madrid. Spain agreed to pay a lump sum of 12,000,000 reales to settle all US claims against it.

Erastus Shepard and Alvah Strong, having purchased Rochester, [New York's Advertiser](#), changed its name to Daily Democrat.

1834

1834



February 18, Tuesday: William Wirt died of a cold. His skull would wind up on a shelf in District of Columbia Council member Jim Graham's office, stolen from the Wirt family crypt in Congressional Cemetery in southeast [Washington DC](#). We don't know when the skull was taken or why it was taken — all we know for sure is that we Americans have created the sort of greed-ridden society that creates a type of weirdly acquisitive individual, who gets off by taking possession of other people's body parts as his macabre trophies, and exhibiting these trophies as demonstrations of his power.



DIGGING UP THE DEAD

The first US labor newspaper, [The Man](#), appeared in New-York.

1834

1834



February 19, Wednesday: The main problem of the era, or at least the main perceived problem, in [Rhode Island](#), was that the Charter of 1663 was being used to deny voting rights to thousands of men in the growing urban industrial areas of the state, thus retaining power for the old Yankee farmers.



Faced with continuing taxation without representation, the workingmen of Providence met to choose delegates to a proposed convention. Various middle-class reformers, including Thomas Dorr, took part in this popular movement.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

There were of course, as always in politics, strange bedfellows. Representative James De Wolf of Bristol, he of the filthy-rich slavetrading family, would introduce a petition in the Rhode Island House of Representatives, to do away with the “freehold” qualification for voting under which an adult white male citizen could vote only if he was the holder of real estate worthing at least \$134.00. Representative De Wolf’s petition would point at the fact that our Declaration of Independence had alleged that “all men are created equal,” and that therefore there ought to be “universal” suffrage, almost as if this De Wolf family believed in equality of all before the law. (By “universal” Representative De Wolf did not of course intend to include children, or women, or the descendants of the black slaves who had been brought over from the coast of Africa on slave ships by his family. That would have been preposterous.)

Thomas Dorr was himself personally in favor of black suffrage but, at the People’s Convention, he would be able to persuade only 17 persons to vote with him on this, while 46 would vote against black suffrage. The outcome of this vote would be that the Dorrites would lose the support both of the Rhode Island blacks, and of the white abolitionists.



February 20, Thursday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

5th day 20 of 2 M / Attended Meeting in Town it being Preparative Meeting. – Wm Almy preached pretty well. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

February 22, Saturday: A convention of [Rhode Island](#) workingmen met in [Providence](#), drafted a set of 19 resolutions for reform, and organized a political party to support candidates for the General Assembly pledged to the reform list, to be known as the Constitutional Party.



[READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT](#)

Cesar Franck won the First Prize in piano at the Royal Conservatory of Liege.

Senator [Daniel Webster](#) spoke before the Senate of the United States of America on the topic of "A Redeemable Paper Currency":²⁵

Mr. President,—The honorable member from Georgia stated yesterday, more distinctly than I have before learned it, what that experiment is which the government is now trying on the revenues and the currency, and, I may add, on the commerce, manufactures, and agriculture of this country. If I rightly apprehend him, this experiment is an attempt to return to an exclusive specie currency, first, by employing the State banks as a substitute for the Bank of the United States; and then by dispensing with the use of the State banks themselves.

This, Sir, is the experiment. I thank the gentleman for thus stating its character. He has done his duty, and dealt fairly with the people, by this exhibition of what the views of the executive government are, at this interesting moment. It is certainly most proper that the people should see distinctly to what end or for what object it is that so much suffering is already upon them, and so much more already in visible and near prospect.

And now, Sir, is it possible,—is it possible that twelve millions of intelligent people can be expected voluntarily to subject themselves to severe distress, of unknown duration, for the purpose of making trial of an experiment like this? Will a

25. 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).



nation that is intelligent, well informed of its own interest, enlightened, and capable of self-government, submit to suffer embarrassment in all its pursuits, loss of capital, loss of employment, and a sudden and dead stop in its onward movement in the path of prosperity and wealth, until it shall be ascertained whether this new-hatched theory shall answer the hopes of those who have devised it? Is the country to be persuaded to bear every thing, and bear patiently, until the operation of such an experiment, adopted for such an avowed object, and adopted, too, without the co-operation or consent of Congress, and by the executive power alone, shall exhibit its results?

In the name of the hundreds of thousands of our suffering fellow-citizens, I ask, for what reasonable end is this experiment to be tried? What great and good object, worth so much cost, is it to accomplish? What enormous evil is to be remedied by all this inconvenience and all this suffering? What great calamity is to be averted? Have the people thronged our doors, and loaded our tables with petitions for relief against the pressure of some political mischief, some notorious misrule, which this experiment is to redress? Has it been resorted to in an hour of misfortune, calamity, or peril, to save the state? Is it a measure of remedy, yielded to the importunate cries of an agitated and distressed nation? Far, Sir, very far from all this. There was no calamity, there was no suffering, there was no peril, when these measures began. At the moment when this experiment was entered upon, these twelve millions of people were prosperous and happy, not only beyond the example of all others, but even beyond their own example in times past.

There was no pressure of public or private distress throughout the whole land. All business was prosperous, all industry was rewarded, and cheerfulness and content universally prevailed. Yet, in the midst of all this enjoyment, with so much to heighten and so little to mar it, this experiment comes upon us, to harass and oppress us at present, and to affright us for the future. Sir, it is incredible; the world abroad will not believe it; it is difficult even for us to credit, who see it with our own eyes, that the country, at such a moment, should put itself upon an experiment fraught with such immediate and overwhelming evils, and threatening the property and the employments of the people, and all their social and political blessings, with severe and long-enduring future inflictions.

And this experiment, with all its cost, is to be tried, for what? Why, simply, Sir, to enable us to try another "experiment"; and that other experiment is, to see whether an exclusive specie currency may not be better than a currency partly specie and partly bank paper! The object which it is hoped we may effect, by patiently treading this path of endurance, is to banish all bank paper, of all kinds, and to have coined money, and coined money only, as the actual currency of the country!

Now, Sir, I altogether deny that such an object is at all desirable, even if it could be attained. I know, indeed, that all paper ought to circulate on a specie basis; that all bank-notes, to be safe, must be convertible into gold and silver at the will of the holder; and I admit, too, that the issuing of very small notes by many of the State banks has too much reduced



the amount of specie actually circulating. It may be remembered that I called the attention of Congress to this subject in 1832, and that the bill which then passed both houses for renewing the bank charter contained a provision designed to produce some restraint on the circulation of very small notes. I admit there are conveniences in making small payments in specie; and I have always, not only admitted, but contended, that, if all issues of bank-notes under five dollars were discontinued, much more specie would be retained in the country, and in the circulation; and that great security would result from this. But we are now debating about an **exclusive** specie currency; and I deny that an exclusive specie currency is the best currency for any highly commercial country; and I deny, especially, that such a currency would be best suited to the condition and circumstances of the United States. With the enlightened writers and practical statesmen of all commercial communities in modern times, I have supposed it to be admitted that a well regulated, properly restrained, safely limited paper currency, circulating on an adequate specie basis, was a thing to be desired, a political public advantage to be obtained, if it might be obtained; and, more especially, I have supposed that in a new country, with resources not yet half developed, with a rapidly increasing population and a constant demand for more and more capital,—that is to say, in just such a country as the United States are, I have supposed that it was admitted that there are particular and extraordinary advantages in a safe and well regulated paper currency; because in such a country well regulated bank paper not only supplies a convenient medium of payments and of exchange, but also, by the expansion of that medium in a reasonable and safe degree, the amount of circulation is kept more nearly commensurate with the constantly increasing amount of property; and an extended capital, in the shape of credit, comes to the aid of the enterprising and the industrious. It is precisely on this credit, created by reasonable expansion of the currency in a new country, that men of small capital carry on their business. It is exactly by means of this, that industry and enterprise are stimulated. If we were driven back to an exclusively metallic currency, the necessary and inevitable consequence would be, that all trade would fall into the hands of large capitalists. This is so plain, that no man of reflection can doubt it. I know not, therefore, in what words to express my astonishment, when I hear it said that the present measures of government are intended for the good of the many instead of the few, for the benefit of the poor, and against the rich; and when I hear it proposed, at the same moment, to do away with the whole system of credit, and place all trade and commerce, therefore, in the hands of those who have adequate capital to carry them on without the use of any credit at all. This, Sir, would be dividing society, by a precise, distinct, and well-defined line, into two classes; first, the small class, who have competent capital for trade, when credit is out of the question; and, secondly, the vastly numerous class of those whose living must become, in such a state of things, a mere manual occupation, without the use of capital or of any substitute for it. Now, Sir, it is the effect of a well-regulated system of paper credit to break in upon this line thus dividing the many from



the few, and to enable more or less of the more numerous class to pass over it, and to participate in the profits of capital by means of a safe and convenient substitute for capital; and thus to diffuse far more widely the general earnings, and therefore the general prosperity and happiness, of society. Every man of observation must have witnessed, in this country, that men of heavy capital have constantly complained of bank circulation, and a consequent credit system, as injurious to the rights of capital. They undoubtedly feel its effects. All that is gained by the use of credit is just so much subtracted from the amount of their own accumulations, and so much the more has gone to the benefit of those who bestow their own labor and industry on capital in small amounts. To the great majority, this has been of incalculable benefit in the United States; and therefore, Sir, whoever attempts the entire overthrow of the system of bank credit aims a deadly blow at the interest of that great and industrious class, who, having some capital, cannot, nevertheless, transact business without some credit. He can mean nothing else, if he have any intelligible meaning at all, than to turn all such persons over to the long list of mere manual laborers. What else can they do, with not enough of absolute capital, and with no credit? This, Sir, this is the true tendency and the unavoidable result of these measures, which have been undertaken with the patriotic object of assisting the poor against the rich!

I am well aware that bank credit may be abused. I know that there is another extreme, exactly the opposite of that of which I have now been speaking, and no less sedulously to be avoided. I know that the issue of bank paper may become excessive; that depreciation will then follow; and that the evils, the losses, and the frauds consequent on a disordered currency fall on the rich and the poor together, but with especial weight of ruin on the poor. I know that the system of bank credit must always rest on a specie basis, and that it constantly needs to be strictly guarded and properly restrained; and it may be so guarded and restrained. We need not give up the good which belongs to it, through fear of the evils which may follow from its abuse. We have the power to take security against these evils. It is our business, as statesmen, to adopt that security; it is our business not to prostrate, or attempt to prostrate, the system, but to use those means of precaution, restraint, and correction which experience has sanctioned, and which are ready at our hands.

It would be to our everlasting reproach, it would be placing us below the general level of the intelligence of civilized states, to admit that we cannot contrive means to enjoy the benefits of bank circulation, and of avoiding, at the same time, its dangers. Indeed, Sir, no contrivance is necessary. It is **contrivance**, and the love of contrivance, that spoil all. We are destroying ourselves by a remedy which no evil called for. We are ruining perfect health by nostrums and quackery. We have lived hitherto under a well constructed, practical, and beneficial system; a system not surpassed by any in the world; and it seems to me to be presuming largely, largely indeed, on the credulity and self-denial of the people, to rush with such sudden and impetuous haste into new schemes and new theories,



to overturn and annihilate all that we have so long found useful. Our system has hitherto been one in which paper has been circulating on the strength of a specie basis; that is to say, when every bank-note was convertible into specie at the will of the holder. This has been our guard against excess. While banks are bound to redeem their bills by paying gold and silver on demand, and are at all times able to do this, the currency is safe and convenient. Such a currency is not paper money, in its odious sense. It is not like the Continental paper of Revolutionary times; it is not like the worthless bills of banks which have suspended specie payments. On the contrary, it is the representative of gold and silver, and convertible into gold and silver on demand, and therefore answers the purposes of gold and silver; and so long as its credit is in this way sustained, it is the cheapest, the best, and the most convenient circulating medium. I have already endeavored to warn the country against irredeemable paper; against the paper of banks which do not pay specie for their own notes; against that miserable, abominable, and fraudulent policy, which attempts to give value to any paper, of any bank, one single moment longer than such paper is redeemable on demand in gold and silver. I wish most solemnly and earnestly to repeat that warning. I see danger of that state of things ahead. I see imminent danger that a portion of the State banks will stop specie payments. The late measure of the Secretary, and the infatuation with which it seems to be supported, tend directly and strongly to that result. Under pretence, then, of a design to return to a currency which shall be all specie, we are likely to have a currency in which there shall be no specie at all. We are in danger of being overwhelmed with irredeemable paper, mere paper, representing not gold nor silver; no, Sir, representing nothing but broken promises, bad faith, bankrupt corporations, cheated creditors, and a ruined people. This, I fear, Sir, may be the consequence, already alarmingly near, of this attempt, unwise if it be real, and grossly fraudulent if it be only pretended, of establishing an exclusively hard-money currency.

But, Sir, if this shock could be avoided, and if we could reach the object of an exclusive metallic circulation, we should find in that very success serious and insurmountable inconveniences. We require neither irredeemable paper, nor yet exclusively hard money. We require a mixed system. We require specie, and we require, too, good bank paper, founded on specie, representing specie, and convertible into specie on demand. We require, in short, just such a currency as we have long enjoyed, and the advantages of which we seem now, with unaccountable rashness, about to throw away.

I avow myself, therefore, decidedly against the object of a return to an exclusive specie currency. I find great difficulty, I confess, in believing any man serious in avowing such an object. It seems to me rather a subject for ridicule, at this age of the world, than for sober argument. But if it be true that any are serious for the return of the gold and silver age, I am seriously against it.

Let us, Sir, anticipate, in imagination, the accomplishment of this grand experiment. Let us suppose that, at this moment, all bank paper were out of existence, and the country full of specie.



Where, Sir, should we put it, and what should we do with it? Should we ship it, by cargoes, every day, from New York to New Orleans, and from New Orleans back to New York? Should we encumber the turnpikes, the railroads, and the steamboats with it, whenever purchases and sales were to be made in one place of articles to be transported to another? The carriage of the money would, in some cases, cost half as much as the carriage of the goods. Sir, the very first day, under such a state of things, we should set ourselves about the creation of banks. This would immediately become necessary and unavoidable. We may assure ourselves, therefore, without danger of mistake, that the idea of an exclusively metallic currency is totally incompatible, in the existing state of the world, with an active and extensive commerce. It is inconsistent, too, with the greatest good of the greatest number; and therefore I oppose it. But, Sir, how are we to get through the first experiment, so as to be able to try that which is to be final and ultimate, that is to say, how are we to get rid of the State banks? How is this to be accomplished? Of the Bank of the United States, indeed, we may free ourselves readily; but how are we to annihilate the State banks? We did not speak them into being; we cannot speak them out of being. They did not originate in any exercise of our power; nor do they owe their continuance to our indulgence. They are responsible to the States; to us they are irresponsible. We cannot act upon them; we can only act with them; and the expectation, as it would appear, is, that, by zealously co-operating with the government in carrying into operation its new theory, they may disprove the necessity of their own existence, and fairly work themselves out of the world! Sir, I ask once more, Is a great and intelligent community to endure patiently all sorts of suffering for fantasies like these? How charmingly practicable, how delightfully probable, all this looks!

I find it impossible, Mr. President, to believe that the removal of the deposits arose in any such purpose as is now avowed. I believe all this to be an after-thought. The removal was resolved on as a strong measure against the bank; and now that it has been attended with consequences not at all apprehended from it, instead of being promptly retracted, as it should have been, it is to be justified on the ground of a grand experiment, above the reach of common sagacity, and dropped down, as it were, from the clouds, "to witch the world with noble policy." It is not credible, not possible, Sir, that, six months ago, the administration suddenly started off to astonish mankind with its new inventions in politics, and that it then began its magnificent project by removing the deposits as its first operation. No, Sir, no such thing. The removal of the deposits was a blow at the bank, and nothing more; and if it had succeeded, we should have heard nothing of any project for the final putting down of all State banks. No, Sir, not one word. We should have heard, on the contrary, only of their usefulness, their excellence, and their exact adaptation to the uses and necessities of this government. But the experiment of making successful use of State banks having failed, completely failed, in this the very first endeavor; the State banks having already proved themselves not able to fill the place and perform the duties of a national bank, although highly useful in their

appropriate sphere; and the disastrous consequences of the measures of government coming thick and fast upon us, the professed object of the whole movement is at once changed, and the cry now is, Down with all the State banks! Down with all the State banks! and let us return to our embraces of solid gold and solid silver!


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

1st day 23 of 2 M / Silent Meeting & measurably favoured. -Rote to Thomas Shillitoe

There is now great distress in the Monied community & yesterday Saml Shove failed in [Providence](#) - in [New Bedford](#) the pressure is unparalleled - over Fifty failures having occured in a few Weeks & where it will end is uncertain. -

I thank the Lord that I owe nothing & am no where responsible in away but that I can answer at a Moments Warning that. I know of no responsibility beyond this nor do I apprehend any. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 February 24, Monday: In defiance of the law of February 16, three newspapers were sold in the Place de la Bourse, Paris. Scuffles ensued for hours, ended by mounted police. There would be more arrests on the following day.

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

4th day 26th of 2nd M 1834 / Rode with my wife to [Smithfield](#) to attend the Monthly Meeting It was quiet Solid & Silent - The Morning was cold & the riding rough, but softened & a little better on our return. -

There was very little buisness in the last Meeting & it held but little time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 27, Thursday: Rosmonda d'Inghilterra, a melodramma serio by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Romani, was performed for the initial time, in Teatro Pergola, Florence.

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

5th day 27 of 2 M / More trouble in the Monied concerns - We are told today that Otis Barlett of [Smithfield](#) has failed & assigned his property for the benefit of his creditors. - This is a hard Stroke for a Man advanced in life & a large dependant family. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



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MARCH

➡ March-August: From this month into August, publication in 3 volumes of the 3d edition of [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s POETICAL WORKS.

COLERIDGE'S POEMS

➡ 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).²⁶

26. [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.)

1834



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March: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as depicted below), the *Abencerrage*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, was arriving in Cuban waters.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
RACE SLAVERY



March: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) went courting, in the [Quaker](#) family of [George W. Benson](#) on a farm in Brooklyn, Connecticut.



March: The *E.L. Miller* was delivered to E.L. Miller. Records of the day do not indicate whether having this excellent machine named after himself improved Mr. Miller's performance, but it must certainly have been the occasion for much barbershop humor of the period. Drive, she said. Here is the *E.L. Miller*, being built by the company of Mathias W. Baldwin in Philadelphia in 1834:



March: [The Cultivator](#), the official organ of [New York's](#) State Agricultural Society, sponsored by Stephen Van Rensselaer and James Wadsworth, was published by Jesse Buel.



1834

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March 4, Tuesday: Soon after completing his 3-volume STATUES OF OHIO at 22 years of age Salmon Portland Chase married Catherine Jane Garniss, the 1st of his three wives.



March 5, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 5th of 3rd M / Yesterday was subcommittee & divers of our friends were here - it was a pretty pleasant day & I hope the labours of the committee will be productive of good particularly in the New School where care & labour is much needed. - This Mornng my wife went in the Steam Boat President to [Newport](#) to see Sister Ruth who is very poorly & in a distressed State from a Can[C]erous affliction in her breast. - Being obliged to Carry my wife to town in time to take the Steam Boat - I could not attend our Meeting which I was sorry for, as our friends Edw & Elizabeth Wing was here & attended Meeting. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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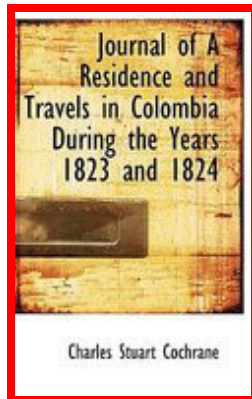
➡ March 6, Thursday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [Mary Barney's](#) A BIOGRAPHICAL MEMOIR OF THE LATE COMMODORE [JOSHUA BARNEY](#) (1832).



WAR OF 1812

COMM. JOSHUA BARNEY

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 tranquiil 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.²⁷

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.

27. 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.



March 7, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

6th day 7th of 3rd M 1834 / This mornng I called down at [Moses Browns](#) & found him buisy in making an Alteration in his Will - In the Afternoon he rode up to the Institution & spent several hours - The clearness of his mind was remarkable. In conversation with J G he opened the nature of the Scriptures & of their divine Spiritually [spirituality?], in a manner that was Striking & powerful, eliciting from my mind the cordial acknowledgement that such good experience "Is enough" to satisfy any mind, that Religion is no fiction, & must be found in spirit, & there experienced, where the Scriptures will bear Witness to that which is made manifest Within. -



1834

1834



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

1st day 9 of 3 M 1734 / Today finished a letter & sent it to my Office for my wife in [Newport](#) – Also wrote to Abrhm Sherman Jr in answer to one recently recd from him by Cht R Tucker– Our Meetings were both Silent & very solid seasons – My mind some favoured but I could not come at all I wanted to feel –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 10, Monday: The Dusseldorf Theatrical Association constituted itself to bring theater and opera to the city. In charge of directing the operas would be [Felix Mendelssohn](#).

[Nehemiah Ball, Jr.](#) was born in [Concord](#), 7th child of [Nehemiah Ball](#) and Mary Merriam Ball. He would be fitted for college at the Hopkins Classical School in Cambridge and would prove to be intellectually quite capable, but erratic in disposition.

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

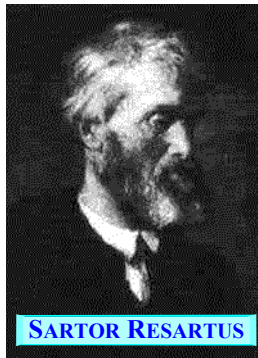
2nd day 10 of 3 M / Recd a letter this evening from my dear Wife at [Newport](#) – Mentioning that our beloved Sister Ruth was in a very suffering State with her breast & also that Aunt Nancy Carpenter was quite poorly. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 11, Tuesday: The US Coastal Survey was placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Navy.

➡ 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

1834

1834



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).²⁸

A BEDOUEEN ROMANCE

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





28. 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 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 14, Friday: At the Cape of Good Hope, [Sir John Frederick William Hershel](#) made the discovery of an open cluster of stars that would come to be known as [NGC 3603](#).

 March 15, Saturday: Antoine-Jean Letronne (1787-1848)'s *Opinions Cosmographiques des Peres* (On the Cosmographical Opinions of the Church Fathers), starting on page 601 in [Revue des deux Mondes](#), furthered the conceit that the early Middle Ages had been a period of profound intellectual darkness (this article follows after [Washington Irving](#), as a source for the urban legend that the Flat Earth theory was propagated by the Vatican).

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

*7th day 15 of 3 M / Recd a letter from my wife in [Newport](#) - Sister Ruth is no better, her disorder seems to be increasing. - Saw by the Paper this evening that John Lawton Died at the Assylum on Coaster Harbour - Aged 80 Years - he was an apprentice to my Father at the Tailors trade - & in my youth used to work for him, he also at the same time lived nearly opposite my Fathers in the house now occupied & owned by Job Sherman, & I well remember his Mother Sarah Wanton - He was one of the dissolute Young men of that Day & who was in the habit of Drinking to excess & finally went to the Assylum. - What State of mind he died in I know not but hope he gave better evidence of a Sober & religious life in the conclusion than he did in the commencement of his career.
He died on the 8th inst & I thought best to insert it being one of whom I had early knowledge & I find all those are fast passing off the Stage of this life -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 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 dissatisfaction [*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 Instructors, viz. [Francis Sales](#), Esq., Instructor in French and Spanish; [Pietro Bachi](#), A.M., J.U.D., Instructor in Italian; Charles Follen, J.U.D., Professor of the German Language and Literature; and Francis M.J. Surault, Instructor 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; he 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 Instructors 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 17, Monday: Gottlieb Daimler, automobile pioneer, was born.

March 18, Tuesday: In Leeds, about 3,000 weavers went on strike.

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

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➡ 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 20, Thursday: [Moses Greenleaf](#) died in Williamsburg, Maine.

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

*5th day 20 of 3 M / Attended the Preparative Meeting held in Town, it was Muddy & none of the Girls went & but a few of the boys
Wm Almy engaged in testimony – It was a pretty good Meeting to me. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 21, Friday: Le Tribunal de Premiere Instance de la Seine ordered that the annuity promised to Gioachino Rossini by King Charles X be paid in perpetuity.

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

7th day 22 of 3rd M / Recd a letter from my wife in [Newport](#), & if Sister Ruth is no worse she expects to return to the Institution 3rd day next. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ March 23, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 23rd of 3 M / Our Morning Meeting was silent – In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached a good sermon & was much



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*fuller than common for him on the subject of spirituality It was a good testimony. –
Oh that our society may be preserved on the Ancient foundation – in the Doctrine of Ancient Friends who I firmly believe knew the Truth & lived & Died in it –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

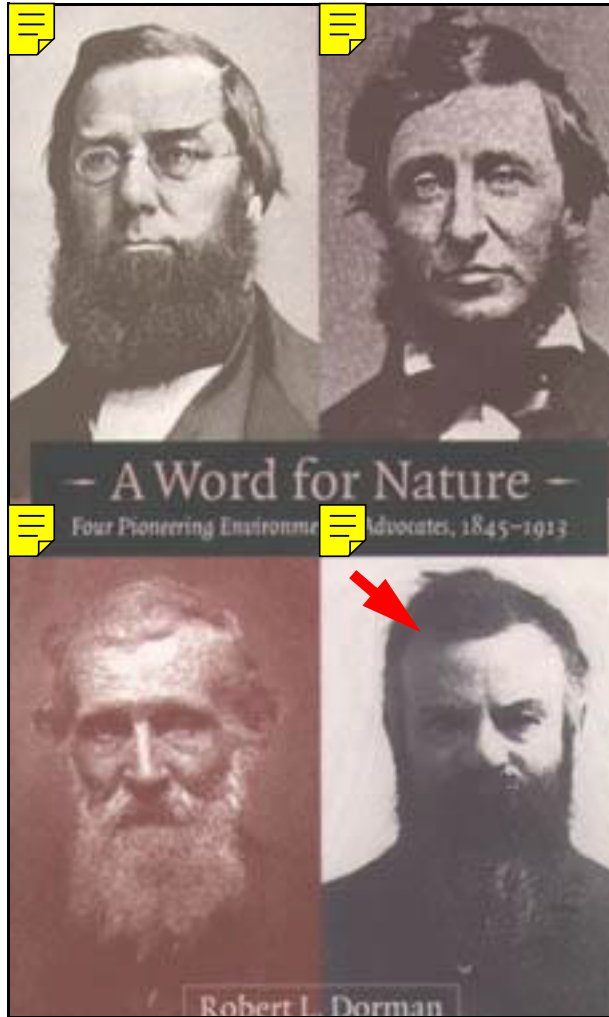


March 24, Monday: [Alexander Young](#), printer, editor of a gazette, died in Boston at the age of 66.

[Alexander Charles](#) replaced [Alexius Frederick Christian](#) as Duke of Anhalt-Bernburg.

In August 1833 Great Britain and [France](#) had proposed that the United States of America enter with them into a treaty for suppression of the [international slave trade](#). At this point the US refused their proposal, explaining that this was primarily because we could not allow foreign warships to operate in such manner along the coasts of the United States. This part of the proposal would be removed by Great Britain on July 7th, 1834 and on September 12th, 1834 the French Minister would join in urging the US to go along. On October 4th, 1834, however, we would announce that we weren't about to "make the United States a party to any Convention on the subject of the Slave Trade." This just wasn't going to happen (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1835, Volume LI, SLAVE TRADE, Class B, pages 84-92).

John Wesley Powell, explorer of the Colorado River, was born in Mount Morris, New York.



➡ 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.²⁹

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 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



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

5th day 27th of 3rd M / By the Steam Boat this forenoon my dear wife returned from [Newport](#) where she has been the last three Weeks with Our dear & well beloved Sister Ruth Rodman who is in an afflicted state with a Cancer on her breast - I am grieved, sorely grieved on her account - there appears to be no prospect of her being better -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

29. Would this have been where Thoreau learned of the ruins 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!

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March 28, Good Friday, and March 29, Great Saturday: President Andrew Jackson was censured by the Whig-dominated US Congress for failing to turn over cabinet documents relating to the dismantling of the Bank of the United States (this censure would be expunged by a Democrat-dominated US Congress in 1837).

According to English traveler Robert Curzon reporting in 1849, Christian pilgrims had been jammed into the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem since midnight, preparing to participate in a ceremony of the [Holy Fire](#). The church was filled to standing-room capacity with the exception of a gallery reserved for the Turkish governor of Jerusalem, Ibrahim Pasha, and his English guests.



The ceremony marks the occurrence of the longest-attested annual miracle of the Christian world, an event that has been consecutively documented since 1106AD. Each year the Tomb of Christ is carefully inspected by neutral authorities to verify that it contains no mechanism for the making of fire. Before the patriarch enters he takes off his garments and submits himself to careful examination to verify that he is not carrying any technical means for the creation of a flame. When he enters the chamber he is carrying only a bundle of 33 white candles, and when he emerges, they are alight. It is reported that during the first 33 minutes of this fire, it cannot be made to burn the hair, faces, or clothing of the worshipers. Goy vey!

The people were by this time become furious; they were worn out with standing in such a crowd all night and as the time approached for the exhibition of the holy fire could not contain themselves for joy. Their excitement increased until about one o'clock a magnificent procession moved out of the Greek chapel. It conducted the Patriarch three times round the tomb; after which he took off his robes of cloth of silver, and went into the sepulchre, the door of which was then closed. The agitation of the pilgrims was now extreme; they screamed aloud, and the dense mass of people shook to and fro, like a field of corn in the wind. There is a round hole in one part of the chapel over the sepulchre, and up to this the man who had agreed to pay the highest sum for this honour was conducted by a strong guard of soldiers. There was silence for a minute; and then a light appeared out of the tomb, and the happy pilgrim received the holy fire from the Patriarch within. It consisted of a bundle



of thin wax candles, lit, and enclosed in an iron frame to prevent their being torn asunder and put out in the crowd; for a furious battle commenced immediately; everyone being so eager to obtain the holy light, that one man put out the candle of his neighbour in trying to light his own. This was the whole of the ceremony: no sermon, no prayers, nothing except a little chanting during the processions. Soon you saw the lights increasing in all directions, everyone having lit his candle from the holy flame: the chapels, the galleries and every corner where a candle could possibly be displayed, immediately appeared to be in a blaze. The people in their frenzy put bunches of lighted tapers to their faces, hands, and breasts, to purify themselves from their sins. In a short time the smoke of the candles obscured everything in the place, and I could see it rolling in great volumes out of the aperture at the top of the dome. The smell was terrible; and three unhappy people, overcome by heat and bad air, fell from the upper range of galleries, and were dashed to pieces on the heads of the people below. One poor Armenian lady, seventeen years of age, died where she sat, of heat, thirst, and fatigue. After a while, when he had seen all that was to be seen, Ibrahim Pasha got up and went away, his numerous guards making a line for him by main force through the dense mass of people which filled the body of the church. As the crowd was so immense, we waited for a little while, and then set out all together to return to our convent. I went first and my friends followed me, the soldiers making way for us across the church. I got as far as the place where the Virgin is said to have stood during the Crucifixion, when I saw a number of people lying one on another all about this part of the church, and as far as I could see towards the door. I made my way between them as well as I could, till they were so thick that there was actually a great heap of bodies on which I trod. It then suddenly struck me they were all dead! I had not perceived this at first, for I thought they were only very much fatigued with the ceremonies, and had lain down to rest themselves there; but when I came to so great a heap of bodies I looked down at them, and saw that sharp, hard appearance of the face which is never to be mistaken. Many of them were quite black with suffocation, and further on were others all bloody and covered with the brains and entrails of those who had been trodden to pieces by the crowd. At this time there was no crowd in this part of the church; but a little further on, round the corner towards the great door, the people, who were quite panic-struck, continued to press forward, and everyone was doing his utmost to escape. The guards outside, frightened at the rush from within, thought that the Christians wished to attack them, and the confusion soon grew into a battle. The soldiers with their bayonets killed numbers of fainting wretches, and the walls were spattered with blood and brains of men who had been felled, like oxen, with the butt-ends of the soldiers' muskets. Everyone struggled to defend himself or to get away, and in the mêlée all who fell were immediately trampled to death by the rest. So desperate and savage did the fight become, that even the panic-struck and frightened pilgrims appeared at last to have been more intent upon the destruction of each other than desirous to save themselves. For my part, as soon as I perceived the danger, I



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had cried out to my companions to turn back, which they had done; but I myself was carried on by the press till I came near the door, where all were fighting for their lives. Here, seeing certain destruction before me, I made every endeavour to get back. An officer of the Pasha, who by his star was a colonel, equally alarmed with myself, was also trying to return; he caught hold of my cloak and pulled me down on the body of an old man who was breathing out his last sigh. As the officer was pressing me to the ground, we wrestled together among the dying and the dead with the energy of despair. I struggled with this man till I pulled him down, and happily got again upon my legs – (I afterwards found that he never rose again). I stood up for a minute among the press of people, held up on the uncomfortable footing of dead bodies by the dense crowd who were squeezed together in this narrow part of the church. We all stood still for a short time, when of a sudden the crowd swayed, a cry arose, the crowd opened, and I found myself standing in the centre of a line of men, with another line opposite to me, all pale and ghastly with torn and bloody clothes, and there we stood glaring at each other; but in a moment a sudden impulse seized upon us, with a shriek that echoed in the long aisles of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre the two adverse lines dashed at each other, and I was soon engaged tearing and wrestling with a thin, half naked man, whose legs were smeared with blood. The crowd again fell back, and by desperate fighting and hard struggles, I made my way back into the body of the church, where I found my friends, and we succeeded in reaching the sacristy of the Catholics, and thence the room which had been assigned to us by the monks, but not without a fierce conflict at the door of the sacristy with a crowd of frightened pilgrims who tried to press through with us. I thanked God for my escape – I had a narrow chance. The dead were lying in heaps, even upon the stone of unction; and I saw full four hundred unhappy people, dead and living, heaped promiscuously one upon another, in some places about five feet high. Ibrahim Pasha had left the church only a few minutes before me, and very narrowly escaped with his life; he was so pressed upon by the crowd on all sides, and it was said attacked by several of them, that it was only by the greatest exertions of his suite, several of whom were killed, that he gained the outer court. He fainted more than once in the struggle, and I was told that some of his attendants at last had to cut a way for him with their swords through the dense ranks of the frantic pilgrims. He remained outside, giving orders for the removal of the corpses, and making his men drag out the bodies of those who appeared to be still alive from the heaps of the dead.



March 30, Easter Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 30th of 3rd M / In our Morning Meeting Lydia Breed was engaged in a lively sound & pertinent testimony In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & addressed the Scholars on the subject of Morality & religion. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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.

→ Spring: From this point until early in 1835, [Jones Very](#) would be chewing and stewing over [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#)'s CHILDE HAROLD.

APRIL

→ April: [James Hogg](#) had been offering a manuscript, FAMILIAR ANECDOTES OF SIR [WALTER SCOTT](#), for publication. The manuscript was so offensive to Scott's son-in-law John Gibson Lockhart (who was at that time working up an official biography), that he had effectively prevented its publication in the United Kingdom. James Hogg had "insulted his dust." –How could this uncouth rustic James Hogg be allowed to present Sir Walter as having been a chronic suck-up on the nobility? –How did he dare raise questions about the parentage of Lady Scott? –Where did this man get off, characterizing Sir Walter in the final stage of his illness, as in the condition of a drunken man? Since Scott was in fact a Tory with aristocratic aspirations, a member of the local gentry educated at the capital city of Edinburgh, such remarks were much too close to home for comfort. Sir Walter had not only been a patron of Hogg but had in fact been outrageously "patronizing" toward him. However, it would be wrong, very very wrong, for the peasantry ever to be allowed to get familiar with the gentry. Finally the volume was published, by Harper and Brothers in New-York.

FAMILIAR ANECDOTES

→ April: According to a [comet](#) list published in Boston in 1846, attributed to Professor [Benjamin Peirce](#):

B	1832	Nov. 26.11687	248	29	33	110	14	40	221	45	7	13	13	31	0.8790869	0.751460	D	Peters.
154	1833	Sept. 10.024	322	49	58	221	30	38	158	40	40	7	26	17	0.44977		D	Peters.
155	1834	April 2.821	226	14	41	276	40	13	50	25	32	5	59	48	0.51246		R	Rumker.
156	1835	Mar. 20.877	20	8	30	305	31	57	313	46	33	9	2	42	2.05149			

SKY EVENT


1834



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April: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Gazeta*, master Escura, at the conclusion of its first of two known Middle Passages, brought an unknown number of [enslaved](#) human beings ashore at Matanzas, Cuba.



April: Secularization of the Franciscan missions of *Alta California* was set to be gradual but within the next four months (actually this process wouldn't even get started until August 9th ).

April: Congressman David Crockett began a political tour of Baltimore, Philadelphia, New-York, and [Boston](#).



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➡ April: In [Rhode Island](#), the Constitutional Party candidates in general lost badly, but one of them, [Thomas Wilson Dorr](#), did manage to obtain one of the four seats from [Providence](#).



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

➡ April: Volume II of the Reverend Professor [Jared Sparks](#) of [Harvard College](#)'s THE LIBRARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY.

LIBRARY OF AM. BIOG. II

This encompassed two contributions:

- LIFE OF ALEXANDER WILSON, by William B.O. Peabody

LIFE OF ALEXANDER WILSON

- LIFE OF [CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH](#), by George Stillman Hillard

LIFE OF JOHN SMITH

➡ April 3, Thursday: [Robert Schumann](#)'s periodical [Neue Leipziger Zeitschrift fur Musik](#) began publication.

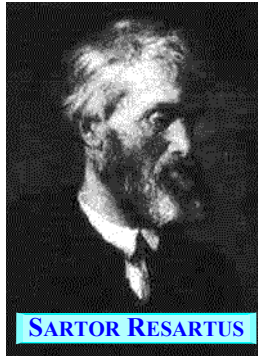
At the Westminster Congregational Church in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), [George William Curtis](#)'s and [James Burrill Curtis](#)'s father George Curtis remarried with Julia Bowen Bridgham, a daughter of Samuel W. Bridgham of Providence. The Reverend Frederick A. Farley presided at this ceremony.

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➡ 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.³⁰



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.³¹

➡ 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.

➡ April 9, Wednesday: After the French government attempted to suppress trade unions, unarmed republican workers in Lyon met at the city court house to protest. They would battle with police for six days. More than 500 would be killed.

➡ April 10, Thursday: Hector Berlioz and Harriet Smithson Berlioz moved to Montmartre. She was pregnant.

At Waterloo Place in [London](#), a column of granite more than 100 feet in height had been erected, and a 13-foot statue of Prince Frederick, Duke of York weighing 16,840 pounds had been hoisted to its top. On this day the project was completed, and the joke of the day was that the statue was at such a height so that the Duke could avoid his creditors. Actually, the granite column is hollow and contains a spiral staircase of 168 steps leading to a viewing platform beneath the statue (this staircase has been unavailable for many decades, not only to the Duke's creditors but also to the general public).

30. Another Transcendentalist who was reading along serially in [SARTOR RESARTUS](#) was [Bronson Alcott](#).

31. 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).

HDT

WHAT?

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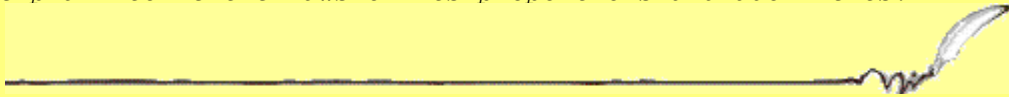
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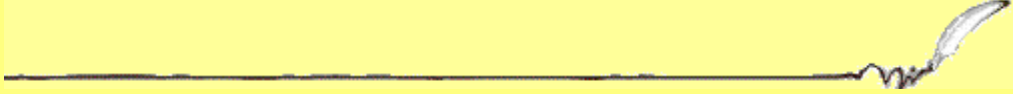
April 11, Friday: Concerto da camera op.10/2 by Valentin Alkan was performed for the initial time, in Bath, England.

[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?



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 13, Sunday: Just before a republican insurrection was set to begin in Paris, their leader, Theophile Guillard de Kersausie, was arrested by police. Many disheartened workers went home. The ensuing action would last only until the following morning before being suppressed by authorities. 69 people would be killed and scores arrested. In the midst of the fighting, government forces killed a dozen civilians in a house in the Rue Transnonain, an act which would horrify the public.

➡ April 14, Monday: As proposed by US Senator Henry Clay, his party would henceforward be known as the “Whigs.”

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

5th day 17th of 4th M 1834 / Attended Meeting in Town, it being Preparative & Select meeting In the Public Meeting Wm Almy, [Moses Brown](#), & Anna A Jenkins Spoke & tho' the forepart of it was painful, in ended under a good savour – In the last Meeting the queries were Answered & a communication was recd from a Man who stands as a Member, requesting to be dismissed from Society, & forwarded to the Moy [Monthly] Meeting – In our Select Meeting it was a searching & Very distressing season, but we were favoured to close well or pretty well, & I hope some good was done – It is time the Elders look around them & see what is for them to do. They ought to be Watchmen & Watch Women on the Walls



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of Zion, & it is greatly to be feared that unless they do stand firm & arrest wrong things & wrong doctrines in their first appearance, that our society will become quite another thing & the Doctrines of our Dear Ancient friends become very much despised or perverted at least, for there Are Doctrines advanced both in England & this country which are at variance with those held in the primitve days of the Society - My soul has long mourned over it & been sorely distressed with apprehensions that some are "Merging" into the Doctrines of other Societies instead of supporting our own.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



April 18, Friday: The HMS *Beagle* with [Charles Darwin](#) sailed up the coast of Patagonia to Rio Santa Cruz.

Szenen aus Mozarts Leben, a Singspiel by Albert Lortzing to his own words, was performed for the initial time.

The Brooklyn & Jamaica Railroad was completed. The Paumanok Long Island Railroad (LIRR) purchased it and began laying rails to the east of the line.



April 19, Saturday: In and around Penn Yan, New York at the head of Crooked Lake (now Keuka Lake), some members of the Society of Universal Friends were still hanging onto their faith. In Philadelphia, the Saturday Courier incautiously published a "tragical story of a Mormon preacher" who had pretended to be able to walk on water, who had been foiled by some clever Philadelphians, a story allegedly provided to that gazette "by the editor of the Independent Messenger on the authority of a gentleman from the western part of the state of New York":

In a town where the delusion had made numerous converts the disciples were summoned to assemble in a wild place, circumjacent to a pond, on the water of which, a gifted elder announced that he should walk and preach.... But it seems there were a few wicked Lamanites, who secretly set themselves to make mischief.... They soon discovered a line of plank laid in a particular direction completely across the pond, sunk about four inches under the surface of the water.... They resolved on preventing the miracle by sawing the concealed bridge in pieces, just where it crossed the deepest and most dangerous part of the pond.... The expected day arrived, the congregation placed themselves as in an amphitheatre on the surrounding slopes and the preacher appeared at the edge of the water ... and as he paced his invisible bridge with a step apparent unearthly taught and warned the people. All ears were open, and every eye strained from its socket with astonishment. But alas! ... he stepped upon one of the detached pieces of plank sallied side-ways, and instantly plunged, floundering and sinking in the deep water mire ... the tale closes with the close of his life and the consequent close of Mormonism in that vicinity.



The [Evening and Morning Star](#), a Mormon gazette, promptly reprinted this gazette's story verbatim (Volume 2, Number 19, page 151) while commenting that "Some two or three years since, a similar story was hatched up by (we presume) the priests, or their dupes; but we had supposed that it had either gone back to its native region to dwell with its author the father of lies, or like its first promulgator from him, sunk into disgrace to rise no more." The Mormon gazette's editor, Oliver Cowdery, challenged the [Courier](#) to publish the name of its source. In fact, the story was the recycling of one of those urban legends too good not to be told, that had previously surfaced not in regard to Mormon saints but in regard to "Universal Friend," [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), and perhaps also in regard to other religious pretenders. In this year a travel guide, *MEN AND MANNERS IN AMERICA*, would pick up the story (Volume II, pages 305-6):

The banks of the Seneca, like those of the Gareloch,³² have been the chosen seat of miracles. Some years ago, a woman called Jemima Wilson [Wilkinson], announced herself as the Saviour of the world, and attracted a few followers somewhat more mad than herself. While her miraculous endowments were displayed only in the jabbering of unknown tongues, and unintelligible predictions, she stood on safe ground, but unluckily her ambition pointed to the honour of more palpable miracles. "Near Rapelyeas ferry," says the Northern Tourist, "the frame is still standing which Jemima constructed to try the faith of her followers. Having approached within a few [306] hundred yards of the shore, she alighted from an elegant carriage, and the road being strewn by her followers with white handkerchiefs, she walked to the platform, and having announced her intention of walking across the lake on the water, she stepped ankle-deep into the clear element, when suddenly pausing, she addressed the multitude, enquiring whether they had faith that she could pass over, for if otherwise, she could not; and on receiving an affirmative answer, returned to her carriage, declaring, that as they believed in her power, it unnecessary to display it.

This legend about "Universal Friend," [Jemimah Wilkinson](#), has also been retailed in regard to Sneece Pond and other bodies of water in [Cumberland](#) and [Smithfield](#), and in regard to Worden Pond in [South Kingstown, Rhode Island](#), and in regard to Yawgoog Pond in Exeter, to the Taunton River near Swansea, to the Housatonic River near New Milford, to the Schuylkill River near Philadelphia, and to various sites on Seneca and Keuka lakes. In its most common variant Jemimah promises to walk on the water like Christ, but when her followers attest their faith, declares there to be no need for proof. There is, however, a version in which the onlookers include skeptics, with Jemimah declaring, "Without thy faith I cannot do it," and a version in which she attempts to walk on a platform that has been constructed just below the still surface of the lake, but someone has removed several boards from this platform, so she tumbles into the water to the delight of the skeptics.



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

*1st day 4th M 20th 1834 / Our Meetings were both silent & to me seasons of Poverty
Oh that my Soul may not perish on the barren Mountains, be destroyed in the Earthquake, carried off in the whirlwind nor Yet settle down in the calm; at last there seems to be danger on every side, & there is much at this time to encounter to stand from & keep to the Ancient & true foundation, & what will be the result of some Shakings that await us, is beyond my foresight, yet a little hope is underneath that all will not be shaken down*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


32. A salt-water inlet 63 miles long and a mile wide, to the west of Glasgow, Scotland.



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 April 21, Monday: 16-year-old Ernestine von Fricken arrived in Leipzig to take lessons with Friedrich Wieck. She would form an emotional relationship with [Robert Schumann](#).

 April 22, Tuesday: Great Britain, France, Spain and Portugal formed the Quadruple Alliance to support liberal governments in Iberia and to deter the Holy Alliance of Russia, Prussia, and Austria.


Although formally His Majesty's Government took over the island of [St. Helena](#), in fact by agreement [Brigadier-General Charles Dallas of the East India Company](#) continued for the time being as acting governor.

ST. HELENA THE HISTORIC


(Hey, we're all adults here.)

 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 24, Thursday: The [New York State](#) Legislature granted a charter to the Paumanok Long Island Railroad.

The Lockport & [Niagara Falls](#) Rail Road was incorporated, capitalized at \$175,000. This entity would later merge with the New York Central Rail Road.

 April 25, Friday: After witnessing a performance of [Vincenzo Bellini](#)'s Norma, Jacob Meyerbeer wrote to his wife from Modena. "I tremble and shake at the thought of my new opera (Les Huguenots) being directly compared with this Norma, since it was apparently to be given in Paris at almost the same time as my new opera."

An application was made on this day and the following one for a charter for London University, a college offering free admission to all sects and denominations that had been being constructed in Gower Street of London since April 30, 1827, and that had been open for business since October 1, 1828. (A special meeting of the proprietors would be held on December 2, 1835 to consider the proposals of the government, and the institution would incorporate as the "University of London" in 1838.)

Commander [George Back](#) learned of the safe return of Captain Ross.

(Page 245) "Captain Ross, Sir. Captain Ross is returned." "Eh! are you quite sure? is there no error? where is the account from?" The man paused, looked at me, and pointing with his finger said, "You have it in your hand, sir." It was so; but the packet had been forgotten in the excitement and hurry of my feelings.





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Two open extracts from the Times and Morning Herald confirmed the tidings; and my official letter, with others from the long lost adventurers themselves [...] removed all possible doubt, and evinced at the same time the powerful interest which the event had awakened in the public, by a great proportion of whom the party had long since been numbered among the dead.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

 April 26, Saturday: [Charles Farrar "Artemis Ward" Brown\(e\)](#) was born in Waterford, Maine.


 April 28, Monday: For the 1st time, Robert Schumann mentioned the music of Hector Berlioz in the Neue Zeitschrift fur Musik.

When, to advance French industry, King Louis-Philippe visited Erard's in Paris, Franz Liszt performed for the occasion.

[Nicolò Paganini](#) made his debut as a solo violist in London (critics advised that he not persist in this effort).

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

 April 29, Tuesday: From Patagonia, [Charles Darwin](#) caught sight of peaks in the Andes chain.

 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.

HDT

WHAT?

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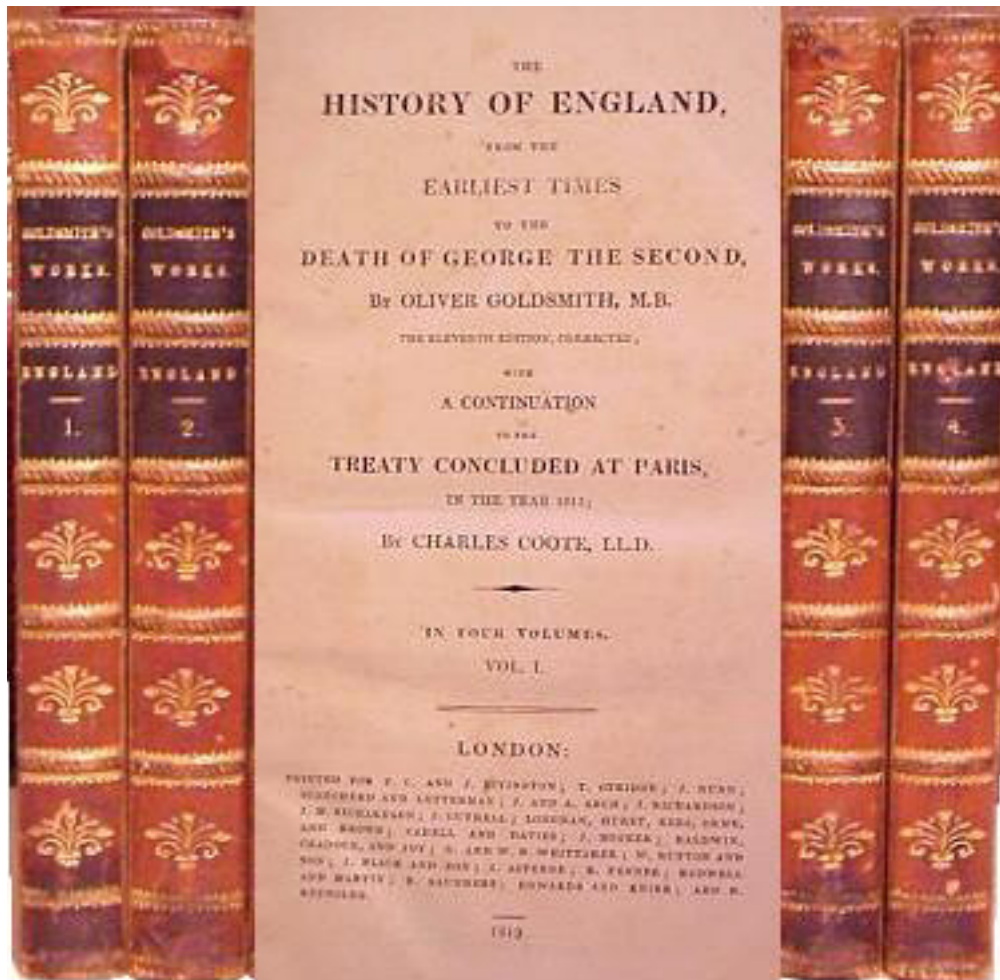
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Thoreau also checked out [Oliver Goldsmith's](#) THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND, ... WITH A CONTINUATION TO THE TREATY CONCLUDED AT PARIS IN THE YEAR 1815.

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

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Afternoon We went to Daniel Howlands & lodged

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



MAY

THE 1ST TUESDAY IN MAY WAS THE ANNUAL "MUSTER DAY," ON WHICH ALL THE ABLEBODIED WHITE MEN OF A TOWN WERE SUPPOSEDLY REQUIRED TO FALL INTO FORMATION, WITH THEIR PERSONAL FIREARMS, TO UNDERGO THEIR ANNUAL DAY OF MILITARY TRAINING AND MILITIA INDOCTRINATION.



May: [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) led a group of Mormons, called Zion's Camp, back to Missouri to attempt to reclaim their lands (this effort would be unsuccessful).

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→ May: In [Rhode Island](#), Representative [Thomas Wilson Dorr](#) presented the 19 resolutions of his Constitutional Party, but the General Assembly was able to deflect them by initiating a “Freeman’s Constitutional Convention.” This convention met to repudiate the proposals and then lapsed due to lack of a quorum. He had been stymied.



READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT



→ May: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Despique*, master J.M. Oliveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, out of Angola with a cargo of 215 [enslaved](#) Africans, arrived at the port of Havana, Cuba.



→ May: For the first meeting of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, in Boston, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May orated:

Genius of America – Spirit of our free institutions! – where art thou? How art thou fallen, O Lucifer! son of the morning, – how art thou fallen from Heaven! Hell from beneath is moved for thee,

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to meet thee at thy coming! The kings of the earth cry out to thee, Aha! Aha! Art thou become like unto us?

At this convention, [Harvard College](#)'s Professor of German, the Reverend [Charles Follen](#), inferred from the [Declaration of Independence](#) to certain principles of republican freedom: "Shall a republic be less free than a monarchy?" he asked, pointing out that England, a monarchy, had already outlawed slavery. "If you are republicans in principle, then let the avenues, all the avenues of light and liberty, of truth and love, be opened wide to every one within the nation." By "every one," he meant to be really radical and really to shock: "every one" meant, he suggested, not only black people but also American Indians and even human females. Toward the close of the learned German-American's address occurred a passage which would suggest the following lines:

The despotism which our fathers could not bear in their native country is expiring, and the sword of justice in her reformed hands has applied its exterminating edge to slavery. Shall the United States—the free United States, which could not bear the bonds of a king—cradle the bondage which a king is abolishing? Shall a Republic be less free than a Monarchy? Shall we, in the vigor and buoyancy of our manhood, be less energetic in righteousness than a kingdom in its age?

Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) would prepare the following poem:

FOLLEN.

OUR fellow-countrymen in chains!
Slaves, in a land of light and law!
Slaves, crouching on the very plains
Where rolled the storm of Freedom's war!
A groan from Eutaw's haunted wood,
A wail where Camden's martyrs fell,
By every shrine of patriot blood,
From Moultrie's wall and Jasper's well!

By storied hill and hallowed grot,
By mossy wood and marshy glen,
Whence rang of old the rifle-shot,
And hurrying shout of Marion's men!
The groan of breaking hearts is there,
The falling lash, the fetter's clank!
Slaves, slaves are breathing in that air
Which old De Kalb and Sumter drank!

What, ho! our countrymen in chains!
The whip on woman's shrinking flesh!
Our soil yet reddening with the stains
Caught from her scourging, warm and fresh!
What! mothers from their children riven!
What! God's own image bought and sold!
Americans to market driven,
And bartered as the brute for gold!

Speak! shall their agony of prayer
Come thrilling to our hearts in vain?
To us whose fathers scorned to bear
The paltry menace of a chain;
To us, whose boast is loud and long
Of holy Liberty and Light;
Say, shall these writhing slaves of Wrong
Plead vainly for their plundered Right?

What! shall we send, with lavish breath,
Our sympathies across the wave,
Where Manhood, on the field of death,
Strikes for his freedom or a grave?



Shall prayers go up, and hymns be sung
For Greece, the Moslem fetter spurning,
And millions hail with pen and tongue
Our light on all her altars burning?

Shall Belgium feel, and gallant France,
By Vendome's pile and Schoenbrun's wall,
And Poland, gasping on her lance,
The impulse of our cheering call?
And shall the slave, beneath our eye,
Clank o'er our fields his hateful chain?
And toss his fettered arms on high,
And groan for Freedom's gift, in vain?

Oh, say, shall Prussia's banner be
A refuge for the stricken slave?
And shall the Russian serf go free
By Baikal's lake and Neva's wave?
And shall the wintry-bosomed Dane
Relax the iron hand of pride,

And bid his bondmen cast the chain
From fettered soul and limb aside?

Shall every flap of England's flag
Proclaim that all around are free,
From farthest Ind to each blue crag
That beetles o'er the Western Sea?
And shall we scoff at Europe's kings,
When Freedom's fire is dim with us,
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of Slavery's curse?

Go, let us ask of Constantine
To loose his grasp on Poland's throat;
And beg the lord of Mahmoud's line
To spare the struggling Suliote;
Will not the scorching answer come
From turbaned Turk, and scornful Russ:
"Go, loose your lettered slaves at home,
Then turn, and ask the like of us!"

Just God! and shall we calmly rest,
The Christian's scorn, the heathen's mirth,
Content to live the lingering jest
And by-word of a mocking Earth?
Shall our own glorious land retain
That curse which Europe scorns to bear?
Shall our own brethren drag the chain
Which not even Russia's menials wear?


Up, then, in Freedom's manly part,
From graybeard eld to fiery youth,
And on the nation's naked heart
Scatter the living coals of Truth!

Up! while ye slumber, deeper yet
The shadow of our fame is growing!
Up! while ye pause, our sun may set
In blood, around our altars flowing!


Oh! rouse ye, ere the storm comes forth,
The gathered wrath of God and man,
Like that which wasted Egypt's earth,
When hail and fire above it ran.
Hear ye no warnings in the air?
Feel ye no earthquake underneath?
Up, up! why will ye slumber where
The sleeper only wakes in death?

Rise now for Freedom! not in strife
Like that your sterner fathers saw,
The awful waste of human life,
The glory and the guilt of war:
But break the chain, the yoke remove,
And smite to earth Oppression's rod,
With those mild arms of Truth and Love,
Made mighty through the living God!

Down let the shrine of Moloch sink,
And leave no traces where it stood;
Nor longer let its idol drink
His daily cup of human blood;
But rear another altar there,
To Truth and Love and Mercy given,
And Freedom's gift, and freedom's prayer,
Shall call an answer down from Heaven!

 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 $23 \times 2 = 46$ 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!³³

 May: The Boston and Worcester Railroad obtained a contract to carry the US mail.

 May: The Boston Stock Exchange opened its doors.

33. 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!

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➡ May: Warren Ferris, a clerk for American Fur Company, traveled through Yellowstone with two Indian guides to see the hot springs, geysers and feel the vibrations of the area that he had heard so much about. He describes his first morning in Yellowstone in the following way; “Clouds of vapor seemed like a dense fog to overhang the springs, from which frequent reports or explosions of different loudness, constantly assailed our ears. I immediately proceeded to inspect them, and might have exclaimed with the Queen of Sheba, when their full reality of dimensions and novelty burst upon my view, ‘The half was not told me.’ From the surface of a rocky plain or table, burst forth columns of water, of various dimensions, projected high in the air, accompanied by loud explosions, and sulphurous vapors.... The largest of these wonderful fountains, projects a column of boiling water several feet in diameter, to the height of more than one hundred and fifty feet accompanied with a tremendous noise.... I ventured near enough to put my hand into the water of its basin, but withdrew it instantly, for the heat of the water in this immense cauldron, was altogether too great for comfort, and the agitation of the water ... and the hollow unearthly rumbling under the rock on which I stood, so ill accorded with my notions of personal safety, that I retreated back precipitately to a respectful distance.”


➡ May: Loammi Baldwin II prepared his second map of the Concord and Sudbury Rivers, on behalf of the [Middlesex Canal](#) Corporation, from East Sudbury to Billerica.³⁴



➡ May: No installment of [Thomas Carlyle](#)'s [SARTOR RESARTUS](#) appeared in this month's issue of [Fraser's Magazine](#).

➡ May 4, Sunday: [Charles Darwin](#) had ridden across Patagonia from its Pacific coast to a point at which he was merely 200 kilometers from the Atlantic.

34. The map was actually drawn by B.F. Perham. This was the map which would be checked by Thoreau in July 1859 and then used in January 1860 in the preparation of the River Meadow Association's lawsuit against the [Middlesex Canal](#) Corporation before the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, for elevating the waters of the river system above the dams which fed water into the canal in such manner as to damage the river meadows.


 May 5, Monday: The last movement of the Concerto for piano and orchestra no.1 was performed for the initial time, in the Leipzig Gewandhaus, with the composer Clara Wieck at the keyboard and [Felix Mendelssohn](#) conducting.

[Charles Darwin](#) began a new expedition at Rio Santa Cruz in the South American continent.


The original purpose of his venture into the boreal zone of the North American continent having vanished upon receipt of the news that Captain Ross had been able to return safely to England, Commander [George Back](#) determined to embark upon a straightforward exploration of the Thlew-ee-choh and the seacoast adjoining its mouth.

(Page 247) ... now, when I knew of Captain Ross's safety, [...] I determined at once on going with one boat instead of two along the coast, selecting the best men for my crew. This, in fact, was the only means left by which I could execute my instructions, and discharge the duty that I owed to the public; for though the enthusiasm that had before animated us was now of course much abated, it still set with a strong, because concentrated, stream, towards the region of discovery.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

 May 6, Tuesday: Sikh forces captured Peshawar southeast of Kabul, Afghanistan.

James Gordon Bennett began publishing the New-York [Tribune](#).

 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.)

→ 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.³⁵

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

35. 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 act³⁶ 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, 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.

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



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 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 buttments 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.



May 8, Thursday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#)'s Rondo brillant in E flat for piano op.29 was performed for the initial time, in London.

[Charles Darwin](#)'s expedition returned to the HMS *Beagle*.



May 10, Saturday: 2d Lieutenant Jefferson Davis was promoted to 1st Lieutenant of Dragoons. During this year and the following one he would be serving in the Arkansas and Oklahoma (Indian) Territories.



1834

1834



12th day of 5th month, Monday: Extracts from the will of Friend [Moses Brown](#) dated 12th day of fifth month, 1834, and from the codicil to the said will dated the 25th day of sixth month, 1835, relating to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England as a legatee, as copied from the official clerk's copy in the municipal records at the [Providence, Rhode Island](#) Town Hall by [Friend John R. Kellam](#) during October 2007 and February 2008:

Essential Summary of Items in last Will of Moses Brown. Executed 12th of 5th Month, 1834, and subsequent Codicil Executed 25th d, 6th Month, 1835; Approved for Probate as received October 11, 1836.

Docket No. A5706

Item 1st. To grand daughter Avis L. Harris, my Brick House Farm in Providence (city since 1832) and North Providence where William Earl now lives, containing about 175 acres

...

Item 33rd. To the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, either by sea or by land, for the manumission of slaves and for the protection of the free people of colour, - acting under the Charter granted by the Legislature of this State, one share in Providence Banke.

Item 34th. I give to Providence Monthly Meeting of Friends, as a legal body, two shares in Providence Banke as a fund, the dividends, or income of which to be applied to the education of Friends' children belonging to said Meeting, in Friends School in this City.

I also give to said Monthly Meeting, one hundred dollars' worth of Friends' Books, for their library, to be kept in this City.

[Item] 35th. I give and bequeath, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, a note of hand and mortgage, signed by Joseph Hawes, John Brewer, Henry Holden, Joshua B. Woods, and their wives, for the sum of Fifteen Thousand Dollars, - as a fund, the interest of which only, to be appropriated and used for the following purposes, -

One third part thereof to be added to the charitable fund of Friends' Boarding School in Providence, excepting so much of the income thereof as may be sufficient to pay the schooling herein given to divers persons, and such others as may be scholars in said School at my expense, at the time of my decease, which is to be paid out of this third part, - the interest of the said third part thereafter to be applied by the School Committee, as a charitable fund, for the schooling of such members of the Society as are actually poor, supported or not, as such, by the respective Monthly Meetings; - and females are to have equal advantage of the whole of this legacy, as males.

One other third part of the income of the said note and mortgage is to be applied towards paying the teachers in the respective departments, who dwell in the said school house, and have the care of the scholars out of, as well as in, school hours, watching



over their morals in love for their good – equally to each of them.

11. The other third part, or Five Thousand Dollars, together with the interest thereof, to be reserved until there shall be offered a tract of land suitable for the institution, in its vicinity, which can be purchased for its value. – The School Committee are then, notwithstanding the foregoing restriction to the use of the interest only, hereby authorized to appropriate the said sum, or any part thereof, as may appear to them necessary, – to the purchase of the same, to belong to the said Institution, in fee simple forever. – And whereas it is most likely that the interest on the last mentioned Five Thousand Dollars may accumulate, therefore, notwithstanding the foregoing limitations and directions for the disposing of the same, it is my Will, that in case a larger Meeting House should be required in this City, sufficient to hold Yearly Meetings in, the said interest to be applied to that purpose, – and the said School Committee are hereby authorized to appropriate the same accordingly.

[Item] 36th. I further give to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, for their Boarding School, all such books as I have marked in my catalogue for that purpose. –

And I intend to leave directions, in writing, with my executors and executrixes, for the disposal of such other parts of my library of books, maps, papers and apparatus, as are not herein disposed of; – but in case I do not leave directions, the same are to be considered as embraced in the residuary Item of this Instrument.

[Item] 37th. I also give to the said Yearly Meeting, to remain as an appendage to the same School Institution forever, about two acres of land, with the dwelling house and shop thereon, – where Joseph Cole now lives, divided and separated from the school house lot by the road on the East of said school house lot.

[Item] 38th. I give and devise to my son in-law William Almy, my four and a quarter shares of thatch-beds lying near his salt-marsh, in the Cove above Weybosset Bridge, one of which was my father's; the other three and a quarter rights I purchased of sundry persons as per Deeds, to him, his heirs and assigns.

[Item] 39th. I give to Charles William Jenkins son of William Jenkins and his deceased wife Hannah, two shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

[Item] 40th. I give to William B. Tobey and Samuel B. Tobey sons of my grand daughter Sarah Lockwood Tobey deceased and Doct. Samuel B. Tobey, eight shares in Smithfield Union Bank; committing the same to the care, control and management of their said father – by selling and investing the same in some other safe Institution, or otherwise, at his discretion, until they arrive to the age of twenty-one years; when the said sons are



to receive the same, together with the dividends, interest or income thereof, equally between them, which their father is to pay them, as and for their legacy.

[Item] 41st. I in my Will, that in all Legacies of notes or hands or mortgages, herein given, all the unpaid interest go with the same, to the legatees; and also the dividends on Bank and Turnpike stocks, declared after my decease, go with the stocks.

[Item] 42^d. I give to my great grand children, Sarah Brown Jenkins, and Anna Almy Jenkins, children of William Jenkins and Anna Almy Jenkins, - ten shares in Central Bridge, equally between them; and commit them to the care of their said father, until they become of age.

[Item] 43^d. I give to my amiable grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins, and daughter of my daughter Sarah deceased, wife of William Almy, - the occupancy, use and improvement of my Homestead Farm where I now live, with all the buildings and appurtenances thereto belonging, - containing two hundred and fifty acres, be the same more or less, - and to her children after her, - for and during her and their natural lives: - and in case her children or any of them survive and are living to and at the age of twenty-one years, - or marry or have a child or children, - then and in either of those cases, my Will and Testament is, that they, or either of them who live to the age of twenty-one years, or marry and have a child or children, shall have, and I hereby give and devise to them, the said Farm, after their mother's life time, in fee simple forever. But in case there shall not be any such child of my said grand-daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, surviving to the age of twenty-one years, or that has or have a child or children living, - then and in that case my Will and Testament is, and I hereby give and devise the Reversionary Fee Simple of my Homestead Farm mentioned, after the decease of my said grand daughter and her said children, to the Yearly Meeting of Friends for New England, to be by them applied to and as, and for an additional appendage to the Institution of the Boarding School standing on the Lot I heretofore gave for the erection of the same thereon. And it is my will, that the same and all the estates herein given to them, do vest in and remain to, the Yearly Meeting and their successors holding the same Christian faith and doctrines, as exemplified in the writings of George Fox, George Whitehouse, William Penn, Robert Barclay, and others of our early Friends, professors of the Christian Religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour, both as to his outstanding manifestations in the body, and inward Divine Light, Spirit, Grace, and Truth, for the conversion, regeneration, preservation and sanctification of the mind and soul of man, and is truly taught in the Scriptures when opened by the same divine spirit which superintended the writers thereof, for the very great benefit, strength and comfort of all pious people who read them, - and especially for the instruction and edification of religious, seeking minds of both young and old.

[Item] 44th. I also give to my said grand daughter Anna Almy



Jenkins, for and during her natural life, the following Estates, viz: -

My farm in Seekonk, containing about three hundred acres more or less, whereon my tenant parol Adam Comstock now lives: -

My lot of land, of thirty-six acres, now under lease to Jonathan Niles: -

My lot, and my stores standing thereon, nearly opposite the Providence Bank, extending from the Main Street to the lot I gave my son Obadiah Brown deceased, on which he caused a block of brick stores to be built and which he left to his niece, the said Anna Almy Jenkins, and are now in her possession: And after her decease, my Will is, and I hereby give the said Estates, to her surviving children, equally between them, their heirs and assigns, forever. - And should any of the said estates, by the decease of my said grand-daughter, become the property of any of her said children during their minority, - my Will is, that their father, William Jenkins, have the care, use, and improvement of the same, or of such minors proportion thereof, until they shall respectively become of age.

[Item] 45th. I give and devise unto my said grand daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, the following lots or parcels of land, to her, heirs and assigns, forever; viz, - my House and Lot, - my Seven Acre and Hat-Factory Lots, - with the shop lately occupied by Arnold Wilkinson, - my Watered Meadow Lot, a little farther Northward, extending from the Main Street to the river, containing, by estimation, three acres, more or less, and is bounded Southerly by a lot of her father's, and Northerly by a road leading to Thurber's Mills, as the fence stands, - all situated at the Northerly part of this City: - My bleach-yard lot, adjoining the Old Cotton Mill Lot, and the lot rented to the Fire Engine Company in Pawtucket, in North Providence X my house and lot in Seekonk, near Central Bridge; - my Ridge Hill Lot, South thereof; my Gravelly-Hill Lot, South of the Creek flowing between this and the last-mentioned lot; - my Long Meadow Lot, still further South; - all purchased by Deeds: - the latter belonging to my predecessor, is included in the Deed of my House Farm; - my lots bounded Easterly by the stone wall lately through the Swamp meadow, from Angell Street to Old Gaol Lane (dividing between these lots and the lots hereinbefore given to Avis L. Harris,) and extending Westward from said stone wall to old Prospect Street, on the hill, leaving ten feet to widen said Street on the East side: (these lots are bounded on the North, partly by Friends Burial Ground:) - Also the small barn standing on one of the said lots: - the lots Westward of said Prospect Street, to Mathew Watson's and John Smith's house-lots, which said last-mentioned lot I sold to Benjamin Smith, son of the said John Smith; - leaving to the City, the correction of the mistake of leaving two avenues from Angell Street into Prospect Street. I say mistake - for it so appeared to the Town Council and to others - on considering my memorial to them on the subject: - and it was proposed to correct the same by widening the old street Eastward, to fifty feet; - but the business is not yet finished, but I trust will be regulated: - Also twenty seventy-one parts of the house and about ten acres of land belonging to the old proprietors of Central Bridge.



I also give my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins, five shares in the Central Bridge, - a silver tankard, marked I. A. A., - a pint silver porringer, marked the same: - a pint silver-can, marked O.B to A.B., and a silver pepper-box marked the same: - all my undisposed of shares in Providence Bank, - all my undisposed of shares in Manufacturers' Bank.

And I furthermore express my will and decree that both my grand daughters herein mentioned, do their endeavours, as far as they can, to leave the Bank Shares, or the amount therof, to their own heirs, without the control or disposal of any other person.

[Item] 46th. Finally, - I hereby give, devise and bequeath unto my said grand-daughter, Anna Almy Jenkins, all the residue and remainder of my estate and estates, real, personal and mixed, wheresoever lying and being, after all my just debts are paid out of the same; - which are few and small, - to her, her heirs and assigns.

I hereby nominate, constitute and appoint my friends and kinsmen Bates Harris, William Jenkins and William J. Harris, my executors, and my grand children Anna Almy Jenkins and Avis L. Harris my executrixes to this my Last Will and Testament, who are to receive, out of my Estate, ample compensation for their services.

In Witness whereof, I the said Moses Brown hereunto set my hand and affix my seal, this 12th day of the fifth month, in the Year of Our Lord, one thousand, eight hundred and thirty-four. 1834.

s/ Moses Brown {L.S.}

Signed, sealed, published, pronounced and }
declared, by the said Moses Brown, as and }
for his Last Will and Testament, in the }
presence of us, who, at the time, at his }
request, in his presence and in the }
presence of each other hereunto set }
our names as witnesses to the same. }
Edward M. Robinson. }
Welcome Congdon. }
George C. Arnold. }
William L. Patten. }

I, Moses Brown of Providence in the County of Providence, State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Do make and ordain this Instrument as and for a codicil to my Last Will and Testament bearing date the twelfth day of the fifth month, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, - as follows, -

Whereas, my grand daughter Anna Almy Jenkins wife of William Jenkins since the execution of my Last Will and Testament, aforesaid, has borne a son, born on or about the seventh day of the second month, this year, whose name is Moses Brown Jenkins, and whom I am desirous, if it be the Divine Will, may survive to enjoy a part of the estate his will has placed in my hands to dispose of; - and it is my Will, that in case he the said



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Moses Brown Jenkins should live to the twenty-one years, or marry and have a child, he should have, and I hereby give, devise, and bequeath unto him, the whole of my homestead farm where I now live, in Providence Neck, after the life time of my grand daughter his mother, to whom the same farm is given in my said Will and Testament during her natural life – any thing proposed or written in my said Will to the contrary notwithstanding. – And it is my further Will and pleasure, if he survive as aforesaid, that he have an equal share and part of my other estate given in my aforesaid Last Will to his mother and to his two sisters Sarah Brown and Anna Almy Jenkins as fully as though my Will was re-drawn and now executed including the same. And my meaning is, that the three children be otherwise equal in my estate, save this grant and devise to my namesake, as aforesaid.

And whereas, in Item 33 of my said Will, I have given one share in Providence Bank, to the Society for Abolishing the Slave Trade, tr, "as by Charter established," – and it not appearing probable that there may be another meeting of said Society legally convened, I do therefore make null and void that particular legacy as therein bequeathed; and do hereby give unto my trusty friends George W. Benson and Hugh H. Brown, in Trust, for the use of the Providence AntiSlavery Society, the said one share.

[Subscribing witnesses to codicil: William L. Patten, Jonathan Freeborn, James P. Hoskins, and Perry J. Chace. Both instruments, will and codicil were adjudged to be proved by Albert G. Greene, Clerk, and with a letter testamentary recorded on 18th day of October, A.D. 1836 in Will Book 14, pages 23-28.]



May 13, Tuesday: Commander [George Back](#) took note of the migratory patterns of geese.

(Page 248) ... a single goose, the harbinger of summer, flew past the house; and during the day it was followed by five more, all of which took a northerly direction. This was six days later than they had been seen in 1826 at Fort Franklin, though a higher northern latitude.

THE FROZEN NORTH

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→ 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 16, Friday: Publication of Oberons Zauberhorn op.116, a fantasy for piano and orchestra by Johann Nepomuk Hummel, was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.

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→ 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.³⁷ 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

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





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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 recorded 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 physical frame. Both he and his intimate friends had perceived many months ago that he had begun 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 wonderful 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 no man could have (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.

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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](#)

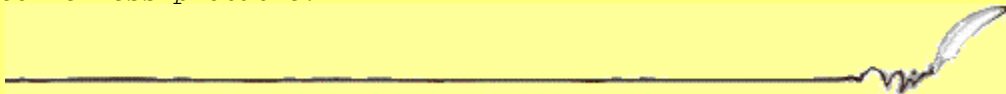
[PEOPLE MENTIONED IN WALDEN](#)



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?



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→ May 23, Friday: Benjamin Wright, appointed to survey the route for the [New York](#) and Erie Rail Road, set out with assistants James Seymour and Charles Ellet (they would finish by the end of the year).

→ May 24, Saturday: King Louis-Philippe of France gave royal assent to a law making it a crime not only to directly participate in rebellion but also to merely offer aid and comfort to an insurrection or insurrectionists.

Lestocq, ou L'intrigue et l'amour, an opera comique by Daniel-Francois-Esprit Auber to words of Scribe, was performed for the initial time, in Theatre de la Bourse, Paris.

→ May 25, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 31st birthday.



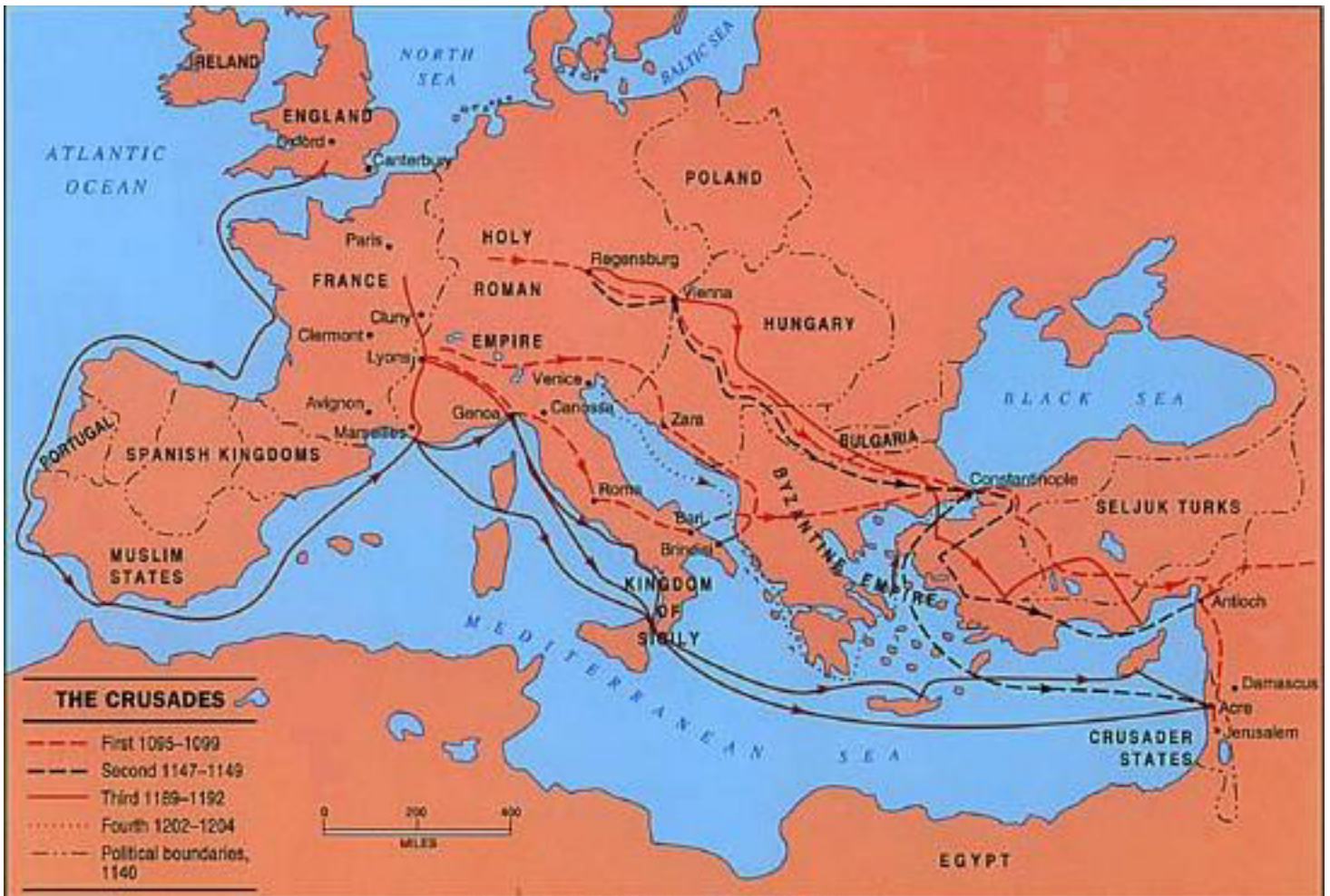
→ May 26, Monday: King Miguel I (Dom Miguel) of Portugal surrendered and abdicated at Evora-monte east of Lisbon. He would be forced into exile with 15-year-old Maria II restored to the throne.

→ 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

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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

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May 31, Saturday: Joel Stone of Lowell, Massachusetts and J.P. Simpson of Boston had had constructed for them, in the cooperage shop of Amos Whitney at Pawtucket Falls on the Merrimack River, a steamboat 90 feet long and 20 feet wide, that drew three feet of water. On this day the new steamboat, the *Herald*, offered its first rides between Lowell, Massachusetts and Nashua, New Hampshire on the Merrimack River, at \$0.⁵⁰ the head. Yes, it was possible for an engineering project to be more ill-conceived and more poorly timed than the [Middlesex Canal](#), barely possible — but that would take some doing. The nearby railroad, with which this steamboat could not conceivably compete, had almost completed construction, and would reach Nashua by 1838.

The probable supposed date of Anthony Burns's birth as reported on his tombstone. He was the youngest of his mother's 13 children, by her 3d husband. Their master, John Suttle, had a limestone quarry from which he obtained an inferior grade of stone, that had been used for the [Executive Mansion](#) and in the U.S. Capitol building:



JUNE

➡ June: [William MacGillivray](#)'s LIVES OF EMINENT ZOOLOGISTS, FROM ARISTOTLE TO LINNÆUS: WITH INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ON THE STUDY OF NATURAL HISTORY, AND OCCASIONAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE PROGRESS OF ZOOLOGY.

FROM ARISTOTLE TO LINNÆUS

The zoologists considered were [Aristotle](#), [Pliny the Elder](#), Conrad Gesner, Pierre Belon, Hippolito Salviani, Guillaume Rondelet, Ulysses Aldrovandi, John Jonson, John Goedard, Francis Redi, John Swammerdam, the Reverend [John Ray](#), René Antoine Ferchault de Reaumur, and [Charles Linné](#) or [Carolus Linnæus](#).

➡ June: [Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#)'s *L'ITALIE ET L'EUROPE*, in French, and *L'ITALIA OSSIA SCOPERTE...*, in Italian. He relocated to a villa at Heidelberg, Germany where he became friends with Judge Josef Anton Mittermaier. Sometimes during this period of his life (always the tireless, if never wearisome, self-promoter) he would describe himself as "Julius Caesar Beltrami."

➡ June: In New-York, the Convention for the Improvement of the Free People of Colour approved a resolution endorsing [Prudence Crandall](#)'s school (MINUTES OF THE FOURTH ANNUAL CONVENTION FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE FREE PEOPLE OF COLOUR IN THE UNITED STATES, HELD BY ADJOURNMENTS IN THE ASBURY CHURCH, NEW-YORK, FROM THE 2ND TO THE 12TH OF JUNE INCLUSIVE, 1834. New York: by order of the Convention).

[James Fenimore Cooper](#)'s A LETTER TO HIS COUNTRYMEN was published, urging Americans not to defer to foreign opinion. He revisited Cooperstown, [New York](#) after a 17-year absence.

☰ A Spanish [negrero](#), the *General Mausó*, master Capo, out of an unknown area of Africa on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at its destination port, Matanzas, Cuba. A Portuguese slaver, the *Duquesa de Braganca*, master J.J. de Barros, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its three known Middle Passages, was in this month delivering a cargo of 277 [enslaved](#) Africans at Rio De Janeiro, Brazil.

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE

➡ June: The 6th of the eight installments of [Thomas Carlyle](#)'s *SARTOR RESARTUS* appeared in [Fraser's Magazine](#).

➡ June: At the end of this month [Nicolò Paganini](#) went to Boulogne in an attempt to meet in secret with Charlotte Watson, the teenage daughter (born in 1817, she would have been about 17 at this time) of an American singer and pianist who lived on Gray's Inn Road, but the father John Watson had been alerted and was waiting with French police to intercept the daughter when her Channel boat docked at Calais. The scandal would be reported widely in the local press. Paganini would return to [Italy](#) to take possession of the villa that Geremi had bought for him in Gajone near Parma. He would give concerts in Genoa, Piacenza, and Parma. He would be awarded a special gold medal by the municipality of Genoa.



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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



WAMPANOAG

another less performed play entitled THE ANCIENT BRITON), would thoughtfully fund the monument for the grave:

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.

→ June 2, Monday: Benjamin Folger returned to The Kingdom in Sing Sing, New York and attempted to reclaim his wife Ann and his children from the [Reverend Robert “The Prophet Matthias” Mathews](#). There was a wild scene, after which Matthias succeeded in subduing Benjamin. Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)) described him in this reduced state as “like a tamed elephant.” That night his wife Ann Folger slept as usual with Matthias, but then in the morning visited her husband in his chamber in her bed clothing.

→ June 3, Tuesday: A local wag in Sing Sing, New York bet his drinking buddies that he could obtain the long, Biblical beard of the [Reverend Robert “The Prophet Matthias” Mathews](#). He did this by creating a writing which appeared to be a writ demanding the surrender of the prophet, dressing as a constable, going in a wagon to The Kingdom, and formally announced that Matthias was taken into custody. Then this bogus constable suggested to his prisoner that it would be wise to shave so as not to be recognized, to protect himself against a mob while on his way to the lockup. Matthias shaved, the two men set off in the wagon, and the local wit was able to parade the beardless man in front of his drinking buddies. Matthias was then informed that there had been some mistake, the writ being defective, and that he was free to go. The ruse had worked like a charm — but his buddies refused to pay up as the bogus constable had not been able to get his hands on the beard hair itself. Although the wag rushed back out to The Kingdom and demanded the beard hair from the women there, he was unable at this point to invent a sufficient excuse and they refused to produce it for him.

→ June 4, Wednesday: The missionary Dr. Peter Parker sailed for [China](#) aboard New-York merchant David Olyphant’s *Morrison*.

→ June 7, Saturday: In New-York [Fanny Kemble](#) had met Pierce Mease Butler, son and heir of a US senator, who had been following her from place to place and serving as a volunteer musician during her performances in the theatre. Fanny got married with him on this day in Philadelphia and would give up the stage for awhile, but after their divorce in 1848 would return to her career, appearing in plays and giving Shakespearean readings.


This was the day of Greek independence. General Theodoros Kolokotronis was sentenced to death for treason for having resisted the rule of Otto of Greece (he would in the following year be released).

Commander [George Back](#) left Fort Reliance for the expedition’s depot on Artillery Lake.

(Page 255) It now only remained to block up the windows and doors; which done, the four persons remaining with me, including the guide, were laden with burdens of ninety pounds each, and two dogs, equipped with saddle bags, carrying meat for the journey; and thus appointed, I left Fort Reliance, accompanied by Mr. King, a little past noon of the 7th June.


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 June 9, Monday: In his 73d year, [William Carey](#) died in [India](#). Before the Reverend's death, 212,000 copies of the Christian Scriptures had been sent out from Serampore in 40 different languages, representing the tongues of 330,000,000 members of the human family. Dr. Southey would write that "These low-born, low-bred mechanics have done more to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures among the heathen than has been accomplished, or even attempted, by all the world beside."

[Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) was nominated to be a member of the Société dell'Institut Historique de [France](#) (oops, there went his Saturday afternoons).

Jonathan Child was elected by Rochester, [New York](#)'s council as the city's first mayor.

 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,



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"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 11, Wednesday: Samuel Arthur Jones was born in England, of Welsh parents.

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

4th day 6 M 11th 1834 / Early this Morning Ann V Allen daughter of Gideon Allen of [New Bedford](#) Died at the [Institution](#) aged 13 Years She was taken on 7th day last with a distressing disease which proved to be the Dropsy in the Head - her Agony was great till very near the close & she was deprived of reason very soon after she was taken - In the Afternoon her father carried her home for Internment - This event was an exceedingly trying one -not only to us but throughout the whole Institution

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 12, Thursday: Ioannis Kolettis replaced Alexandros Nikolaou Mavrokordatos as President of the Ministerial Council of Greece.

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

5th day 12 / This eveng we recd a letter from Edw W Lawton informing is that our Dear & truly beloved Sister Ruth Rodman was apparently very near her end & requested we would come to



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Newport in the early Boat tomorrow Morning –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 13, Friday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*6th day 6 M 12th [sic] / We got on board the Rush Light this Mornng at 8 OClock & in about 3 hours found ourselves in Newport - but our dear Sister had left us - She died yesterday soon after Edw W Lawtons letter was written - The Cancer on her breast with which she had long suffered set to bleeding & very speedily released her from great suffering & I have no doubt has transplanted her from Earth to Heaven
We found our dear Aged Father & Mother very quiet & composed & also our dear Sister Mary for which I trust our hearts were truly thankful*


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 14, Saturday: A process for making sandpaper was patented in the US by Isaac Fischer, Jr. of Springfield, Vermont.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

*7th day 14th of 6th M 1834 / As the funeral of our dear Sister Ruth was to take place at 4 OC this Afternoon, I saw nothing in my way to going to Portsmouth & attending the First sitting of the Select Yearly Meeting & accordingly rode there with Richard Mott - the forepart of it was a season of favour which I thought Augered well for the Meetings that were to come - divers solid & weighty testimonies were borne & the buisness of the Meeting was conducted under a sense of solid weight & closed with a precious covering - I rode immediately home, & in the Afternoon attended the funeral which was indeed a time of no common favour - tho' held at the House there were many attended, & many public friends were present from abroad who had come to attend the Yearly Meeting The first who spoke was Anne Thorn then Hannah Bacckhouse & Rebecca Updegraph followed in a most ardent Supplication - After which the setting closed
At the grave Sophrona Page appeared in supplication & H Backhouse & Mary Allen preached - this was an uncommon occurence, for there to be so much service at a grave in Newport I remember but few such occurences in the course of my life. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 June 15, Sunday: Despite Hungarian opposition, Prince von Metternich granted permission for the publication in Zagreb of a political newspaper and literary magazine in Croatian.

Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

1st day 15th of 6th M 1834 / Our public Meetings were very large - In the Morning Richard Mott had the weight of the Service very much to the gratification, & I trust the edification of the

people present, & particularly to the comfort of his friends. - In the Afternoon Richd was sick & was not at Meeting - there were divers offerings most of which were Satisfactory & I thought the people were very quiet & a good degree of solid weight over the Meeting. -

This Morning I had the Satisfaction to Meet our dear John Stanton Gould on the Long Wharf when the Steam Boat landed her pasangers - it was matter of Mutual regret to us he could not have been here to have attended the funeral of his beloved Aunt Ruth, but it was orderd otherwise & it is our duty to submit. - Second Day Morning the Meeting opened under a solemn covering - & as I cannot [two pages repeated] recollect with sufficient precision to enter each days exercise. I must close the account by inserting that it was a season of uncommon favour & a general harmony prevailed & a sense of love was singularly manifest in the progress of the buisness of the Meeting - It closed on 6th day forenoon, & my wife having the Service of Clerk to perform we could not return to the School House on 7th day but were detained in Newport till 12 O'clock on first day, when we took the NYork Boat which had been detained in the fog, but we reached the School House just after the Afternoon Meeting had commenced - we did not go into Meeting but caught the dripings in the entry & heard a living Sermon from Rebecca Updegraff

We regretted not being able to Stay in Newport to attend the funeral of our Ancient friend & worthy Elder Hepzibah Buffum who died yesterday - but it seemed most prudent to return - under a thankful sense of a week of divine favour, tho' the loss of our dear & truly valuable Sister Ruth, was trying & Afflicting to our feelings, but the consoling belief that she has escaped a world of conflict & great suffering for a year past, & is doubtless translated into another & far better country - assuages all our privation & loss sustained by her removal.

In addition, (until 6th day) we had the company of our dear John who left us before the Meeting closed, his buisness at Hudson requiring his return. It is a great consolation to us that he retains the Principles, & in a very good degree the appearance of a Friend & is much attached to Society taking an interest in the concerns of it, & is actively engaged in promoting many good things - particularly Temperance. We desire & I trust we are, humbly thankful that he has thus far, been in good measure preserved & our prayer to God is, that he may be enlarged in every good word & Work. -

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June 19, Thursday: Americans learned that their French hero, [Lafayette](#), had died on May 20th:

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 recorded 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 physical frame. Both he and his intimate friends had perceived many months ago that he had begun 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 wonderful 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 so may our country (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.



June 21, Saturday: Cyrus Hall McCormack received a US patent for his grain reaping machine.

→ 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

→ June 27, Friday: The [Delaware and Raritan Canal](#) opened to traffic.

→ June 28, Saturday: William Crotch made his final public appearance, playing the organ at the Handel Festival in [Westminster Abbey](#).



Shortly after its 1st run on New-York’s Harlem Railroad, an engine exploded.

Congress approved the new New Jersey/[New York](#) state border.

Commander [George Back](#) reached the Thlew-ee-choh or Great Fish River. After spending a month descending this river, his expedition would spend three weeks exploring Chantrey Inlet.

(Page 306) In the midst of one of these groups was my old acquaintance and Indian belle, who will be remembered by the readers of [Sir John Franklin](#)’s narrative under the name of Green Stockings. Though surrounded by a family, with one urchin in her cloak clinging to her back, and sundry other maternal

accompaniments, I immediately recognised her, and called her by her name; at which she laughed, and said "she was an old woman now," begging, at the same time, that she might be relieved by the "medicine man, for she was very much out of health." However, notwithstanding all this, she was still the beauty of her tribe; and, with that consciousness which belongs to all belles, savage or polite, seemed by no means displeased when I sketched her portrait.

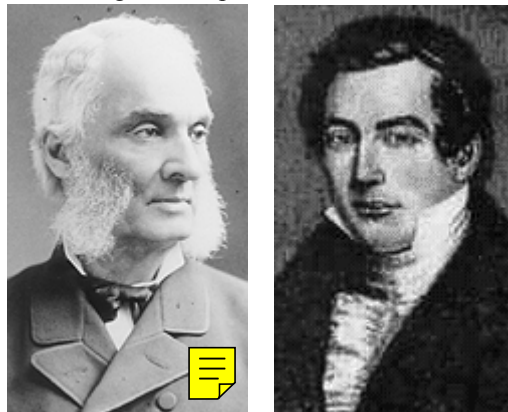
THE FROZEN NORTH

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.

➡ Summer: Traveling to England, [Robert Purvis](#) was equipped with letters of introduction from [William Lloyd Garrison](#) to a number of British reformers including Daniel O'Connell and Sir Thomas Foxwell Buxton. A passport had been first denied, and had then been granted only through the intervention of the President, Andrew Jackson. Purvis was probably the first black American to receive a US passport. When the passport controversy hit the gazettes, a Virginia slaveholder who was ticketed to travel on same ship to England pressured the shipping line to deny Purvis passage, and he was forced to take passage on another vessel. (On the return trip Purvis would deliberately obtain a ticket on the same vessel as that Virginian in order to eat and drink with this racist and his cronies and, tall and handsome, dance with the Southern white ladies — on the last day of the voyage he would with glee and aplomb disclose his racial identity to his new white "friends.")³⁸

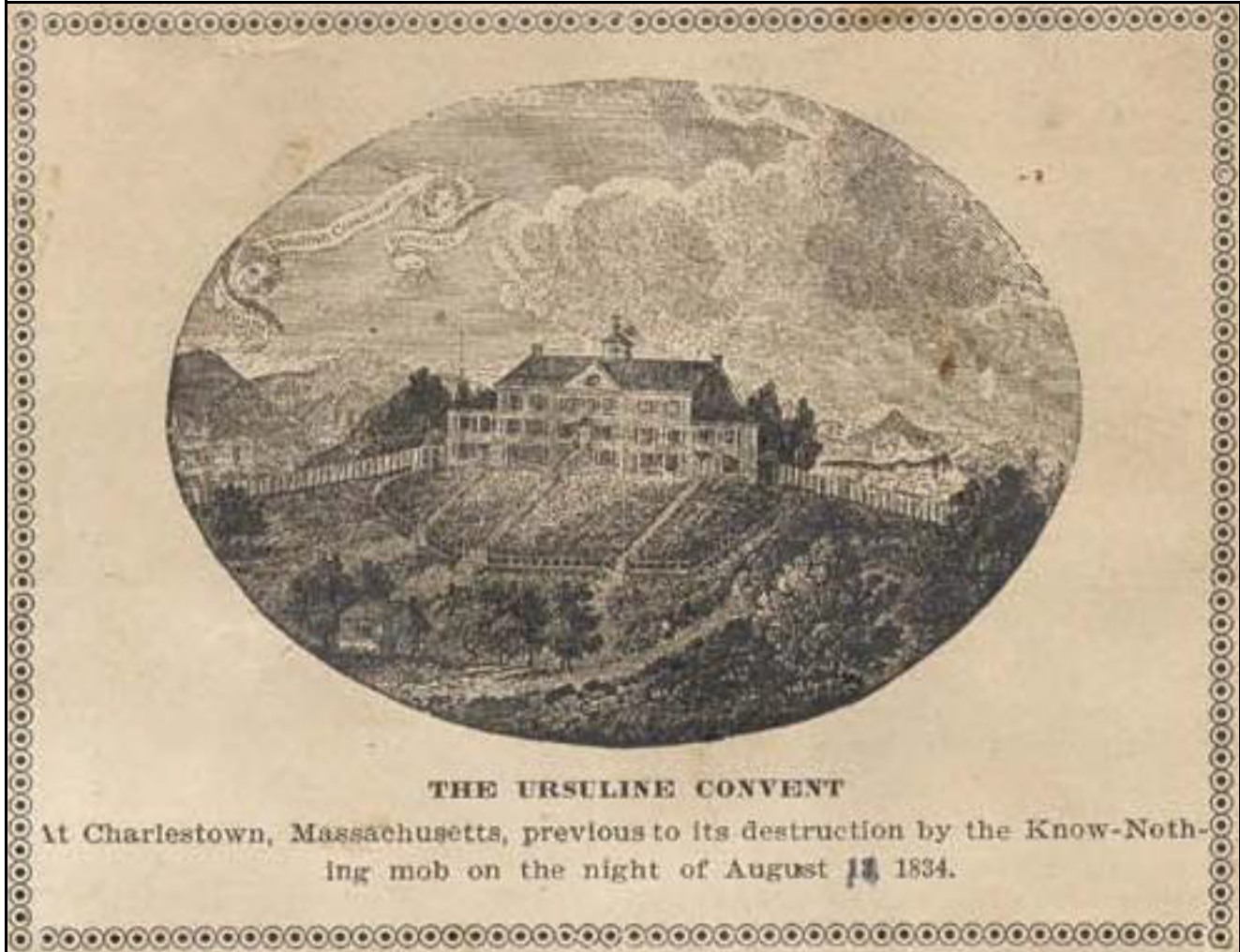


1834

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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.”



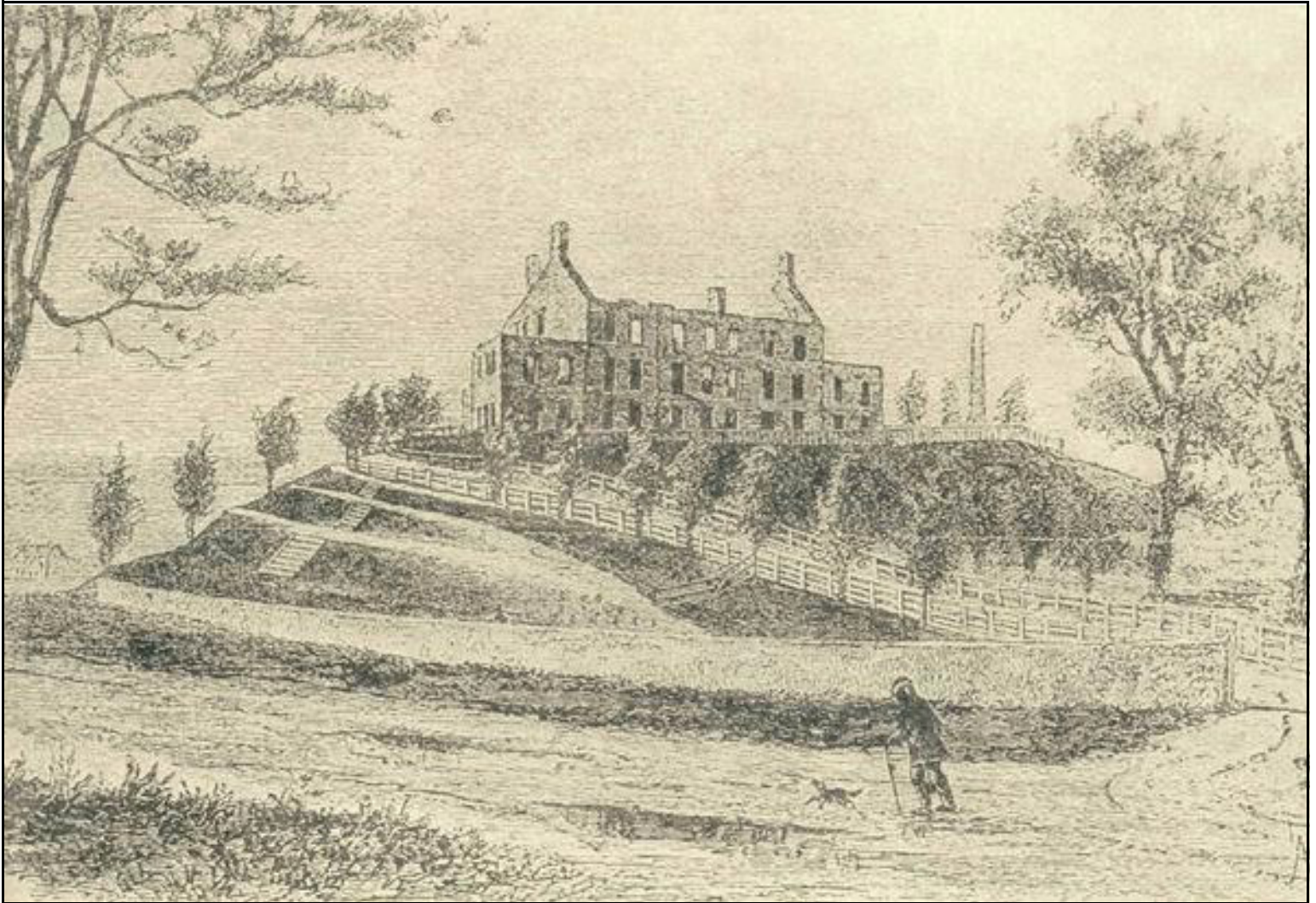
While the sisters and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, 50 men broke down the doors of the [Catholic](#) convent and set everything on fire. The mob was led by people such as a local brickmaker and teamster, but also present were at least two of the selectmen of Charlestown,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

38. For a comparison situation, during our own timeframe: The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. of the Abyssinian Baptist Church of Harlem was “white to all appearances, having blue eyes, an aquiline nose, and light, almost blond, hair.” During his freshman year at Colgate University, his roommate only learned of his racial identity by meeting his father, Adam Clayton Powell, Sr., after which he was no longer able to be friends or roommates. During his college years, Powell worked as a bellhop at a summer resort in Manchester, Vermont. During the summer of 1926 Abraham Lincoln’s dying son Robert Todd Lincoln visited this resort. Lincoln was a man of such “Negrophobia” that he could not bear to be waited on by a black person or to have one of them touch his luggage, his automobile, or any of his possessions, and was known to have whacked the knuckles of a helpful black servant with his cane. However, at this resort the dying man did not decline Powell’s services — as he took him to be a white boy!

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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.³⁹ 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.

39. 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.

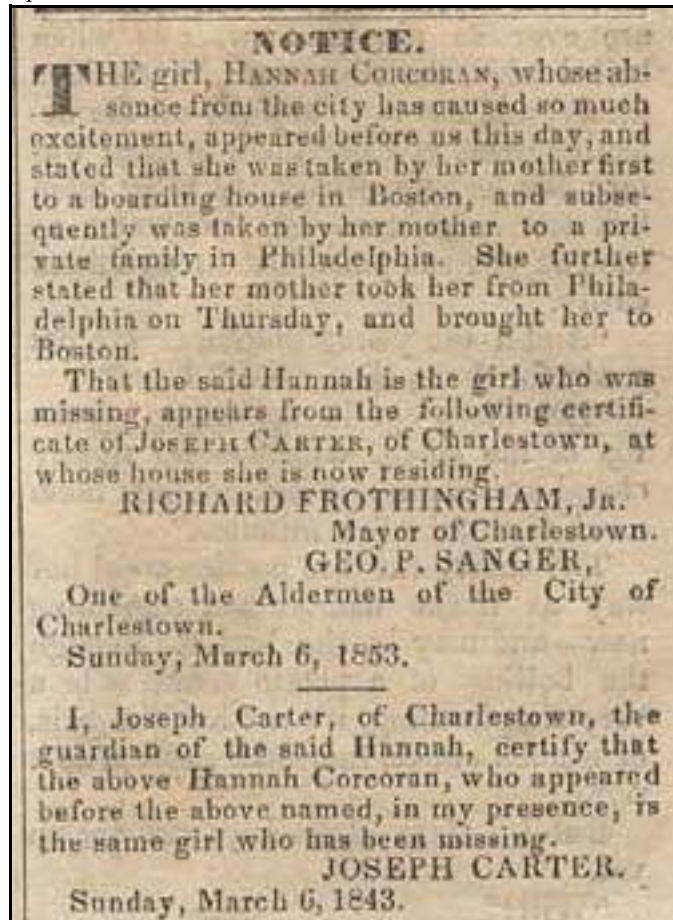
Lord, Robert H., John E. Sexton, and Edward T. Harrington. *HISTORY OF THE ARCHDIOCESE OF BOSTON IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF ITS DEVELOPMENT, 1604 TO 1943*. New York, 1944.

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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:



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.



1834

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➡ Summer: William Wells Brown and Elizabeth Spooner, a free black woman, were wed; they would have three daughters one of whom would die shortly after birth.



➡ Summer: In [New Hampshire](#), in the Sanborns' Hampton Falls farmhouse during a sudden summer storm, a blue-white flash filled the upstairs back bedroom in which [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#), age 2, was playing with his ball and stick. [Sarah Sanborn](#) rushed up the stairs fearing the worst only to discover her little brother with stick raised high, proclaiming that the flash and the bam had been his doing.

➡ Summer: Dr. [Asa Gray](#) taught at Hamilton College.

JULY

➡ July: The 7th 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 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.

1834



1834



July: A [negrero](#) flying the Spanish flag (as shown below), the *Cacador*, master J. Jover, out of an unknown area of Africa on its first of two known Middle Passages, arrived at Trinidad. A slaver flying the Portuguese flag, the *Mosca* or *Mosea*, master unknown, out of Angola on its one and only known Middle Passage, arrived at Montevideo, Uruguay.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE
RACE SLAVERY



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: Lord Melbourne became Prime Minister.



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 July 1, Tuesday: New-York firemen Eugene Underhill and Frederick A. Ward were killed when a wall fell on them while they were fighting a fire at Haydock's drug store on Pearl Street.

 July 2, Wednesday: [John St. John Long](#), a celebrated quack whose office was on Harley Street, Cavendish Square, in London, had a liniment which had the power to distinguish between disease and health. He would rub this on the patient's body and where irritation appeared, this revealed the existence of secret disease. He also had a large mahogany case resembling an upright piano, in which there were apertures, into which pipe-stalks were screwed, and his patients would sit around this device and inhale the vapors that were being produced inside. This would cure gout, palsy, obstructions of the liver, cutaneous affectations, and especially consumption. He had been arrested when one of the patients he had been treating, a Miss Cashin, died, and had been found guilty of manslaughter on October 30, 1830 and fined £250 (he had opened her body in some manner to "draw off the malady" and the wound had become septic). A coroner's inquest had then returned another accusation of manslaughter against him on November 11, 1830 for having occasioned the death of Mrs. Colin Campbell Lloyd — but when he appeared for trial at the Old Bailey he was accompanied by several

elegantly attired ladies, and after his acquittal, was driven away in triumph in a nobleman's carriage.

Before making of himself a quack he had been a painter, and in 1825 had limned a canvas entitled "An allegorical Scene in Ireland, in which the degradation consequent upon Ignorance, Idleness, and Vice are contrasted with the advantages resulting from Education, Industry and Virtue" (I only regret that I am unable to provide you with a photograph of this 6-foot-by-9-foot-plus painting).

On this day he suffered a ruptured blood vessel and—fancy this—seemed unable to heal himself. The secret of his "remedial discovery" would be vended for a large sum of money and a magnificent monument to his memory has been erected in Kensal Green Cemetery.



**IT IS THE FATE OF MOST MEN
TO HAVE MANY ENEMIES, AND FEW FRIENDS
THIS MONUMENTAL PILE
IS NOT INTENDED TO MARK THE CAREER
BUT TO SHEW
HOW MUCH ITS INHABITANT WAS RESPECTED
BY THOSE WHO KNEW HIS WORTH
AND THE BENEFITS
DERIVED FROM HIS REMEDIAL DISCOVERY
HE IS NOW AT REST**



1834

1834

AND FAR BEYOND THE PRAISES OR CENSURES
OF THIS WORLD
STRANGER, AS YOU RESPECT THE RECEPTACLE OF THE DEAD
(AS ONE OF THE MANY WHO WILL REST HERE)
READ THE NAME OF
JOHN SAINT JOHN LONG
WITHOUT COMMENT



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



1834

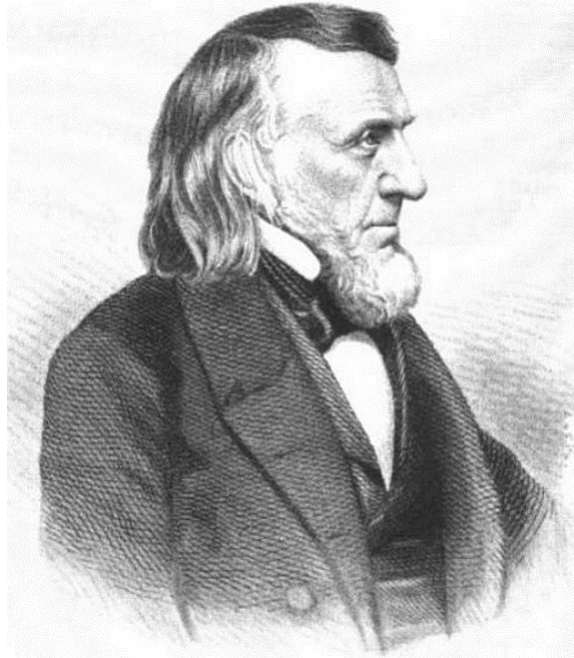
1834



Our national birthday, Friday the 4th of July: A man who was at both the battle of Lexington and the battle of Bunker Hill attended ceremonies in New Haven, Connecticut — in the original coat he had then worn.

At the Hermitage Inn in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, the traditional 4th-of- July address was delivered by David Crockett, and anti-abolitionist Americans destroyed the homes of more than 36 black Americans.

On this day, elsewhere, [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) was delivering an oration upon The Law.



In [Plymouth](#), it having been decided that the glacial erratic known as “Forefathers Rock” in the town square was rapidly becoming small, that it needed to be moved to protect it from all the souvenir sellers, it had been relocated. During the move it had rolled off its conveyance in front of the City Hall and broken again — but in this escape attempt it didn’t get far and we had simply cemented it back together. On this date the installation of the rock in its new milieu was suitably celebrated.⁴⁰

[PLYMOUTH ROCK](#)

New-York’s annual Convention of People of Color set July 4th as a day of prayer and contemplation of the condition of blacks. Meanwhile, a group of white laboring men broke up an amalgamated meeting of the Anti-

40. On some date unknown to me, Elizabeth Barrett Browning would create a poem “The Runaway Slave at Pilgrim’s Point” which would implausibly pose a runaway slave before this rock, pouring out to the “pilgrim-souls” the sadness of her own personal pilgrimage to a new land. She had murdered her infant because it had displayed the features of the white master who had raped her.

Slavery Society at the Chatham Street Chapel in New-York to protest blacks and whites sitting in the same audience (they were resentful, of course, of the presence in America of free black Americans to drive down their wages and benefits). Here is a hymn written by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) for the occasion:

O Thou, whose presence went before
Our fathers in their weary way,
As with Thy chosen moved of yore,
The fire by night, the cloud by day!

When from each temple of the free,
A nation's song ascend to Heaven,
Most Holy Father! unto Thee,
May not our humble prayer be given?

Thy children still, though hue and form
Are varied in Thine own good will,
With Thy own holy breathings warm.
And fashioned in Thine image still.

We thank Thee, Father! hill land plain
Around us wave their fruits once more,
And clustered vine and blossomed grain
Are bending round each cottage door.

And peace is here; and hope and love
Are round us as a mantle thrown,
And unto Thee, supreme above,
The knee of prayer is bowed alone.

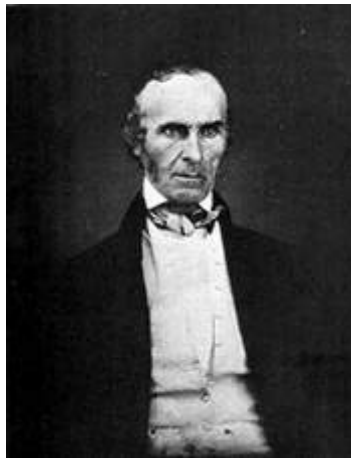
But oh, for those this day can bring,
As unto us, no joyful thrill;
For those who, under Freedom's wing,
Are bound in Slavery's fetters still:

For those to whom Thy written word
Of light and love is never given;
For those whose ears have never heard
The promise and the hope of heaven!

For broken heart, and clouded mind,
Whereon no human mercies fall;
Oh, be Thy gracious love inclined,
Who, as a Father, pitiest all!

And grant, O Father! that the time
Of Earth's deliverance may be near,
When every land and tongue and clime
The message of Thy love shall hear;

When, smitten as with fire from heaven,
The captive's chains shall sink in dust,
And to his fettered soul be given
The glorious freedom of the just!



This protest would break out, again, on the 10th and 11th of the month, with the trashing not only of 60 black homes and 6 black churches but also of homes of white people known to be seeking to abolish human slavery — this was, after all, the year in which the song “Old Zip Coon,” the minstrel song which eventually would evolve into “Turkey in the Straw,” was born!

RACISM
POPULAR SONGS

Samuel Ringgold Ward was present, as he had been intending to hear an antislavery lecture by David Paul Brown of Philadelphia, but in his account of the rioting he would prefer to point up the fact that this violence had been organized by members of the local merchant class:

A lawyer well known to fame, David Paul Brown, Esq., of Philadelphia, was always ready to render his peerless services in defence of any person claimed as a slave. On the fourth day



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of July, 1834, this gentleman was invited to deliver an anti-slavery oration in Chatham Chapel, and, of course, the coloured people mustered in strong array to hear so well known a champion of freedom; but the meeting was dispersed by a mob, gathered and sustained by the leading commercial and political men and journals of that great city. It was Independence Day – a day, of all days, sacred to freedom. What Mr. Brown came to tell us was, that the principles, enunciated in few words, in the [Declaration of Independence](#) – “We hold these truths to be self-evident truths, that all men are created equal, and are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness” – applied as well to black men as to white men. This the aristocracy of New York could not endure; and therefore, just fifty-eight years from the very hour that the Declaration of 1776 was made, the mob of the New York merchants broke up this assembly.

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Here is a view of our nation's capital city during this year, a painting by George Cooke as transformed into an aquatint engraving by W.J. Bennett. This should be available on 13 1/4" x 16 7/8" cover stock paper in a heavy mailing tube from Historic Urban Plans, Inc., Box 276, Ithaca NY 14851 (607 272-MAPS), for roughly \$16.⁵⁰ inclusive of postage.



In [Washington DC](#), the first Trades Union celebration occurred.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY



On this day, elsewhere, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), who detested American blacks, was having his 30th birthday.

Publication of Die Schule des Legato und Staccato op.335 by Carl Czerny was announced in the *Wiener Zeitung*.



July 7, Monday: Per the records of the "[Institute of 1770](#)", after a lengthy report on the library,



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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 7, Monday: In August 1833 Great Britain and [France](#) had proposed that the United States of America enter with them into a treaty for suppression of the [international slave trade](#). The US had been refusing to go along, allegedly because we were not about to allow foreign warships to operate in such manner along the coasts of the United States. At this point Great Britain gave in to us on this part of the proposal. On September 12th, 1834 the French Minister would join in urging the US to get on board. On October 4th, 1834, however, we would announce that we weren't about to "make the United States a party to any Convention on the subject of the Slave Trade." This just wasn't going to happen (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1835, Volume LI, SLAVE TRADE, Class B, pages 84-92).

Samuel Ringgold Ward was present when a lecture by Benjamin F. Hughes at Chatham Chapel in New-Yorkers was broken up by a proslavery mob organized by a local politician. After the white assailants had fled to safety, five of the black citizens who had been attacked, and were still on the scene, were taken into custody by New-York's finest:

On the 7th of the same month the coloured people held a meeting in the same place, to listen to an address from one of the ablest of their number, Benjamin F. Hughes, Esq. That meeting was dispersed by a mob led by a person holding a lucrative political office in the city. This gentleman (I like to indulge in poetry sometimes) thought to do as he pleased with the blacks, kicking them about at will; and while Mr. Hughes was speaking, ordered other parties to come in and occupy the building. Seeing resistance made by some of the coloured people, and fearing he might receive a blow for a kick, he elevated a chair over his head, and stood witnessing the mêlée himself had begun, when Mr. Jinnings knocked him over with a well-aimed missile. Leaving his men to fight or run, as might seem wisest, this general of the mob escaped from a window 22 feet from the ground, injuring himself so as to keep his house for a fortnight – in his own person the leader of the mob and the only man injured in the affray. The blacks were victors; every white man was driven from the place. But while a few of us lingered, a reinforcement of the white belligerents came, and, finding some few lads of us in the place, they drove us out with a rush to the door. Then they commenced beating us in the most cowardly manner. The public watchman arrested the parties beaten instead of those committing the assault, and it was my lot to be among the former number. For the crime of being publicly assaulted by several white persons, I was locked up in the watchhouse throughout the night. Shortly after my imprisonment, four others were brought into the same cell by the officers of peace and justice, for the same crime. In the meantime the mob went to the house of Lewis Tappan, Esq., broke it open, sacked it, and burned the furniture. Mr. Tappan was brother and partner of the gentleman who liberated Garrison; he also believed in the [Declaration of Independence](#); hence the mutilation and burning of his property. My oath of allegiance to the anti-slavery cause was taken in

that cell on the 7th of July, 1834.



→ July 8, Tuesday morning: Samuel Ringgold Ward and four other men of color had spent the night in the New-York city jail, for having been victims of the white rioters. In the morning, however, although no-one had appeared to press any charges against them, still they were not released — as the white rioters had not yet completed their work:

In the morning we were brought before the police magistrate, with other prisoners. Those against whom no one appeared, or whom no one charged with any offence, were discharged. None appeared against us. The watchman who arrested us had no charge to bring: he simply said, in the chaste diction of a New York official, "Thur was a row in Chatham Chapel last night, and these niggers was there." The magistrate, a sample specimen of the New York Dogberry, abused us, and, instead of discharging us according to law and custom, remanded us to Bridewell, to give parties an opportunity of appearing against us. I never knew the same course taken in any other case. To Bridewell we went, and were put into a cell with nineteen others. In a most filthy state was that cell. All the occupants, besides my four companions, were charged with crime — one with killing a man; and though we were searched before we were incarcerated, this man had, and showed us, the knife with which he had inflicted the murder. The murderer, Johnson, had been fettered in the same cell, and we saw the chain by which he had been fastened to the floor. When the prison cup was offered us to drink from, and when the prison food was brought us, feeling our innocence and our dignity (lads of seventeen seldom lack the latter), we refused both. About ten o'clock, my father and G.A. Ward, Esq., procured my liberation, by paying the turnkey. As an innocent subject, unrighteously doomed to a felon's prison, without either accuser or trial, when liberated, I should have gone out free. My fellow prisoners were liberated soon after. That imprisonment initiated me into the anti-slavery fraternity.

→ July 9, Wednesday: The administration of Earl Grey had been formed in England soon after the resignation of the Wellington administration, on November 16, 1830. At this point the Grey administration was dissolved (a new administration would form under Viscount Melbourne).

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

2nd day 9 of 7 M 1834 [a problem here, for Monday 2nd day was the 7th of July] / Went to [Newport](#) in the Steam Boat Rush Light this morning to settle the Yearly Meeting Accounts &

to attend to some other buisness which was of importance to me I also visited some of my friends & acquaintances & had a pleasant time - returned to [Providence](#) in the Rush Light on 4th day Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

→ July 10, Thursday: On this day and the following one, there would be a mob of white proslavery New-Yorkers in front of the home of Lewis Tappan, causing the family to abandon its home. The windows would be smashed, the house would be ransacked, much of the furniture would be thrown out into the street and burned. No resistance would be offered. However, meanwhile, Arthur Tappan had armed his warehouse clerks, and they were under orders to fire for at legs of the rioters if they broke into his business establishment. At the business establishment, therefore, the rioters only broke windows.

→ 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.

→ July 11, Friday: Fresh from absolutist defeat in Portugal, Don Carlos Maria Isidro de Bourbon arrived in Elizondo to join partisans who had already proclaimed him King Carlos V of Spain. He was supported by the Roman Catholic Church, conservatives, and Basques while his niece, Queen Isabella II, was supported by Spanish liberals, Great Britain, and France (the conflict would continue for 5 years).

[James Abbott \(McNeill\) Whistler](#) was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, the initial child of the engineer George Washington Whistler with his new wife Anna Matilda McNeill Whistler of Wilmington, [North Carolina](#).



Ceci n'est pas Whistler's mere.

In a week of race rioting in New-York since Independence Day, 60 homes and 6 churches of the black population had been torn down by white mobs.

[Chicago](#)'s harbor being complete, Captain Augustus Pickering's schooner *Illinois*, out of Sackets Harbor, [New York](#), was the 1st large ship to enter this new facility.

→ [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](#)



➡ July 12, Saturday: After 8 days of rioting, white New-Yorkers were finally willing to give their race hatred a rest.

➡ July 13, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 13th of 7th M 1834 / Hannah Backhouse attended Meeting at the Institution & preached & prayed In the Morning – In the Afternoon Dugan Clarke & his wife Asseaneth were here - Asseaneth preached & also Dugan - then Asseaneth prayed & it felt to me, they were in the life & power of the Gospel – their company & services were comfortable and strengthening to me. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

➡ July 15, Tuesday: Lord Napier, Superintendant of Trade sent by His Majesty’s government to replace the British East India Company, arrived off Macao.

Pope Gregory XVI brought the Spanish [Inquisition](#), which had been in existence since the 15th Century, to an end. (And not an instant too soon!)

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→ July 16, Wednesday: William Lamb, 2d Viscount Melbourne replaced Charles, Earl Grey as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

→ July 18, Friday: Etienne Maurice, comte Gerard replaced Nicolas Jean de Dieu Soult, duc de Dalmatie as Prime Minister of France.

[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

What is there of the divine in a load of bricks? What is there of the divine in a barber's shop or a privy? Much. All.



→ July 19, Saturday: [Hilaire-Germain-Edgar De Gas \(Edgar Degas\)](#) was born in Paris. His mother was a New Orleans creole, which does not mean that she was a person of color.

→ July 20, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) preached temperance to the Native Americans at Stillwater, Maine.

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

1st day 20th of 7 M / Sat our meetings in weakness & poverty, but not as distressing as at some times - In our School Collection this eveng an acct of a friend was read from Piety Promoted who appeared to have lived a long life of Virtue & closed in peace - after the reading closed & the pause continued - I felt desirous for a little help from the fountain of life & turning my mind to it more closely I felt the veil withdrawn & access given in a manner that was comfortable & encouraged my Spirit. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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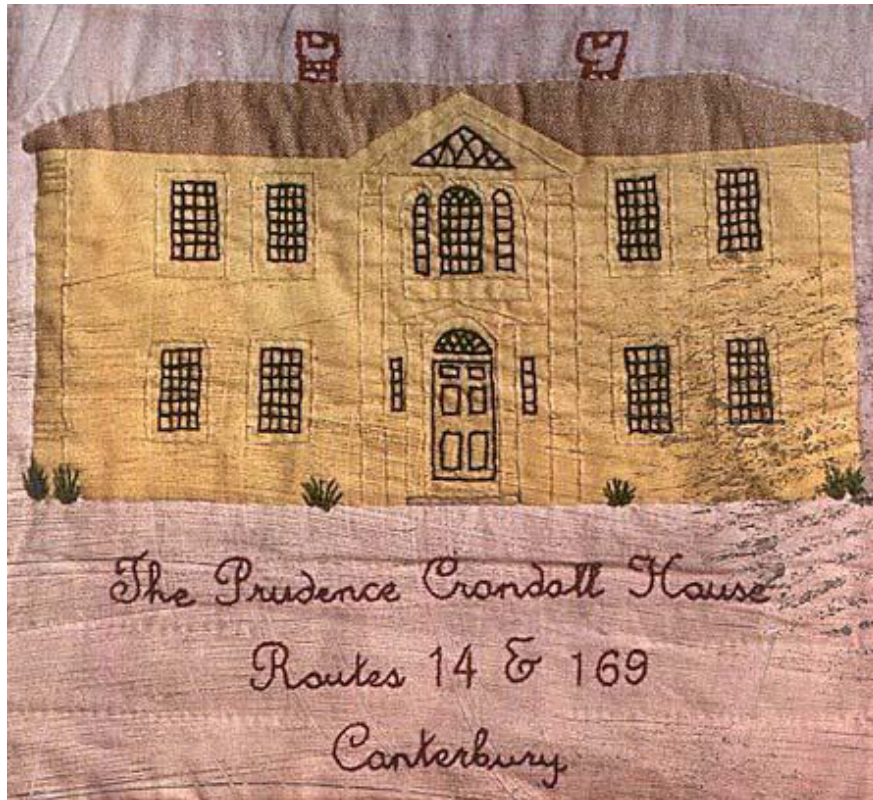


July 22, Tuesday: In Connecticut, the appeals court reversed the conviction of [Prudence Crandall](#) on a technicality. This headmistress might continue her Canterbury academy for young ladies and misses of color.



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July 24, Thursday: In Portugal, the Liberal Wars came to an end.

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

5th day 24th of 7th M 1834 / It is Preparative Meeting & Also Select Meeting, but being very unwell this Mornng my head & bowels much out of order, I did not go to Meeting tho' I dressed & thought I would go till nearly Meeting time, when I found my head particularly so poorly that I dare not risk the hot sun. - my mind has been often with them & sometimes almost regret I did not attempt to go

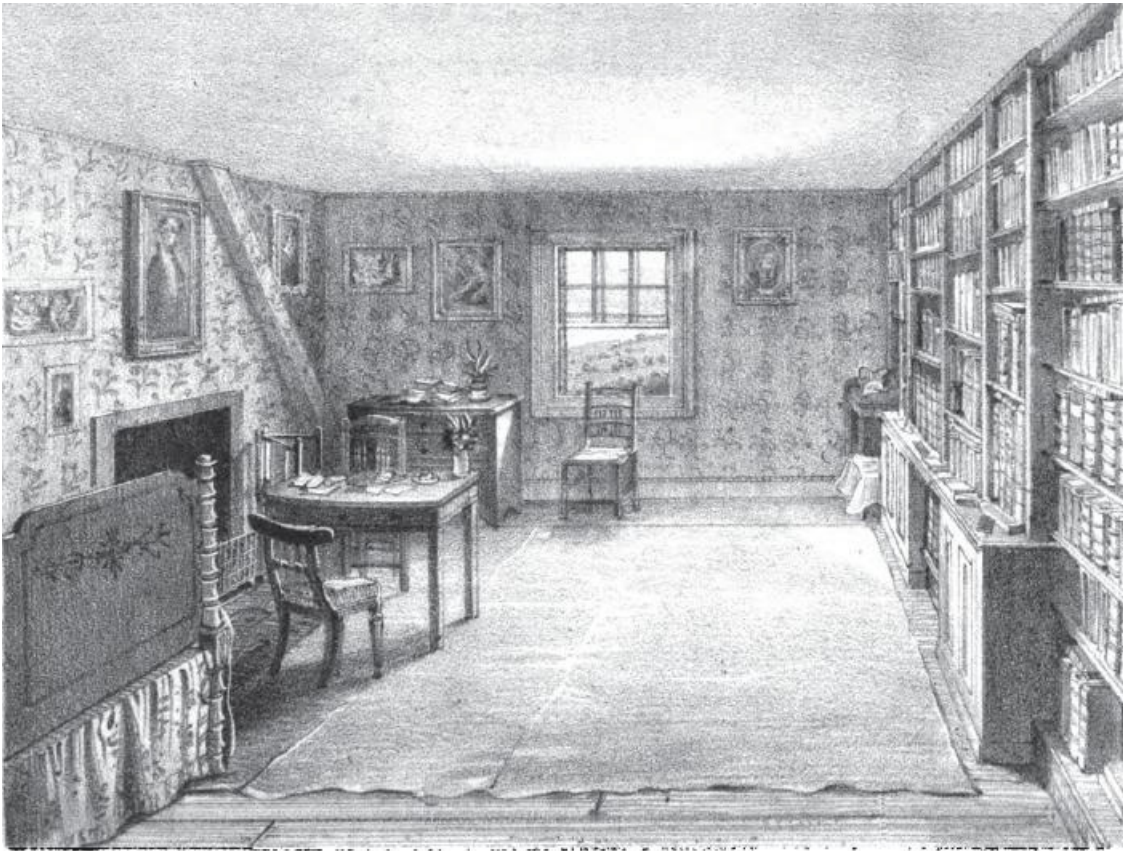
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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July 25, Friday: At 6:30AM one of the [opium](#) addicts under the care of Dr. James Gillman in his supervised extended residence in the Highgate district of London, [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#), died. On his deathbed the poet arranged to have a mourning ring sent to [Charles](#) and [Mary Lamb](#). He instructed that his body be subject to autopsy so that it would become clear to posterity that he actually had been ill rather than just another hypochondriac.



DOPERS

THE STUDY OF SAMUEL TAYLOR COLERIDGE, AND THE ROOM IN WHICH HE DIED

A Central Criminal Court was established in London, with authority to hear and determine all treasons, murders, felonies, and misdemeanors committed in London or Middlesex, and some parts of the adjacent counties, and all offences committed within the jurisdiction of the Admiralty of England (the new court was to meet at least twelve times in the course of the year).



July 28, Monday: Elijah Pierson of The Kingdom was having spells which sometimes –when he became intensely lonely for his lost wife Ann, and disoriented– caused him to reach into his trousers in public to play with himself. He had asked Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)) and the others to restrain him whenever these devils appeared. That evening, for supper, in a display of rage, the [Reverend Robert “The Prophet Matthias” Mathews](#) spooned out plates of blackberries for Pierson but then himself ate only dry toast and coffee. It turned out that he had become enraged because when the dish of blackberries had been placed on the table, it had not been placed directly in front of him.

Sister Mary John sought shelter with Protestants.⁴¹ While the [Catholic](#) sisters of the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown and their charges were being rescued and sheltered by farmer neighbors, a mob of Protestants from Boston and Charlestown destroyed the convent building. 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

41. She would voluntarily return to her [Catholic](#) context after getting her wits about her.

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. The mobs were prevented from marching to burn down Harvard Library on Tuesday night. The mobs were kept out of Boston on Wednesday night by raising the draw of the Charlestown bridge. Nothing would ever be done to punish the members of this protesting mob, who were tried in Concord in Middlesex County Court in 1836 but were acquitted, which operated under the declaration that they were attempting to free young girls who were being held captive inside the convent by the Papist nuns.⁴² Subsequently, there would be rumors going around that enraged Papists were going to exact their revenge by attacking Harvard College, and the selectmen of Cambridge would respond by creating a "patrol watch" 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 MA.



Here is the after-mob Ursuline convent, and a portion of the report of the committee of investigation:

42. 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).



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 29, Tuesday: At about 4PM Elijah Pierson of “The Kingdom” collapsed while working in the field. The [Reverend Robert “The Prophet Matthias” Mathews](#) forbade any medical attention.

The Office of Indian Affairs was organized.

Commander [George Back](#) reached the Polar Sea.

(Page 390) This then may be considered as the mouth of the Thlew-ee-choh, which, after a violent and tortuous course of five hundred and thirty geographical miles, running through an iron-



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ribbed country without a single tree on the whole line of its banks, expanding into fine large lakes with clear horizons, most embarrassing to the navigator, and broken into falls, cascades, and rapids, to the number of no less than eighty-three in the whole, pours its waters into the Polar Sea in latitude 67° 11' 00" N., and longitude 94° 30' 0" W.; that is to say, about thirty-seven miles more south than the mouth of the Copper Mine River, and nineteen miles more south than that of Back's River at the lower extremity of Bathurst's Inlet.

THE FROZEN NORTH



July 30, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day 30th of 7 M 1834 / Attended Monthly Meeting held in town. It was a time of favour - no common favour - Wm Almy was first engaged in testimony then Hannah Robinson then Dorcas Paine & the Anna A Jenkins. -then Lydia Breed in supplication -It was not so much from the general outpouring, that I count the remarkable feeling of life & love which seemed to prevail, tho I do consider some of the communications were as Diamonds of the first water & calculated to do much good particularly to the youth. -but there was that over the Meeting which seemed to carry the evidence that Silence is Worship as well as vocal communication. -There was not much buisness to engage the attention of the last Meeting & it closed after a short setting.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



July 31, Thursday: An ecclesiastical reform commission was set up by the liberal government of Portugal, to judge the actions of the clergy during the recent civil war.

From a special enclosure constructed at the foot of Boston Common, at 5:50PM Charles Ferson Durant loosed retaining cords and soared out over the bay in the general direction of Nahant beneath his lighter-than-air balloon filled with [hydrogen gas](#). Long before reaching Cape Ann, he lost altitude and his basket began to skip over the waves. Fortunately the aeronaut was attired in his gum-elastic life jacket, and fortunately, the schooner *Minor* was in the vicinity under the command of a kindhearted Captain Spaulding. The middleaged Louis Lauriat may have witnessed this adolescent derring-do and the reaction of the masses.

However, there was more going on that day than merely some venturesome individual rising into the air underneath a silly balloon:⁴³

43. "Emancipation in the West Indies: a Six Months Tour in Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, in the year 1837. By James A. Thome and J.H. Kimball. New York, 1838." — pp. 146, 147.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”

: After much debate, the bill passed by large majorities. The apprenticeship system is understood to have proceeded from Lord Brougham, and was by him urged on his colleagues, who, it is said, were inclined to the policy of immediate emancipation. The colonial legislatures received the act of Parliament with various degrees of displeasure, and, of course, every provision of the bill was criticised with severity. The new relation between the master and the apprentice, it was feared, would be mischievous; for the bill required the appointment of magistrates, who should hear every complaint of the apprentice, and see that justice was done him. It was feared that the interest of the master and servant would now produce perpetual discord between them. In the island of Antigua, containing 37,000 people, 30,000 being negroes, these objections had such weight, that the legislature rejected the apprenticeship system, and adopted absolute emancipation. In the other islands the system of the ministry was accepted. The reception of it by the negro population was equal in nobleness to the deed. The negroes were called together by the missionaries and by the planters, and the news explained to them. On the night of the 31st July, they met everywhere at their churches and chapels, and at midnight, when the clock struck twelve, on their knees, the silent, weeping assembly became men; they rose and embraced each other; they cried, they sung, they prayed, they were wild with joy, but there was no riot, no feasting. I have never read anything in history more touching than the moderation of the negroes. Some American captains left the shore and put to sea, anticipating insurrection and general murder. With far different thoughts, the negroes spent the hour in their huts and chapels.... The first of August came on Friday, and a release was proclaimed from all work until the neat Monday. The day was chiefly spent by the great mass of the negroes in the churches and chapels. The clergy and missionaries throughout the island were actively engaged, seizing the opportunity to enlighten the people on all the duties and responsibilities of their new relation, and urging them to the attainment of that higher liberty with which Christ maketh his children free. In every quarter, we were assured, the day was like a sabbath. Work had ceased. The hum of business was still: tranquillity pervaded the towns and country. The planters informed us, that they went to the chapels where their own people were assembled, greeted them, shook hands with them, and exchanged the most hearty good wishes. At Grace Hill, there were at least a thousand persons around the Moravian Chapel who could not get in. For once the house of God suffered violence, and the violent took it by force. At Grace Bay, the people, all dressed in white, formed a procession, and walked arm in arm into the chapel. We were told that the dress of the negroes on that occasion was uncommonly simple and modest. There was not the least disposition to gaiety. Throughout the island, there was not a single dance known of, either day or night, nor so much as a fiddle played.”

AUGUST

August: Two Spanish slavers, the Alerta, master A. Musard, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its four known Middle Passages, and the Francisca, master A.S. Martin, out of an unknown area of Africa on one of its five known Middle Passages, were arriving in Cuban waters. A negrero flying the Portuguese flag, the Fortuna de Africa, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, was arriving at Montevideo, Uruguay.



THE MIDDLE PASSAGE RACE SLAVERY

August: William Benjamin Carpenter relocated to London, to take classes in medicine at University College. He was becoming proficient in the playing of the seraphine (a sort of cross between a piano and an accordion).

August: HOMEROU ILLIAS. 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.). This would be a required text at Harvard College and would be found in the personal library of Henry Thoreau.

When a plank on a Concord bridge gave way, two girls drowned.

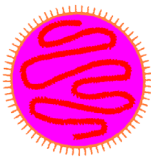
TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

One or two incidents of these schools are fresh to my memory. Sitting at the north window of the school room one summers afternoon, I was curious to know the cause of the rapid driving & running up the main road, and impatiently waited to find out after school, that two girls of about half my age had fallen through a loose plank in the south bridge and were drowned clinging to each other and the piles under water - I knew one of them very well, Esq Joseph Barretts daughter. It was a great shock, and the whole town turned out the funeral of the victims I with other boys of my age was asked to be one of the bearers, and attended first at Dea. Elijah Woods house, the services of the Orthodox minister over one child, and then in the old Lee house where Squire Joe lived the two were placed side by side, and another service was performed by the Unitarian preacher It was an awfully hot day, and while this service was proceeding a fearful thunder shower came up, the worst I can recall. The roomy old mansion was full of people men women and children for the schools were dismissed for the occasion, and the rain poured the wind howled and the thunder rattled till women fainted, children screamed and men were panic stricken, while the lightning struck several times on the farm one setting into a blaze and burning up a large pine tree in plain sight of the door where I stood. I recall the remark of the old stage driver Stuart at the sight, that they burned the Charlestown convent last night so that was safe from the lighting, and that news that was whispered about did not allay the excitement or the strain After a long long hour of waiting the rain stopped, and in the muddy washed out and badly gullied streets under the broken clouds and muttering thunder we bore the bodies on the bier to the graveyard

& were dismissed after sunset worn out, exhausted and in a frightened state. This was August 16 1834- After this experience I had a great fear of thunder showers that lasted till a boy came to stay at our house and got to school whom I did not like and who was even more of a coward about lightening. Laughing and plaguing him on the matter cured me so entirely that I hardly remember any more showers till recent years.

J.S. KEYES AUTOBIOGRAPHY

Previously [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) had for some reason turned down an offer to become “companion to the supercargo” aboard the sailing ship *Japan*, which would have meant an all-expenses-paid visit to Calcutta. While [Ellery Channing II](#) waited in the Dana home on Ellery Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts, his distant



cousin Dick Dana, eyesight temporarily damaged by [measles](#), asked his father [Richard Henry Dana, Sr.](#) for permission to leave [Harvard College](#) and signed on the *Pilgrim*, a ship bound to pick up a cargo of cowhides in the Los Angeles area⁴⁴, for use in the manufacturing of shoes in the [Boston](#) area. That is, to take up for a period the life of a common seaman.⁴⁵



44. Visit a replica of the *Pilgrim* at moorings next to the Orange County Marine Institute in Dana Point Harbor, south of Disneyland.
45. The narrative he would write would take no notice of the common homosexuality of sailor life during this period. It would be made to appear as if this were something with which this particular attractive young man never had to deal.

1834

1834



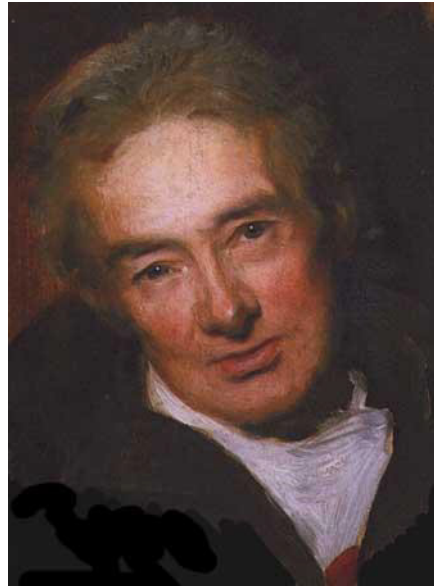
August 1, Friday: Slavery already being illegal in England and [William Wilberforce](#) having emancipated the

slaves of the English Antilles, at this point the British parliament emancipated the 800,000 black slaves of the British West Indies. In the beginning of this long process of emancipation, those under six years of age were freed, and all others were bound there as “apprentice laborers” to continue to serve their former owners at specified wages for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by their emancipation, a phase to be completed on August 1, 1838, under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833. As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these black and red “slaves” were to receive some £20,000,000 in compensation.

WALDEN: I sometimes wonder that we can be so frivolous, I may almost say, as to attend to the gross but somewhat foreign form of servitude called Negro Slavery, there are so many keen and subtle masters that enslave both north and south. It is hard to have a southern overseer; it is worse to have a northern one; but worst of all when you are the slave-driver of yourself. Talk of a divinity in man! Look at the teamster on the highway, wending to market by day or night; does any divinity stir within him? His highest duty to fodder and water his horses! What is his destiny to him compared with the shipping interests? Does not he drive for Squire Make-a-stir? How godlike, how immortal, is he? See how he cowers and sneaks, how vaguely all the day he fears, not being immortal nor divine, but the slave and prisoner of his own opinion of himself, a fame won by his own deeds. Public opinion is a weak tyrant compared with our own private opinion. What a man thinks of himself, that it is which determines, or rather indicates, his fate. Self-emancipation even in the West Indian provinces of the fancy and imagination, -what Wilberforce is there to bring that about?

PEOPLE OF WALDEN

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE
JOSEPH ADDISON
“CATO, A TRAGEDY”



35,000 slaves became free in South Africa and South Africa was on its march to becoming what it is now, a haven of sweetness and light (of course, this simplified account leaves out some of the intermediate stages in the South African progress).

With a large population of Quakers who were staunchly anti-slavery, [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#) had become a stop on the Underground Railroad, helping blacks flee the oppression of the American Southern states, so it had acquired a reputation as a safe haven. There would be a few from the West Indies who would make their way there. These West Indians who would settle in the local area of course would remember this Emancipation Day and make it an annual event. Something for everyone, even for the white people: on this

ABOLITIONISM

momentous day, also, England forbade [hanging](#) as punishment for “returning too soon from transportation!”



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 August 2, Saturday: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#)'s funeral.


Richard Wagner conducted an opera for the initial time, with a performance of Mozart's Don Giovanni in Lauchstadt, Thuringia.

Emancipation had happened, and the sky had not fallen:

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES....” : On the next Monday morning, with very few exceptions, every negro on every plantation was in the field at his work. In some places, they waited to see their master, to know what bargain he would make; but, for the most part, throughout the islands, nothing painful occurred. In June, 1835, the ministers, Lord Aberdeen and Sir George Grey, declared to the Parliament, that the system worked well; that now for ten months, from 1st August, 1834, no injury or violence had been offered to any white, and only one black had been hurt in 800,000 negroes: and, contrary to many sinister predictions, that the new crop of island produce would not fall short of that of the last year. But the habit of oppression was not destroyed by a law and a day of jubilee. It soon appeared in all the islands, that the planters were disposed to use their old privileges, and overwork the apprentices; to take from them, under various pretences, their fourth part of their time; and to exert the same licentious despotism as before. The negroes complained to the magistrates, and to the governor. In the island of Jamaica, this ill blood continually grew worse. The governors, Lord Belmore, the Earl of Sligo, and afterwards Sir Lionel Smith, (a governor of their own class, who had been sent out to gratify the planters,) threw themselves on the side of the oppressed, and are at constant quarrel with the angry and bilious island legislature.

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 August 4, Monday: Abraham Lincoln, age 24, was elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly as a member of the Whig party. He would begin to study law.

Barthelemy Theodore, chevalier de Theux de Meylandt replaced Jean Louis Joseph Lebeau as head of government for Belgium.

[John Venn](#) was born at Hull in Yorkshire.



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

2nd day 4 of 8th M 1834 / Joseph Bowne returned from his




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religious visit to the eastern Quarterly Meeting & attended the Afternoon Meeting in Town yesterday – today he called here at the [Institution](#) & sat less than an hour & then returned homeward taking the SteamBoat for NewYork.

This Afternoon took a pleasant & interesting walk to [Moses Browns](#) Bridge with the little girls –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 5, Tuesday: The Ecclesiastical Reform Commission for Portugal declared that all clergymen currently absent from their churches or monasteries were to be considered traitors.

During the night Elijah Pierson died. Later, the [Reverend Robert “The Prophet Matthias” Mathews](#) would darkly warn the others in The Kingdom that any who opposed him could expect to die in the same manner.

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

3rd day 5th of 8th M 1834 / This Afternoon Rode down to [Rhode Island](#) & lodged at Uncle Stantons

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 August 6, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:


4th day Attended Select Quarterly Meeting In the Afternoon we rode into [Newport](#) Passed the Afternoon at Father Rodmans In the eveing at Aunt Nancy Carpenter but we found the Old lady very sick

We felt strengthened at leaving Aunt Nancy on 5th day Morning, but she was willing we should go to [Portsmouth](#) to attend the Quarterly Meeting which we did – It was a very warm day & on that account the most suffering Meeting I recollect to have attended – we had some preaching which was good & satisfactory, but the stream did not rise high

We had not much buisness in the last Meeting. – After Meeting we got a little Dinner at Jeremiah Giffords & returned to [Providence](#) intending to return to [New Port](#) if we understood Aunt Nancy was much worse.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 7, Thursday: Samuel Wesley gave his final public performance, accompanying his own anthem “All go unto one place” in Exeter Hall, London (it was a funeral anthem for his recently deceased brother Charles).

 August 8, Friday: After observing a spectacular [meteor](#) shower, Professor John Locke (1792-1856) of Ohio Medical College reported that all the streaks of light had seemed to be originating from a point near the star Algol in the constellation Perseus. –But the annual nature of this August phenomenon, the Perseid shower, would not become clear for some years.


SKY EVENT


The fathers of the [Order of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar](#), [Honoré Laval](#), Chrysostome Liausu, and François Caret, with Friar Columban Murphy, disembarked from the American vessel *Peruviana* at Akamaru in the [Gambier Archipelago](#) of French Polynesia, encountering there a “docile” people many of whom would be worked to death or would die of tuberculosis in the construction of some 100 coral and stone buildings, including palaces, a prison, a monastery, a convent, a textile factory, and a 1,200-seat cathedral in Rikitea. Questioned by Compté Emile de la Ronciere about his theocracy enforced by native police when only about a thousand of the original six thousand parishioners were left alive, Father Honoré Laval would explain that his flock had “but gone to heaven the more quickly.” He would be called to Tahiti by the Bishop in 1870, with at the point of his departure only 463 of these people still surviving. (In a later timeframe, these people would be subjected to unknown amounts of radiation during French nuclear tests.)

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


6th day was the General School committee Many of the committee attended. among them was our dear friends Edw & Elizabeth Wing who left in the Afternoon, for Elizabeth to finish her family visit in [Greenwich](#) Monthly Meeting –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 9, Saturday: Secularization of the [California](#) missions began with release of half of the land of Mission San Juan Capistrano to the *Juaneños*. They could not legally alienate themselves from this land, so, technically, they would still be serfs, all 861 of them who remained alive at this point.⁴⁶

 August 11, Monday: The [Ursuline Convent](#) near Boston was burned by a mob that wanted to believe that some of the women inside had been being held against their will. For the following 19 days, until falling ill, [Horace Mann, Sr.](#) would be chairing an ad hoc committee of citizens in an investigation of the incident.

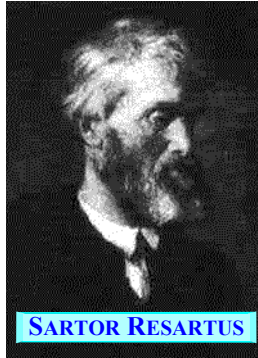
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

 August 12, Tuesday: In this month appeared the 8th and last of the installments of [Thomas Carlyle](#)’s [SARTOR RESARTUS](#) in [Fraser’s Magazine](#). As part of the publication deal 58 sets of the complete work had been stitched together for the author’s personal distribution. The author sent off to [Waldo Emerson](#) a packet containing four stitched pamphlet copies of the complete work: “one copy for your own behoof” as he phrased it, plus “three others you can perhaps find fit readers for.” Of the total 58, Carlyle would manage to find homes for 38 and would be forced to retain 20. (If for some reason you would like to see this, the copy which would be presented by Carlyle to Harriet Taylor is at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City.)

“Sartor Resartus” is, perhaps, the sunniest and most philosophical, as it is the most autobiographical of his works, in which he drew most largely on the experience of his youth. But we miss everywhere a calm depth, like a lake, even stagnant, and must submit to rapidity and whirl, as on skates, with all kinds of skillful and antic motions, sculling, sliding, cutting punch-bowls and rings, forward and backward. The talent is very

46. By 1840  there would be fewer than 500 *Juaneños*, with fewer than 100 remaining in the mission area itself.

nearly equal to the genius. Sometimes it would be preferable to wade slowly through a Serbonian bog, and feel the juices of the meadow.



SARTOR RESARTUS

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

BOSTON EVENING TRANSCRIPT TUESDAY EVENING, AUGUST 12
Burning of the Charlestown Convent

The subject of universal interest in the city today has been the work of destruction accomplished by a mob, last night and this morning, at and about the Ursuline Convent, on Mount Benedict, in Charlestown – resulting in the complete sacking of the principal building itself – a four-story handsome brick edifice, with wings, and front about eighty feet – together with the farm house, cottage, and every other building upon the premises, and also with the demolition or consumption by fire of all the furniture and chattels of every description, appurtenant to the whole.

The circumstances which have led to the commission of this horrible outrage need not be discussed at length. We shall confine ourselves principally to a statement of facts, ascertained from witnesses of the scene, and from personal observation, and application to all the authorities in whom most confidence may be placed. It is sufficient, perhaps, to introduce the statement of the Selectmen of Charlestown, in regard to this subject, as it appeared in this morning's Gazette:

“To the Public. Whereas erroneous statements have appeared in the public papers, intimating that the liberty of a young lady was improperly and unlawfully restrained at the Convent in this town, and believing that said publications were intended to excite the public mind against that Institution, and might result in unpleasant or serious consequences, the Selectmen, considering it their duty to endeavor to allay any such excitement, have, at the request of the Government of the Institution, fully examined into the circumstances of the case, and were conducted by the lady in question throughout the premises, and into every apartment of the place – the whole of which is in good order, and nothing appearing to them to be in the least objectionable; and



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they have the satisfaction to assure the public, that there exists no cause of complaint on the part of said female, as she expresses herself to be entirely satisfied with her present situation, it being that of her own choice, and that she has no desire or wish to alter it.

"THOS HOOPER, ABIJAH MONROE, SAMUEL POOR, STEPHEN WILEY, JOHN RUNEY, SELECTMEN
"Charlestown, Aug. 11, 1834"

The Post of this morning, also published a card from Mr. Edward Cutter, a respectable and well known citizen of Charlestown -not a Catholic- equally calculated, as that paper remarks, (had it come in season) "to allay the unjust excitement about the Nun." Mr. Cutter says:

"On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th inst, the lady in question came to my house, appeared to be considerably agitated, and expressed her wish to be conveyed to the residence of an acquaintance in West Cambridge. I lent her my assistance; and on the succeeding day, I called, with the purpose of inquiring for the causes which had induced her to leave the Institution. I was informed that she had returned to the Nunnery, in company with the Bishop, with a promise that she should be permitted to leave in two or three weeks, if it was her wish. Since that time, various rumors have been in circulation, calculated to excite the public in mind, and to such an extent as induced me to attempt to ascertain their foundation; accordingly on Saturday the 9th inst, I called at the Nunnery, and requested of the Superior an interview with the lady referred to. I obtained it; and was informed by her that she was at liberty to leave the Institution at any time she chose. The same statement was also made by the Superior, who farther remarked, that, in the present state of public feeling, she should prefer to have her leave."

The attention of our citizens was first called to the proceedings at Mount Benedict, by an alarm fire given from the vicinity of the Convent a little after eleven o'clock, and caused by tar-barrels and other combustible materials having been set on fire, as is supposed, to draw together those who had undertaken to aid in the work of destruction, or whose aid was expected to be obtained by the display of this signal. We have been informed that some time previous to this is a small party, of the same description with those who subsequently constituted the mass of the assailants, had ascended the hill, reconnoitered the premises pretty carefully, and apparently satisfied themselves that no suspicion was entertained, or, at all events, no defence prepared within the walls, from which serious difficulty or delay might be apprehended in the prosecution of the plan. This was no doubt suggested by the circumstance of certain, or rather uncertain, designs against the Convent having been for some days the subject of general report. Immediate action or



attempts, however, on the part of the disaffected, were not anticipated either by the municipal authorities, or the citizens generally; and this impression of at least present security had been artfully confirmed by a hand-bill yesterday posted up and extensively circulated in Charlestown, which intimated, substantially, that what was proposed to be done would be done on Thursday evening next.

A few moments after the signal was given, as above described, a gang of about fifty persons – as nearly as we can ascertain – but certainly at no time exceeding sixty – having gathered about the front door of the Convent, and made considerable noise by way of warning the inmates to flee, proceeded to affect a forcible entrance.

The whole party, we should observe here, were disguised. All of them, so far as we can learn, had their faces painted – some after an Indian fashion, and others in other ways; and a part of the number employed devices and disguises of various other descriptions, adapted to conceal the individuals concerned in the outrage, from recognition, at the time of its execution, and of course from punishment hereafter.

Meanwhile, the inmates of the Convent had all, we believe, effected their escape from the house, as admonished to do by the assailants in their first demonstrations about the entrance. These were the Lady Superior, five or six Nuns, three servant maids, and fifty-five or fifty-six children, the latter being pupils under the instruction of the Nuns, and placed there by their parents and other friends – the majority of whom we understand to be Protestants – belonging in this city and other places in Massachusetts generally, but some of them resident at greater distance. All of the inmates had retired when the alarm was given, and most were probably asleep; but the Nuns exerted themselves in rousing the children as fast as possible, and were successful in getting them all out of the Convent, whence they fled in great haste, through the rear of the building, and the garden attached to it, over the garden wall, scattering themselves in various directions, but most of them finding shelter in some of the houses not far distant from the premises.

Those only who delayed most for the assistance of the younger part of the number were personally molested, among whom it is said was the Lady Superior, upon whom some persons laid rude hands to hasten her movements. The efforts of this lady and the nuns who aided here were doubtless increased by the absence of three or four of their number, who at the earliest alarm devoted themselves to the removal of a sister sometime confined to her bed by a disease from which there is no hope of her recovery. Others perhaps were occupied in the care of one of their companions who is deranged, and who, in the phrenzy occasioned by the consternation and confusion of the horrid scene which surrounded her, and



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the frightful sounds of disorder which assailed her ears, attempted to throw herself headlong from one of the upper windows of the house, and was not without difficulty restrained, and in some degree pacified, by her sisters.

It is stated by some that the invalid was actually conveyed from the house by some of the assailants, (to a neighboring dwelling) and that she was treated by them with comparative tenderness. It is exceedingly difficult today to ascertain precisely the facts in regard to this point, and indeed in regard to the whole subject. This city and Charlestown are both full of contradictory rumors. We profess only to get as near the truth as we can.

Of the destruction of all the buildings by fire, however, there is no doubt. The fire was set, in different parts of the Convent, probably about 12 o'clock, after considerable time had been spent in breaking up the furniture, including three pianos, an elegant costly harp, and other musical instruments. The whole establishment was in a blaze before one, and was reduced to ashes in the course of an hour or two.

There was an insurance at the American office, on the building, to the amount of \$12,000, and \$2,000 also on the furniture; but no part of this will be available to the proprietors under the circumstances of this occasion. The policy does not apply to occasions of this kind.

Great numbers of people were attracted to the scene of destruction in the course of the night, most of whom probably arrived too late to prevent much of the harm which was done, had they been disposed and able to interfere to advantage. As many as ten or eleven engines from this city, besides five from Charlestown, and some from Cambridge, repaired to the spot, but only to swell the crowd of spectators. Our firemen were of course under the control of the Charlestown Engineers, and by these were requested, as we are told, not to play upon the buildings, no water was thrown by any of the engines. The nearest which could be used to much extent was that of the [Middlesex Canal](#). In reference to all this part of the transaction which relates to the firemen, we presume that correct information will be furnished hereafter; meanwhile, we insert, by request, the following card, to counteract an impression circulated in some quarters today, to the prejudice of Company No. 13:

"Boston, Aug. 12th, 1834

"This is to certify that I was with No. 13 Engine Company on their way to the fire, and during their stay there, and hearing the command of the officer for the members not to leave the Engine, took particular notice that not a member left, and that the utmost order was preserved whilst there.



"CHARLES S. CLARK, Assistant Engineer"

The Nuns, and those of the pupils whose relatives do not reside in the neighborhood, are now quartered with the Sisters of Charity in Hamilton street. Mr. Cutter, we understand, gave an asylum to a large number of them during the night. We are told this afternoon by one of the pupils, that the only one of their number who saved any clothing, was a little girl about 12 years of age, who had packed up some dresses in a larger handkerchief some time before the alarm was given, supposing there might be trouble sooner or later, and carried them away in safety. We cannot learn, indeed, that any of the children were personally injured or insulted in any manner.

The city is full of excitement upon this affair, and our readers must, as we intimated above, be patient till the "truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth," shall be sifted out of the multitude of rumors which now besets us on every side. We agree only in the utter condemnation of the outrage.

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"Great Meeting at Faneuil Hall," Boston Evening Transcript.

An immense multitude assembled at Faneuil Hall, in pursuance of an invitation from the Mayor, this day, at one o'clock, (although the notice was give but two hours previous,) to take measures relative to the riot at Charlestown. Hon. Theodore Lyman, Mayor of the city, presided, and Z Cook, Jr, Esq, was appointed Secretary. The resolutions were offered by Josaiiah Quincy, Jr, Esq, who prefaced them with a few most eloquent remarks. After the resolutions were read, Hon. Harrison Gray Otis was called for, who rose, and with much feeling addressed the assembly with his usual brilliancy and elegance. On making an allusion to the good Bishop Cheverus, he was interrupted by loud and continued applause. There was an excellent feeling pervaded the vast multitude, and the resolutions were unanimously adopted, amid applause never before exceeded within the walls of Faneuil.



Resolved, That in the opinion of the citizens of Boston, the late attack on the Ursuline Convent in Charlestown, occupied only by defenceless females, was a base and cowardly act, for which, the perpetrators deserve the contempt and detestation of the community.

Resolved, That the destruction of property and danger of life caused thereby, calls loudly on all good citizens to express individually and collectively the abhorrence they feel for this high-handed violation of the laws.

Resolved, That we, the protestant citizens of Boston, do pledge ourselves, collectively and individually, to unite with our Catholic brethren in protecting their persons, their property, and their civil and religious rights.

Resolved. That the Mayor and Alderman be requested to take all measures consistent with law, to carry the foregoing resolution into effect, and as citizens, we tender our personal services to support the laws under the direction of the city authorities.

Resolved. That the mayor be requested to nominate a committee from the citizens at large, to investigate the proceedings of the last night, and to adopt every suitable mode of bringing the authors and abettors of



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this outrage to justice.

The following Committee was nominated by the Mayor:

H.G. Otis, John D. Williams, James T. Austin, Henry Lee, James Clark, Cyrus Atger, John Henshaw, Francis J. Oliver, Mark Healy, Charles G. Loring, C.G. Greene, Isaac Harris, Thomas H. Perkins, John Rayner, Henry Gussett, Daniel D. Brodhead, Noah Brooks, H.F. Baker, Z. Cook Jr., George Darracott, Samuel Hubbard, Henry Farnam, Benjamin F. Hallet, John K. Simpson, John cotton, Benjamin Rich, William Sturgis, Charles P. Curtis.

On motion of Mr. George Bond, the committee of twenty eight were requested to consider the expediency of providing funds to repair the damage done to the Convent. &c.

On motion of John C. Park Esq, it was

Resolved, That the Mayor be authorized and request to offer a very liberal reward to any individual who, in case of further excesses, will arrest and bring to punishment a leader in such outrages.

THEODORE LYMAN Jr, Chairman.
ZEBEDEE COOKE Jr, Secretary



August 13, Wednesday: Friend Stephen Wanton Gould wrote in his journal:

4th day 13th of 8th M 1834 / Our Meeting was silent but some favour experienced - This Afternoon I have been favoured to feel very quietly & pleasantly. It is comfortable to feel the Mind tendered & sweetened by the fresh incomes of Divine life. Moses Brown called & set some time with us this Afternoon, he showed us a few lines he had recd from Josiah Foster, accompanying the London Epistles both of which we read, that to the Mens & Womens Yearly Meeting. - which produced a Solemnity & quiet over our Minds. - I have had one letter & one verbal account from Newport, which impart that Aunt Nancy is not worse than when we left her. -

The Evening Transcript:

The general excitement occasioned by the proceedings of night before last at Charlestown, and which yesterday-for the honor of the city be it said-raged among us with an earnestness corresponding to the atrocious character of that affair, has today, in a good degree, subsided. To the active exertions of the Mayor, and other municipal authorities-the spirit and unanimity with which these were seconded by the whole community, and especially the great meeting called at Faneuil Hall-and finally, to the very commendable course pursued, as will be seen, by the Reverend Bishop Fenwick-must it be attributed, that after so stormy a day, the night passed off without disturbance in any direction. At



Charlestown, also, the proceedings of the public meeting undoubtedly had a similar effect.

Among all the comment excited by this unprecedented enormity, we have noticed none which more justly describes the nature of the case than that of the Atlas, a portion of which we transfer to our columns.

What a scene must this midnight conflagration have exhibited-lighting up the inflamed countenances of an infuriated mob of demons-attacking a convent of women, a seminary for the instruction of young females, and turning them out of their beds, half naked in the hurry of their flight, and half dead with confusion and terror. And this drama, too, to be enacted on the very soil that afforded one of the earliest places of refuge to the puritan fathers of New England-themselves flying from religious persecution in the old world-that their descendants may wax strong and mighty, and in their turn be guilty of the same persecution in the new!

We remember no parallel to this outrage in the whole course of history. Turn to the bloodiest incidents of the French Revolution-roll up the curtain that hangs before its most sanguinary scenes-and point us to its equal in unprovoked violence, in brutal outrage, in unthwarted iniquity. It is in vain that we search for it. In times of civil commotion and general excitement-of confusion, and cruelty, and blood-when the edifice of civil society was shaken to its base and crumbling into ruin-when the foundations of the great deep were broken up, and rapine and fire and murder, were sweeping like a torrent over the land-in times like these there was some palliation for violence and outrage, in the tremendously excited state of the public mind.

But here there was no such palliation. The Courts of Justice were open to receive complaints of any improper confinement, or unauthorized coercion. The civil magistrates were, or ought to be on the alert, to detect any illegal restraint, and bring its authors to the punishment they deserve. But nothing of the kind was detected. The whole matter was a cool, deliberate, systematized piece of brutality-unprovoked-under the most provoking circumstances totally unjustifiable-and visiting the citizens of the town, and most particularly its magistrates and civil officers, with indelible disgrace.

The violation of the tomb in the garden, alone, would seem sufficient to justify these remarks, severe as they are. The feelings with which, yesterday morning, we witnessed the rude exposure of those remains to the glare of the day, and the gaze of an indiscriminate multitude, are such as we hope may never be aroused again.

The destruction of the Bishop's Lodge, in front of the Convent, has not excited much comment; but we cannot



forbear expressing our regret-especially since the publication of the course adopted by that prelate on this occasion-that a large and valuable library, consisting of classical and other works, should have been utterly consumed in the common ruin which overwhelmed the whole establishment; not a single book was saved.

We rejoice that no occasion arose last night for the application of any of the means provided by the authorities and the citizens generally, for the preservation of good order. Large numbers of volunteers acted as special constables and watchmen during the night, the firemen were on the alert, and the Independent companies had made arrangements for very prompt attendance in case of necessity, but fortunately none of their services were required.

MEETING OF THE CATHOLICS. So great was the excitement among the Catholics, that Bishop Fenwick deemed it necessary to call a meeting at the Church in Franklin street. The account of which, we copy from the Gazette of this morning.

At 6 o'clock several hundred were assembled, when the Bishop came in and addressed them for about thirty minutes, in a most eloquent and judicious manner. He deserves the warmest commendation from his Protestant fellow citizens, for the admirable style in which he managed this business. Previous to speaking, the Bishop read a part of the fifth chapter of Matthew, containing the following among other verses:

"you have heard that it hath been said, An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth. But I say to you, not to resist evil: but if one strike thee on thy right cheek, turn to him also the other.

"And if a man will contend with thee in judgment, and take away thy coat, let go thy cloak also unto him. And whosoever will force thee one mile, go with him other two.

"You have heard that it hath been said, Thou shall love thy neighbor, and hate thy enemy. But I say to you, love your enemies, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that persecute and calumniate you."

Bishop Fenwick then proceeded to address his hearers, embracing several hundred of both sexes. He spoke of the destruction of the Usuline Convent and the adjacent buildings. He spoke also of the beauty and utility of that institution, and alluded to its growing popularity among the intelligent classes, both in this vicinity and at a distance. Among the pupils of the institution were some from Louisiana, and the West India Islands. After denouncing the conduct of the incendiaries in appropriate terms, he asked, "What is to be done? Shall we say to our enemies, you have destroyed our buildings, and we will destroy yours? No, my brethren, this is not



the religion of Jesus Christ-this is not in accordance with the spirit of that blessed religion we all profess. Turn not a finger in your own defence, and there are those around you who will see that justice is done you."

The Bishop then complimented the City Authorities and others for the stand they had taken in defence of the rights of the Catholics; and he assured his hearers that they had the sympathies of all respectable citizens. The destruction of the Convent, he said, was an act of the most degraded of the human species, and it met with no favor from the intelligent people of Boston. He impressed upon the minds of his Catholic brethren the fact, that it was not their duty to seek revenge for this vile act; and said that that man was an enemy to the religion he professed, and would put the Catholic Church in jeopardy, who should raise a finger against their opponents at this time.

The Bishop said he had no fears that those who were present would act in opposition to his advice and if any acts of violence were committed, it would be by those who, with perhaps a commendable ardor and alacrity, were rushing to their aid from a distance, and who may not have correct information on the subject. He enjoined it upon all present as solemn duty, to inform these individuals, if they should fall in with any of them, of what he had said, and the advice he had just given them.

He concluded his admirable remarks-which were delivered in a most impressive manner-by assuring his hearers that the Public Authorities were not idle spectators of what was passing. They are on the alert, (said he) and it is your duty to remain quiet, to remain peaceable, and they will see you righted.

GREAT MEETING AT CHARLES TOWN

A meeting was called yesterday afternoon by the Selectmen, for the purpose of obtaining an expression of the opinions of the citizens, in regard to the recent outrage. Dr. Thompson was chosen Moderator, and P. Dodge Esq, Secretary. The following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That a liberal reward be offered by the Town, for the detection of the authors of the outrage last night committee.

Resolved, That a committee of five persons be appointed to report such resolutions as it may be expedient for the town to adopt, and to nominate a Committee Vigilance.

The following persons were appointed: Hon [E. Everett](#), Capt Whipple, John Soley Esq, William Austin Esq, and John Skinner Esq.

The above committee retired, but soon returned and reported the following preamble and resolutions:

Whereas, The Ursuline Convent, in this town, was



attacked last night by a riotous and lawless assemblage, its peaceful and unoffending inmates-consisting exclusively of women and children-driven out, and the Convent, after being pillaged, was, with the adjacent buildings, reduced to ashes, therefore

Resolved, unanimously, by the citizens of Charlestown, in town meeting assembled, that we regard with feelings of indignation and horror, the aforesaid lawless acts of midnight violence, committed within the limits of town.

Resolved, unanimously, that the citizens here assembled consider it a duty to themselves and the town, to take all proper measures to ascertain the authors and perpetrators of the aforesaid acts of violence and outrage, committed in a manner unexampled in this country-in defiance of the laws, and in violation of those feelings of honor and humanity, by which the innocent and defenceless are place under the protection of all good citizens.

Resolved, That it is the incumbent duty of all good citizens, to co-operate with the Selectmen and the magistrates in detecting and bringing to justice all persons concerned as perpetrators and abettors of outrages so discreditable to the community in which we live, and to the country at large.

Resolved, That the following persons be appointed a Committee of Vigilance, whose duty it shall be in conjunction with the Selectmen, to take such measures as may be necessary to reserve the public peace, and to detect the perpetrators of the outrages last night committed, biz: Gen N. Austin, Joseph Tufts, Esq, David Devens, Esq, J. K. Frothingham Esq, Capt L. Turner, Dr A. R. Thompson, Capt Joe F. Boyd, Benjamin Thompson Esq, Dr J. S. Hurd, and Wm Sawyer Esq.

Resolutions were also passed, authorizing the Committee of Vigilance to offer a suitable reward, not exceeding \$1000, for the detection of the projectors of the conflagration, to be paid in proportion to the degree of guilt proved against the offenders, and requesting the Governor of the Commonwealth to offer a suitable reward for a similar purpose.

The Rev Mr Byrne, Catholic Priest, made some just and pertinent remarks, and assured the meeting that he had used, and he hoped effectually, the most untiring exertions to prevent a reaction on the part of the Catholics. He was listened to with marked attention.

Mr Everett, after reading the resolutions, drawn up by himself, made a few brief, but energetic remarks, and the resolutions were carried nem con.



1834

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August 14, Thursday: Harriet Smithson Berlioz gave birth to a son, Louis-Clement-Thomas, at their home in Montmartre.

In England, there had been workhouses in which the able-bodied poor had been kept at constant labor since 1536 during the reign of King Henry VIII. King Edward VI had founded the royal hospital at Bridewell in 1553, for the punishment and employment of the vigorous and idle. In 1601 work had been ordered to be provided by the overseers of the poor. In 1819 parishes had been empowered to enlarge or build workhouses where none existed before. As of this date, per the Poor Law Amendment Act, the boards of guardians of such workhouses were taken under the control of a national Poor-Law Board, and no able-bodied British man could receive public assistance unless he entered such an institution. If you do not work you shall not eat.

Commander [George Back](#) decided to turn back from the exploration that had been heading in the direction of Point Turnagain.

(Page 427) Thus circumstanced, therefore, and reflecting on the long and dangerous stream, combining all the bad features of the worst rivers in the country, that we had to retrace, the hazards of the falls and rapids, and the slender hope which remained of our attaining even a single mile farther, I felt that I had no choice, and, assembling the men, I informed them that the period fixed by his Majesty's Government for my return had arrived; and that it now only remained to unfurl the British flag, and salute it with three cheers in honour of His Most Gracious Majesty.

[THE FROZEN NORTH](#)

At the [Boston](#) dock, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) boarded the *Pilgrim*.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The fourteenth of August was the day fixed upon for the sailing of the brig *Pilgrim* on her voyage from Boston round Cape Horn to the western coast of North America. As she was to get under weigh early in the afternoon, I made my appearance on board at twelve o'clock, in full sea-rig, and with my chest, containing an outfit for a two or three years' voyage, which I had undertaken from a determination to cure, if possible, by an entire change of life, and by a long absence from books and study, a weakness of the eyes, which had obliged me to give up my pursuits, and which no medical aid seemed likely to cure.

The change from the tight dress coat, silk cap and kid gloves of an undergraduate at Cambridge, to the loose duck trowsers, checked shirt and tarpaulin hat of a sailor, though somewhat of a transformation, was soon made, and I supposed that I should pass very well for a jack tar. But it is impossible to deceive the practised eye in these matters; and while I supposed myself to be looking as salt as Neptune himself, I was, no doubt, known for a landsman by every one on board as soon as I hove in sight. A sailor has a peculiar cut to his clothes, and a way of wearing them which a green hand can never get. The trowsers, tight round the hips, and thence hanging long and loose round the feet, a superabundance of checked shirt, a low-crowned, well varnished black hat, worn on the back of the head, with half a fathom of black ribbon hanging over the left eye, and a peculiar tie to the black silk neckerchief, with sundry other minutiae, are signs, the want of which betray the beginner, at once. Besides the points in my dress which were out of the way, doubtless my complexion and hands were enough to distinguish me from the regular salt, who, with a sunburnt cheek, wide step, and rolling gait, swings his bronzed and toughened hands athwartships, half open, as though just ready to grasp a rope.



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August 15, Friday: The South Australia Act received Royal Assent, providing for the establishment of a colony there separate from New South Wales.


Fathers of the [Order of the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary and of the Perpetual Adoration of the Most Holy Sacrament of the Altar Honoré Laval](#), Chrysostome Liausu, and François Caret, and Friar Columban Murphy, celebrated their initial mass at Akamaru in the [Gambier Archipelago](#) of French Polynesia.



On the next day, a Saturday:

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

I reached Covey's about nine o'clock; ... out ran Covey with his cowskin, to give me another whipping. Before he could reach me, I succeeded in getting to the cornfield; and as the corn was very high, it afforded me the means of hiding.... I spent that day mostly in the woods, having the alternative before me, - to go home and be whipped to death, or stay in the woods and be starved to death. That night, I fell in with Sandy Jenkins, a slave with whom I was somewhat acquainted. Sandy ... told me, with great solemnity, I must go back to Covey; but that before I went, I must go with him into another part of the woods, where there was a certain **root**, which, if I would take some of it with me, carrying it **always on my right side**, would render it impossible for Mr. Covey, or any other white man, to whip me.... To please him, I at length took the root, and, according to his direction, carried it upon my right side.


 August 16, Saturday: [Charles Darwin](#) was clambering up Mount Campana in Chile.

In [Canton](#), Viceroy Lu K'un restricted trade with foreigners.

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) sailed away on his excellent adventure as a common seaman.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The next morning was Saturday, and a breeze having sprung up from the southward, we took a pilot on board, hove up our anchor, and began beating down the bay. I took leave of those of my friends who came to see me off, and had barely opportunity to take a last look at the city, and well-known objects, as no time is allowed on board ship for sentiment. As we drew down into the lower harbor, we found the wind ahead in the bay, and were obliged to come to anchor in the roads. We remained there through the day and a part of the night. My watch began at eleven o'clock at night, and I received orders to call the captain if the wind came out from the westward. About midnight the wind became fair, and having called the captain, I was ordered to call all hands. How I accomplished this I do not know, but I am quite sure that I did not give the true hoarse, boatswain call of "A-a-ll ha-a-a-nds! up anchor, a-ho-oy!" In a short time every one was in motion, the sails loosed, the yards braced, and we began to heave up the anchor, which was our last hold upon Yankee land. I could take but little part in all these preparations. My little knowledge of a vessel was all at fault. Unintelligible orders were so rapidly given and so immediately executed; there was such a hurrying about, and such an intermingling of strange cries and stranger actions, that I was completely bewildered. There is not so helpless and pitiable an object in the world as a landsman beginning a sailor's life. At length those peculiar, longdrawn sounds, which denote that the crew are heaving at the windlass, began, and in a few moments we were under weigh. The noise of the water thrown from the bows began to be heard, the vessel leaned over from the damp night breeze, and rolled with the heavy ground swell, and we had actually begun our long, long journey. This was literally bidding "good night" to my native land.

 August 17, Sunday: [Charles Darwin](#) reached the top of Mount Campana in Chile.

Birth of [Edward Fisher Nott](#).

An instrument for force feeding
should a slave attempt to
escape through self-starvation:





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On the next morning, a Sunday morning:

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

... upon entering the yard gate, out came Mr. Covey on his way to meeting. He spoke to me very kindly, bade me drive the pigs from a lot near by, and passed on towards the church. Now, this singular conduct of Mr. Covey really made me begin to think that there was something in the ROOT which Sandy had given me; and had it been on any other day than Sunday, I could have attributed the conduct to no other cause than the influence of that root; and as it was, I was half inclined to think the **root** to be something more than I at first had taken it to be.



August 17, Sunday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) received Captain Thompson's address to his new crew, and received also his first hint that a ship's captain could not be expected to fill the role of a minister.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The first day we passed at sea was the Sabbath. As we were just from port, and there was a great deal to be done on board, we were kept at work all day, and at night the watches were set, and everything put into sea order. When we were called aft to be divided into watches, I had a good specimen of the manner of a sea captain. After the division had been made, he gave a short characteristic speech, walking the quarter deck with a cigar in his mouth, and dropping the words out between the puffs.

Now, my men, we have begun a long voyage. If we get along well together, we shall have a comfortable time; if we don't, we shall have hell afloat.- All you've got to do is to obey your orders and do your duty like men,- then you'll fare well enough;- if you don't, you'll fare hard enough,- I can tell you. If we pull together, you'll find me a clever fellow; if we don't, you'll find me a bloody rascal.- That's all I've got to say.- Go below, the larboard watch!

I being in the starboard, or second mate's watch, had the opportunity of keeping the first watch at sea. S_____, a young man, making, like myself, his first voyage, was in the same watch, and as he was the son of a professional man, and had been in a countingroom in Boston, we found that we had many friends and topics in common. We talked these matters over,- Boston, what our friends were probably doing, our voyage, etc., until he went to take his turn at the look-out, and left me to myself. I had now a fine time for reflection. I felt for the first time the perfect silence of the sea. The officer was walking the quarter deck, where I had no right to go, one or two men were talking on the forecastle, whom I had little inclination to join, so that I was left open to the full impression of everything about me. However much I was affected by the beauty of the sea, the bright stars, and the clouds driven swiftly over them, I could not but remember that I was separating myself from all the social and intellectual enjoyments of life. Yet, strange as it may seem, I did then and afterwards take pleasure in these reflections, hoping by them to prevent my becoming insensible to the value of what I was leaving.

But all my dreams were soon put to flight by an order from the officer to trim the yards, as the wind was getting ahead; and I could plainly see by the looks the sailors occasionally cast to windward, and by the dark clouds that were fast coming up, that we had bad weather to prepare for, and had heard the captain say that he expected to be in the Gulf Stream by twelve o'clock. In a few minutes eight bells were struck, the watch called, and we went below. I now began to feel the first discomforts of a sailor's life. The steerage in which I lived was filled with coils of rigging, spare sails, old junk and ship stores, which had not been stowed away. Moreover, there had been no berths built for us to sleep in, and we were not allowed to drive nails to hang our clothes upon. The sea, too, had risen, the vessel was rolling heavily, and everything was pitched about in grand confusion. There was a complete "hurrah's nest," as the sailors say, "everything on top and nothing at hand." A large hawser had been coiled away upon my chest; my hats, boots, mattress and blankets had all fetched away and gone over to leeward, and were jammed and broken under the boxes and coils of rigging. To crown all, we were allowed no light to find anything with, and I was just beginning to feel strong symptoms of sea-sickness, and that listlessness and inactivity which accompany it. Giving up all attempts to collect my things together, I lay down upon the sails, expecting every moment to hear the cry of "all hands ahoy," which the approaching storm would soon make necessary. I shortly heard the rain-drops falling on deck, thick and fast, and the watch evidently had their hands full of work, for I could hear the loud and repeated orders of the mate, the trampling of feet, the creaking of blocks, and all the accompaniments of a coming storm. In a few minutes the slide of the hatch was thrown back, which let down the noise and tumult of the deck still louder, the loud cry of "All hands, ahoy! tumble up here and take in sail," saluted our ears, and the hatch was quickly shut again. When I got upon deck, a new scene and a new experience was before me. The little brig was close hauled upon the wind, and lying over, as it then seemed to me, nearly upon her beam ends. The heavy head sea was beating against her bows with the noise and force almost of a sledge hammer, and flying over the deck drenching us completely through. The topsail halvards had been let go, and the

**THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:**

The wind was whistling through the rigging, loose ropes flying about; loud and, to me, unintelligible orders constantly given and rapidly executed, and the sailors “singing out” at the ropes in their hoarse and peculiar strains. In addition to all this, I this, I had not got my “sea legs on,” was dreadfully sick, with hardly strength enough to hold on to anything, and it was “pitch dark.” This was my state when I was ordered aloft, for the first time, to reef topsails.

How I got along, I cannot now remember. I “laid out” on the yards and held on with all my strength. I could not have been of much service, for I remember having been sick several times before I left the topsail yard. Soon all was snug aloft, and we were again allowed to go below. This I did not consider much of a favor, for the confusion of everything below, and that inexpressible sickening smell, caused by the shaking up of the bilge-water in the hold, made the steerage but an indifferent refuge from the cold, wet decks. I had often read of the nautical experiences of others, but I felt as though there could be none worse than mine; for in addition to every other evil, I could not but remember that this was only the first night of a two years’ voyage. When we were on deck we were not much better off, for we were continually ordered about by the officer, who said that it was good for us to be in motion. Yet anything was better than the horrible state of things below. I remember very well going to the hatchway and putting my head down, when I was oppressed by nausea, and always being relieved immediately. It was as good as an emetic.

This state of things continued for two days.



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August 18, Monday: Marshall Field, who would found a Chicago-based store chain, was born.

That morning:⁴⁷

Frederick Douglass's NARRATIVE

Long before daylight, I was called to go and rub, curry, and feed, the horses. I obeyed, and was glad to obey. But whilst thus engaged, whilst in the act of throwing down some blades from the loft, Mr. Covey entered the stable with a long rope; and just as I was half out of the loft, he caught hold of my legs, and was about tying me. As soon as I found what he was up to, I gave a sudden spring, and as I did so, he holding to my legs, I was brought sprawling on the stable floor. Mr. Covey seemed now to think he had me, and could do what he pleased; but at this moment -from whence came the spirit I don't know- I resolved to fight; and, suiting my action to the resolution, I seized Covey hard by the throat; and as I did so, I rose. He held on to me, and I to him. My resistance was so entirely unexpected that Covey seemed taken all aback. He trembled like a leaf. This gave me assurance, and I held him uneasy, causing the blood to run where I touched him with the ends of my fingers. Mr. Covey soon called out to Hughes for help. Hughes came, and, while Covey held me, attempted to tie my right hand. While he was in the act of doing so, I watched my chance, and gave him a heavy kick close under the ribs. This kick fairly sickened Hughes, so that he left me in the hands of Mr. Covey. This kick had the effect of not only weakening Hughes, but Covey also. When he saw Hughes bending over with pain, his courage quailed. He asked me if I meant to persist in my resistance. I told him I did, come what might; that he had used me like a brute for six months, and that I was determined to be used so no longer. With that, he strove to drag me to a stick that was lying just out of the stable door. He meant to knock me down. But just as he was leaning over to get the stick, I seized him with both hands by his collar, and brought him by a sudden snatch to the ground. By this time, Bill came. Covey called upon him for assistance. Bill wanted to know what he could do. Covey said, "Take hold of him, take hold of him!" Bill said his master hired him out to work, and not to help to whip me; so he left Covey and myself to fight our own battle out. We were at it for nearly two hours. Covey at length let me go, puffing and blowing at a great rate, saying that if I had not resisted, he would not have whipped me half so much. The truth was, that he had not whipped me at all. I considered him as getting entirely the worst end of the bargain; for he had drawn no blood from me, but I had from him. The whole six months afterwards, that I spent with Mr. Covey, he never laid the weight of his finger upon me in anger. He would occasionally say, he didn't want to get hold of me again. "No," thought I, "you need not; for you will come off worse than you did before."

Also, that day, the corpse of Elijah Pierson, or what was supposed to be that corpse, was being disinterred and the stomach taken for examination. The examiners would consider that the condition of the stomach indicated that Pierson had been poisoned.

47. Bill Smith was another slave hired from his owner by Edward Covey. Hughes, whom Frederick Douglass says he kicked, was a white man, Edward Covey's cousin.

➡ August 19, Tuesday: In Bridgewater, New York, Prudence Crandall got married with a Baptist itinerant preacher named Calvin Philleo. The Reverend Philleo was substantially older than her and had previously been married to Elizabeth Wheeler and had a son, Calvin Wheeler Philleo, born in about 1822 in Suffield, Connecticut, who would be adopted by Prudence and who would become a Hartford attorney, author, and politician (Free Soil Democrat).⁴⁸

The C.F. Durant balloon made an ascension:

➡ A Friday in August: The situation between Frederick Douglass and Mr. Edward “The Snake” Covey would begin to improve after an incident in which, on one of the hottest days of the year, Douglass was beaten for suffering a sunstroke:

Frederick Douglass’s NARRATIVE

Bill Smith, William Hughes, a slave named Eli, and myself, were engaged in fanning wheat.... I was seized with a violent aching of the head, attended with extreme dizziness; I trembled in every limb.... I fell, and felt as if held down by an immense weight.... Mr. Covey took up the hickory slat with which Hughes had been striking off the half-bushel measure, and with it gave me a heavy blow upon the head, making a large wound, and the blood ran freely.... I resolved, for the first time, to go to my master, enter a complaint, and ask his protection.... he knew Mr. Covey; that he was a good man, and that he could not think of taking me from him; that, should he do so, he would lose the whole year’s wages; that I belonged to Mr. Covey for one year, and that I must go back to him, come what might; and that I must not trouble him with any more stories, or that he would himself ... whip me.

➡ August 20, Wednesday: In 1777 Friend Moses Brown had gone into his harvest field and called his laborers together, and offered to pay them extra wages if they would be willing to dispense with the usual allowance of distilled spirits that employers of that period provided to their laborers. At this point he confided to his journal that “I have never Since being now 57 years furnished Any Spirits in Harvest or Hay Time, & I have My business done better and the Laborers come in and go out More Quiet and Satisfactory to them & their Family than they used to do when Spirits were freely Given and Used by them.”

Aboard the Pilgrim, Richard Henry Dana, Jr began to learn the ropes, but some of these “ropes,” such as the rope known as race relations, Dana already knew with sufficient precision. For instance, at numerous points in his nautical narrative there would be references to “the cook” by occupational title, and he would repeatedly be characterized as simple-hearted and as old and as African, but one thing we will never learn is that for our adventurous author a black person has a name.

48. We don’t know who the Reverend Philleo’s parents were, and this is extraordinarily unusual as a family name. The Greek term “philleo” occurs in JAMES 4:1-3 and indicates “to love” or “to have an affection for” or “to be the friend of.”



BALLOON ASCENSION. MR C. F. DURANT has the pleasure to inform the citizens of Boston and its vicinity, that the recent injuries to his Balloon have been repaired, and he will make his Eleventh Grand Ascension, from the Charles street Amphitheatre, on **THURSDAY, Aug 21st, 1834.**

Order of the Ascension. At half past 2 o'clock the gates of the Amphitheatre will be thrown open for the reception of visitors, which will be announced by the discharge of cannon. At 3 o'clock a second discharge of cannon will announce the moment when Mr Durant will commence to inflate his Balloon with hydrogen gas; several thousand cubic feet will here be procured by the decomposition of water with iron and sulphuric acid. During the preparation a Dolphin of gold beater skin will be inflated, and retained by a ribbon, and will sail round the amphitheatre to amuse the spectators; a pioneer and pilot Balloon, will, after sailing round the arena, be set at liberty to ascertain the direction of the wind, and point out the course of the large Aërostat. At 4 past 3, Mr D. will commence to attach the cords to the tastefully decorated gondola. At 5 o'clock, Mr Durant, after placing the philosophical instruments, will take his station in the Car, and after floating a few moments near the spectators, the Aërostat, with her pilot, waving the star spangled banner, will, amidst the sounds of cannon and music, commence the aerial voyage.

During the voyage, Mr D. will send with the parachute a living quadruped in perfect safety to terra firma.

A good Military Band is engaged to execute some select pieces of music.

Tickets, 50 cents, for sale at Ashton's Music Store; Parker's, Pendleton's, & Prentiss's Music Stores; Russell, Ollorne & Co's Bookstore; Allen & Ticknor's; A. J. Allen's Stationary Store; Tremont House; Exchange Coffee House; New England Coffee House; Commercial Coffee House; Marlboro' Hotel; Shepherd's Hotel, Fenno's Coffee House, at other places where tickets of the kind are usually kept, and at the Amphitheatre on the day of ascension; and the public is requested to provide themselves with tickets in advance to avoid inconvenience from a crowd.

The person finding the quadruped is requested to return it to the Amphitheatre, or to Mr D. at the Tremont House.

If Mr Durant descends in the Ocean or Bay, he will give a liberal reward to the person who will first render him assistance.

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Wednesday, Aug. 20th. We had the watch on deck from four till eight, this morning. When we came on deck at four o'clock, we found things much changed for the better. The sea and wind had gone down, and the stars were out bright. I experienced a corresponding change in my feelings; yet continued extremely weak from my sickness. I stood in the waist on the weather side, watching the gradual breaking of the day, and the first streaks of the early light. Much has been said of the sun-rise at sea; but it will not compare with the sun-rise on shore. It wants the accompaniments of the songs of birds, the awakening hum of men, and the glancing of the first beams upon trees, hills, spires, and house-tops, to give it life and spirit. But though the actual rise of the sun at sea is not so beautiful, yet nothing will compare with the early breaking of day upon the wide ocean.

There is something in the first grey streaks stretching along the eastern horizon and throwing an indistinct light upon the face of the deep, which combines with the boundlessness and unknown depth of the sea around you, and gives one a feeling of loneliness, of dread, and of melancholy foreboding, which nothing else in nature can give. This gradually passes away as the light grows brighter, and when the sun comes up, the ordinary monotonous sea day begins.

From such reflections as these, I was aroused by the order from the officer, "Forward there! rig the head-pump!" I found that no time was allowed for day-dreaming, but that we must "turn to" at the first light. Having called up the "idlers," namely, carpenter, cook, steward, etc., and rigged the pump, we commenced washing down the decks. This operation, which is performed every morning at sea, takes nearly two hours; and I had hardly strength enough to get through it. After we had finished, swabbed down, and coiled up the rigging, I sat down on the spars, waiting for seven bells, which was the sign for breakfast. The officer, seeing my lazy posture, ordered me to slush the main-mast from the royal-mast-head, down. The vessel was then rolling a little, and I had taken no sustenance for three days, so that I felt tempted to tell him that I had rather wait till after breakfast; but I knew that I must "take the bull by the horns," and that if I showed any sign of want of spirit or of backwardness, that I should be ruined at once. So I took my bucket of grease and climbed up to the royal-mast-head. Here the rocking of the vessel, which increases the higher you go from the foot of the mast, which is the fulcrum of the lever, and the smell of the grease, which offended my fastidious senses, upset my stomach again, and I was not a little rejoiced when I got upon the comparative terra firma of the deck. In a few minutes seven bells were struck, the log hove, the watch called, and we went to breakfast. Here I cannot but remember the advice of the cook, a simple-hearted African. "Now," says he, "my lad, you are well cleaned out; you haven't got a drop of your 'long-shore swash aboard of you. You must begin on a new tack,—pitch all your sweetmeats overboard, and turn-to upon good hearty salt beef and sea bread, and I'll promise you, you'll have your ribs well sheathed, and be as hearty as any of 'em, afore you are up to the Horn." This would be good advice to give to passengers, when they speak of the little niceties which they have laid in, in case of sea-sickness.

I cannot describe the change which half a pound of cold salt beef and a biscuit or two produced in me. I was a new being. We had a watch below until noon, so that I had some time to myself; and getting a huge piece of strong, cold, salt beef from the cook, I kept gnawing upon it until twelve o'clock. When we went on deck I felt somewhat like a man, and could begin to learn my sea duty with considerable spirit. At about two o'clock we heard the loud cry of "Sail ho!" from aloft, and soon saw two sails to windward, going directly athwart our hawse. This was the first time that I had seen a sail at sea. I thought then, and have always since, that it exceeds every other sight in interest and beauty. They passed to leeward of us, and out of hailing distance; but the captain could read the names on their sterns with the glass. They were the ship *Helen Mar*, of New York, and the brig *Mermaid*, of Boston. They were both steering westward, and were bound in for our "dear native land."



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August 21, Thursday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) began to get his sea legs on.

Thursday, Aug. 21st. This day the sun rose clear, we had a fine wind, and everything was bright and cheerful. I had now got my sea legs on, and was beginning to enter upon the regular duties of a sea-life. About six bells, that is, three o'clock P.M., we saw a sail on our larboard bow. I was very anxious, like every new sailor, to speak her. She came down to us, backed her main-topsail, and the two vessels stood "head on," bowing and curvetting at each other like a couple of war-horses reined in by their riders. It was the first vessel that I had seen near, and I was surprised to find out how much she rolled and pitched in so quiet a sea. She plunged her head into the sea, and then, her stern settling gradually down, her huge bows rose up, showing the bright copper, and her stern, and breast-hooks dripping, like old Neptune's locks, with the brine. Her decks were filled with passengers who had come up at the cry of "sail ho," and who by their dress and features appeared to be Swiss and French emigrants. She hailed us at first in French, but receiving no answer, she tried us in English. She was the ship *La Carolina*, from Havre, for New York. We desired her to report the brig *Pilgrim*, from Boston, for the north-west coast of America, five days out. She then filled away and left us to plough on through our waste of waters. This day ended pleasantly; we had got into regular and comfortable weather, and into that routine of sea-life which is only broken by a storm, a sail, or the sight of land.

As we had now a long "spell" of fine weather, without any incident to break the monotony of our lives, there can be no better place to describe the duties, regulations, and customs of an American merchantman, of which ours was a fair specimen.

The captain, in the first place, is lord paramount. He stands no watch, comes and goes when he pleases, and is accountable to no one, and must be obeyed in everything, without a question, even from his chief officer. He has the power to turn his officers off duty, and even to break them and make them do duty as sailors in the forecabin. Where there are no passengers and no supercargo, as in our vessel, he has no companion but his own dignity, and no pleasures, unless he differs from most of his kind, but the consciousness of possessing supreme power, and, occasionally, the exercise of it.

The prime minister, the official organ, and the active and superintending officer, is the chief mate. He is first lieutenant, boatswain, sailing-master, and quarter-master. The captain tells him what he wishes to have done, and leaves to him the care of overseeing, of allotting the work, and also the responsibility of its being well done. The mate (as he is always called, par excellence) also keeps the log-book, for which he is responsible to the owners and insurers, and has the charge of the stowage, safe keeping, and delivery of the cargo. He is also, ex-officio, the wit of the crew; for the captain does not condescend to joke with the men, and the second mate no one cares for; so that when "the mate" thinks fit to entertain "the people" with a coarse joke or a little practical wit, every one feels bound to laugh.

The second mate's is proverbially a dog's berth. He is neither officer nor man. The men do not respect him as an officer, and he is obliged to go aloft to reef and furl the topsails, and to put his hands into the tar and slush, with the rest. The crew call him the "sailors' waiter," as he has to furnish them with spun-yarn, marline, and all other stuffs that they need in their work, and has charge of the boatswain's locker, which includes serving-boards, marline-spikes, etc., etc. He is expected by the captain to maintain his dignity and to enforce obedience, and still is kept at a great distance from the mate, and obliged to work with the crew. He is one to whom little is given and of whom much is required. His wages are usually double those of a common sailor, and he eats and sleeps in the cabin; but he is obliged to be on deck nearly all his time, and eats at the second table, that is, makes a meal out of what the captain and chief mate leave.

The steward is the captain's servant, and has charge of the pantry, from which every one, even the mate himself, is excluded. These distinctions usually find him an enemy in the mate, who does not like to have any one on board who is not entirely under his control; the crew do not consider him as one of their number, so he is left to the mercy of the captain.

**THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:**

then the standing rigging is to be overhauled, replaced, and repaired, in a thousand different ways; and wherever any of the numberless ropes or the yards are chafing or wearing upon it, there “chafing gear,” as it is called, must be put on. This chafing gear consists of worming, parcelling, rounding, battens, and service of all kinds— both rope-yarns, spun-yarn, marline and seizing-stuffs. Taking off, putting on, and mending the chafing gear alone, upon a vessel, would find constant employment for two or three men, during working hours, for a whole voyage.

The next point to be considered is, that all the “small stuffs” which are used on board a ship— such as spun-yarn, marline, seizing-stuff, etc., etc.— are made on board. The owners of a vessel buy up incredible quantities of “old junk,” which the sailors unlay, after drawing out the yarns, knot them together, and roll them up in balls. These “rope-yarns” are constantly used for various purposes, but the greater part is manufactured into spun-yarn. For this purpose every vessel is furnished with a “spun-yarn winch”; which is very simple, consisting of a wheel and spindle. This may be heard constantly going on deck in pleasant weather; and we had employment, during a great part of the time, for three hands in drawing and knotting yarns, and making, spun-yarn.

Another method of employing the crew is, “setting up” rigging. Whenever any of the standing rigging becomes slack, (which is continually happening,) the seizing and coverings must be taken off, tackles got up, and after the rigging is bowsed well taught, the seizings and coverings replaced; coverings which is a very nice piece of work. There is also such a connection between different parts of a vessel, that one rope can seldom be touched without altering another. You cannot stay a mast aft by the back stays, without slacking up the head stays, etc., etc. If we add to this all the tarring, greasing, oiling, varnishing, painting, scraping, and scrubbing which is required in the course of a long voyage, and also remember this is all to be done in addition to watching at night, steering, reefing, furling, bracing, making and setting sail, and pulling, hauling and climbing in every direction, one will hardly ask, “What can a sailor find to do at sea?”

If, after all this labor— after exposing their lives and limbs in storms, wet and cold,

“Wherein the cub-drawn bear would couch:
The lion and the belly-pinched wolf
Keep their furs dry;—”

the merchants and captains think that they have not earned their twelve dollars a month, (out of which they clothe themselves,) and their salt beef and hard bread, they keep them picking oakum— ad infinitum. This is the usual resource upon a rainy day, for then it will not do to work upon rigging; and when it is pouring down in floods, instead of letting the sailors stand about in sheltered places, and talk, and keep themselves comfortable, they are separated to different parts of the ship and kept at work picking oakum. I have seen oakum stuff placed about in different parts of the ship, so that the sailors might not be idle in the snatches between the frequent squalls upon crossing the equator. Some officers have been so driven to find work for the crew in a ship ready for sea, that they have set them to pounding the anchors (often done) and scraping the chain cables. The “Philadelphia Catechism” is,

“Six days shalt thou labor and do all thou art able,
And on the seventh— holystone the decks and scrape the cable.”

This kind of work, of course, is not kept up off Cape Horn, Cape of Good Hope, and in extreme north and south latitudes; but I have seen the decks washed down and scrubbed, when the water would have frozen if it had been fresh; and all hands kept at work upon the rigging, when we had on our pea-jackets, and our hands so numb that we could hardly hold our marline-spikes.

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August 23-September 10: “Effusiva-Esplosiva — Lava a SE tra Boscoreale ed Ottaviano. Distrutto il borgo di Caposecchi e di S. Giovanni (800 persone senzatetto).”



MOUNT VESUVIUS

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

7th day 23 of 8 M / Rode into Town this Morning & soon after I got there was informed by Arnold Congdon that our dear friend & faithful labourer in the Gospel Daniel Howland of East [Greenwich](#) - he died last night in a fit & is to be buried tomorrow - the particulars I have not learned, but conclude it must be very sudden, he was at [Providence](#) on the 8 & 9 of this Month & attended the School committee & Meeting for Sufferings - he then appeared to be as well as usual, tho' I recollect of noticing a flush in his face, & heft of countenance, which I thought might be indicative of a repeated attack of a fit having had one some Months or a year ago. - He was indeed what may well be denominated a lovely & very loving friend - but few of my acquaintance possessed more of the milk of human Kindness, or was more devoted in the cause of Truth & deeper in concern for the welfare of our poor society. Altho' in point of matter there was not that variety of subject & expression in his Ministry yet I can truly testify that his Offerings never seemed to me as old Manna, but if his matter was similar to what we had often heard, it seemed to be renewedly sanctified & seldom failed to produce some

baptism in the auditory & were sometimes very reaching – his loss will be deeply felt among a numerous acquaintance by whom he was unusually beloved, & also in Society where his public labours & usefulness in our Meetings for discipline will be greatly missed - He had arrived at an age when according to the course of nature it could not be expected that he could continue much longer, having attained the [blank] Year of his Age, but it is hard to part with such dear friends & valued pillars in the Church.


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 24, Sunday: The Sociedade Filarmonica was established in Rio de Janeiro.

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

*8th M 24 (1st day) 1834 / It has been a warm day & an oppressive air. – Our Meetings partaking of the state of our bodys. - My mind much in thought about the funeral at [Greenwich](#), but it did not seem best for me to go - We learn that several of our friends in Town went & among them Wm Almy & Arnold & Gilbert Congdon John Bullock & wife (Br & Sister in Law to John Griscom) attended Meeting in the Afternoon - Also Ahab Arnold
Some Months ago I heard Our friend Thomas Anthony relate a dream he had sometime before, which has occur'd to my mind since hearing of the decease of Daniel Howland. - Thomas told me in this House that he Dreamed he stood in a pleasant open piece of ground, & that as he looked up he saw Daniel Howland rising up to Heaven seated in a large Easy Chair. – this seemed to me at the time I heard Thomas relate it as a remarkable & striking dream & very characteristic of the manner in which he went thro' the world, for no man went more easily & comfortably & I have no doubt he has gone straight to heaven. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

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

*4th day 27th of 8th M 1834 / Today was our Monthly Meeting held at [Smithfield](#) to which my wife and I went & had a very pleasant ride & in addition & far to be prised - a good Meeting. Our friends Jeremiah Hubbard & Phineas Nixon his companion from N Carolina & John Warren from Maine were present & had good service, tho' I thought John was more in the life & power than any who spoke.
Jeremiah is not here on a specific religious Mission but under an appointment with the friends that is with him from the Meeting for Sufferings of his own Yearly Meeting to Our Meeting for Sufferings on the State of the black people in N Carolina which appear to be in a Critical State.
John Warren is here on his way to NYork where he expects to*




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embark on his religious Mission in England & Ireland.


RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 August 28, Thursday: [Waldo Emerson](#) delivered a poem at the annual meeting of the [Harvard College](#) chapter of ΦBK.

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

6 day 29 of 8 M 1834 / Today our friend John Warren went in the Steam Boat for NYork intending to embark next 2nd day [Monday] the 1 of 9M for England & Ireland on a religious visit in furtherance of which he recd a certificate from the Select Yearly Meeting in the 6 M last. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 August 30, Saturday: [Jones Very](#) was permitted to return to [Harvard College](#), as part of the Junior class, on probation.

 August 31, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 31st of 8th M 1834 / In our Morning Meeting Lydia Breed & Mary B Allen had good service - it was a favoured time - In the Afternoon Jeremiah Hubbard was here & was better than common & the children were very attentive - It was a time of some favour - tho' I must confess the Stream did not rise in my own mind quite as high as it does sometimes. - In the evening I had a conversatiion with a couple of young women who are not members, but Scholars here - they are inclining to the [Baptists](#) - my mind was uncommonly open & enlarged with them & tho' it may not make [Quakers](#) of them may nevertheless be of some Service to them.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

SEPTEMBER

 September: By this date Boston Common was completely ringed in with elms. The toddler [Louisa May Alcott](#) almost drowned in the frog pond.⁴⁹

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

49. Or did this happen in the summer of 1835?

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→ September: The Boston Bewick company with offices on Court Street in [Boston](#) began publication, on the model of the British [Penny Magazine](#).

AMERICAN MAGAZINE

The name they selected for this effort was American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge (among the editors they would hire would be [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and Elizabeth Manning Hawthorne).

→ September: [Sam Houston](#) returned to Washington DC and then New-York to meet with his legal client, The Galveston Bay and Texas Land Company.



TEXAS

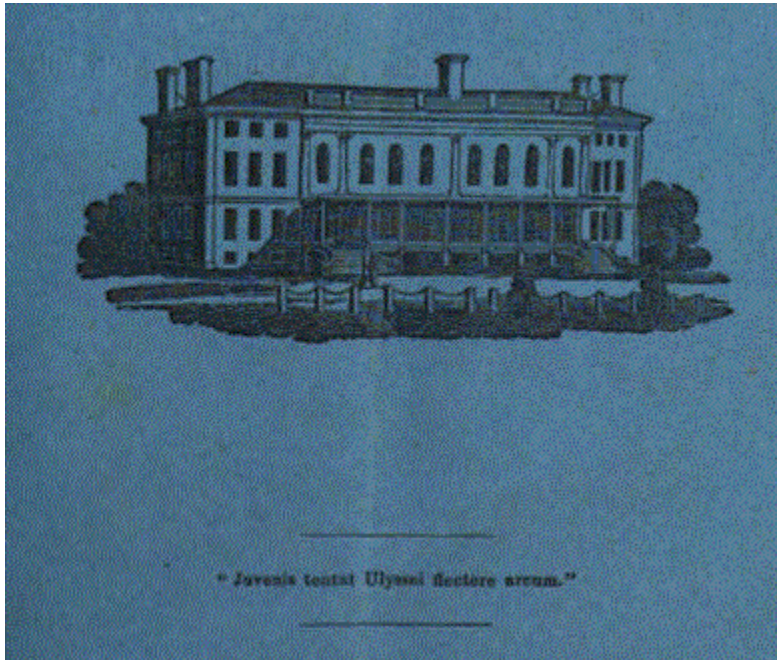
→ September: [Thomas Mayne Reid, Jr.](#) was enrolled at the Royal Belfast Academical Institution. He would be there for four years preparing for the Irish dissenting ministry in order to follow in the paternal footsteps of the Reverend [Thomas Mayne Reid, Sr.](#), but would depart without a degree to teach school in his home town Ballyroney, leaving the role of shepherd of the flock to a younger brother John. What a disappointment to the family this was: “My mother would rather have had me settle down as a minister, on a stipend of one hundred a year, than know me to be the most famous man in history.”

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→ September: The initial issue of [Harvard College](#)'s undergraduate subscription literary magazine, the HARVARDIANA:

HARVARDIANA



The title page featured University Hall.

- “Nothing so Difficult as the Beginning” by “Don Juan”
- [cover]
- “From the Greek”
- Frontmatter
- “John Ange” by “J”
- “Manual Labor System” by “Goethe”
- “Remarks on the Classical Education of Boys” by “a Teacher”
- “The Death at Sea” by “W”
- “The Grave-Robber”
- “Vacation”

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→ September: [Harriet Martineau](#) arrived in the US determined to write the condition of American morals and its effect on our institutions, comparing and contrasting “the existing state of society in America with the principles on which it is professedly founded; thus testing Institutions, Morals, and Manners by an indisputable, instead of an arbitrary standard.” She would spend the next two years touring in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, Virginia, [North Carolina](#), South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, [Rhode Island](#), New Hampshire, Vermont, Michigan, and [Illinois](#), and would return to England in August 1836.



→ September: During this month a [negrero](#) flying the Portuguese flag and two [negreros](#) flying the Spanish flag arrived in the New World after the [Middle Passage](#). They were the *Josefa*, master unknown, on its one and only known Middle Passage, sailing out of Luanda and arriving at Montevideo, Uruguay, the *Belencita*, master S. Alonzo, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of an unknown area of Africa arriving at a port of Cuba, and the *Galana Josefa*, master S. de Renia, on its one and only known Middle Passage, arriving at Trinidad, Cuba.

RACE SLAVERY

1834

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→ September: In [Boston](#)'s House of Corrections, an epidemic of [cholera](#) killed off 40 of the inmates.



→ September: Thomas Grimké, a brother of [Friends Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#), visited Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and they had a debate with one another in regard to human [slavery](#).

→ September: The Reverend [Henry C. Wright](#) met William Ladd for the 2d time.



September: [The Alcott family](#) moved back to [Boston](#), to 21 Bedford Street around the corner from the Tremont Temple where [Bronson](#) set up his School for Human Culture:

QUARTER CARD OF DISCIPLINE AND STUDIES IN MR. ALCOTT'S SCHOOL FOR THE SPRING TERM CURRENT 1836.							
THE TUITION AND DISCIPLINE ARE ADDRESSED IN DUE PROPORTION TO THE THREEFOLD NATURE OF CHILDHOOD.							
	THE SPIRITUAL FACULTY. <small>MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.</small>		THE IMAGINATIVE FACULTY. <small>MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.</small>			THE RATIONAL FACULTY. <small>MEANS OF ITS DIRECT CULTURE.</small>	
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Listening to Sacred Readings. 2. Conversations on the GOSPELS. 3. Writing Journals. 4. Self-Analysis and Self-Discipline. 5. Listening to Readings from Works of Genius. 6. Motives to Study and Action. 7. Government of the School. 		<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Spelling and Reading. 2. Writing and Sketching from Nature. 3. Picturesque Geography. 4. Writing Journals and Epistles. 5. Illustrating Words. 6. Listening to Readings. 7. Conversation. 			<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Defining Words. 2. Analysing Speech. 3. Self-Analysis. 4. Arithmetic. 5. Study of the HUMAN BODY. 6. Reasonings on Conduct. 7. Discipline. 	
<i>The Subjects of Study and Means of Discipline are disposed through the Week in the following general Order.</i>							
TIME.	SUNDAY.	MONDAY.	TUESDAY.	WEDNESDAY.	THURSDAY.	FRIDAY.	SATURDAY.
IX	Sacred READINGS with Conversations.	STUDYING Spelling & Defining and Writing in Journals.	STUDYING Geography and Sketching Maps in Journals.	STUDYING THE GOSPEL and Writing in Journals.	STUDYING Parsing Lesson and Writing in Journals.	PARAPHRASING Text of Readings and Writing in Journals.	COMPLETING Account of Week's Studies in Journals.
X	Listening to Services at CHURCH and Reading BOOKS from School Library or others at Home.	SPELLING with Illustrative Conversations on the Meaning & Use of Words.	RECITATIONS in Geography with Picturesque Readings and Conversations.	READINGS and Conversations on SPIRIT as displayed in the Life of CHRIST.	ANALYSING Speech Written and Vocal on Tablets with Illustrative Conversations.	READINGS with Illustrative Conversations on the Sense of the Text.	READINGS from Works of Genius with Applications and Conversations.
RECREATION ON THE COMMON OR IN THE ANTE-ROOM.							
XII		STUDYING Arithmetic with Demonstrations in Journals.	DRAWING FROM NATURE in Journals with Mr. Graeter.	CONVERSATIONS on the HUMAN BODY and its Culture.	COMPOSING and Writing Epistles in Journals.	STUDYING Arithmetic with Demonstrations in Journals.	REVIEW of Journals Week's Conduct and Studies.
I		INTERMISSION FOR REFRESHMENT AND RECREATION.					
III		STUDYING Latin and Writing in Journals.	STUDYING Latin with Recitations.	RECREATIONS and Duties At Home.	STUDYING Latin with Recitations.	STUDYING Latin and Writing in Journals.	RECREATIONS and Duties At Home.
IV							



This spacious edifice stands opposite the Tremont House, Tremont Street. Of a rich and warm brown tint, produced by a coating of mastic, it presents a peculiarly substantial and elegant frontage. It is seventy-five feet in height, and, with the exception of ten feet by sixty-eight which is left open on the north side for light, the building covers an area of thirteen thousand feet.

Passing through the great central doorway, we find ourselves in the spacious entrance hall. On the first floor we observe on our right and left hand two ticket offices, and a broad flight of stairs also on either hand, each of which at their summit terminates in a landing, from whence to right and left diverge two flights of similar staircases, one landing you in the centre of the main hall, and the other to the rear part and the gallery.

The MAIN HALL is a magnificent apartment. The utter absence of gilding and coloring on its walls renders it far more imposing and grand in appearance than if it had been elaborately ornamented with auriferous and chromatic splendors. It is one hundred and twenty-four feet long, seventy-two feet wide, and fifty feet high. Around the sides of it runs a gallery supported on trusses, so that no pillars intervene between the spectators and the platform, to obstruct the view. The front of this gallery is balustraded, and by this means a very neat and uniform effect is secured. The side galleries project over the seats below about seven feet. They are fitted with rows of nicely-cushioned and comfortable seats, and are not so high as to render the ascent to them wearisome in the least degree. The front gallery, though it projects into the hall only ten feet, extends back far enough to give it more than three times that depth.

Directly opposite this gallery is the platform, with its gracefully-panelled, semicircular front. This platform, covered with a neat oil cloth, communicates with the side galleries by a few steps, for-the convenience of large choirs. There are also several avenues of communication from the platform to the apartments, dressing rooms, &c., behind, which are exceedingly convenient, and are far superior to the places of exit and entrance from and to any other place of the kind that we have ever seen.

From the front of the platform the floor of the hall gradually rises so as to afford every person in the hall a full and unobstructed view of the speakers or vocalists, as the case may be. The seats in the galleries rise in like manner. The seats on the hall floor are admirably arranged in a semicircular form from the front of the platform, so that every face is directed towards the speaker or singer. They are each one numbered, have iron ends, are capped with mahogany, and are completely cushioned with a drab-colored material.

material. Each slip is capable of containing ten or twelve persons, with an aisle at each extremity, and open from end to end.


The side walls of the hall are very beautifully ornamented in panels, arched and decorated with circular ornaments, which would be difficult properly to describe without the aid of accompanying drawings; but as views of the interior of the Temple will soon be common enough, the omission here will be of little consequence. As was intimated, there is no fancy coloring; it is a decorated and relieved surface of dead white, and the effect, lighted as it is from above by large panes of rough plate glass, is beautifully chaste. The only color observable in the hall is the purple screen behind the diamond open work at the back of the platform, and which forms a screen in front of the organ.


The ceiling is very finely designed in squares, at all intersections of which are twenty-eight gas burners, with strong reflectors, and a chandelier over the orchestra, shedding a mellow but ample light over the hall. By this arrangement the air heated by innumerable jets of gas is got rid of, and the lights themselves act as most, efficient ventilators. The eyes are likewise protected from glare; and should an escape of gas take place, from its levity it passes up through shafts to the outside, and does not contaminate the atmosphere below. Under the galleries are common burners. There are for day illumination twelve immense plates of glass, ten feet long, four feet wide, placed in the ceiling, in the spring of the arch, and open directly to the outer light, and by sixteen smaller ones under the galleries.

The whole of the flooring of the hall, in the galleries, the body of it, and of the platform, consists of two layers of boards, with the interstices between them filled by a thick bed of mortar. The advantages of this in an acoustical point of view must be obvious to all. Another advantage is, that the applause made by the audience in this great hall does not disturb the people who may at the same time be holding a meeting in the other hall below -- a very important consideration.

There are eight flights of stairs leading from the floors of the main hall, and four from the galleries, the aggregate width of which is over fifty feet.

The Boston Young Men's Christian Association occupy several beautiful rooms up one flight of stairs, which are admirably adapted for their present uses and occupants, and are rented by the Association for twelve hundred dollars per annum, though it is estimated that they are worth at least fifteen hundred dollars; but the Temple is owned by a church who were very desirous that a religious association should occupy them.

 September: The circulation of Benjamin Day's Sun newspaper reached 15,000.

 September: Giacomo Costantino Beltrami represented the Société dell'Institut Historique de France at the "Congress of Stoccard," a gathering of naturalists and doctors, in Stuttgart, Germany. He had, it would turn out, left Paris for good.





The great organ, built by the Messrs. Hook, is one of the finest instruments ever constructed in this country. Its bellows is worked by steam.

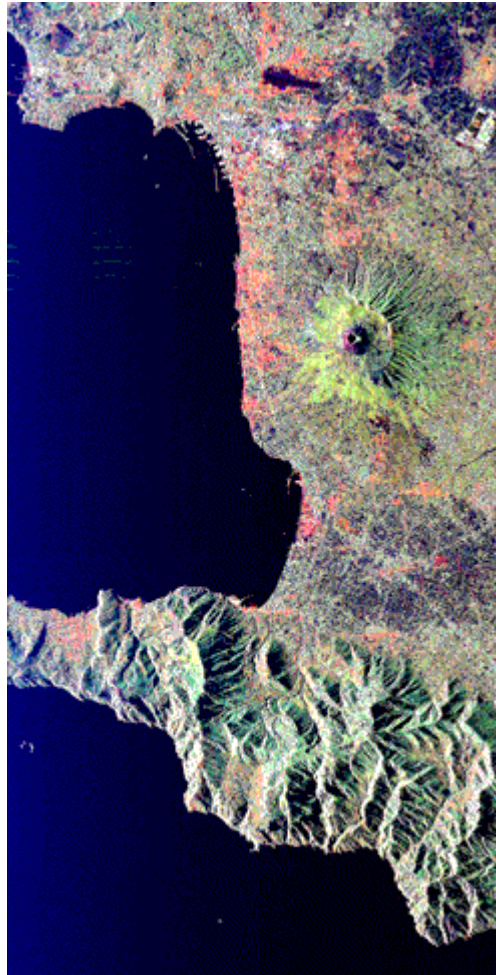
The Tremont Temple, besides the great hall, contains a lesser one, called THE MEIONAON, the main entrance to which is through the northerly passage way, opposite the doors of the Tremont House; this avenue is about seven feet wide. The southerly passage way serves as an outlet from this lesser temple.

Perhaps the reader, who may not have been initiated into the mysteries of Greek literature, may thank us a definition of this strange-looking word, "Meionaon." It is so called from two Greek words — *meion*, signifying *less*, *smaller*, and *naon*, *temple* — Lesser Temple. It is pronounced Mi-o-na-on. This lesser temple is situated back from the street, and directly under the great hall. It is seventy-two feet long by fifty-two feet wide, and about twenty-five and a half feet high. Not so elaborately adorned as its neighbor overhead, this hall is remarkably chastely and beautifully fitted up, and within its walls the religious society of Tremont Street Baptist Church worship. Its walls are relieved by pilasters supporting arches. The seats are similarly arranged to those in the hall above and are equally comfortable and commodious in all respects. At one end is a platform, on which, on Sabbath days, stands a beautiful little pulpit, of dark walnut, and cushioned with crimson velvet. At the other extremity of the hall is a gallery for a choir; back of it stands a neat little organ. The place is beautifully adapted for sound, and competent judges say from their own experience that it is a remarkably easy place to speak in. From the hall to the outer door the way is through a broad passage way covered with Manilla matting let into the floor, so that little dirt can be brought in from the street; and as the doors swing on noiseless hinges, no interruption from scuffling of feet or slammings can ever occur.

THE CUPOLA.—In making our way thither we travel over the ceiling of the great hall, dropping our heads as we pass beneath roof and rafter, to save our hat and skull, and beholding beneath our feet a great network of gas-piping connected with the burners of the hall under us. In long rows are square ventilators, which discharge their streams of vitiated air on the outside.

The cupola forms a spacious observatory, glazed all round, and from every window is obtained a charming view, the whole forming one of the most superb panoramas that we ever witnessed. From this elevated spot may be seen the adjacent villages and towns, the harbor and its islands, the city institutions, churches, houses, and shipping. In short, the whole city and vicinity lies at our feet.

September: Jack, [Thomas Carlyle's](#) brother, witnessed the eruption of [Mount Vesuvius](#):





<200,000 BCE	Eruptions began in a fold of the ocean floor between the island of Capri and Mt. Massico
x BCE	eruption (Avellino pliniana)
25,000 BCE	eruption (Codola pliniana)
17,000 BCE	eruption (Sarno-Pomici Basali pliniana)
15,500 BCE	eruption (Pomici Verdoline pliniana)
7,900 BCE	eruption (Mercato pliniana)
5,960 BCE	eruption, one of the largest known of Europe
3,580 BCE	eruption (Avellino pliniana), one of the largest known of Europe
1,000 BCE	eruption (subpliniana)
700 BCE	eruption (subpliniana)
73 CE	The escaped gladiator Spartacus was trapped for a time by the praetor Publius Claudius Pulcher on the barren wasteland of Mount Somma, the high ridge next to Mount Vesuvius , which at that time amounted to a wide, flat depression walled by rugged rocks coated over by wild vines. Spartacus would manage to escape this trap by stealth.




79 CE	Explosion buried Pompeii and Stabiae under ashes and lapilli and buried Herculaneum under a mud flow (the pit left in the side of the cone by this explosion has long since disappeared).
203 CE	explosive eruption
472 CE	eruption (Pollena subpliniana)
512 CE	eruption so severe Theodoric the Goth temporarily released inhabitants of slopes from taxation
685 CE	strong eruption
787 CE	grand eruption
968 CE	strong eruption
991 CE	eruption
999 CE	strong eruption
1007 CE	strong eruption
1036 CE	a grand eruption followed by a long period of quiescence during which there would be forests inside the crater, and three lakes there from which pasturing herds might drink
1139 CE	explosive eruption
1500 CE	strong eruption
December 16, 1631CE	A devastating explosion after six months of gradually intensifying earthquakes marked a major change in the behavior of this volcano. From this point to the present the behavior would be characterizable as stages of quiescence during which the volcano's maw was obstructed, alternating with stages of eruption during which its maw would be almost continuously open. Recording of eruptions began, and it would be noted that the eruptive stages would be varying from 1/2 year to almost 31 years, while the quiescent stages would be varying from 1 1/2 years to 7 1/2 years.
1660 CE	eruptive stage
1682 CE	eruptive stage
1694 CE	eruptive stage
1698 CE	eruptive stage
1707 CE	eruptive stage
1737 CE	eruptive stage
1760 CE	eruptive stage
1767 CE	eruptive stage
1779 CE	eruptive stage
1794 CE	eruptive stage
1822 CE	eruptive stage
September 1834 CE	eruptive stage witnessed by Thomas Carlyle 's brother Jack
1839 CE	eruptive stage
1845 CE	the local Mount Vesuvius volcano-watch station opened

1850 CE	eruptive stage
1855 CE	eruptive stage
1861 CE	eruptive stage
1868 CE	eruptive stage
1872 CE	eruptive stage
1906 CE	eruptive stage
1944 CE	eruptive stage
May 11, 1964 CE	Mount Vesuvius signalled the beginning of a new eruptive stage (during such periods the vegetation on the slopes typically dies off due to poisonous gasses).

 September: Dr. [Asa Gray](#) visited Philadelphia with [Botany](#) professor John Torrey (1796-1873) and collected plant specimens in New Jersey for him. He would then return to Torrey's home.

 September: The Kingdom dissolved. To get the [Reverend Robert "The Prophet Matthias" Mathews](#) to leave, he was paid \$100 in paper currency and \$530 in gold coins. Isabella Van Wagenen ([Sojourner Truth](#)) was paid \$25 and left separately. Then Benjamin Folger went to the police and swore out a complaint that the Prophet had defrauded him of \$630, and took out a newspaper advertisement offering a \$100 reward for Matthias's capture. The police intercepted the man in Albany and brought him to Bellview Hospital's prison ward in New-York.

 September 1, Monday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) went back to [Harvard College](#) for the 1st term of his Sophomore year, living in 32 Hollis Hall with James Richardson, Jr. [Ellery Channing](#) ([William Ellery Channing II](#)) was matriculating there, but he would soon depart because otherwise he would have been expelled due to a very low point accumulation.

THOREAU RESIDENCES

At some point Henry and his room-mate needed to write to Oliver Sparhawk, the steward of the building:

Mr Sparhawk
 Sir
 The occupants of Hollis 32 would like to have that room painted
 and whitewashed, also if possible to have a new hearth put in
 yours respectfully
 Thoreau & Richardson

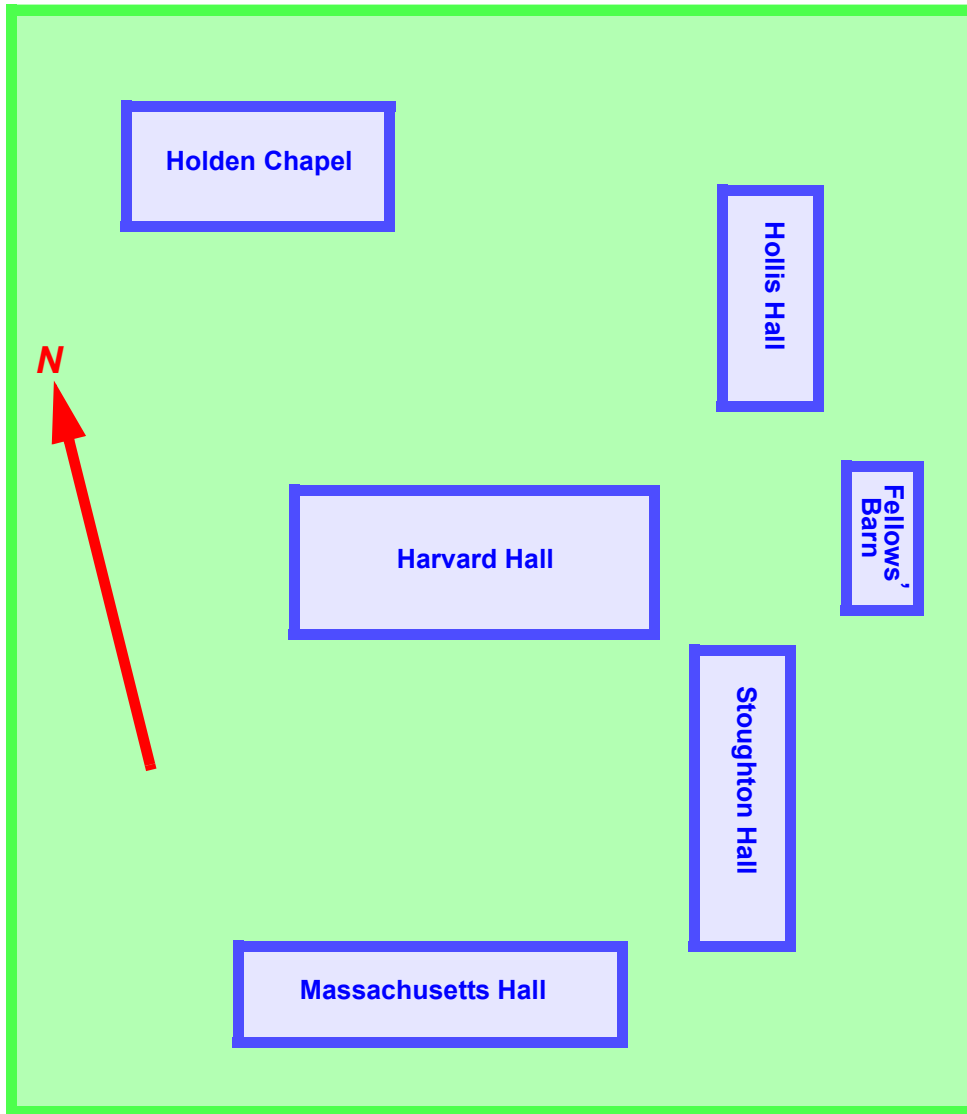
1834


1834

Until November 30th, David Henry would be studying the Italian language under 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 [Francis Sales](#).)



 September 2, Tuesday: Viceroy Lu K'un stopped all trade with foreigners in [Canton](#).

1834

1834

 September 4, Thursday: [William Lloyd Garrison](#) got married with Helen Benson at the [George W. Benson](#) farm in Brooklyn, Connecticut. The Reverend Samuel Joseph May officiated.



The couple would settle in Roxbury outside [Boston](#), in a home they would name “Freedom’s Cottage.”

 September 5, Friday: Great Britain and Russia agreed to respect the independence of Persia.

At the end of the first week in September, the “[Institute of 1770](#)” resolved to ask “the poet of last year,” [Jones Very](#), to deliver a poem at their next meeting.⁵⁰ [David Henry Thoreau](#) was among those delegated to deliver this request at his room on the top floor of Holworthy Hall.⁵¹

Question selected for debate at the next meeting: “Ought there to be any restrictions on the publication of opinions?” “A vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Lane for his donation of voting balls. Declaimers, Holmes 2d, Hale, Davis 2d, Clapp, Barnes, Allen. Debaters: Vose, Wheeler, Treat, Thoreau. Treat and Clarke were chosen to constitute a committee to request the poet of last year [Jones Very] to deliver his poem before this society on the next evening.... Voted to adjourn to Wednesday evening Sept. 17th to the South Inner dining hall.

Aboard ship, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) gazed as they passed another ship.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

After speaking the *Carolina*, on the 21st August, nothing occurred to break the monotony of our life until— Friday, September 5th, when we saw a sail on our weather (starboard) beam. She proved to be a brig under English colors, and passing under our stern, reported herself as forty-nine days from Buenos Ayres, bound to Liverpool. Before she had passed us, sail ho!” was cried again, and we made another sail, far on our weather bow, and steering athwart our hawse. She passed out of hail, but we made her out to be an hermaphrodite brig, with Brazilian colors in her main rigging. By her course, she must have been bound from Brazil to the south of Europe, probably Portugal.

 September 6, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 6 of 7th M 1834 / We recd this Afternoon a letter from [Newport](#) informing that our Aged Aunt Anna Carpenter was taken

50. Active member Freshmen and Sophomores automatically became honorary members when, as Jones Very had, they reached their Junior year.

51. I don’t show Holworthy Hall on my map of Harvard. Where was it?



1834

1834

in a fit & was very low, & our company necessary, we accordingly made ready & on First 1st day [Sunday] Mornng went down in the Steam Boat & found her some revived so that she new Hannah, but I was not sensible that she knew me – On 2nd day [Monday] finding her comfortable for her situation & considerably revived I left & returned to Providence to prepare to leave for a longer time if it should be found Necessary - but by the Mail on 3rd day I recd a letter informing me She was much worse & My wife requested my return to Newport immediately. Accordingly at 12 OC on 4th day I set out & on my way to the Steam Boat recd a letter from Brother Isaac Mentioning that she Died that Morning about 5 OC the 10th of 9th M 1834 in the 89th Year of her Age. – I arrived there in the Afternoon, & found her whom I had seen in the Same place & loved from a child removed from time; No more to be Seen of Men -on 6th day the 12th inst her remains were interd in friends burying ground between the graves of her Husband Caleb Carpenter, & her daughter Mary after a Solid Silent Sitting at the house

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



1834

1834



September 7, Sunday: Two Royal Navy vessels forced their way up the Pearl River at [Canton](#), putting three Chinese forts out of commission (amicable relations would be speedily re-established).

During his initial week back in St. Petersburg, Mikhail Ivanovich Glinka met his future wife Maria Ivanovna Petrovna for the first time.

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) discovered that what the Sabbath amounted to, aboard many a ship, was pudding day.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday, September 7th. Fell in with the north-east trade-winds. This morning we caught our first dolphin, which I was very eager to see. I was disappointed in the colors of this fish when dying. They were certainly very beautiful, but not equal to what had been said of them. They are too indistinct. To do the fish justice, there is nothing more beautiful than the dolphin when swimming a few feet below the surface, on a bright day. It is the most elegantly formed, and also the quickest fish, in salt water; and the rays of the sun striking upon it, in its rapid and changing motions, reflected from the water, make it look like a stray beam from a rainbow.

This day was spent like all pleasant Sabbaths at sea. The decks are washed down, the rigging coiled up, and everything put in order; and throughout the day only one watch is kept on deck at a time. The men are all dressed in their best white duck trowsers, and red or checked shirts, and have nothing to do but to make the necessary changes in the sails. They employ themselves in reading, talking, smoking, and mending their clothes. If the weather is pleasant, they bring their work and their books upon deck, and sit down upon the fore-castle and windlass. This is the only day on which these privileges are allowed them. When Monday comes, they put on their tarry trowsers again, and prepare for six days of labor.

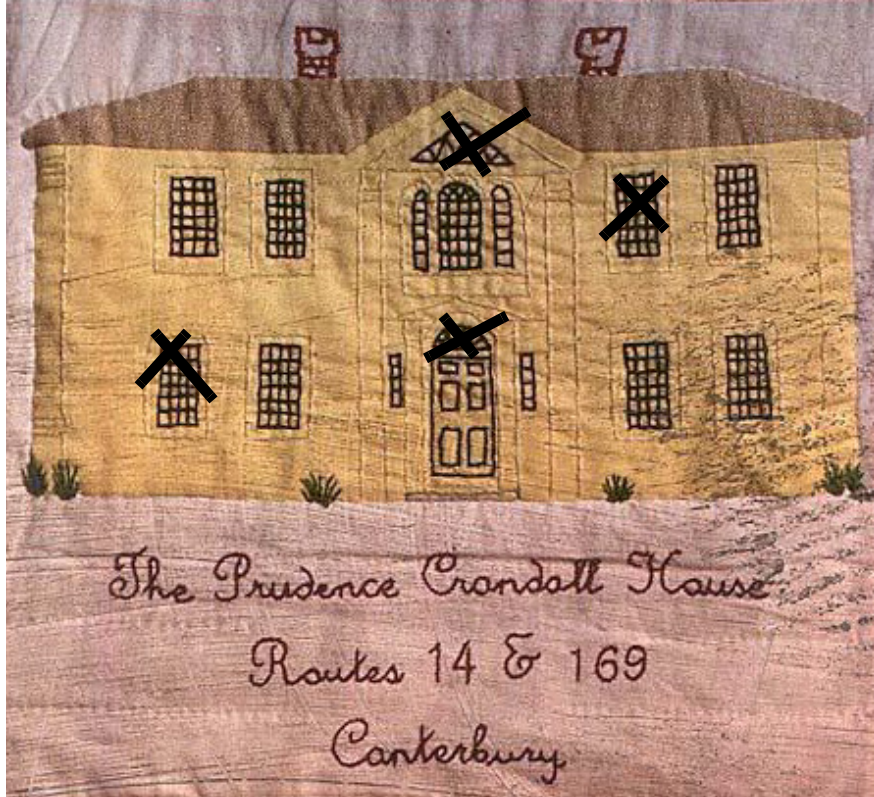
To enhance the value of the Sabbath to the crew, they are allowed on that day a pudding, or, as it is called, a "duff." This is nothing more than flour boiled with water, and eaten with molasses. It is very heavy, dark, and clammy, yet it is looked upon as a luxury, and really forms an agreeable variety with salt beef and pork. Many a rascally captain has made friends of his crew by allowing them duff twice a week on the passage home.

On board some vessels this is made a day of instruction and of religious exercises; but we had a crew of swearers, from the captain to the smallest boy; and a day of rest and of something like quiet, social enjoyment, was all that we could expect.

1834

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September 9, Tuesday: In Canterbury Green, Connecticut, late in the evening, Friend [Prudence Crandall](#)'s home and school building was attacked by men wielding iron bars. In the building's windows, over 90 panes were shattered. Finally the situation had become inadequately safe for the "young ladies and misses of color,"



and they had to be sent home. The State of Connecticut would repeal the law which it had enacted specially for this situation, requiring any school teaching out-of-state pupils to have town approval.



Shortly afterward, John Brown, a father who never under any circumstances took no for an answer, called together the sons he had had by his deceased 1st wife Dianthe Lusk Brown, Jason Brown and Owen Brown and Frederick Brown, got them down on their knees in prayer — and persuaded them to pledge before almighty God that they all would devote their lives to antislavery work.



➡ September 10, Wednesday: [John Augustus Stone](#)'s play THE KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN WEST; OR, THE YANKEE IN SPAIN was performed posthumously at the Park Theater in New-York. This play would prove so popular that it would be performed for 15 years.

➡ September 13, Saturday: For his 13th and final flight in the clouds, Charles Ferson Durant soared the distance from [Boston](#) to Lincoln in 2 hours and 20 minutes. This brought his career to an abrupt termination, as he had pledged that he would hang up his talaria in exchange for a vow from a certain young lady to love, honor, and obey (the middle-aged Louis Lauriat may have witnessed this adolescent derring-do and the reaction of the masses).

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




1834


1834

On 7th day following after making some preparation to leave [Newport](#) - on 1st day [Sunday] Morning I took the Steam Boat & returned to [Providence](#), leaving my wife in Newport on Account of her Mother whom she did not feel easy to leave being taken quite sick the night before - however on 2nd day [Monday] finding her Mother Better She returned in the Steam Boat in the Afternoon. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September 14, Sunday: [Charles Darwin](#)'s company passed Tagua-tagua-more in Chile.

Breveted Captain [James Duncan Graham](#) was breveted to the rank of Major ("brevet" in military parlance means "let's pretend for awhile"), as a staff-assistant in the US Army's Corps of Topographical Engineers.

 September 15, Monday: The "Occasional business" of the "[Institute of 1770](#)" was suspended to allow the reading of the new poem by [Jones Very](#). This rhyming ode has not survived, but the record shows that it was a crowd-pleaser:

Very's poem much applauded.

1834

1834



September 16, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [Samuel Bailey](#)'s ESSAYS ON THE FORMATION AND PUBLICATION OF OPINIONS in its 2d edition of 1826 (he would check this volume out again).

BAILEY'S OPINIONS



Our guy also checked out the 1820 edition of [Gasparo Grimani](#)'s NEW AND IMPROVED GRAMMAR OF THE ITALIAN LANGUAGE, WITH COPIOUS EXERCISES, UNDER EVERY RULE AND OBSERVATION.⁵²

(To which grammar was he going to pay more attention, the grammar of Italian or the grammar of Philosophy? We will find out whether this philosophy baked any bread.)



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

52. The record of the books Thoreau checked out from the Harvard Library during his Sophomore (1834-1835) and Junior (1835-1836) school years is of particular interest to us, because Charging Book "D" of the "[Institute of 1770](#)", the book which contained the record of Thoreau's borrowings from that student club's library, is missing. This record may yet turn up — but its present absence represents a serious hole in Thoreau scholarship.



1834

1834

5th day 18th of 9th M 1834 / We have this day Mentioned to our friends here, that in consequence of the decease of our Aged Aunt Anna Carpenter we have come to the conclusion to leave the Institution & [Providence](#), & return to [Newport](#) to live, it was her request two years ago that we should do so - & now her boarders are all desirous we should come & occupy the house & make a family with them, which after due deliberate consideration we have concluded to do - Aunt Nancy Carpenter having by her Will so provided that we can do it, to some advantage & convenience to our Selves - that Is - she has given to My wife the South half of her house in which we have lived & paid rent for, & after her, she has given it to our son John. The other half the house she has given her brother Clarke Rodman during his life & after him to Mary Rodman during her life, & after her decease to our Son John in fee Simple he paying Twelve Hundred Dollars, that is to say Six hundred to David Rodman & Six hundred to John Rodmans children that may be living at Marys decease, or at Fathers decease whichever event may last occur - So that we think it best for us to return & occupy the whole House with her boarders & as by her Will she has ordered that her family shall not be immediately broken up; We shall have time to prepare -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 20, Saturday: Queen Maria II of Portugal came of age and the regency ended.



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

1st day 21 of 9 M 1834 / Just before we went into Meeting this Morning Edmond Breed Died Aged 21 Years - he had been a Scholar here & had been hired to work on the farm, was taken Sick between two & three Weeks ago of a fever - his illness tho' slow in progress & his departure at last rather sudden, it having taken an unfavourable turn on his stomach & bowels - about an half an hour before his final close he requested the whole family called and gave us all his hand & bid us farewell & in the course of the Morning Sent Messages to his parents & brothers, & also to Several of his acquaintances & to some who was around his bed he gave suitable advice, it was indeed a solemn Scene & our Meeting was a season to be remembered tho' not a word was uttered.

-
In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 22, Monday: The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) aboard, encountered an armed ship displaying no flag and, by the sailors wetting its sails constantly, was making a successful run for it.

**AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:**

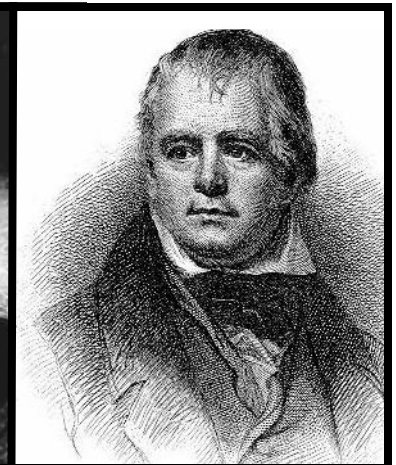
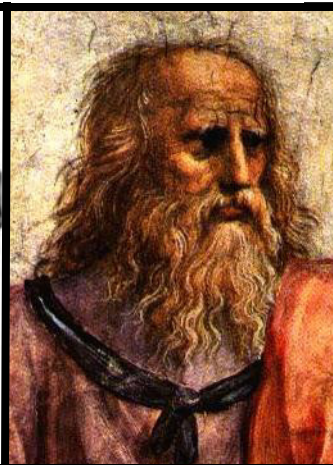
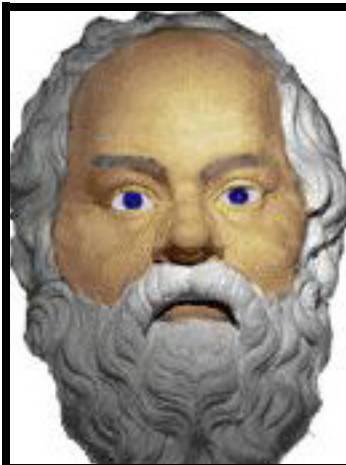
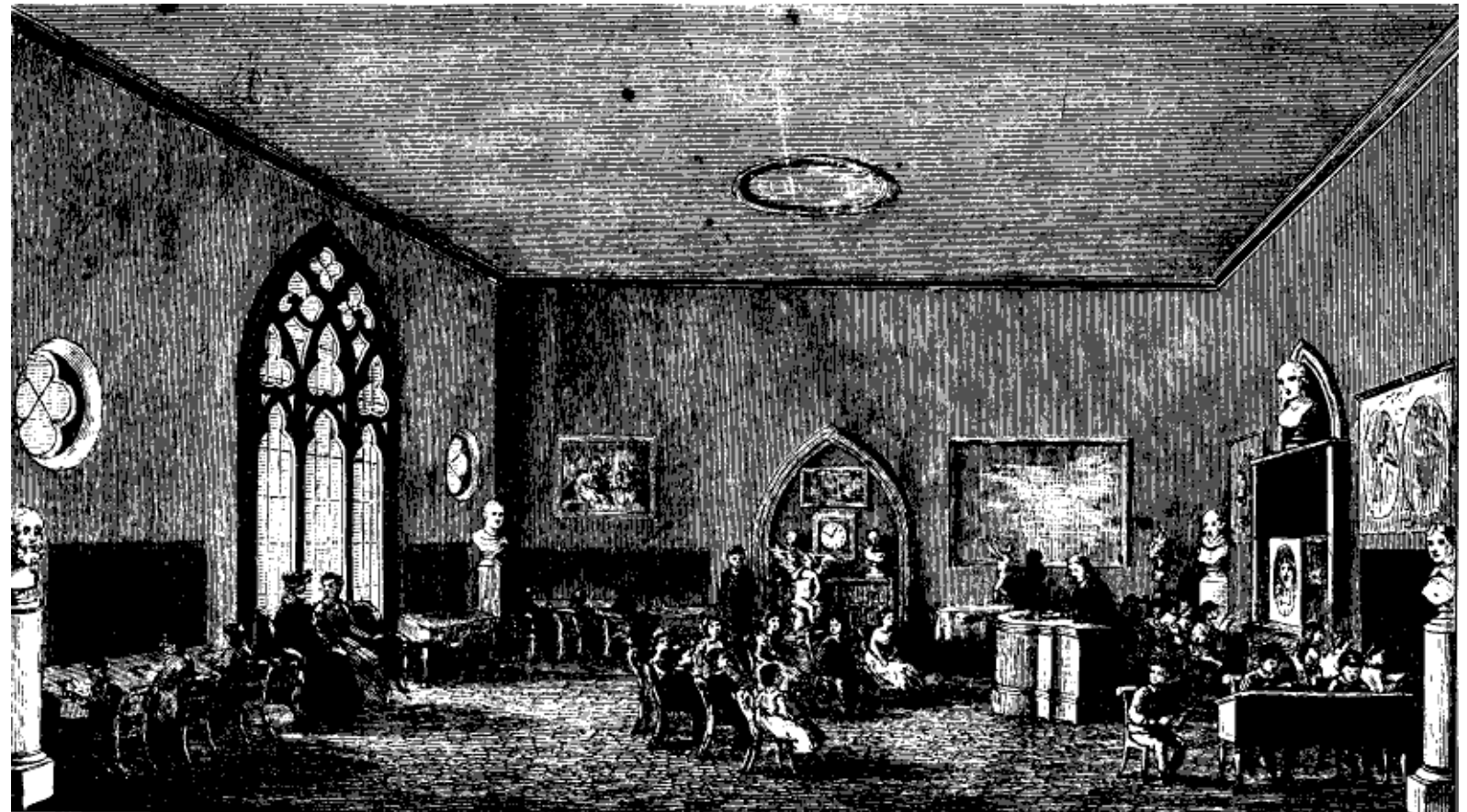
We continued running large before the north-east trade winds for several days, until Monday—September 22d, when, upon coming on deck at seven bells in the morning, we found the other watch aloft, throwing water upon the sails; and looking astern, we saw a small clipper-built brig with a black hull heading directly after us. We went to work immediately, and put all the canvas upon the brig which we could get upon her, rigging out oars for studding-sail yards; and continued wetting down the sails by buckets of water whipped up to the mast-head, until about nine o'clock, when there came on a drizzling rain. The vessel continued in pursuit, changing her course as we changed ours to keep before the wind. The captain, who watched her with his glass, said that she was armed, and full of men, and showed no colors. We continued running dead before the wind, knowing that we sailed better so, and that clippers are fastest on the wind. We had also another advantage. The wind was light, and we spread more canvas than she did, having royals and sky-sails fore and aft, and ten studding-sails; while she, being an hermaphrodite brig, had only a gaff top-sail, aft. Early in the morning she was overhauling us a little, but after the rain came on and the wind grew lighter, we began to leave her astern. All hands remained on deck throughout the day, and we got our arms in order; but we were too few to have done anything with her, if she had proved to be what we feared. Fortunately there was no moon, and the night which followed was exceedingly dark, so that by putting out all the lights on board and altering our course four points, we hoped to get out of her reach. We had no light in the binnacle, but steered by the stars, and kept perfect silence through the night. At daybreak there was no sign of anything in the horizon, and we kept the vessel off to her course.

1834

1834

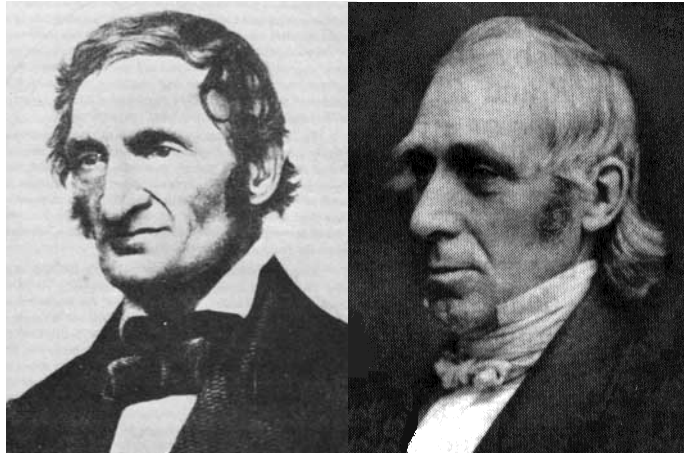



September 22, Monday: At 10AM, the School of Human Culture opened its doors for business in the Masonic Temple on Tremont Street in [Boston](#) directly across from the Tremont House and the Boston Common. The school occupied two rooms on the fourth floor, the top floor, at a rent of \$300.⁰⁰ per year. The furnishings, for which [Bronson Alcott](#) went further into debt, included not only a larger-than-life “bass-relievo” of [Jesus Christ](#) over a bookcase behind the schoolmaster’s enormous desk, and busts of [Plato](#), [William Shakespeare](#), [Socrates](#), and [Sir Walter Scott](#) in the four corners of the classroom, but also a portrait of the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) (father of one of the pupils) and two geranium plants. Alcott had heard [Waldo Emerson](#) preach in 1828, and now Emerson was doing him the honor of visiting his school.



[Elizabeth Palmer Peabody](#) became Bronson Alcott's assistant at this Temple School, and began boarding with the Alcott family. There were, initially, 30 pupils.

The students used desks having individual shelves and a hinged blackboard that could swing forward or back. Evidently, this desk had been developed by Bronson's cousin, [Dr. William Andrus Alcott](#).




 September 24, Wednesday: The [Reverend Horatio Wood](#) received and accepted a call to minister in Walpole, New Hampshire.


Dom Pedro, leader of the Portuguese liberal cause, died of consumption at the age of 36. He had defeated his absolutist brother Dom Miguel four months earlier. Pedro de Sousa Holstein, marques e conde de Palmela would replace him as prime minister.

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

4th day 24th of 9th M / Our friend Thos Arnott from Indiana Yearly Meeting attended our Moy [Monthly] Meeting today - which was a season of favour to us all, he was large in testimony & well adapted to States & conditions present -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Later in September: The [Baptist](#) Reverend Calvin Philleo and his bride Mrs. [Prudence Crandall Philleo](#), who had fled from the unrest in Canterbury, Connecticut first to [Providence, Rhode Island](#), and then to New York state, during this month relocated to [Illinois](#) (they would wind up in Kansas).

 September 27, Saturday: On the Pacific coast of South America, [Charles Darwin](#) returned to Valparaiso.

In the frozen Northern boreal slope of the Americas, Commander [George Back](#) arrived back at Fort Reliance.

THE FROZEN NORTH

 September 28, Sunday: [Nicolò Paganini](#) left Paris for [Genoa](#) and home.

1834

1834

→ September 29, Monday: Joseph replaced Friedrich as Duke of Saxe-Altenburg.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) signed a contract to produce [Les Huguenots](#).

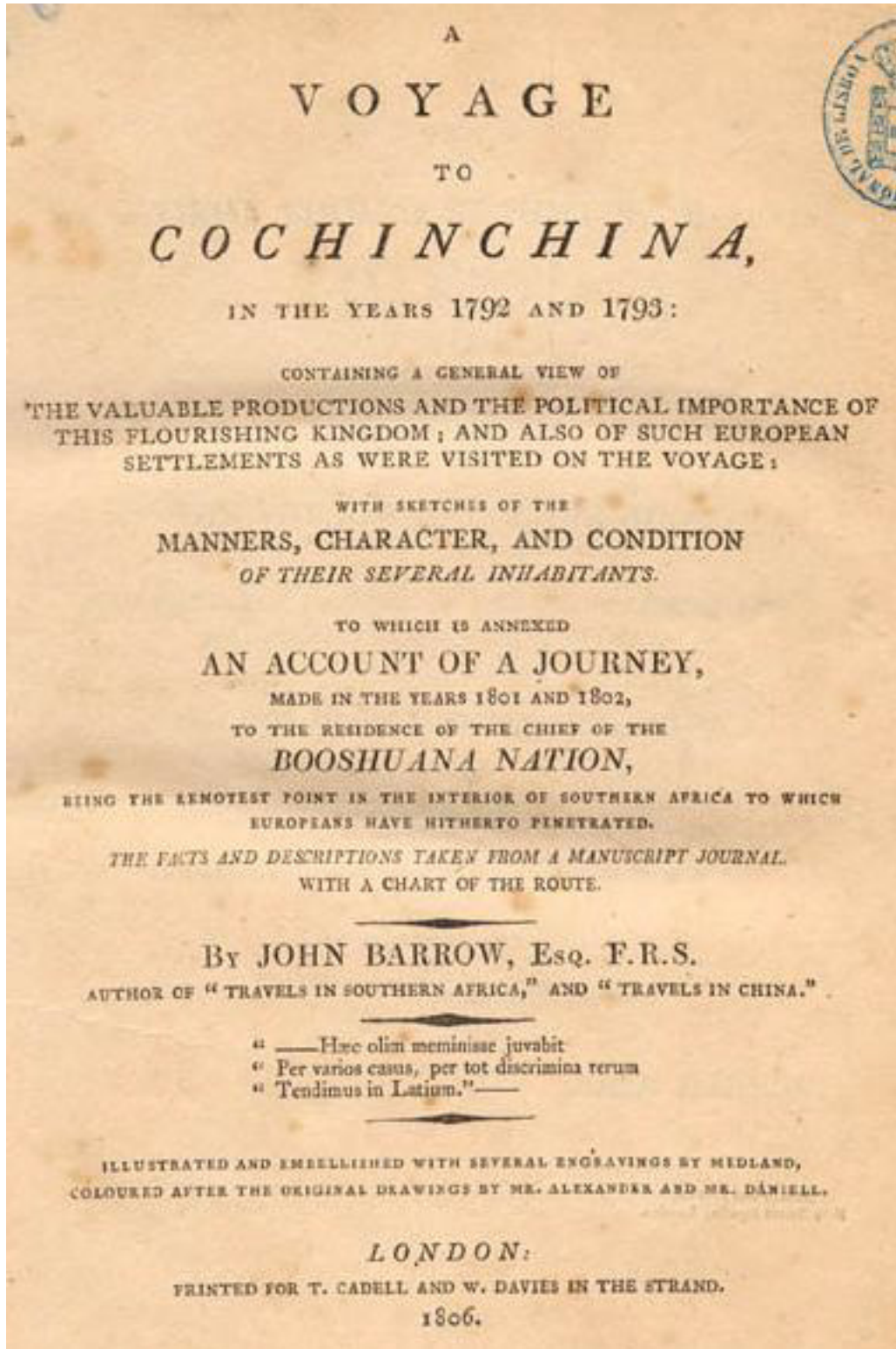
→ September 30, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), [John Barrow](#)'s A VOYAGE TO COCHINCHINA IN THE YEARS 1792 AND 1793: CONTAINING A GENERAL VIEWS OF THE VALUABLE PRODUCTIONS AND THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF THIS FLOURISHING KINGDOM; TO WHICH IS ANNEXED AN ACCOUNT OF A JOURNEY, MADE IN THE YEARS 1801 AND 1802, TO THE RESIDENCE OF THE CHIEF OF THE BOOSHUANA NATION, BEING THE REMOTEST POINT IN THE INTERIOR OF SOUTHERN AFRICA ... (London: Strahan and Preston, for T. Cadell and W. Davies in the Strand, 1806).



SIR JOHN BARROW

1834

1834



1834

1834

He also checked out [George Waddington](#)'s and the Reverend [Barnard Hanbury](#)'s JOURNAL OF A VISIT TO SOME PARTS OF ETHIOPIA (London: John Murray, 1822).

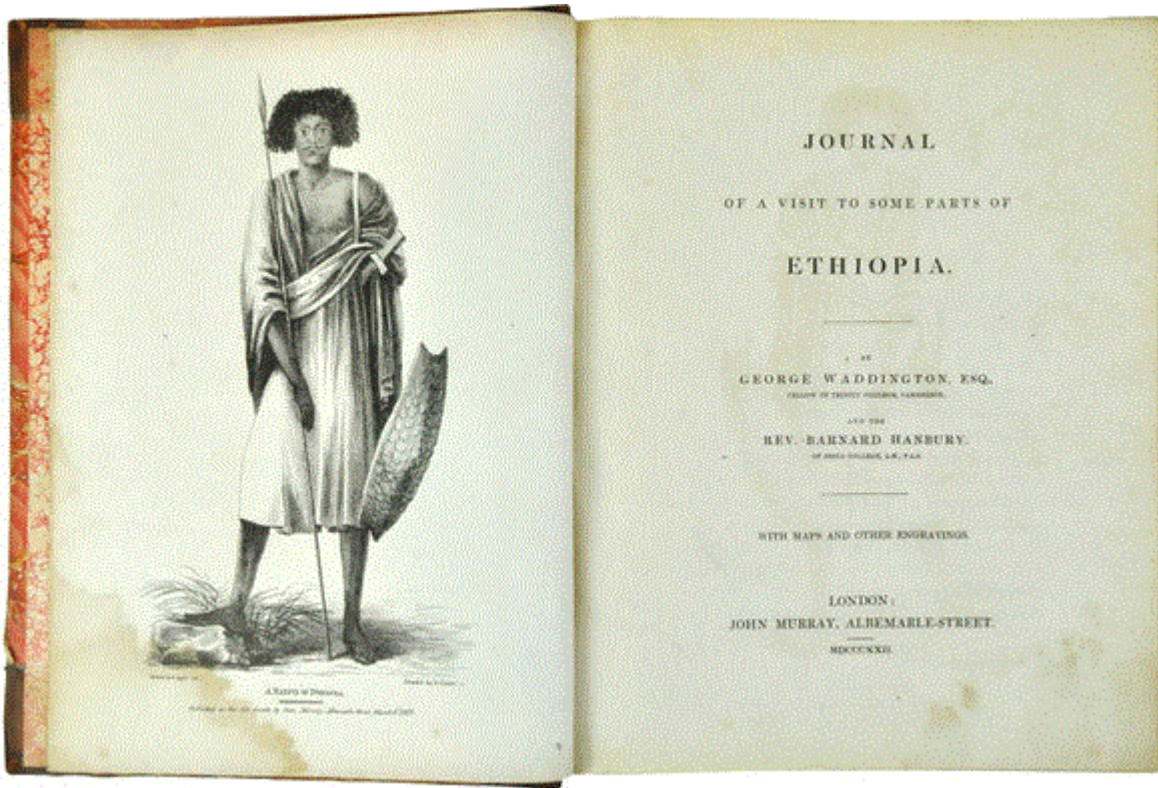


A VISIT TO ETHIOPIA

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

1834

1834



From the Western frontier, Ohio, Johann Heinrich zur Oeveste (1801-1871) forwarded a message of advice to his relatives in the Osnabrück region of northern Germany:

[L] *et me write about this country as far as I know about it. Of course, I cannot touch on everything in just a letter. It is a free country and this freedom I like in some respects, not in others. This state is just being developed and its oldest cities were only started 30 or 40 years ago. Its inhabitants are primarily Americans who moved here from Pennsylvania and other states; and the Pennsylvanians, for the most part, speak a fairly good German. Earlier, this state was in the hands of wild Indian nations. It looks much different from Germany. There is a wealth of wood. One sees here the finest tree trunks piled on each other and rotting away, and there are all kinds of strange kinds of wood in the forests. The soil here is rather heavy and stony. Corn is grown widely and does really well here. The other*

crops I have not seen to be any better than yours in Germany. Raising cattle is profitable. Horses here are quite good and there are all kinds of farm animals like in Germany. The main language here is English. I can't write you much about Religion because it is quite different here. Many people live almost totally without it and are neither baptized nor prepared for Holy Communion; others join a denomination of their choice as adults. Now and then churches and schools are begun, but only few parents send their children to them because attendance is not enforced, and each one can keep his religious preference. Personally, we go to the German Lutheran Church in Mehemesburg at least every two weeks. There are good German preachers here but they have very little income because the amounts of giving are up to the individual members. And because it is a free country, nobody is subservient to anybody else. In our area no land is available anymore and it is mostly inhabited. The areas that still have land for sale are New Bremen, Wabokonette and Stalloto^[w]n which was named for the bookbinder from Damme [Franz Joseph Stallo, 1793-1833]. They sell the acre for \$1.25 — all in woods. Personally and till now I have not had the urge to chop my way into the bush. So far, I cannot forget Germany and will not recommend to anyone to follow me. One has to make up his own mind. Much more money can be earned here, but things are more expensive, too. But if you stay healthy you can save more for a rainy day than back home...

FALL 1834

→ Fall or Winter: [Jones Very](#) and his roommate Thomas Barnard West joined a “small Society” of students who were meeting weekly for “religious improvement.” (Since his family simply did not participate in religious observation, this may have been Very’s first social contact of a religious nature.)

→ Fall: E.D. Howe presented his initial anti-Mormon expose, MORMONISM UNVAILED, containing statements by [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#)’s New York neighbors about the family’s having been involved with magic and with money digging.

→ Fall: The Reverend Samuel Joseph May visited the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#) at his home (did he use the servants’ entrance or come to the front door?), to plead with him to break his silence about slavery. When Channing responded that he feared that antislavery advocacy was alienating the moderates of the South, May burst out with an accusation.⁵³

Dr. Channing! It is not our fault that those who might have managed this great reform more prudently have left it to us to manage as we may be able!

OCTOBER

→ October: Current quarterly issue of THE EDINBURGH REVIEW, OR CRITICAL JOURNAL:

EDINBURGH REVIEW

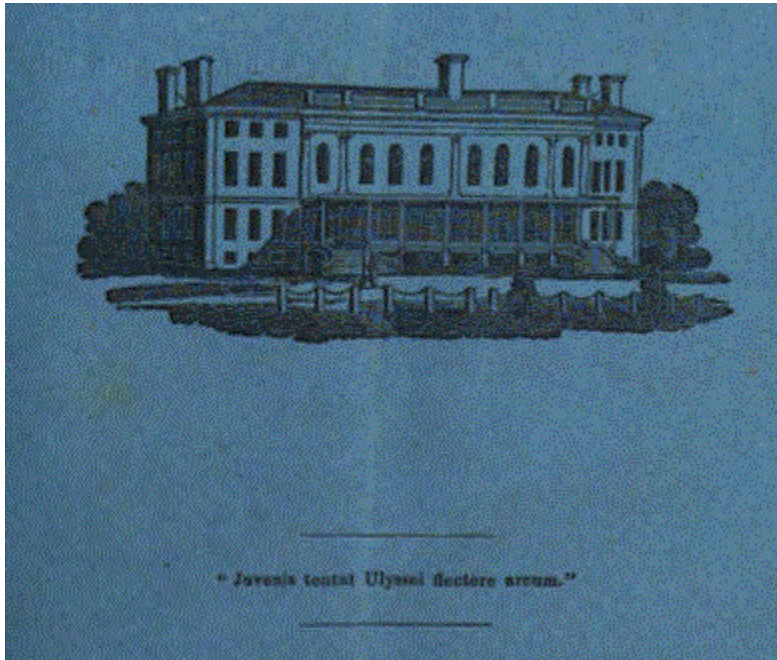
53. Was this a reference to the joke about the French Revolution that has a *sans-culotte* saying “You should have taught us good manners” to an aristocrat waiting in line at the guillotine?

1834

1834

→ October: The 2d issue of [Harvard College](#)'s undergraduate subscription literary magazine, the HARVARDIANA:

HARVARDIANA



The title page featured University Hall.

- "What A Frosty-spirited Rogue Is This" by "R"
- "A Contrast" imitated from the German of Richter by "W"
- "Books" by "Quis"
- [cover]
- "Musings In The Library" by "W"
- "Retired Life"
- "Sequel to the Spelling-Book" by "S T Worcester"
- "The Coffin Bark" by "W"
- "The Lay Of The Insignificant" by "Supernumerus"
- "The Reformed One" by "Supernumerus"

→ October: [Charles Dexter Cleveland](#) began a school for young ladies in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. This would occupy him until in 1861 he would become the United States Consul at Cardiff in Wales.



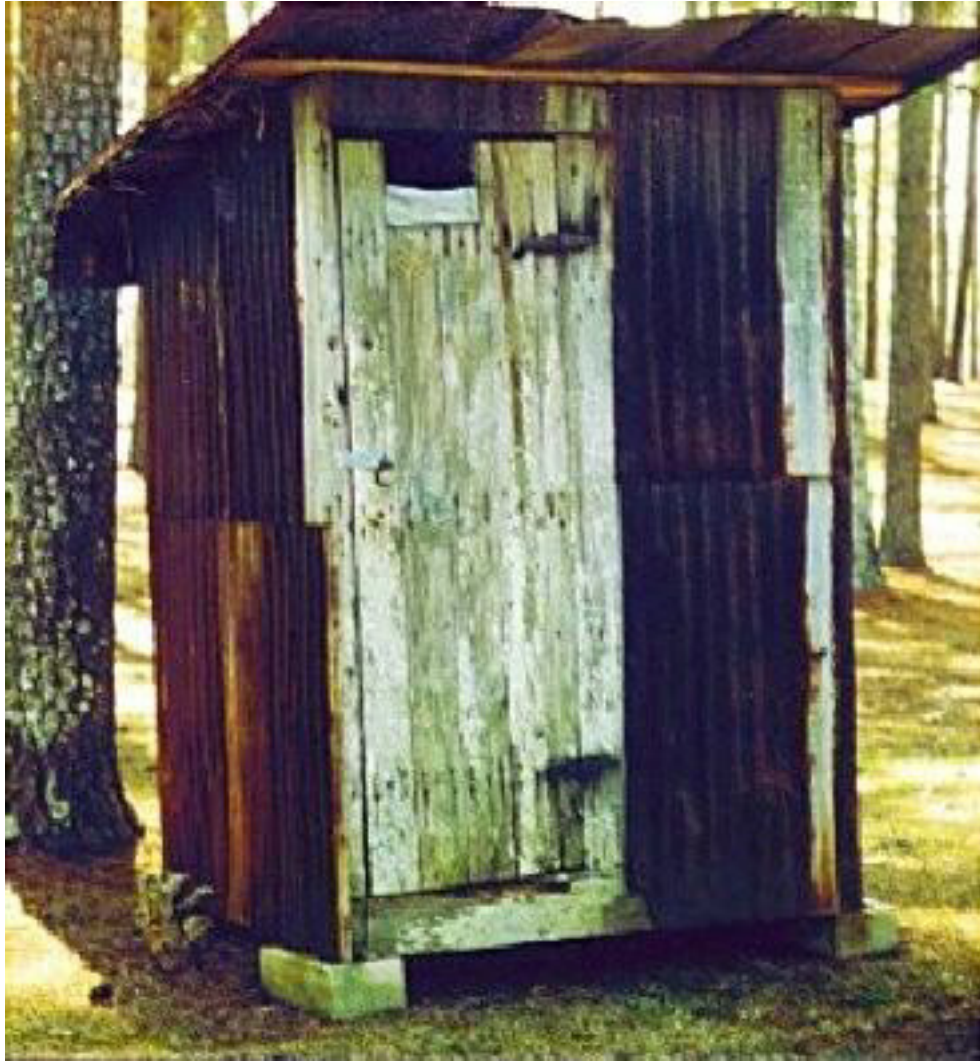
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1834

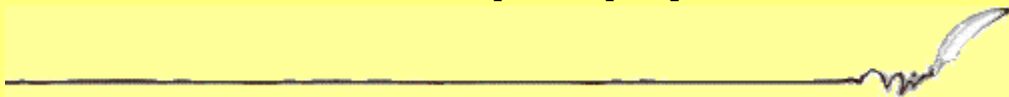


October: [David Henry Thoreau](#) paid his \$2.⁰⁰ entry fee into the “[The Institute of 1770](#)” debating club (equivalent of a couple of hundred dollars today, and that high simply because the club provided access to its own private collection of useful books). [Waldo Emerson](#) had been preached at the 2d Unitarian Church in New-York and, returning to take up residence in the Old Manse in Concord, found he was able to take the train all the way through to Concord station: “We traversed the 15 miles of railroad in 32 minutes.” Despite rumors and accusations that had taken an unexpected length of time to unravel, the estate of Mrs. Ellen Louisa Tucker Emerson was, for the sum of \$24,000.⁰⁰ of which \$23,000.⁰⁰ was directly convertible into cash, finally settled.⁵⁴ This would provide him with \$1,200.⁰⁰ a year for the rest of his life, versus the \$1,800.⁰⁰ per year he had received as “Assistant Pastor” of Boston’s 2d Church.

54. At that time you could buy just about any one of the houses on the little lots along the main drag in Concord for \$800.⁰⁰ and a normal family income amounted to about \$250.⁰⁰ per year, with a New England farm laborer’s basic wage amounting to about \$150.⁰⁰ per year according to the US Bureau of the Census’s HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES (Washington DC, 1975, Volume I, page 163).



What is there of the divine in a load of bricks? What is there of the divine in a barber's shop or a privy? Much. All.



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→ October: [Salma Hale](#) was admitted to the [New Hampshire](#) bar.

[James Fenimore Cooper](#) purchased a family seat at Otsego, [New York](#).

[Frederick Emerson](#)'s THE NORTH AMERICAN ARITHMETIC. PART THIRD, FOR ADVANCED SCHOLARS (Concord, [New Hampshire](#): Marsh, Capen & Lyon; Boston: Lincoln and Edmands).

ARITHMETIC, PART THIRD
ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

→ October 1, Wednesday: Death of [Waldo](#)'s brother [Edward Bliss Emerson](#) at age 29 due to [tuberculosis](#), at San Juan, Puerto Rico (he left a diary, which is now at the Houghton Library of Harvard University).⁵⁵



Records of the [“Institute of 1770”](#):

Routine.

55. It had been Edward Emerson who had once commented that “the arrow of the angel had gone too deep.”

THE
NORTH AMERICAN ARITHMETIC.

THE above is the common title of three distinct books, by Frederick Emerson. They are severally denominated,

**EMERSON'S FIRST PART,
EMERSON'S SECOND PART,
EMERSON'S THIRD PART.**

PART FIRST is a small book, designed for children from five to eight years of age. The plan of this little book is entirely original, and very peculiar. The lessons are illustrated with cuts and unit marks, and are rendered at once interesting and impressive.

PART SECOND contains within itself a system of Mental and Written Arithmetic, sufficiently extensive for all the common purposes of business. The work is so gradual in its progress, that each lesson prepares the learner for that which follows, and comparatively little instruction is required from the teacher. Part Second is designed as the final book for common schools, and few scholars will have occasion to go beyond it.

PART THIRD is designed for advanced scholars. It comprises a synthetic view of the science of numbers, a copious development of the higher operations, and an extensive range of commercial information. Scholars who are to be educated for the business of the counting-room, or for the duties of any public office, as well as those who are to prosecute a full course of mathematical studies, will find this book suited to their purpose.

THE INSTRUCTORS OF THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS say—"After the most careful examination, we have, without any hesitancy, come to the conclusion, that Emerson's North American Arithmetic (First, Second, and Third Parts) is the work best suited to the wants of all classes of scholars, and most convenient for the purposes of instruction. Accordingly, we have petitioned for the adoption of this work in the Public Schools."

THE BOSTON SCHOOL BOARD, after receiving the petition above alluded to, passed an Order—"That Emerson's North American Arithmetic be substituted for Colburn's First Lessons and Sequel."

THE INSTRUCTORS OF THE NEW YORK CITY SCHOOLS say—"The work is evidently an improvement in the branch of learning which it treats; and we fully concur with the Masters of the Public Schools of Boston in the views which they have expressed of its character."

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[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) crossed the equator for the first time, becoming thereby a “son of Neptune.”

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Wednesday, October 1st. Crossed the equator in long. 24° 24' W. I now, for the first time, felt at liberty, according to the old usage, to call myself a son of Neptune, and was very glad to be able to claim the title without the disagreeable initiation which so many have to go through. After once crossing the line you can never be subjected to the process, but are considered as a son of Neptune, with full powers to play tricks upon others. This ancient custom is now seldom allowed, unless there are passengers on board, in which case there is always a good deal of sport.

It had been obvious to all hands for some time that the second mate, whose name was F _____, was an idle, careless fellow, and not much of a sailor, and that the captain was exceedingly dissatisfied with him. The power of the captain in these cases was well known, and we all anticipated a difficulty. F _____ (called Mr. by virtue of his office) was but half a sailor, having always been short voyages and remained at home a long time between them. His father was a man of some property, and intended to have given his son a liberal education; but he, being idle and worthless, was sent off to sea, and succeeded no better there; for, unlike many scamps, he had none of the qualities of a sailor— he was “not of the stuff that they make ’lors of.” He was one of that class of officers who are disliked by their captain and despised by the crew. He used to hold long yarns with the crew, and talk about the captain, and play with the boys, and relax discipline in every way. This kind of conduct always makes the captain suspicious, and is never pleasant, in the end, to the men; they preferring to have an officer active, vigilant, and distant as may be, with kindness. Among other bad practices, he frequently slept on his watch, and having been discovered asleep by the captain, he was told that he would be turned off duty if he did it again. To prevent it in every way possible the hen-coops were ordered to be knocked up, for the captain never sat down on deck himself, and never permitted an officer to do so.



October 2, Thursday: All clergymen appointed under the former King Miguel were removed from their posts.

While in Leipzig, [Felix Mendelssohn](#) visited Friedrich Wieck who presented his daughter Clara. She played some of her own music, some [Chopin](#), and some music by a student of Wieck, [Robert Schumann](#). Mendelssohn was favorably impressed by Clara.

Aboard [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#)'s *Pilgrim*, the second mate, Mr. Foster, was caught asleep on watch by Captain F. Thompson and removed from his position.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

The second night after crossing the equator, we had the watch from eight till twelve, and it was “my helm” for the last two hours. There had been light squalls through the night, and the captain told Mr. F _____, who commanded our watch, to keep a bright lookout. Soon after I came to the helm, I found that he was quite drowsy, and at last he stretched himself on the companion and went fast asleep. Soon afterwards, the captain came very quietly on deck, and stood by me for some time looking at the compass. The officer at length became aware of the captain's presence, but pretending not to know it, began humming and whistling to himself, to show that he was not asleep, and went forward, without looking behind him, and ordered the main royal to be loosed. On turning round to come aft, he pretended surprise at seeing the master on deck. This would not do. The captain was too “wide awake” for him, and beginning upon him at once, gave him a grand blow-up, in true nautical style— “You're a lazy, good-for-nothing rascal; you're neither man, boy, soger, nor sailor! you're no more than a thing aboard a vessel! you don't earn your salt; you're worse than a Mahon soger!” and other still more choice extracts from the sailor's vocabulary. After the poor fellow had taken this harangue, he was sent into his stateroom, and the captain stood the rest of the watch himself.



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October 3, Friday: Aboard [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#)'s *Pilgrim*, the seaman Jim Hall from the Kennebec region of Maine was promoted to second mate.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

At seven bells in the morning, all hands were called aft and told that F _____ was no longer an officer on board, and that we might choose one of our own number for second mate. It is usual for the captain to make this offer, and it is very good policy, for the crew think themselves the choosers and are flattered by it, but have to obey, nevertheless. Our crew, as is usual, refused to take the responsibility of choosing a man of whom we would never be able to complain, and left it to the captain. He picked out an active and intelligent young sailor, born near the Kennebec, who had been several Canton voyages, and proclaimed him in the following manner: "I choose Jim Hall— he's your second mate. All you've got to do is to obey him as you would me; and remember that he is Mr. Hall." F _____ went forward into the forecabin as a common sailor, and lost the handle to his name, while young foremast Jim became Mr. Hall, and took up his quarters in the land of knives and forks and tea-cups.



October 4, Saturday: Since August 1833 Great Britain and [France](#) had been proposing that the United States of America join in a treaty for suppression of the [international slave trade](#). The US had been making insincere excuses, and playing games. At this point, backed into a corner, we got honest, admitting that we weren't about to "make the United States a party to any Convention on the subject of the Slave Trade" (PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1835, Volume LI, SLAVE TRADE, Class B, pages 84-92).

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

7th day 4th of 10th M 1834 / We this day recd a very interesting letter from our dear John - it gave us great comfort & satisfactiion in every part, & I may acknowledge my spirit was much tendered in reading it - among other things he mentioned that the day he wrote his letter, he recd one from our dear Ancient Father [Moses Brown](#) now 96 Years old - John reflections upon it were such as evinced a mind, viewing things on right ground & under a State of feeling which promises an increase, if cultivated rightly.

We have known for some time that he was under engagement in Marriage to Mary Ashby a young woman living near his present residence, of good standing in the world & a Member of Society -for this our hearts have often been secretly glad even to humble rejoicing - in his letter recd today he informs us that his Marriage day is now fixed & if life is preserved & nothing occurs to prevent will take place the 3 of 9 M 1835 which is nearly a Year hence, if we live, & they live, we may probably be at Hudson about that time. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



October 5, Sunday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 5 of 10 M / Our Morning Meeting was silent In the Afternoon Wm Almy was here & preached an animated sermon - after which Lydia Breed prayed. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) on the *Pilgrim* discovered himself as close to the coast of South America.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

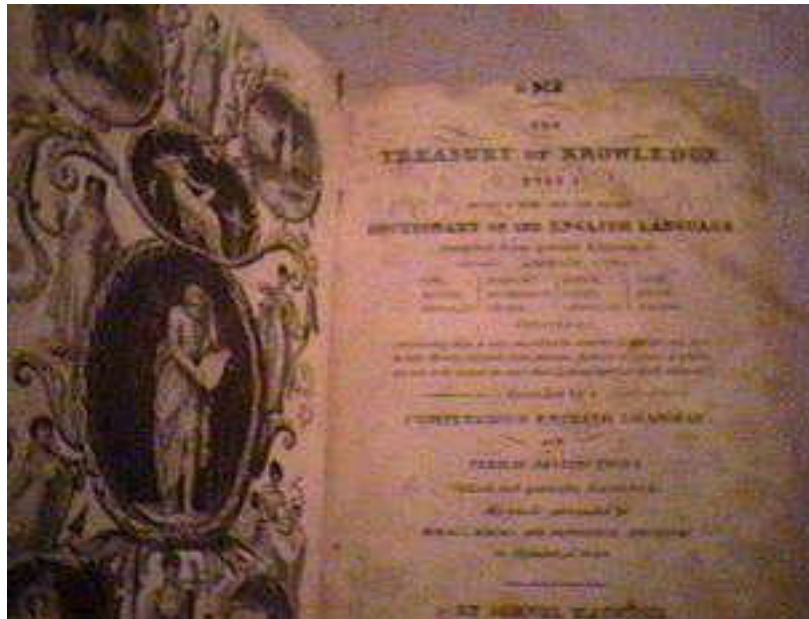
Sunday, October 5th. It was our morning watch; when, soon after the day began to break, a man on the fore-castle called out, "Land ho!" I had never heard the cry before, and did not know what it meant, (and few would suspect what the words were, when hearing the strange sound for the first time,) but I soon found, by the direction of all eyes, that there was land stretching along on our weather beam. We immediately took in studding-sails and hauled our wind, running in for the land. This was done to determine our longitude; for by the captain's chronometer we were in 25° W., but by his observations we were much farther, and he had been for some time in doubt whether it was his chronometer or his sextant which was out of order. This land-fall settled the matter, and the former instrument was condemned, and, becoming still worse, was never afterwards used.

As we ran in towards the coast, we found that we were directly off the port of Pernambuco, and could see with the telescope the roofs of the houses, and one large church, and the town of Olinda. We ran along by the mouth of the harbor, and saw a full-rigged brig going in. At two, P.M., we again kept off before the wind, leaving the land on our quarter, and at sun-down, it was out of sight. It was here that I first saw one of those singular things called catamarans. They are composed of logs lashed together upon the water; have one large sail, are quite fast, and, strange as it may seem, are trusted as good sea boats. We saw several, with from one to three men in each, boldly putting out to sea, after it had become almost dark. The Indians go out in them after fish, and as the weather is regular in certain seasons, they have no fear. After taking a new departure from Olinda, we kept off on our way to Cape Horn.

CHRONOMETRY
LONGITUDE



October 7, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), volumes I and II of Samuel Maunders (1785-1849)'s TREASURY OF KNOWLEDGE AND LIBRARY OF REFERENCE (probably London: Longman, Brown, Green, & Longman's).



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➡ October 8, Wednesday: At 4:40AM, Francois-Adrien Boieldieu died peacefully of “consumptive laryngitis” at Jarcy at the age of 58.

➡ October 9, Thursday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) entered upon duties as Intendant of the Dusseldorf Opera.

➡ October 10, 7:00 PM, Friday: [Thomas Say](#) died in New Harmony, Indiana, evidently of [typhoid fever](#). They would bury him in the garden behind the Owen/Maclure House on the corner of Main Street and Grainery Street.



➡ October 11, Saturday: Chief Superintendant of Trade Lord Napier died of a fever at Macao.

On the day after the Journal des Debats had reprinted a story by [Hector Berlioz](#), the composer appeared at the newspaper office to thank the editor. The editor offered him a job as music writer. Berlioz accepted and would begin in January.

Samuel Sebastian Wesley won a glee contest by the Manchester Gentlemen’s Glee Club (for the 2d time) with his “At That Dread Hour” to words of Linley.

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→ October 12, Sunday: Thomas Grimké died of [cholera](#) at a wayside near Columbus, Ohio while he was on his way back from having delivered an address on education before the College of Professional Teachers in Cincinnati.



His sister [Angelina Emily Grimké](#) would write:



The world has lost an eminent reformer in the cause of Christian education, an eloquent advocate of peace, and one who was remarkably ready for every good work. I never saw a man who combined such brilliant talents, such diversity and profundity of knowledge, with such humility of heart and such simplicity and gentleness of manner. He was a great and good man, a pillar of the church and state, and his memory is blessed.... He was deeply interested in **every** reform, and saw very clearly that the anti-slavery agitation which began in 1832 would shake our country to its foundation. He told me in Philadelphia that he knew slavery would be the all-absorbing subject here, and that he intended to devote a whole year to its investigation; and, in order that he might do so impartially, he requested me to subscribe for every periodical and paper, and to buy and forward to him any books, that might be published by the Anti-Slavery and Colonization societies. I asked whether he believed colonization could abolish slavery. He said: "No, never!" but observed; "I help that only on account of its reflex influence upon slavery here. If we can build up an intelligent, industrious community of colored people in Africa, it will do a great deal towards destroying slavery in the United States."

→ October 13, Monday: A state funeral service for Francois-Adrien Boieldieu was held at Les Invalides.

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→ October 14, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), John Poole's translation of the 1st of the 3 volumes of Pietro "Metastasio" Trapassi (1698-1782)'s DRAMAS AND OTHER POEMS; OF THE ABBÈ PIETRO METASTASIO (London: Printed for Otridge and Son, 1800).



He also checked out some volume of [Robert Southey](#)'s miscellaneous poetry and/or prose that the library had labeled "A.13.6" or possibly "A.15.6."



→ October 14, Tuesday: Records of the "[Institute of 1770](#)":

Debated: "Are the refined and cultivated happier in general than the ignorant?"

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→ October 16, Thursday night: In [London](#), [Thomas Carlyle](#) witnessed the virtual destruction of the old Houses of the British Parliament at Westminster by fire (they were not to be rebuilt until 1840):



→ October 18, Saturday: At the Teatro San Carlo of [Naples](#), Buondelmonte, a tragedia lirica by Gaetano Donizetti to words of Salatino, was performed for the initial time. The opera was to have been Maria Stuarda but when the censors had objected to the tragic ending two weeks earlier, Salatino had taken the libretto of Bardari and rewritten it. Donizetti then quickly fitted his music to the new words. Needless to say, the production was a disaster and would have but one performance.

→ October 21, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the 1st volume of Charles Rollin (1661-1741)'s THE ANCIENT HISTORY OF THE [EGYPTIANS](#), CARTHAGINIANS, ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS, MEDES AND PERSIANS, MACEDONIANS, AND GRECIANS. INCLUDING A HISTORY OF THE ARTS AND SCIENCES OF THE ANCIENTS. TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH. THE 12TH EDITION, REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ILLUSTRATED WITH A SET OF MAPS NEWLY ENGRAVED (first printed 1730-1738; one of the first 17 English editions, possibly the one issued in London in 1813).



Our guy would comment later of the catacombs full of preserved death, of our museums full of stuffed animals, and of such history textbooks stuffed full with irrelevant facts, that:

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"I hate museums, there is nothing so weighs upon the spirits. They are catacombs of nature. They are preserved death. One green bud of Spring one willow catkin, one faint trill from some migrating sparrow, might set the world on its legs again.

I know not whether I muse most at the bodies stuffed with cotton and sawdust – or those stuffed with bowels and fleshy fibre.

The life that is in a single green weed is of more worth than all this death. They are very much like the written history of the world – and I read Rollin and Ferguson with the same feeling."

–JOURNAL; September 24, 1843



 October 27, Monday: A royal decree stripped Don Carlos of any right to the Spanish throne.

[Bronson Alcott](#) was working himself into a state of mind in which he was comparing himself to [Jesus of Nazareth](#):

*I shall **redeem** infancy and childhood; and if a **Savior** of **Adults** was given, in the person of Jesus, let me, without impiety or arrogance, regard myself as the children's Savior.*

Alcott was simply the kind of confidence man that, even now, one wishes one could be a friend of, and help support not only with encouragement but also with cash. But never forget in dealing with these records, he was a con man, true blue, he was a man who did know the truth of the old saying “The only thing you have to earn in this world is your own self-respect; everything else you can steal.” As we watch him go through life, we cannot help but notice that wherever he went, whatever he did, he was always on the lookout for someone new to impress, someone he could draw into his circle of supporters.

MUMPERY




As to money, that you know, is one of the last of my anxieties. I have many friends, and am making more daily, and have only to be true to my principles, to get not only a useful name, but bread and shelter, and raiment.

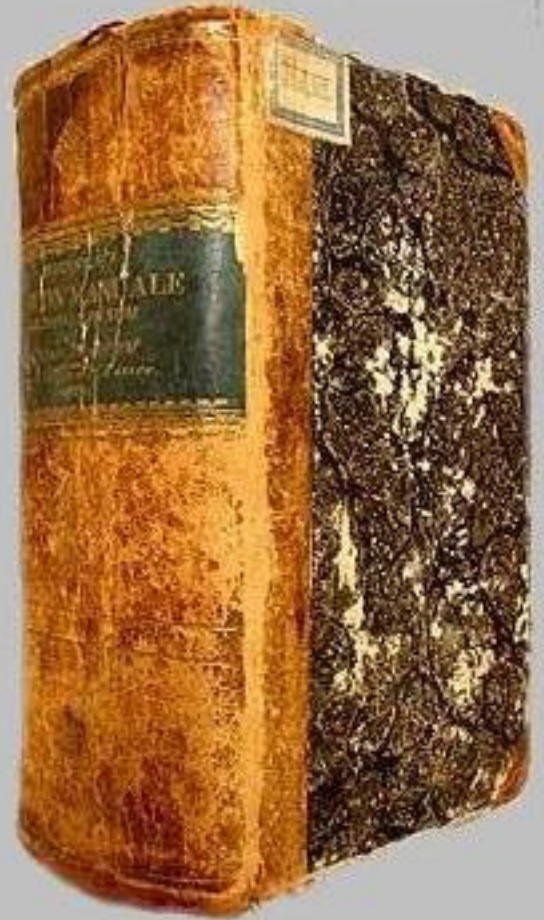
 October 28, Tuesday: Records of the [“Institute of 1770”](#):

“Should manual labor be connected with institutions of learning?”

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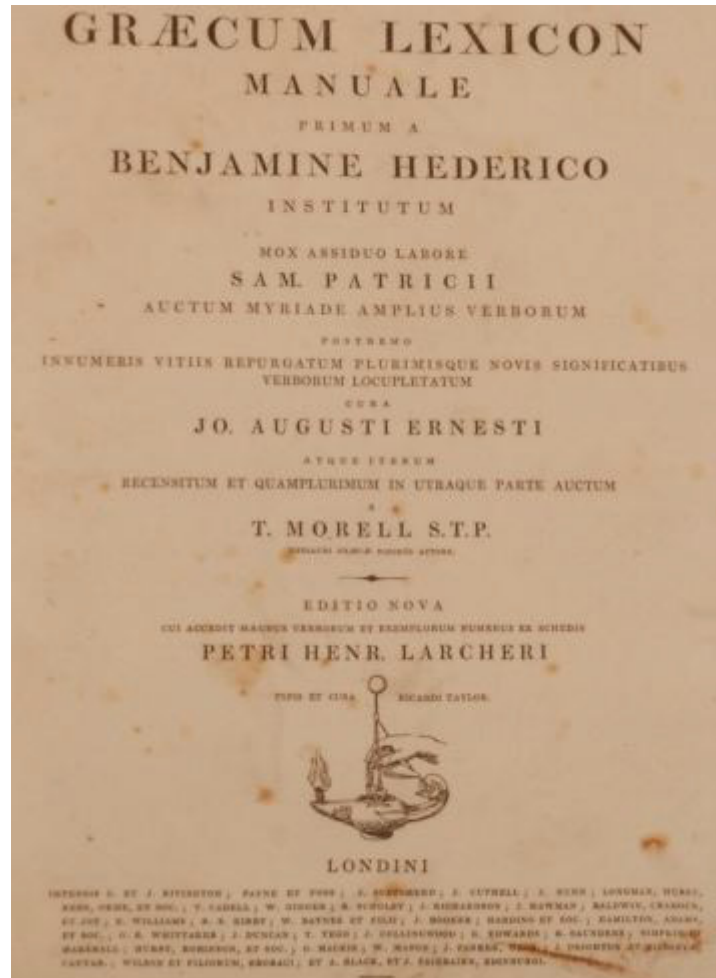
 October 28, Tuesday: [David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), Benjamin Hederich (1675-1748)'s *GRÆCUM LEXICON MANUALE PRIMUM A BENJAMINE HEDERICO INSTITUTUM* (various editions since Leipzig, 1722; Thoreau checked out the 1821 London edition).





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NOVEMBER

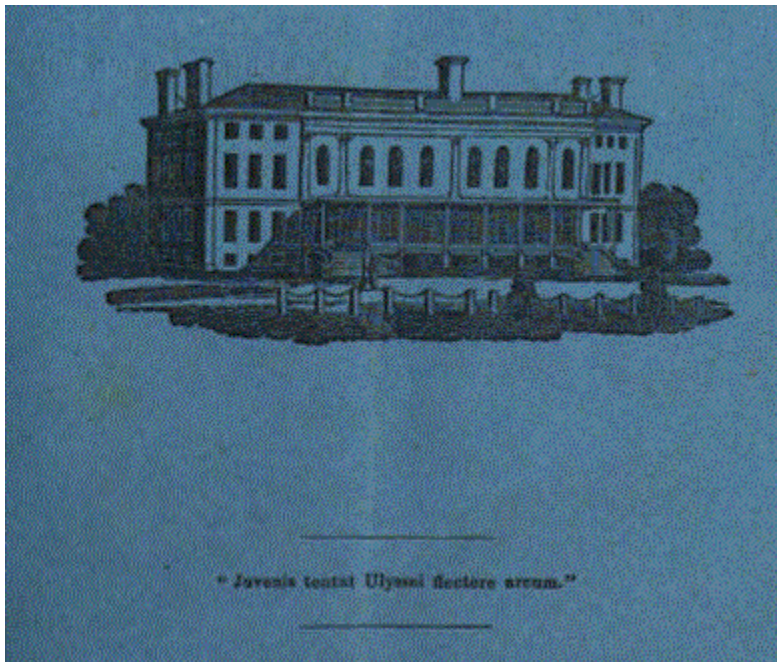
→ November: [Horace Mann, Sr.](#) was elected as a Whig senator in Massachusetts (he would serve as president of the Senate from 1836 to 1837).

In [London](#), the menagerie was removed from the [Tower of London](#).

On [St. Helena](#), a new road was cut above Two Gun Saddle.

The 3d issue of [Harvard College](#)'s undergraduate subscription literary magazine, the HARVARDIANA:

HARVARDIANA



- “Rejected Addresses” by “W”
- “A Fragment” by “Supernumerus”
- “Biography — Plutarch” by “Gamma”
- “Confessions of a Bashful Man” by “O D R”
- “Extract from an Unpublished Poem” by “H”
- “Love in a Steamboat”
- “Remarks on the Writings of Crabbe” by “B O”
- “Simple Pleasures”
- “The Oasis” by “Mrs Child”

→ November 1, Saturday: The first published reference to Poker described it as a Mississippi riverboat game.

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→ November 2, Sunday: [Felix Mendelssohn](#) resigned his position as opera conductor in Dusseldorf. Henceforth he would only conduct there.

→ November 3, Monday: Harvard Professor of the German Language and Literature [Charles Follen, J.U.D.](#) delivered, at the Masonic Temple in Boston, an address introductory to the 4th course of the Franklin Lectures.



THE FRANKLIN LECTURES



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November 4, Tuesday: In his annual address to the state legislature, Governor Wilson Lumpkin proposed that Georgia establish a state mental hospital. (No action would be taken until a building appropriation would be passed in 1837. The Georgia State Sanatorium at Milledgeville would open during December 1842. The hospital would be renamed the Milledgeville State Hospital and has become Central State Hospital.)⁵⁶

PSYCHOLOGY

At William College, formation of the Delta Upsilon fraternity.

The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), passed the Falkland Islands.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Tuesday, Nov. 4th. At day-break saw land upon our larboard quarter. There were two islands, of different size but of the same shape; rather high, beginning low at the water's edge, and running with a curved ascent to the middle. They were so far off as to be of a deep blue color, and in a few hours we sank them in the northeast. These were the Falkland Islands. We had run between them and the main land of Patagonia. At sunset the second mate, who was at the mast-head, said that he saw land on the starboard bow. This must have been the island of Staten Land; and we were now in the region of Cape Horn, with a fine breeze from the northward, top-mast and top-gallant studding-sails set, and every prospect of a speedy and pleasant passage round.

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



November 5, Wednesday: The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), having passed the Falkland Islands, sailed on south toward Cape Horn.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Wednesday, Nov. 5th.— The weather was fine during the previous night, and we had a clear view of the Magellan Clouds, and of the Southern Cross. The Magellan Clouds consist of three small nebulae in the southern part of the heavens,— two bright, like the milky-way, and one dark. These are first seen, just above the horizon, soon after crossing the southern tropic. When off Cape Horn, they are nearly over head. The cross is composed of four stars in that form, and is said to be the brightest constellation in the heavens.

During the first part of this day (Wednesday) the wind was light, but after noon it came on fresh, and we furled the royals. We still kept the studding-sails out, and the captain said he should go round with them, if he could. Just before eight o'clock (then about sundown, in that latitude) the cry of "All hands ahoy!" was sounded down the fore scuttle and the after hatchway, and hurrying upon deck, we found a large black cloud rolling on toward us from the south-west, and blackening the whole heavens. "Here comes Cape Horn!" said the chief mate; and we had hardly time to haul down and clew up, before it was upon us. In a few moments, a heavier sea was raised than I had ever seen before, and as it was directly ahead, the little brig, which was no better than a bathing machine, plunged into it, and all the forward part of her was under water; the sea pouring in through the bow-ports and hawse-hole and over the knighthead, threatening to wash everything overboard. In the lee scuppers it was up to a man's waist. We sprang aloft and double reefed the topsails, and furled all the other sails, and made all snug. But this would not do; the brig was laboring and straining against the head sea, and the gale was growing worse and worse. At the same time sleet and hail were driving with all fury against us. We clewed down, and hauled out the reef-tackles again, and close-reefed the fore-topsail, and furled the main, and hove her to on the starboard tack. Here was an end to our fine prospects. We made up our minds to head winds and cold weather; sent down the royal yards, and unrove the gear; but all the rest of the top hamper remained aloft, even to the sky-sail masts and studding-sail booms.

Throughout the night it stormed violently— rain, hail, snow, and sleet beating upon the vessel— the wind continuing ahead, and the sea running high. At day-break (about three, A.M.) the deck was covered with snow. The captain sent up the steward with a glass of grog to each of the watch; and all the time that we were off the Cape, grog was given to the morning watch, and to all hands whenever we reefed topsails. The clouds cleared away at sunrise, and the wind becoming more fair, we again made sail and stood nearly up to our course.



November 6, Thursday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was trusted with the helm of the *Pilgrim* in difficult waters in difficult weather.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Thursday, Nov. 6th. It continued more pleasant through the first part of the day, but at night we had the same scene over again. This time, we did not heave to, as on the night before, but endeavored to beat to windward under close-reefed topsails, balance-reefed trysail, and fore-topmast staysail. This night it was my turn to steer, or, as the sailors say, my trick at the helm, for two hours. Inexperienced as I was, I made out to steer to the satisfaction of the officer, and neither S_____ nor myself gave up our tricks, all the time that we were off the Cape. This was something to boast of, for it requires a good deal of skill and watchfulness to steer a vessel close hauled, in a gale of wind, against a heavy head sea. "Ease her when she pitches," is the word; and a little carelessness in letting her ship a heavy sea, might sweep the decks, or knock the masts out of her.



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November 7, Friday: Aboard the *Pilgrim*, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was headed for the Cape.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Friday, Nov. 7th. Towards morning the wind went down, and during the whole forenoon we lay tossing about in a dead calm, and in the midst of a thick fog. The calms here are unlike those in most parts of the world, for there is always a high sea running, and the periods of calm are so short, that it has no time to go down; and vessels, being under no command of sails or rudder, lie like logs upon the water. We were obliged to steady the booms and yards by guys and braces, and to lash everything well below. We now found our top hamper of some use, for though it is liable to be carried away or sprung by the sudden “bringing up” of a vessel when pitching in a chopping sea, yet it is a great help in steadying a vessel when rolling in a long swell; giving more slowness, ease, and regularity to the motion.

The calm of the morning reminds me of a scene which I forgot to describe at the time of its occurrence, but which I remember from its being the first time that I had heard the near breathing of whales. It was on the night that we passed between the Falkland Islands and Staten Land. We had the watch from twelve to four, and coming upon deck, found the little brig lying perfectly still, surrounded by a thick fog, and the sea as smooth as though oil had been poured upon it; yet now and then a long, low swell rolling under its surface, slightly lifting the vessel, but without breaking the glassy smoothness of the water. We were surrounded far and near by shoals of sluggish whales and grampuses, which the fog prevented our seeing, rising slowly to the surface, or perhaps lying out at length, heaving out those peculiar lazy, deep, and long-drawn breathings which give such an impression of supineness and strength. Some of the watch were asleep, and the others were perfectly still, so that there was nothing to break the illusion, and I stood leaning over the bulwarks, listening to the slow breathings of the mighty creatures— now one breaking the water just alongside, whose black body I almost fancied that I could see through the fog; and again another, which I could just hear in the distance— until the low and regular swell seemed like the heaving of the ocean’s mighty bosom to the sound of its heavy and long-drawn respirations.

Towards the evening of this day, (Friday, 7th,) the fog cleared off, and we had every appearance of a cold blow; and soon after sundown it came on. Again it was a clew up and haul down, reef and furl, until we had got her down to close-reefed topsoils, doublereefed trysail, and reefed forespenser. Snow, hail, and sleet were driving upon us most of the night, and the sea breaking over the bows and covering the forward part of the little vessel; but as she would lay her course the captain refused to heave her to.



November 8, Saturday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) described the weather of Cape Horn.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Saturday, Nov. 8th. This day commenced with calm and thick fog, and ended with hail, snow, a violent wind, and close-reefed topsails.



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November 9, Sunday: Two works for male vocal quartet and orchestra by [Hector Berlioz](#) were performed for the initial time, in the Paris Conservatoire: *Sara la baigneuse* to words of Hugo and *La belle voyageuse* to words of Moore translated by Goumet.

The *Pilgrim* approached Cape Horn and the most southerly point of its voyage.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Sunday, Nov. 9th. To-day the sun rose clear, and continued so until twelve o'clock, when the captain got an observation. This was very well for Cape Horn, and we thought it a little remarkable that, as we had not had one unpleasant Sunday during the whole voyage, the only tolerable day here should be a Sunday. We got time to clear up the steerage and fore-castle, and set things to rights, and to overhaul our wet clothes a little. But this did not last very long. Between five and six—the sun was then nearly three hours high—the cry of “All starboardlines ahoy!” summoned our watch on deck; and immediately all hands were called. A true specimen of Cape Horn was coming upon us. A great cloud of a dark slate color was driving on us from the south-west; and we did our best to take in sail (for the light sails had been set during the first part of the day) before we were in the midst of it. We had got the light sails furled, the courses hauled up, and the topsail reef-tackles hauled out, and were just mounting the fore-rigging, when the storm struck us. In an instant the sea, which had been comparatively quiet, was running higher and higher; and it became almost as dark as night. The hail and sleet were harder than I had yet felt them; seeming almost to pin us down to the rigging. We were longer taking in sail than ever before; for the sails were stiff and wet, the ropes and rigging covered with snow and sleet, and we ourselves cold and nearly blinded with the violence of the storm. By the time we had got down upon deck again, the little brig was plunging madly into a tremendous head sea, which at every drive rushed in through the bow-ports and over the bows, and buried all the forward part of the vessel. At this instant the chief mate, who was standing on the top of the windlass, at the foot of the spenser mast, called out, “Lay out there and furl the jib!” This was no agreeable or safe duty, yet it must be done. An old Swede, (the best sailor on board,) who belonged on the fore-castle, sprang out upon the bowsprit. Another one must go: I was near the mate, and sprang forward, threw the downhaul over the windlass, and jumped between the knight-heads out upon the bowsprit. The crew stood abaft the windlass and hauled the jib down while we got out upon the weather side of the jib-boom, our feet on the foot-ropes, holding on by the spar, the great jib flying off to leeward and slatting so as almost to throw us off of the boom. For some time we could do nothing but hold on, and the vessel diving into two huge seas, one after the other, plunged us twice into the water up to our chins. We hardly knew whether we were on or off; when coming up, dripping from the water, we were raised high into the air. John (that was the sailor’s name) thought the boom would go, every moment, and called out to the mate to keep the vessel off, and haul down the stay-sail; but the fury of the wind and the breaking of the seas against the bows defied every attempt to make ourselves heard, and we were obliged to do the best we could in our situation. Fortunately, no other seas so heavy struck her, and we succeeded in furling the jib “after a fashion;” and, coming in over the staysail nettings, were not a little pleased to find that all was snug, and the watch gone below; for we were soaked through, and it was very cold. The weather continued nearly the same through the night.



November 10, Monday: The new Zurich Theater opened with a performance of *Die Zauberflote*.

The HMS *Beagle* with [Charles Darwin](#) sailed from Valparaiso.

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) described the weather at Cape Horn.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Monday, Nov. 10th. During a part of this day we were hove to, but the rest of the time were driving on, under close-reefed sails, with a heavy sea, a strong gale, and frequent squalls of hail and snow.

➡ November 11, Tuesday: Clara Wieck began a concert tour of Hamburg, Hanover and Magdeburg.

Fantaisie et variations brillantes sur des motifs de L'Opera La Norma de [Bellini](#) op.25 for piano and strings by Otto Nicolai was performed for the initial time, in Leipzig.

[David Henry Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), either Benjamin Morrell's A NARRATIVE OF FOUR VOYAGES TO THE SOUTH SEA, NORTH AND SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN, CHINESE SEA, ETHIOPIC AND SOUTHERN ATLANTIC OCEAN, INDIAN AND ANTARCTIC OCEAN, FROM THE YEAR 1822 TO 1831 (NY: J. Harper, 1832), or Abby Jane Morrell's NARRATIVE OF A VOYAGE TO THE ETHIOPIC AND SOUTH ATLANTIC OCEAN, CHINESE SEA, NORTH AND SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN, IN THE YEARS 1829, 1830, 1831 (NY: J. Harper, 1833).



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

[Thoreau](#) also checked out Enoch Cobb Wines's TWO YEARS AND A HALF IN THE NAVY (2 volumes, Philadelphia, 1832).



Records of the "[Institute of 1770](#)":

"Is novel-reading beneficial?"

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) described the weather of Cape Horn.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Tuesday, Nov. 11th. The same.



November 12, Wednesday: [George Barrell Emerson](#) remarried with Mary Rotch Fleming, a widowed sister of Sarah Rotch Arnold, wife of James Arnold, and began to integrate himself into the extended Rotch/Arnold family.

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) described the weather of Cape Horn (you can tell that he so wanted for this to be over):

"Wednesday. The same."

HDT

WHAT?

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November 13, Thursday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) experienced Cape Horn.

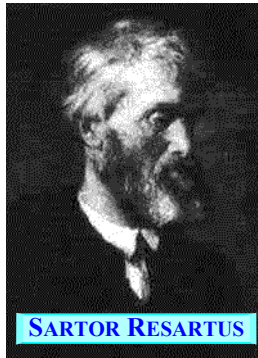
AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Thursday. The same.

We had now got hardened to Cape weather, the vessel was under reduced sail, and everything secured on deck and below, so that we had little to do but to steer and to stand our watch. Our clothes were all wet through, and the only change was from wet to more wet. It was in vain to think of reading or working below, for we were too tired, the hatchways were closed down, and everything was wet and uncomfortable, black and dirty, heaving and pitching. We had only to come below when the watch was out, wring out our wet clothes, hang them up, and turn in and sleep as soundly as we could, until the watch was called again. A sailor can sleep anywhere—no sound of wind, water, wood or iron can keep him awake—and we were always fast asleep when three blows on the hatchway, and the unwelcome cry of “All starboardlines ahoy! Eight bells there below’ do you hear the news?” (the usual formula of calling the watch,) roused us up from our berths upon the cold, wet decks. The only time when we could be said to take any pleasure was at night and morning, when we were allowed a tin pot full of hot tea, (or, as the sailors significantly call it “water bewitched,”) sweetened with molasses. This, bad as it was, was still warm and comforting, and, together with our sea biscuit and cold salt beef, made quite a meal. Yet even this meal was attended with some uncertainty. We had to go ourselves to the galley and take our kid of beef and tin pots of tea, and run the risk of losing them before we could get below. Many a kid of beef have I seen rolling in the scuppers, and the bearer lying at his length on the decks. I remember an English lad who was always the life of the crew, but whom we afterwards lost overboard, standing for nearly ten minutes at the galley, with his pot of tea in his hand, waiting for a chance to get down into the forecabin; and seeing what he thought was a “smooth spell,” started to go forward. He had just got to the end of the windlass, when a great sea broke over the bows, and for a moment I saw nothing of him but his head and shoulders; and at the next instant, being taken off his legs, he was carried aft with the sea, until her stern lifting up and sending the water forward, he was left high and dry at the side of the long-boat, still holding on to his tin pot, which had now nothing in it but salt water. But nothing could ever daunt him, or overcome, for a moment, his habitual good humor. Regaining his legs, and shaking his fist at the man at the wheel, he rolled below, saying, as he passed, “A man’s no sailor, if he can’t take a joke.” The ducking was not the worst of such an affair, for, as there was an allowance of tea, you could get no more from the galley; and though the sailors would never suffer a man to go without, but would always turn in a little from their own pots to fill up his, yet this was at best but dividing the loss among all hands.

Something of the same kind befell me a few days after. The cook had just made for us a mess of hot “scouse”—that is, biscuit pounded fine, salt beef cut into small pieces, and a few potatoes, boiled up together and seasoned with pepper. This was a rare treat, and I, being the last at the galley, had it put in my charge to carry down for the mess. I got along very well as far as the hatchway, and was just getting down the steps, when a heavy sea, lifting the stern out of water, and passing forward, dropping it down again, threw the steps from their place, and I came down into the steerage a little faster than I meant to, with the kid on top of me, and the whole precious mess scattered over the floor. Whatever your feelings may be, you must make a joke of everything at sea; and if you were to fall from aloft and be caught in the belly of a sail, and thus saved from instant death, it would not do to look at all disturbed, or to make a serious matter of it.

➡ Not earlier than Thursday, November 13: The Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) received [Thomas Carlyle](#)'s packet containing the four stitched pamphlet copies of the complete [SARTOR RESARTUS](#): "one copy for your own behoof" as the author had phrased it, plus "three others you can perhaps find fit readers for." Emerson would pass on these extras to the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) in West Cambridge, to Mrs. Sarah Alden Bradford Ripley in Waltham, and to [Lydia Jackson](#) in Plymouth. Mrs. Ripley's home in Waltham was functioning not only as a school for young women and a parsonage for her husband the Reverend Samuel Ripley, but also as a general clearinghouse for [Transcendental](#) thought. Carlyle's opus would be read aloud there on winter evenings, and the Reverend Ripley definitely read it. Young Lydia's circle in Plymouth included not less than seven other youths (Elizabeth Davis, Abby Hedge, Eunice Hedge, Hannah Hedge, Andrew Russell, LeBaron Russell, and Nathaniel Russell) all of whom would presumably read or be hearing much about Carlyle's opus. Lydia's friend George Partridge Bradford, Mrs. Ripley's younger brother and thus Emerson's half-uncle, would definitely be reading it. It is a wonder these enthusiasts didn't wear the print right off the page!



SARTOR RESARTUS

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

On this day the remains of Francois-Adrien Boieldieu were being laid to rest in Rouen, his birthplace.

➡ November 14, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 11M 14 1834 / After a residence of Six Years lacking 8 days My wife left the [Institution](#) today in the Steam Boat President for [Newport](#) where we expect to reside for a time - I expect to follow her in a few days & join in the cares of our family
Aunt Nancy Carpenter having requested in her life time that we would keep her family together & also left me one of the Executors of her Will renders it necessary we should be in [Newport](#) - we therefore resigned our Standing in the Institution at [Providence](#) at the last Meeting of the General Committee*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Hughes Bernard Maret, duc de Bassano replaced Etienne Maurice, comte Gerard as prime minister of France.

In Parma, [Nicolò Paganini](#) played his 1st concert in Italy since he left in 1828.

The *Pilgrim* entered the Pacific Ocean and began to turn toward the north:

Friday, Nov. 14th. We were now well to the westward of the Cape, and were changing our course to the northward as much as we



dared, since the strong south-west winds, which prevailed then, carried us in towards Patagonia. At two, P.M., we saw a sail on our larboard beam, and at four we made it out to be a large ship steering our course, under single-reefed topsails. We at that time had shaken the reefs out of our topsails, as the wind was lighter, and set the main top-gallant sail. As soon as our captain saw what sail she was under, he set the fore top-gallant sail and flying jib; and the old whaler- for such, his boats and short sail showed him to be- felt a little ashamed, and shook the reefs out of his topsoils, but could do no more, for he had sent down his top-gallant masts off the Cape. He ran down for us, and answered our hail as the whale-ship, *New England*, of Poughkeepsie, one hundred and twenty days from New York. Our captain gave our name, and added ninety-two days from Boston. They then had a little conversation about longitude, in which they found that they could not agree. The ship fell astern, and continued in sight during the night. Toward morning, the wind having become light, we crossed our royal and skysail yards, and at daylight, we were seen under a cloud of sail, having royals and skysails fore and aft. The "spouter," as the sailors call a whaleman, had sent out his main top-gallant mast and set the sail, and made signal for us to heave to. About half-past seven their whale-boat came alongside, and Captain Job Terry sprang on board, a man known in every port and by every vessel in the Pacific ocean. "Don't you know Job Terry? I thought everybody knew Job Terry," said a green-hand, who came in the boat, to me, when I asked him about his captain. He was indeed a singular man. He was six feet high, wore thick cowhide boots, and brown coat and trowsers, and, except a sun-burnt complexion, had not the slightest appearance of a sailor; yet he had been forty years in the whale trade, and, as he said himself, had owned ships, built ships, and sailed ships. His boat's crew were a pretty raw set, just set out of the bush, and, as the sailor's phrase is, "hadn't got the hayseed out of their hair." Captain Terry convinced our captain that our reckoning was a little out, and, having spent the day on board, put off in his boat at sunset for his ship, which was now six or eight miles astern. He began a "yarn" when he came aboard, which lasted, with but little intermission, for four hours. It was all about himself, and the Peruvian government, and the *Dublin* frigate, and Lord James Townshend, and President Jackson, and the ship *Ann M'Kim* of Baltimore. It would probably never have come to an end, had not a good breeze sprung up, which sent him off to his own vessel. One of the lads who came in his boat, a thoroughly countrified-looking fellow, seemed to care very little about the vessel, rigging, or anything else, but went round looking at the live stock, and leaned over the pig-sty, and said he wished he was back again tending his father's pigs.

At eight o'clock we altered our course to the northward, bound for Juan Fernandez.

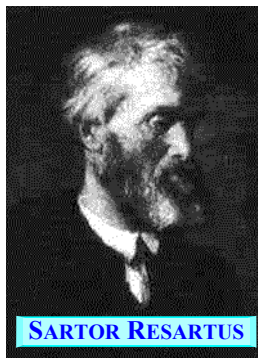
This day we saw the last of the albatrosses, which had been our companions a great part of the time off the Cape. I had been interested in the bird from descriptions which I had read of it, and was not at all disappointed. We caught one or two with a baited hook which we floated astern upon a shingle. Their long, flapping wings, long legs, and large staring eyes, give them a

very peculiar appearance. They look well on the wing; but one of the finest sights that I have ever seen, was an albatross asleep upon the water, during a calm, off Cape Horn, when a heavy sea was running. There being no breeze, the surface of the water was unbroken, but a long, heavy swell was rolling, and we saw the fellow, all white, directly ahead of us, asleep upon the waves, with his head under his wing; now rising on the top of a huge billow, and then falling slowly until he was lost in the hollow between. He was undisturbed for some time, until the noise of our bows, gradually approaching, roused him, when, lifting his head, he stared upon us for a moment, and then spread his wide wings and took his flight.

➡ Mid-November: Toward the middle of the month the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#) substituted for his cousin the Reverend Orville Dewey at the [New Bedford Unitarian Church](#).⁵⁷ While in New Bedford, Massachusetts he boarded with Friend Deborah Brayton, a [Quaker](#) who used “thee” and “thou” and “First Day” and “First Month.” When this task was completed the Reverend Emerson settled in the town of [Concord](#), Massachusetts.

➡ November 17, Monday: Arthur Wellesley, [Duke of Wellington](#) replaced William Lamb, Viscount Melbourne as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

The Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) wrote to [Margaret Fuller](#) indicating that he had just finished reading [SARTOR RESARTUS](#).




STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

➡ November 18, Tuesday: Edouard Adolphe Casimir Joseph Mortier, Duc de Treviso replaced Hughes Bernard Maret as prime minister of France.

Records of the [“Institute of 1770”](#):

“Do the dead languages deserve so much time as is required in our present course of study?”

57. Note that the Reverend Emerson had given up his church, but not his position in society as a minister and not his title.

 November 19, Wednesday: A setting of Psalm 115 for solo voices, chorus and orchestra by [Felix Mendelssohn](#) was performed for the initial time, in Frankfurt.

[Franklin Pierce](#) got married with Jane Means Appleton Pierce of Amherst.



In a shipboard accident, the *Pilgrim* lost an English crewman, George Ballmer, overboard:

Monday, Nov. 19th. This was a black day in our calendar. At seven o'clock in the morning, it being our watch below, we were aroused from a sound sleep by the cry of "All hands ahoy! a man overboard!" This unwonted cry sent a thrill through the heart of every one, and hurrying on deck, we found the vessel hove flat aback, with all her studding-sails set; for the boy who was at the helm left it to throw something overboard, and the carpenter, who was an old sailor, knowing that the wind was light, put the helm down and hove her aback. The watch on deck were lowering away the quarter-boat, and I got on deck just in time to heave myself into her as she was leaving the side; but it was not until out upon the wide Pacific, in our little boat, that I knew whom we had lost. It was George Ballmer, a young English sailor, who was prized by the officers as an active and willing seaman, and by the crew as a lively, hearty fellow, and a good shipmate. He was going aloft to fit a strap round the main top-masthead, for ringtail halyards, and had the strap and block, a coil of halyards, and a marline-spike about his neck. He fell from the starboard futtock shrouds, and not knowing how to swim, and being heavily dressed, with all those things round his neck, he probably sank immediately. We pulled astern, in the direction in which he fell, and though we knew that there was no hope of saving him, yet no one wished to speak of returning, and we rowed about for nearly an hour, without the hope of doing anything, but unwilling to acknowledge to ourselves that we must give him up. At length we turned the boat's head and made towards the vessel.

Death is at all times solemn, but never so much so as at sea. A man dies on shore; his body remains with his friends, and "the mourners go about the streets;" but when a man falls overboard at sea and is lost, there is a suddenness in the event, and a difficulty in realizing it, which give to it an air of awful mystery. A man dies on shore- you follow his body to the grave, and a stone marks the spot. You are often prepared for the event. There is always something which helps you to realize it when it happens, and to recall it when it has passed. A man is shot down by your side in battle, and the mangled body remains an object, and a real evidence; but at sea, the man is near you- at your side- you hear his voice, and in an instant he is gone, and nothing but a vacancy shows his loss. Then, too, at sea- to use a homely but expressive phrase- you miss a man so much. A dozen men are shut up together in a little bark, upon the wide, wide sea, and for months and months see no forms and hear no voices



but their own and one is taken suddenly from among them, and they miss him at every turn. It is like losing a limb. There are no new faces or new scenes to fill up the gap. There is always an empty berth in the fore-castle, and one man wanting when the small night watch is mustered. There is one less to take the wheel and one less to lay out with you upon the yard. You miss his form, and the sound of his voice, for habit had made them almost necessary to you, and each of your senses feels the loss. All these things make such a death peculiarly solemn, and the effect of it remains upon the crew for some time. There is more kindness shown by the officers to the crew, and by the crew to one another. There is more quietness and seriousness. The oath and the loud laugh are gone. The officers are more watchful, and the crew go more carefully aloft. The lost man is seldom mentioned, or is dismissed with a sailor's rude eulogy- "Well, poor George is gone! His cruise is up soon! He knew his work, and did his duty, and was a good shipmate." Then usually follows some allusion to another world, for sailors are almost all believers; but their notions and opinions are unfixed and at loose ends. They say- "God won't be hard upon the poor fellow," and seldom get beyond the common phrase which seems to imply that their sufferings and hard treatment here will excuse them hereafter,- "To work hard, live hard, die hard, and go to hell after all, would be hard indeed!" Our cook, a simple-hearted old African, who had been through a good deal in his day, and was rather seriously inclined, always going to church twice a day when on shore, and reading his Bible on a Sunday in the galley, talked to the crew about spending their Sabbaths badly, and told them that they might go as suddenly as George had, and be as little prepared.

Yet a sailor's life is at best but a mixture of a little good with much evil, and a little pleasure with much pain. The beautiful is linked with the revolting, the sublime with the commonplace, and the solemn with the ludicrous.

We had hardly returned on board with our sad report, before an auction was held of the poor man's clothes. The captain had first, however, called all hands aft and asked them if they were satisfied that everything had been done to save the man, and if they thought there was any use in remaining there longer. The crew all said that it was in vain, for the man did not know how to swim, and was very heavily dressed. So we then filed away and kept her off to her course.

The laws regulating navigation make the captain answerable for the effects of a sailor who dies during the voyage, and it is either a law or a universal custom, established for convenience, that the captain should immediately hold an auction of his things, in which they are bid off by the sailors, and the sums which they give are deducted from their wages at the end of the voyage. In this way the trouble and risk of keeping his things through the voyage are avoided, and the clothes are usually sold for more than they would be worth on shore. Accordingly, we had no sooner got the ship before the wind, than his chest was brought up upon the fore-castle, and the sale began. The jackets and trowsers in which we had seen him dressed but a few days before, were exposed and bid off while the life was hardly out of his body, and his chest was taken aft and used as a store-



chest, so that there was nothing left which could be called his. Sailors have an unwillingness to wear a dead man's clothes during the same voyage, and they seldom do so unless they are in absolute want.

As is usual after a death, many stories were told about George. Some had heard him say that he repented never having learned to swim, and that he knew that he should meet his death by drowning. Another said that he never knew any good to come of a voyage made against the will, and the deceased man shipped and spent his advance, and was afterwards very unwilling to go, but not being able to refund, was obliged to sail with us. A boy, too, who had become quite attached to him, said that George talked to him during most of the watch on the night before about his mother and family at home, and this was the first time that he had mentioned the subject during the voyage.

The night after this event, when I went to the galley to get a light, I found the cook inclined to be talkative, so I sat down on the spars, and gave him an opportunity to hold a yarn. I was the more inclined to do so, as I found that he was full of the superstitions once more common among seamen, and which the recent death had waked up in his mind. He talked about George's having spoken of his friends, and said he believed few men died without having a warning of it, which he supported by a great many stories of dreams, and the unusual behavior of men before death. From this he went on to other superstitions, the Flying Dutchman, etc., and talked rather mysteriously, having something evidently on his mind. At length he put his head out of the galley and looked carefully about to see if any one was within hearing, and being satisfied on that point, asked me in a low tone-

"I say! you know what countryman 'e carpenter be?"

"Yes," said I, "he's a German."

"What kind of a German?" said the cook.

"He belongs to Bremen," said I.

"Are you sure o' dat?" said he.

I satisfied him on that point by saying that he could speak no language but the German and English.

"I'm plaguy glad o' dat," said the cook. "I was mighty 'fraid he was a Fin. I tell you what, I been plaguy civil to that man all the voyage.

I asked him the reason of this, and found that he was fully possessed with the notion that Fins are wizards, and especially have power over winds and storms. I tried to reason with him about it, but he had the best of all arguments, that from experience, at hand, and was not to be moved. He had been in a vessel to the Sandwich Islands, in which the sail-maker was a Fin, and could do anything he was of a mind to. This sail-maker kept a junk bottle in his berth, which was always just half full of rum, though he got drunk upon it nearly every day. He had seen him sit for hours together, talking to this bottle, which he stood up before him on the table. The same man cut his throat in his berth, and everybody said he was possessed.

He had heard of ships, too, beating up the gulf of Finland against a head wind and having a ship heave in sight astern, overhaul and pass them, with as fair a wind as could blow, and all studding-sails out, and find she was from Finland.



"Oh, no!" said he; "I've seen too much of them men to want to see 'board a ship. If they can't have their own way, they'll play the d---l with you."

As I still doubted, he said he would leave it to John, who was the oldest seaman aboard, and would know, if anybody did. John, to be sure, was the oldest, and at the same time the most ignorant, man in the ship; but I consented to have him called. The cook stated the matter to him, and John, as I anticipated, sided with the cook, and said that he himself had been in a ship where they had a head wind for a fortnight, and the captain found out at last that one of the men, whom he had had some hard words with a short time before, was a Fin, and immediately told him if he didn't stop the head wind he would shut him down in the fore peak. The Fin would not give in, and the captain shut him down in the fore peak, and would not give him anything to eat. The Fin held out for a day and a half, when he could not stand it any longer, and did something or other which brought the wind round again, and they let him up.

"There," said the cook, "what you think o' dat?"

I told him I had no doubt it was true, and that it would have been odd if the wind had not changed in fifteen days, Fin or no Fin.

"Oh," says he, "go 'way! You think, 'cause you been to college, you know better than anybody. You know better than them as has seen it with their own eyes. You wait till you've been to sea as long as I have, and you'll know."



November 22, Saturday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

7th day 22nd of 11th M 1834 / It is just Six Years today, the same day of the Month & Week, since we Came to [Providence](#) to reside at the [yearly Meeting School](#) - I am still here, but my wife returned to [Newport](#) more than a Week ago - our things are packed up or nearly so, & I am waiting for the Packet to come up & take them on board, to convey them to our Native town & former residence.

Alas what changes have taken place there since we left it, many whom we loved in life were intimately associated with, have gone to their long homes, to be Seen of men no more, yet some are left who we shall be glad to greet again as friends & neighbours on this side of the grave. - Since our residence at [Providence](#) we have enjoyed much & suffered much, & after all have much to be thankful for.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 23, Sunday: Harold in Italy, a symphony for viola and orchestra by [Hector Berlioz](#), was performed for the initial time, in the Salle du Conservatoire, Paris. On the same program were two songs for soprano and orchestra by Berlioz: La captive to words of Hugo and the orchestration of Le jeune patre breton to words of Brizeux.



November 25, Tuesday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), aboard the *Pilgrim*, reached the island of Juan Fernandez (next screen).

We continued sailing along with a fair wind and fine weather until—

Tuesday, Nov. 25th, when at daylight we saw the island of Juan Fernandez, directly ahead, rising like a deep blue cloud out of the sea. We were then probably nearly seventy miles from it; and so high and so blue did it appear, that I mistook it for a cloud, resting over the island, and looked for the island under it, until it gradually turned to a deader and greener color, and I could mark the inequalities upon its surface. At length we could distinguish trees and rocks; and by the afternoon, this beautiful island lay fairly before us, and we directed our course to the only harbor. Arriving at the entrance soon after sun-down, we found a Chilian man-of-war brig, the only vessel, coming out. She hailed us, and an officer on board, whom we supposed to be an American, advised us to run in before night, and said that they were bound to Valparaiso. We ran immediately for the anchorage, but, owing to the winds which drew about the mountains and came to us in flaws from every point of the compass, we did not come to an anchor until nearly midnight. We had a boat ahead all the time that we were working in, and those aboard were continually bracing the yards about for every puff that struck us, until about 12 o'clock, when we came-to in 40 fathoms water, and our anchor struck bottom for the first time since we left Boston— one hundred and three days. We were then divided into three watches, and thus stood out the remainder of the night.

I was called on deck to stand my watch at about three in the morning, and I shall never forget the peculiar sensation which I experienced on finding myself once more surrounded by land, feeling the night breeze coming from off shore, and hearing the frogs and crickets. The mountains seemed almost to hang over us, and apparently from the very heart of them there came out, at regular intervals, a loud echoing sound, which affected me as hardly human. We saw no lights, and could hardly account for the sound, until the mate, who had been there before, told us that it was the “Alerta” of the Chilian who were soldiers, who were stationed over some convicts confined in caves nearly half way up the mountain. At the expiration of my watch I went below, feeling not a little anxious for the day, that I might see more nearly, and perhaps tread upon, this romantic, I may almost say, classic island.

When all hands were called it was nearly sunrise, and between that time and breakfast, although quite busy on board in getting up water-casks, etc., I had a good view of the objects about me. The harbor was nearly landlocked, and at the head of it was a landing place, protected by a small breakwater of stones, upon which two large boats were hauled up, with a sentry standing over them. Near this was a variety of huts or cottages, nearly an hundred in number, the best of them built of mud and whitewashed, but the greater part only Robinson Crusoe like— of posts and branches of trees. The governor’s house, as it is called, was the most conspicuous, being large, with grated windows, plastered walls, and roof of red tiles; yet, like all the rest, only of one story. Near it was a small chapel, distinguished by a cross; and a long, low brown-looking building, surrounded by something like a palisade, from which an old and dingy-looking Chilian flag was flying. This, of course, was dignified by the title of Presidio. A sentinel was stationed at the chapel, another at the governor’s house, and a few soldiers armed with bayonets, looking rather ragged, with shoes out at the toes, were strolling about among the houses, or waiting at the landing place for our boat to come ashore.

The mountains were high, but not so overhanging as they appeared to be by starlight. They seemed to bear off towards the centre of the island, and were green and well wooded, with some large, and, I am told, exceedingly fertile valleys, with mule-tracks leading to different parts of the island.

I cannot here forget how my friend S_____ and myself got the laugh of the crew upon us by our eagerness to get on shore. The captain having ordered the quarter-boat to be lowered, we both sprang down into the forecastle, filled our jacket pockets with tobacco to barter with the people ashore, and when the officer called for “four hands in the boat,” nearly broke our necks in our haste to be first over the side, and had the pleasure of pulling ahead of the brig with a tow-line for a half an hour, and coming on board again to be laughed at by the crew, who had seen our manoeuvre.

**THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONTINUED:**

After breakfast the second mate was ordered ashore with five hands to fill the water-casks, and to my joy I was among the number. We pulled ashore with the empty casks; and here again fortune favored me, for the water was too thick and muddy to be put into the casks, and the governor had sent men up to the head of the stream to clear it out for us, which gave us nearly two hours of leisure. This leisure we employed in wandering about among the houses, and eating a little fruit which was offered to us. Ground apples, melons, grapes, strawberries of an enormous size, and cherries, abound here. The latter are said to have been planted by Lord Anson. The soldiers were miserably clad, and asked with some interest whether we had shoes to sell on board. I doubt very much if they had the means of buying them. They were very eager to get tobacco, for which they gave shells, fruit, etc. Knives also were in demand, but we were forbidden by the governor to let any one have them, as he told us that all the people there, except the soldiers and a few officers, were convicts sent from Valparaiso, and that it was necessary to keep all weapons from their hands. The island, it seems, belongs to Chili, and had been used by the government as a sort of Botany Bay for nearly two years; and the governor— an Englishman who had entered the Chilian navy— with a priest, half a dozen task-masters, and a body of soldiers, were stationed there to keep them in order. This was no easy task; and only a few months before our arrival, a few of them had stolen a boat at night, boarded a brig lying in the harbor, sent the captain and crew ashore in their boat, and gone off to sea. We were informed of this, and loaded our arms and kept strict watch on board through the night, and were careful not to let the convicts get our knives from us when on shore. The worst part of the convicts, I found, were locked up under sentry in caves dug into the side of the mountain, nearly half way up, with mule-tracks leading to them, whence they were taken by day and set to work under task-masters upon building an aqueduct, a wharf, and other public works; while the rest lived in the houses which they put up for themselves, had their families with them, and seemed to me to be the laziest people on the face of the earth. They did nothing but take a paseo into the woods, a paseo among the houses, a the houses, a paseo at the landing-place, looking at us and our vessel, and too lazy to speak fast; while the others were driving— or rather, driven— about, at a rapid trot, in single file, with burdens on their shoulders, and followed up by their task-masters, with long rods in their hands, and broad-brimmed straw hats upon their heads. Upon what precise grounds this great distinction was made, I do not know, and I could not very well know, for the governor was the only man who spoke English upon the island, and he was out of my walk.

Having filled our casks, we returned on board, and soon after, the governor, dressed in a uniform like that of an American militia officer, the Padre, in the dress of the grey friars, with hood and all complete, and the Capitan, with big whiskers and dirty regimentals, came on board to dine. While at dinner, a large ship appeared in the offing, and soon afterwards we saw a light whale-boat pulling into the harbor. The ship lay off and on, and a boat came alongside of us, and put on board the captain, a plain young Quaker, dressed all in brown. The ship was the *Cortes*, whaleman, of New Bedford, and had put in to see if there were any vessels from round the Horn, and to hear the latest news from America. They remained aboard a short time and had a little talk with the crew, when they left us and pulled off to their ship, which, having filled away, was soon out of sight.

A small boat which came from the shore to take away the governor and suite— as they styled themselves— brought, as a present to the crew, a large pail of milk, a few shells, and a block of sandal wood. The milk, which was the first we had tasted since leaving Boston, we soon despatched; a piece of the sandal wood I obtained, and learned that it grew on the hills in the centre of the island. I have always regretted that I did not bring away other specimens of the products of the island, having afterwards lost all that I had with me— the piece of sandal wood, and a small flower which I plucked and brought on board in the crown of my tarpaulin, and carefully pressed between the leaves of a book.

**THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONTINUED:**

About an hour before sun-down, having stowed our water-casks, we commenced getting under weigh, and were not a little while about it; for we were in thirty fathoms water, and in one of the gusts which came from off shore had let go our other bow anchor; and as the southerly wind draws round the mountains and comes off in uncertain flaws, we were continually swinging round, and had thus got a very foul hawse. We hove in upon our chain, and after stoppering and unshackling it again and again, and hoisting and hauling down sail, we at length tipped our anchor and stood out to sea. It was bright starlight when we were clear of the bay, and the lofty island lay behind us, in its still beauty, and I gave a parting look, and bid farewell, to the most romantic spot of earth that my eyes had ever seen. I did then, and have ever since, felt an attachment for that island, altogether peculiar. It was partly, no doubt, from its having been the first land that I had seen since leaving home, and still more from the associations which every one has connected with it in their childhood from reading Robinson Crusoe. To this I may add the height and romantic outlines of its mountains, the beauty and freshness of its verdure, and the extreme fertility of its soil, and its solitary position in the midst of the wide expanse of the South Pacific, as all concurring to give it its peculiar charm.

When thoughts of this place have occurred to me at different times, I have endeavored to recall more particulars with regard to it. It is situated in about 33° 30' S., and is distant a little more than three hundred miles from Valparaiso, on the coast of Chili, which is in the same latitude. It is about fifteen miles in length and five in breadth. The harbor in which we anchored (called by Lord Anson, Cumberland bay) is the only one in the island; two small heights of land on each side of the main bay (sometimes dignified by the name of bays) being little more than landing-places for boats. The best anchorage is at the western side of the bay, where we lay at about three cables' lengths from the shore, in a little more than thirty fathoms water. This harbor is open to the N.N.E., and in fact nearly from N. to E., but the only dangerous winds being the south-west, on which side are the highest mountains, it is considered very safe. The most remarkable thing perhaps about it is the fish with which it abounds. Two of our crew, who remained on board, caught in a few minutes enough to last us for several days, and one of the men, who was a Marblehead man, said that he never saw or heard of such an abundance. There were cod, breams, silverfish, and other kinds whose names they did not know, or which I have forgotten.

There is an abundance of the best of water upon the island, small streams running through every valley, and leaping down from the sides of the hills. One stream of considerable size flows through the centre of the lawn upon which the houses are built, and furnishes an easy and abundant supply to the inhabitants. This, by means of a short wooden aqueduct, was brought quite down to our boats. The convicts had also built something in the way of a breakwater, and were to build a landing-place for boats and goods, after which the Chilian government intended to lay port charges.

Of the wood I can only say, that it appeared to be abundant; the island in the month of November, when we were there, being in all the freshness and beauty of spring, appeared covered with trees. These were chiefly aromatic, and the largest was the myrtle. The soil is very loose and rich, and wherever it is broken up, there spring up presently radishes, turnips, ground apples, and other garden fruits. Goats, we were told, were not abundant, and we saw none, though it was said we might if we had gone into the interior. We saw a few bullocks winding about in the narrow tracks upon the sides of the mountains, and the settlement was completely overrun with dogs of every nation, kindred, and degree. Hens and chickens were also abundant, and seemed to be taken good care of by the women. The men appeared to be the laziest people upon the face of the earth; and indeed, as far as my observation goes, there are no people to whom the newly invented Yankee word of "loafer" is more applicable than to the Spanish Americans. These men stood about doing nothing, with their cloaks, little better in texture than an Indian's blanket, but of rich colors, thrown over their shoulders with an air which it is said that a Spanish beggar can always give to his rags; and with great politeness and courtesy in their address, though with holes in their shoes and without a sou in their pockets.

**THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:**

The only interruption to the monotony of their day seemed to be when a gust of wind drew round between the mountains and blew off the boughs which they had placed for roofs to their houses, and gave them a few minutes' occupation in running about after them. One of these gusts occurred while we were ashore, and afforded us no little amusement at seeing the men look round, and if they found that their roofs had stood, conclude that they might stand too, while those who saw theirs blown off, after uttering a few Spanish oaths, gathered their cloaks over their shoulders, and started off after them. However, they were not gone long, but soon returned to their habitual occupation of doing nothing.

It is perhaps needless to say that we saw nothing of the interior; but all who have seen it, give very glowing accounts of it. Our captain went with the governor and a few servants upon mules over the mountains, and upon their return, I heard the governor request him to stop at the island on his passage home, and offer him a handsome sum to bring a few deer with him from California, for he said that there were none upon the island, and he was very desirous of having it stocked.

A steady, though light south-westerly wind carried us well off from the island, and when I came on deck for the middle watch I could just distinguish it from its hiding a few low stars in the southern horizon, though my unpractised eye would hardly have known it for land. At the close of the watch a few trade-wind clouds which had arisen, though we were hardly yet in their latitude, shut it out from our view, and the next day,



1834

1834


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

On the 26th of 11th M I left the [Institution](#) after taking leave of both Schools, the Help in the Kitchen, & those who usually are occupants of the setting room - at 12 OC went on board the Steam boat Benj Franklin & returned to [Newport](#). -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 November 26, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured at the Lyceum in [Concord](#).

[Joseph Emerson Worcester](#) was being publicly accused of having plagiarized the work of [Noah Webster](#).

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

On the 27th was Monthly Meeting held in [Newport](#) at which I saw many of my old friends & Acquaintance. - The first Meeting was a time of favour, Father Rodman, Hannah Dennis & Elizabeth Wing were lively pertinent & solemn in testimony - In the last Meeting the buisness was conducted solidly & regularly. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The *Pilgrim*, with [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#), sailed north along the East coast of South America, day after day in waters without islands, entirely out of sight of the continent.

Thursday, Nov. 27th, upon coming on deck in the morning, we were again upon the wide Pacific, and saw no more land until we arrived upon the western coast of the great continent of America.

As we saw neither land nor sail from the time of leaving Juan Fernandez until our arrival in California, nothing of interest occurred except our own doings on board. We caught the south-east trades, and ran before them for nearly three weeks, without so much as altering a sail or bracing a yard. The captain took advantage of this fine weather to get the vessel in order for coming upon the coast. The carpenter was employed in fitting up a part of the steerage into a trade-room; for our cargo, we now learned, was not to be landed, but to be sold by retail from on board; and this trade-room was built for the samples and the lighter goods to be kept in, and as a place for the general business. In the mean time we were employed in working upon the rigging. Everything was set up taut, the lower rigging rattled down, or rather rattled up, (according to the modern fashion,) an abundance of spun-yarn and seizing-stuff made, and finally, the whole standing rigging, fore and aft, was tarred down. This was my first essay at this latter business, and I had enough of it; for nearly all of it came upon my friend S_____ and myself. The men were needed at the other work, and M_____, the other young man who came out with us, was laid up with the rheumatism in his feet, and the boy Sam was rather too young and small for the business; and as the winds were light and regular, he was kept during most of the daytime at the helm; so that nearly all



the tarring came upon us. We put on short duck frocks, and taking a small bucket of tar and a bunch of oakum in our hands, went aloft, one at the main royal-masthead and the other at the fore, and began tarring down. This is an important operation, and is usually done about once in six months in vessels upon a long voyage. It was done in our vessel several times afterwards, but by the whole crew at once, and finished off in a day; but at this time, as most of it came upon two of us, and we were new at the business, it took us several days. In this operation they always begin at the mast-head and work down, tarring the shrouds, back-stays, standing parts of the lifts, the ties, runners, etc., and go out to the yard-arms, and come in, tarring, as they come, the lifts and footropes. Tarring the stays is more difficult, and is done by an operation which the sailors call "riding down." A long piece of rope- topgallant-studding-sail halyards, or something of the kind- is taken up to the masthead from which the stay leads, and rove through a block for a girt-line, or, as the sailors usually call it, a gant-line; with the end of this a bowline is taken round the stay, into which the man gets with his bucket of tar and a bunch of oakum, and the other end being fast on deck, with some one to tend it, he is lowered down gradually, and tars the stay carefully as he goes. There he "swings aloft 'twixt heaven and earth," and if the rope slips, breaks, or is let go, or if the bowline slips, he falls overboard or breaks his neck. This, however, is a thing which never enters into a sailor's calculation. He only thinks of leaving no holydays, (places not tarred,) for in case he should, he would have to go over the whole again; or of dropping no tar upon the deck, for then there would be a soft word in his ear from the mate. In this manner I tarred down all the headstays, but found the rigging about the jib-booms, martingale, and spritsail yard, upon which I was afterwards put, the hardest. Here you have to hang on with your eyelids and tar with your hands.

This dirty work could not last forever, and on Saturday night we finished it, scraped all the spots from the deck and rails, and, what was of more importance to us, cleaned ourselves thoroughly, rolled up our tarry frocks and trowsers and laid them away for the next occasion, and put on our clean duck clothes, and had a good comfortable sailor's Saturday night. The next day was pleasant, and indeed we had but one unpleasant Sunday during the whole voyage, and that was off Cape Horn, where we could expect nothing better. On Monday we commenced painting, and getting the vessel ready for port. This work, too, is done by the crew, and every sailor who has been on long voyages is a little of a painter, in addition to his other accomplishments. We painted her, both inside and out, from the truck to the water's edge. The outside is painted by lowering stages over the side by ropes, and on those we sat, with our brushes and paint-pots by us, and our feet half the time in the water. This must be done, of course, on a smooth day when the vessel does not roll much. I remember very well being over the side painting in this way, one fine afternoon, our vessel going quietly along at the rate of four or five knots, and a pilot-fish, the sure precursor of a shark, swimming alongside of us. The captain was leaning over the rail watching him, and we went quietly on with

our work.



November 30, Sunday: There was a total [eclipse](#) of the sun (#7251) from Alaska to Virginia.

SKY EVENT

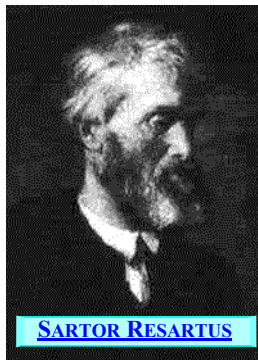
Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

1st day 11th M 30th 1834 / Attended our Meetings in [Newport](#) - In the Morning Father Rodman was engaged in testimony & supplication & in the Afternoon in testimony - The Meetings were well attended and there seems some encouragement to hold on & endeavour to keep up our Meetings - for tho' they are much smaller & changed from what they were in the early part of my life, yet it seems as if there was some life remaining & yet solid attenders. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



November 30, Sunday: [Margaret Fuller](#) wrote to the Reverend [Frederic Henry Hedge](#) about [SARTOR RESARTUS](#):



SARTOR RESARTUS

“I got a volume of [Frazer's](#) Mag and read all the Sartors I could find.”

STUDY THIS STRANGENESS

WINTER 1834/1835



Winter: [Josiah Haynes, Jr.](#) removed the inverted tree from White Pond near his home.



After May 26, 1849: ... Haynes in Sudbury –nearest house to White pond –building wall –told me in spring of 49 that 9 or ten years before he took out the yellow pine tree. He said It was 12 or 15 rods from the shore & in 30 or 40 feet of water He had tried in a large boat with many men to pull it a shore, but though they could sway it, they could not move the bottom. One winter day 9 or ten years before having been getting ice in the forenoon he resolved to get it out He sawed a channel in the ice toward the shore an hauled it over & along & out onto the ice with oxen. He then found that it was wrong end upward with the stumps of the branches pointing down. There were marks of the axe on the big end. It was about a foot in diameter there. It was so rotten



1834


1834

as only to be fit for fuel. Had some of it then in his shed His old father of 80 still alive could not remember when it was not there. Woodpeckers had tapped it. He thought that it might have died & been blown over- And the top have become water logged while the big end was light & dry and so it was blown out & sank wrong end up. There are still yellow pine logs 12 or 15 feet long on the bottom. He expected to get a good saw-log. ...

WALDEN: About fifteen years ago you could see the top of a pitch-pine, of the kind called yellow-pine hereabouts, though it is not a distinct species, projecting above the surface in deep water, many rods from the shore. It was even supposed by some that the pond had sunk, and this was one of the primitive forest that had formerly stood there. I find that even so long ago as 1792, in a "Topographical Description of the Town of Concord," by one of its citizens, in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the author, after speaking of Walden and White Ponds, adds: "In the middle of the latter may be seen, when the water is very low, a tree which appears as if it grew in the place where it now stands, although the roots are fifty feet below the surface of the water; the top of this tree is broken off, and at that place measures fourteen inches in diameter." In the spring of '49 I talked with the man who lives nearest the pond in Sudbury, who told me that it was he who got out this tree ten or fifteen years before. As near as he could remember, it stood twelve or fifteen rods from the shore, where the water was thirty or forty feet deep. It was in the winter, and he had been getting out ice in the forenoon, and had resolved that in the afternoon, with the aid of his neighbors, he would take out the old yellow-pine. He sawed a channel in the ice toward the shore, and hauled it over and along and out on to the ice with oxen; but, before he had gone far in his work, he was surprised to find that it was wrong end upward, with the stumps of the branches pointing down, and the small end firmly fastened in the sandy bottom. It was about a foot in diameter at the big end, and he had expected to get a good saw-log, but it was so rotten as to be fit only for fuel, if for that. He had some of it in his shed then. There were marks of an axe and of woodpeckers on the but. He thought that it might have been a dead tree on the shore, but was finally blown over into the pond, and after the top had become waterlogged, while the but-end was still dry and light, had drifted out and sunk wrong end up. His father, eighty years old, could not remember when it was not there. Several pretty large logs may still be seen lying on the bottom, where, owing to the undulation of the surface, they look like huge water snakes in motion.

PEOPLE OF
WALDEN

SUDBURY "HEAVY" HAYNES

 Lecture Season: The 6th course of lectures offered by the [Salem Lyceum](#) consisted of:

The Salem Lyceum — 6th Season

- Caleb Cushing**
Education
- Alexander H. Everett**
English and American Literature
- Reverend George B. Cheever of Salem**
Samuel Taylor Coleridge
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (1st lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (2nd lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (3rd lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (4th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (5th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (6th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (7th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (8th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (9th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (10th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (11th lecture)
- H. McMurtrie**
Zoology (12th lecture)
- Abel L. Peirson of Salem**
Qualifications and Duties of a Physician
- John W. Browne of Salem**
Theatre
- Charles T. Jackson**
Volcanoes
- George S. Hillard**
Americanism

Amariah Brigham, a Boston man who was denominating himself a “materialist,” began to scandalize the general public by propounding that there might be some linkage between the pious fanaticism being excited by evangelical Christianity, and the garden-variety obsessions and enthusiasms of insanity. His book on the subject would be published in the following year: OBSERVATIONS ON THE INFLUENCE OF RELIGION UPON THE HEALTH AND PHYSICAL WELFARE OF MANKIND.

DECEMBER

December: Sir Robert Peel became Prime Minister of England (with the Duke of Wellington).



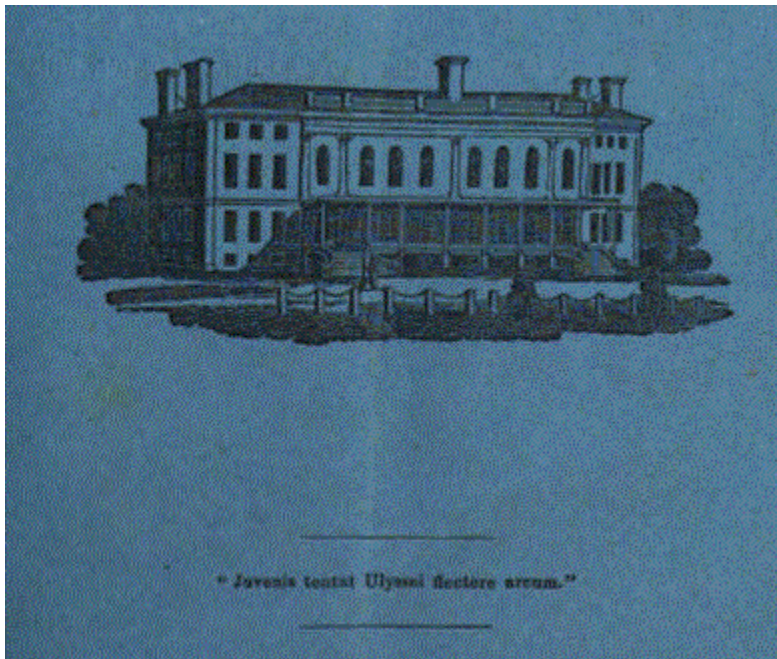
December: Three [negros](#) flying the Portuguese flag were arriving at the port of Montevideo, Uruguay during this month, the *Ligera*, master unknown, out of Luanda on one of its eight known [Middle Passage](#) voyages, the *Deligencia*, master unknown, out of Angola on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, and the *Jupiter*, master unknown, also out of Angola, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages.

RACE SLAVERY

December: During this month, and January 1835, Andrew Jackson would be sitting at the age of 68 to be modeled from life by Hiram Powers at the White House. "Make me as I am," the old man instructed. This marble bust would not be finished until 1839, and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

December: The 4th issue of [Harvard College](#)'s undergraduate subscription literary magazine, the HARVARDIANA:

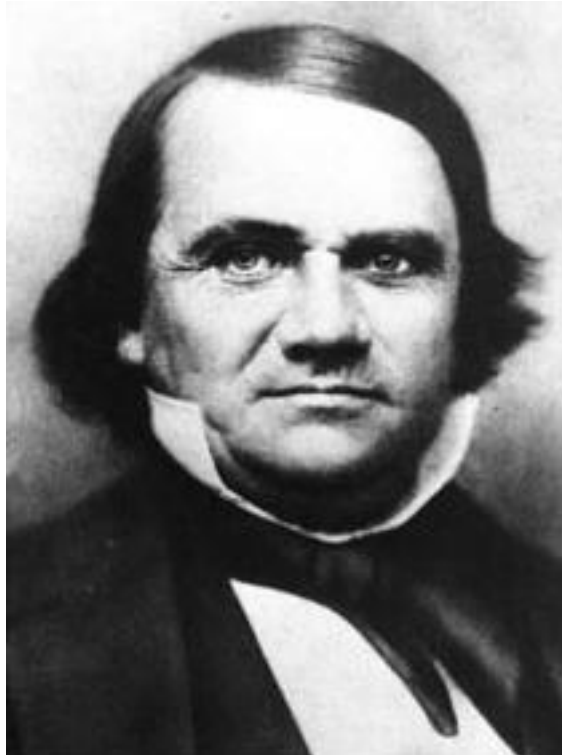
HARVARDIANA



- "A Chapter on Comfort" by "Holworthy"
- [cover]
- "The Comet of 1832" from the French of M. Beranger, by "V B"
- "The Old Colony Bachelor" by "S"
- "The Village Bell" by "M E H"

- “To the Initiated”
- “True Magnanimity” by “M R W”

➡ December: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln, age 24, for the first time encountered a very short (and very white) man named Stephen A. Douglass, age 21, a Democrat.



➡ December: [James Fenimore Cooper](#) began a series of articles on the US and Europe, for the New-York Evening Post, under the pen name A.B.C.

➡ December: At the end of the year, Mr. Freeland hired the services Frederick Douglass of his owner, for the entire year of 1835.

Frederick Douglass’s NARRATIVE

But, by this time, I began to want to live **upon free land** as well as **with Freeland**; and I was no longer content, therefore, to live with him or any other slaveholder.


➡ December 1, Monday: President Andrew Jackson asked the US federal Congress for authority to conduct reprisals on France for failing to pay off claims they had agreed to pay under the treaty of 1831.


➡ December 3, Wednesday: The 1st US dental society was organized, in New-York.

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

5th day 4th of 12 M 1834 / Attended Meeting & was favoured with a little ability to labour in the spirit of the Mind for help - the Meeting looked natural, & feels natural but how long we may be sojourners in it, is Strongly on the page of uncertainty A few days ago I recd a letter from our friend Wm Rickman of Rochester England now in the 90th year of his Age. - This seemed much like a brook by the way & I was thankful for it. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


 December 6, Friday: [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s Harvard College essay on the assignment "Give your idea of the anxieties and Delights of a Discoverer of whatever class, Columbus, Herschel, Newton."

 December 7, Sunday: Andante spianato for piano by [Frédéric François Chopin](#) was performed for the initial time, by the composer at a Berlioz concert in the Paris Conservatoire.

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

1st day 7th of 12 M 1834 / Pretty good Meetings - with a little exception in the Afternoon - A young man wellmeaning delivered a testimony & being not a member, was alluded to in a manner by a friend, which I thought & felt did more hurt than the young mans testimony - when shall we be all Wise.-

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 9, Tuesday: In [David Henry Thoreau](#)'s absence, "The 'Institute of 1770'" voted to have him and other members debate, at their January meeting, on the topic "Is political eminence more worthy of admiration than literary?":

"Is early marriage beneficial?" Interesting lecture from Hale on "Phrenology." Question selected for debate at the next meeting: "Is political eminence more worthy of admiration than literary?" The debaters: Messrs. Thoreau, Thomas, Richardson, Lane. The lecturers: Messrs. Holmes 2d and Huidekoper. Absent from this

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meeting: Holmes 2d, Kendall, Kimball, Thomas, Thoreau, Tuckerman.



PHRENOLOGY



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A FULL MEASURE OF PHRENOLOGY

H-NET BOOK REVIEW Published by H-SHEAR@h-net.msu.edu
(April, 1999). Reviewed for H-SHEAR by Michael Sappol
<michael_sappol@nlm.nih.gov>, National Library of
Medicine

Colbert, Charles. *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION: PHRENOLOGY AND THE FINE ARTS IN AMERICA*. Chapel Hill and London: U of North Carolina P, 1997

In an old *Saturday Night Live* skit, an inept sleight-of-hand artist, played by Steve Martin, calls on a volunteer from the audience, played by Bill Murray. Martin proceeds to forcefully relieve Murray of his change, then his watch, then his wallet, then his underwear. The skit ends with Martin knocking the hapless Murray to the ground, stripping him of everything he possesses. Charles Colbert's study of phrenology and fine art in nineteenth-century America, *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION*, has something of this antic singlemindedness. Colbert mugs his subject in a highly entertaining and instructive fashion — and succeeds wildly, excessively, in his aims.

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, phrenology took America by storm. After Johann Gaspar Spurzheim's tour of 1832 and George Combe's tour of 1838-1840, phrenological societies formed in nearly every major city; phrenological lecturers crisscrossed the country, giving public readings of the skulls of eminent personages and local townspeople before large and enthusiastic audiences; Combe's *THE CONSTITUTION OF MAN* outsold every other book except the *BIBLE* and *PILGRIM'S PROGRESS*. Phrenology's vogue came at a fortuitous historical juncture: the moment at which a new economic order (based on mass production and mass consumerism), a new political order (based on democratic procedures and the expansionistic nation-state), and a new social order (based on class, nationality, gender and race), were all coming into being. In this period of flux and contradiction, Americans obsessively struggled to acquire, sort out, and navigate between, highly unstable identities. Phrenology's appeal lay in its claim to be a "science of mind": the phrenological individual was legible, fixed and susceptible to scientific management. By mapping the brain onto a template of regions ("organs") corresponding to fixed aspects of moral character ("faculties" or "aptitudes"), which in turn corresponded to the "conformation" of the enfolding skull, phrenology promised to reveal a person's distinctive mixture of attributes to produce a geography of the individual. Nelson Sizer, a far-ranging mid-century phrenologist, would customarily blow into town, preceded by posters and advertisements in local papers, lecture on the theory of phrenology, and analyze the cranial bumps of volunteers on stage. The show's dramatic tension would often revolve around attempts to deceive the lecturer: the leading man of the town would cloak himself in rags; a beggar would be shaved and dressed up in expensive clothes. A skillful phrenologist, according to Sizer, could never be fooled.

But more than social identity was at stake: the moral economy of industrial capitalism and the ethos of American republicanism were up for grabs. Here again the pull of phrenology was almost irresistible: it provided a cultural logic which harmonized morality, physiology, and aesthetics, a set of scientific methods and doctrines that could transform self, society, and Other. At the heart of the discourse was an obsession with surveying, inventorying, and labelling the self and its constituent physical and moral components, of textualizing and disembodiment the body, while at the same time embodying abstract text and moral principle, a double impulse which phrenologists and fellow travellers termed "physical metaphysics." Interactions between mind and body, spirit and matter, individual and society, could be rationalized and taxonomized, mapped onto the body and society, a procedure that would inevitably further individual and collective progress. Phrenology had far-reaching implications and far-reaching goals.

But, until fairly recently, scholars have scanted it. Notwithstanding the enthusiasm with which influential figures like Horace Mann, Henry Ward Beecher, and other reform-minded citizens greeted the Europeans Spurzheim and Combe, literary critics and art historians have typically regarded or disregarded phrenology as an anomaly.

The old conventional wisdom went something like this: After a brief fling with respectability, in the mid-1840s phrenology passed into the American hands of the Orson and Lorenzo Fowler and their followers, and thereafter



devolved into a hucksterish entertainment for small town hicks and big city proles, a sideshow to the main event of American culture. Phrenology was never more than a passing fad and did not merit the commitment of serious intellectual resources (unlike Transcendentalism, which drained many gallons of literary historical ink).

A diversion phrenology may have been, but the dismissive assessment of it has not been tenable since 1955, when Norman Davies came out with *PHRENOLOGY, FAD AND SCIENCE*. Phrenology, Davies argued, laid the intellectual and professional foundations of psychology, criminology, health reform, neurology, and racial taxonomy, and it provided a characterology and moral philosophy that was widely influential in mid-nineteenth-century literature, especially in the writings of those great eccentrics, Poe and Whitman. (Tellingly, Davies justified his interest in phrenology by reference to its role as a progenitor of more respectable scientific endeavors and as an influence on high literature, rather than as an intrinsically meaningful cultural phenomenon.) After Davies, studies in phrenology lay pretty much dormant until Roger Cooter's vibrantly contentious 1986 social history, *THE POPULAR MEANING OF SCIENCE*. Focusing on Great Britain, Cooter demonstrated that phrenology captivated, activated, and ultimately diverted social activists and reformers — and a large middle- and working-class audience. (*THE POPULAR MEANING OF SCIENCE* is structured around the “Why is there no socialism in Great Britain?” problem.) Phrenology, according to Cooter, figured as a scientific program for induction into the bourgeois order (a science of the bourgeois self) and, in certain variants, a program for radically transforming that order. In Marxian terms, phrenology was a historically specific variant of bourgeois ideology, and therefore, a form of false consciousness, but one which at moments contained an authentic revolutionary impulse.

Neither Cooter nor Davies, both historians, has made much of an impact on art history or literary criticism, but revived interest in phrenology is now emerging out of the current preoccupation with non-canonical (but often influential) cultural movements, forms, and discourses, the most notable example being David S. Reynolds's stellar 1995 *WALT WHITMAN'S AMERICA: A CULTURAL BIOGRAPHY* (which devotes considerable attention to things phrenological). Colbert's work falls roughly into this genre: it demonstrates the presence of non-canonical sources in canonical objects and revalues non-canonical works, paintings, and sculptures as part of a larger cultural matrix. Colbert detects phrenology in rarefied domains, places where the enormous condescension of posterity says it shouldn't be. Well-known nineteenth-century American fine artists — Hiram Powers, William Sidney Mount, Harriet Hosmer, Asher B. Durand, Henry Inman, William Rimmer, and Thomas Cole — and their most influential works were informed by phrenological doctrine, or were in dialogue with it. In its prime, phrenology achieved a status roughly comparable to that of psychoanalysis, and, like psychoanalysis, continued to find a respectable audience even after high science refuted many of its central claims (in the case of phrenology, the experiments of eminent French physiologists Pierre Flourens [1845] and Paul Broca [1861]). If psychoanalysis has failed to assimilate or refute the antagonistic findings of cognitive psychology and neuroscience, it remains compelling to therapists, patients, literary theorists, novelists, historians, and filmmakers because it provides a satisfyingly complex narrative of self development, a rich vocabulary of subject formation. Similarly, as an authoritative vocabulary of characterological description, phrenology continued for many decades to be deployed by novelists, theologians, sculptors, and painters — even by Oliver Wendell Holmes, Sr., professor of anatomy at Harvard, who scattered phrenological descriptions and essays, despite utterly rejecting the scientific validity of the doctrine. Phrenology was in the air, you had to breathe it, and it often had intoxicating effects.

The bulk of *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION* is taken up with a wild thicket of close readings of specific mid-nineteenth-century sculptures and paintings, set next to meticulously researched accounts of the activities of their creators, patrons, audiences, and phrenological influencers. The method is simple: Colbert demonstrates that the subject had the means, the opportunity and the motive to commit phrenology, and in many cases produces a signed confession (in the form of correspondence to a patron or friend, a published commentary by the artist, etc.). Colbert asks (and answers): How did the artist and patron regard the work? How did contemporary critics and viewers? What immediate phrenological influences and themes were close at hand? What lectures did the artist attend (or might have attended)? What publications did he own or subscribe to or make reference to? In what phrenological forms and forums did representations of the piece and its creator circulate? In what aesthetic forms and forums did phrenology and its procedures circulate? Colbert shows that art anatomy and drawing manuals, artists' letters, and journals devoted to art were full of phrenology and kindred doctrines; phrenological journals likewise were full of references to sculptors and sculptures, paintings and painters. Fine art took to



phrenology; phrenology took to fine art.

Once the multiple links are established, phrenology turns out to be an art historian's Rosetta Stone. Individual works of art can be analyzed like a hieroglyph, easily decoded. Colbert's research demonstrates that they were intended to be read precisely in this fashion; artist, patron, and audience were immersed in the same phrenological idiom, spoke the same patois. The result is a series of fresh and authoritative interpretations of well-known and obscure pieces and genres. Where a previous generation of art historians assumed that the Hudson River School was informed by Emersonian Transcendentalism, Colbert shows instead a direct phrenological connection. Where a previous generation dismissed Hiram Powers' "The Greek Slave" as a derivative softcore take on classical art, Colbert produces a rich assortment of contemporary reviews, letters, etc., to show that "The Greek Slave" embodied phrenological ideals of robust femininity, figured as a phrenological critique of Greek and Renaissance sculpture (Venus de' Medici got the proportions wrong), and so on.

This approach is extremely fruitful—after Colbert you have to look at "The Greek Slave," the Hudson River School, and practically every other work of nineteenth-century American art, with new eyes—but reductionism is a danger. Colbert rejects any interpretation that reads it from an abolitionist perspective or foregrounds the slave's erotic subordination. But is that all that can be said? Surely contemporary audiences reacted to the statue ambivalently, in ways that printed discourse, or even private correspondence, may not have given full voice to. From our vantage point, it is reasonable to suspect that "The Greek Slave" could have said one thing and done another. Having thoroughly researched a private and public critical apparatus that gives detailed instructions on how to read the piece, Colbert is not one to look for double messages. But given the specificity and historicity of the readings, reductionism is not much of a problem.

The strength of *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION* lies in its thick description of the uses of phrenology for nineteenth-century fine artists (and of fine art for phrenology): the encoding of abstract (moral or immoral) principles in the skull, face, body, and life narrative, of individuals. The artist (along with the phrenologist and the physician) was assigned a privileged cultural role: to precisely, scientifically, represent in his artworks the embodiment of moral, racial, sexual, national, historical character—for the moral instruction of the viewer. The body materializes in particular, scientifically discernible matrixes, the combination of abstract principles, governed by the overall laws of physiology. But social identity has always been a moving target and a joint production, one that even a protean discourse like phrenology ultimately failed to keep up with. Here, one wishes that Colbert cut back a bit on the exuberant readings of individual pieces and extended his analysis outward to the broader cultural and social significance, uses, and trajectory of phrenology. Particularly lacking is any periodization of phrenology, its circulation among different social classes and different professional settings, its relation to kindred and competing doctrines and to its critics. Colbert picks and chooses from different decades and authors and domains. Evidence from the 1880s (a low-brow Zeus Franklin text), and the 1890s (a Winslow Homer doodle) butt up against middle- and high-brow evidence from the 1830s, 40s and 60s. This demonstrates the longevity and consistency of phrenological doctrines, but the opportunity for historicizing phrenology, even confined to the domain of fine art, is lost. The end of the story is not narrated: we have the rise but not the fall.

Phrenology ultimately came to be accounted by artists as a crude, plebeian, embodied, irrational thing.

Phrenology's debarment from the canon of aesthetic theory and, subsequently, scholarly consideration, was almost certainly based on an identification of phrenology with a philosophically vulgar materialism, an aesthetically vulgar commercialism, and a socially vulgar audience: phrenology in bodifying abstract principle became tainted by body; phrenological readings were too easy to stage and too easy to read, and came to be regarded as dime-museum entertainments with no moral purpose. Emersonian Transcendentalism, in contrast, was purged of tropes that referenced the body and was full of abstract moral purpose; transcendentalism, never the sport of plebes, became the sport of scholars. The question then arises: If scholars now and for over a hundred years have dismissed phrenology as a cultural waste product, how did this come to pass? On this point, the usually talkative Colbert is silent; he argues against the "particular reticence of art historians" (p. 2) to grapple with phrenology, but doesn't name or quote or analyze them. In so doing, he passes up the chance to offer a historical account of the academy's "curious" refusal to acknowledge (or determination to erase evidence of) phrenology's influence on fine art, architecture, and literature. What does that refusal tell us, other than that the scholarship is wrong?

Another problem: The relation of phrenology to other discourses of mind and body, other sciences, religions and



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movements. “The fox knows many things, but the hedgehog knows one big thing,” said the seventh-century B.C. poet Archilochus and, in our own century, Isaiah Berlin. Colbert is a hedgehog, but is phrenology one big thing? The mid-nineteenth century was an extremely fertile era in American culture, a period in which isms, ologies, and reforms proliferated: dress reform, abolitionism, popular anatomy, revivalism, dietary physiology, hydropathy, homeopathy, mesmerism, temperance, electromedicine, spiritualism, moral reform, free love, free thought, botanical medicine, utopian socialism, etc. These enthusiasms imbued each other, commingling in both discourse and adherents, while often contradicting each other in key ways. What we want to know is how one fed off another, how one supported another, or how one offshoot deprived another of light and soil (in many cases there was a particular succession). Colbert tends to lump them together under the sign of phrenology, elides the differences or tensions between them.

This may seem a quibble, given the fact that the [American Journal of Phrenology](#) and other phrenological publications, lectures, and presses included much more than just phrenology. Phrenologers were cultural sponges, soaking up everything around them, but so were popular anatomists and spiritualists and utopian socialists and moral reformers. How much, then, of Colbert’s phrenology is really phrenological? A lot, but not everything. William A. Alcott, a popular anatomical author and educational reformer of the antebellum period, recommended that his readers should “study” George Combe’s *CONSTITUTION OF MAN* “with great care,” but allowed that they might “Reject, if you choose, his Phrenology.”⁵⁸ What Alcott valued in Combe was the principle of regulatory physiological “laws of organization,” and his emphasis on self-formation and reformation, sustaining themes in the works of many American writers on body and self, and notions that preceded Combe, although he greatly popularized them. *THE CONSTITUTION OF MAN* had an immense impact, but so did Paley’s *NATURAL THEOLOGY*, Alcott’s *THE HOUSE I LIVE IN* and numerous advice books, the Bridgewater treatises, and Sylvester Graham’s publications and lectures on physiology. These works were influences on, and in some cases influenced by, phrenology, but they were not phrenology. Colbert tends to stuff too many doctrines into his phrenological black box. (The confusion, however, is understandable: some of the material Colbert quotes from the Fowlers and other phrenological sources are close paraphrases of Alcott and Graham.)

But not to make too much of this. *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION* is rich and messy and insightful. Colbert amply demonstrates the multiple ways in which nineteenth-century fine art is imbued with the enthusiasms of the period, and proves that a knowledge of them is essential. The book explodes with juicy detail — the chapters are almost impossible to synopsise. For the moment, and maybe a long time to come, Colbert’s book is the state of the art for cultural historians and students of American Studies, and especially art historians, who now are obliged to know their phrenology (and every other enthusiasm of the period). Those looking for a roadmap to phrenology or nineteenth-century American culture will have to look elsewhere; the joy of *A MEASURE OF PERFECTION* lies in the way it saturates the reader with phrenological texts and acts and objects and careers.

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December 10, Wednesday: [Joseph Emerson Worcester](#) replied moderately and specifically and factually to the accusations that he had been plagiarizing the work of [Noah Webster](#).

Sir Robert Peel, 2d Baronet, took over as Prime Minister of the United Kingdom from Arthur Wellesley, [Duke of Wellington](#), who had for three weeks been acting for him (because at the time of the dismissal of Lord Melbourne in November, he had been in Italy).

William Gladstone would be appointed Junior Lord of the Treasury in Peel’s 1st ministry.

[Alexander Chalmers](#) died in [London](#) after having produced, in addition to the materials already cited, editions of the works of the Scottish poet and philosopher James Beattie, the novels of Henry Fielding, and the historical treatises of [Edward Gibbon](#).

58. [Library of Health](#) 1 (1837): 130

 December 11, Thursday: A commando party from the Cape government killed a Xhosa chief. (An army of 10,000 men led by his brother Maqoma would cross into the Cape Colony pillaging and torching homesteads. This 6th Xhosa War would include clashes between white settlers and Bantu peoples in Cape Colony. Dutch-speaking settlers would colonize the area north of the Orange River.)

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


*5th day 11th of 12th M 1834 / Silent solid meeting In the evening
we went to Henry Goulds & passed the time pleasantly. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS


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

*1st day 14th of 12 M 1834 / Silent & solid Meetings It was a
stormy day & the gathering small*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 16, Tuesday: The statutes of [Mexico](#) still protected the Catholic religion by prohibiting Protestant ministers and/or church services. The Reverend [Daniel Starr Southmayd](#) and Mrs. Joanna Kent Southmayd, with their youngsters Joanna, Maria, and the infant Catherine, were nevertheless preparing to go there on behalf of the Presbyterian church. They were bringing along with them, courtesy of the American Bible Society, several hundred Bibles in English, Spanish, and German “for gratuitous distribution in [Texas](#).” At this point Joanna began a letter to her brother in Boston. Since she would not be able to post this until her family arrived at its destination in Texas, it would turn into a sort of diary of their adventurous trip. Joanna began her letter on this day by informing her brother that the *Whig* in New-York harbor was about to up anchor and set sail for Galveston Bay, and that their voyage would require at least “six Sabbaths.” Joanna would add later that, despite such seasickness that she was actually unable to read her Bible, they were “overwhelmed with the goodness of God who cared for us in these dark waters.” When the *Whig* entered Galveston Bay, she reported, it grounded on Red Fish Bar for seven days and they were forced to abandon the vessel and seek refuge at Clopper’s Point: “Mr. Clopper and his son were very kind to us.” Her initial missionary efforts met with the pointed advice that when people came to Texas they lost their religion. They borrowed a boat to travel the final 30 miles to Harrisburg, along the way stopping by the home of a large family of Irish Catholics. Once again Joanna was warned that people of faith who came to Texas were soon cured of it. The family would settle between Harrisburg and San Felipe de Austin to begin a Protestant ministry and school just inland of what is now the port of Houston, where there already had been (since that spring) another Presbyterian minister, the Reverend Peter H. Fullenwider.




 December 17, Wednesday: [Noah Webster](#) himself reiterated the charges against [Joseph Emerson Worcester](#), providing a list of 121 allegedly purloined definitions. Worcester would respond in detail, showing in each case that either Webster had not defined the word, or that Webster had himself plagiarized the definition from elsewhere, or that the definition he had offered actually differed significantly from Webster’s.

[Giacomo Meyerbeer](#) was elected a Membre associe etranger of the Academie Royale des Beaux-Arts de l’Institut de France.



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 December 19, Friday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) found that the weather varied from point to point on the surface of this planet.

AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

In the midst of our painting, on—

Friday, Dec. 19th, we crossed the equator for the second time. I had the feeling which all have when, for the first time, they find themselves living under an entire change of seasons; as, crossing the line under a burning sun in the midst of December, and, as I afterwards was, beating about among ice and snow on the Fourth of July.

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

7th day 20 of 12 M / My mind has been favoured this Morning with a degree of life for which I desire to be thankful

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

According to a notice in the Hampshire Telegraph and Sussex Chronicle etc. of Portsmouth, England for February 16, Monday, 1835 and in the Caledonian Mercury of Edinburgh, Scotland for February 19, Thursday, 1835, on this day the British troop-ship containing [Captain John Thoreau](#) of the 37th Regiment of Foot was departing from the island of Jamaica in the Caribbean, intending to head for the harbor of Portsmouth, England: “The *Athol*, troop-ship, Mr. Karley, Master-Commander, arrived on Sunday, in 23 days from New Providence. She left Jamaica Dec. 20, and brought home a company of the Royal Artillery” and in addition four passengers including “Capt. Thoreau of the 37th Regiment.”⁵⁹

We need not inquire as to whether Captain John and scholar David Henry were relatives by blood, as that might have been the case or might not have been the case but in any event matters not, not a whit, neither to them nor to us. What we need to ask of ourselves is whether or not we might be persuaded that a strong disjunction exists between the life of such a military person living upon expectation of eventual arrival in a home port and/or upon expectation of eventual promotion to a next higher ranking, on the one foot, and the sort of life that was here being recommended to us by this [Harvard College](#) teenage scholar. —Because, if such a strong disjunction might be made out to exist, then also, the advice being offered to us above might be made out to be at least in part an expression of a [Peace Testimony](#): that this recommended feminine enjoyment of “life as it passes” is more consistent with a peaceable life than with the much admired manly spit-and-polish blood-and-guts way of the warrior.

[David Henry Thoreau](#)’s Harvard College assignment was to write an essay on the topic “The different ideas we form of men whose pursuit is Money, Power, Distinction, Domestic Happiness, Public Good.” Quoting Alexander Pope’s “Essay on Man,” Thoreau’s reaction, in part, was:

Aristocrats may say what they please, liberty and equal rights are and ever will be grateful, till nature herself shall change; and he who is ambitious to exercise authority over his fellow beings, with no view to their benefit or injury, is to be regarded as actuated by peculiarly selfish motives. Self-gratification must be his sole object. Perhaps he is desirous that his name may be handed down to posterity, that in after ages something more may be said of him, than that he lived, and died. He may be influenced by still baser motives; he may take delight in the enjoyment of power merely, and feel a kind of satisfaction at the thought that he can command and be obeyed.

59. 37th (North Hampshire) Regiment of Foot.

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It is evident then that he, who thus influenced, attains at last the summit of his wishes, will be a curse upon mankind. His deeds may never be forgotten; but is this greatness? If so, may I pass through life unheeded and unknown.

"But grant that those can conquer; these can cheat; 'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great."



When we hear it said of a man that Money is the idol which he worships ... we figure to ourselves one who is continually striving after something which he is destined never to obtain, and who does not enjoy life as it passes, but lives upon expectation. In short, one who has painted to himself an imaginary Elysium, towards which no step in his progress brings him nearer.

December 21, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

Blessed is the day when the youth discovers that Within and Above are synonyms.

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

1st day 21 of 12 M / Our Meetings were both times of some favour, especially in the Morning - Father Rodman was engaged in testimony in both & I thought with useful effect - It is now a time of great stir among the religious professors in many places & [Newport](#) comes in for its share. - I hope some good will arise from it, but it is greatly to be feared many will take up with a false rest, as rest short of that which is in God thro' Jesus Christ - Many have gone into the water today & been Baptised, who I fear have not yet known that of the Holy Ghost & Fire to have passed in them. - Oh! that people knew that true Religion does not consist in their own willing & runnings, & that of themselves they can do nothing aright but that all must come from God thro' Jesus Christ, that is able to effect salvation & that not in the Whirlwind & Fire, but the small still voice must be known & heard, before true progress can be made in Religion -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

December 22, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

2nd day 22nd of 12 M 1834 / This has been a remarkably fine & pleasant Day for the season of the Year - In the forenoon I took a walk round the Hill & called to see Old Ceasar Wanton who is now wanting a few Months of 90 Years of Age - he has been a very respectable black man all his life & was Servant to old Gideon



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Wanton who died in this Town in the year [blank] Ceasar seemed very tender in spirit & sensible of his time in this World being very short, he assented to his dependence on God thro' Jesus Christ & said he prayed for patience to wait for his close. – he is so as to walk about his room & the house – but seemed very weak & feeble, & as if it would not be long before he will leave this world of pain & tribulation, & I have no doubt when the Change comes it will be peaceful & Happy. – It felt to me while sitting with him, that the present state of his mind is an earnest of that which will follow in an After State. –

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 23, Tuesday: The patenting of British architect Joseph Aloysius Hansom's invention, a cabriolet two-wheeled "patent safety cab" for driver and two passengers, that would begin to replace an earlier, lighter version of cab in which the passenger needed to sit alongside the driver. In the new version, the "Hansom cab," the driver sat above and behind for safe isolation of females from males and customers of quality from workers.

Thomas Robert Malthus died in St. Catherine, Somerset.



December 24, Wednesday: [Robert Schumann](#) purchased all publication rights to the Neue Zeitschrift für Musik, making him the sole owner.

Little more than a year after he entered the Paris Conservatoire, Jacques Offenbach was officially removed from the list of students, voluntarily.

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

4th day 24th of 12 M 1834 / I have lately recd a letter from Wm Rickman of Rochester England now in the 90th Year of his Age it was written in a fair & pretty firm hand, tho' the tremulous hand of Age appears in some parts of it – yet it evinces a lively frame of spirit & shows that the religion of his youth is not Lost in old age & that he yet occasionally travels in the Ministry & in the course of the last summer took a circuit of many Miles & attended three Quarterly Meetings. – I have this Afternoon recd a letter from My dear friend [Moses Brown](#), now in the 97th Year of his age in a hand writing nearly as good as W Rickmans & evincing the same greenness in old age & liveliness of Spirit which convinced him of Friends principles in the Morning of life & is now the guide & staff of his old age. – I shall keep these letters as precious mementos of these venerable Friends the first I was acquainted with when here on a religious visit in the Year [blank] And with the latter I have been long intimately & interestingly acquainted before I lived in [Providence](#) & while there was much united in travel of spirit for the welfare of society & the Institution, with which we were connected.

It is not likely I shall ever have many more letters from those Friends, tho' if M B continues in Mutability I may occasionally get one from him. –& I am willing here to record that he has been my long tried & well proven Friend – I love & venerate his



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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 December 25, Thursday, [Christmas](#): All liberals in Spain received a general amnesty.

Franz Liszt and [Frédéric François Chopin](#) appeared jointly in at Stoepel's Music School, Paris, playing Moscheles Grand Duo for piano four hands and Liszt's own Grosses Konzertstück über Mendelssohns Lieder ohne Worte.

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

5th day 25th of 12th M 1834 / Rode to [Portsmouth](#) in the Stage & attended Moy [Monthly] Meeting - The Day was cold & some Snow falling which made the Meeting small - The Meeting was silent excepting a few words from Hannah Dennis towards the close. - it was also a low & hard time to me & I thought the same feeling was prevalent - In the last Waterman Chase & Elizabeth Anthony daughter of Job published their intentions of Marriage, a certificate granted to the Widow Whiting & her daughter & a complaint noticed against Wm T. Potter for his departure in dress & Address & also for Suffering Music & dancing in his House. - After meeting dined at Asa Shermans & hired his Chaise & son to bring me home, as it looked like a Storm & not wishing to wait for the evening Stage or be obliged to stay from home all night.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Charles Darwin](#) spent this [Christmas Day](#) aboard the HMS *Beagle* in an unnamed harbor of the peninsula of Tres Montes in Patagonia.

[Christmas](#) was becoming, at this point, an American national holiday. Frederick Douglass recounted that the contract his owner had made with the farmer Mr. Edward “The Snake” Covey, in accordance with the holiday convention of that period, was complete as of [Christmas Day](#), but that the institution of slavery was so contaminated that even traditional generosity could easily be placed at the service of impure and base motives:

Frederick Douglass’s NARRATIVE

The days between Christmas and New Year’s day are allowed as holidays; and, accordingly, we were not required to perform any labor, more than to feed and take care of the stock. This time we regarded as our own, by the grace of our masters; and we therefore used or abused it nearly as we pleased. Those of us who had families at a distance, were generally allowed to spend the whole six days in their society. This time, however, was spent in various ways. The staid, sober, thinking and industrious ones of our number would employ themselves in making corn-brooms, mats, horse-collars, and baskets; and another class of us would spend the time in hunting opossums, hares, and coons. But by far the larger part engaged in such sports and merriments as playing ball, wrestling, running foot-races, fiddling, dancing, and drinking whisky; and this latter mode of spending the time was by far the most agreeable to the feelings of our masters. A slave who would work during the holidays was considered by our masters as scarcely deserving them. He was regarded as one who rejected the favor of his master. It was deemed a disgrace not to get drunk at Christmas; and he was regarded as lazy indeed, who had not provided himself with the necessary means, during the year, to get whisky enough to last him through Christmas.

Meanwhile, half a world away and on ’tother side of several cultural divides, our sailor boy [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) was finding that on [Christmas Day](#) Captain F. Thompson of the *Pilgrim* was somewhat more interested in the discipline and control of his crew than in the good of his crew.

[next screen]



AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:

Thursday, Dec. 25th. This day was Christmas, but it brought us no holiday. The only change was that we had a “plum duff” for dinner, and the crew quarrelled with the steward because he did not give us our usual allowance of molasses to eat with it. He thought the plums would be a substitute for the molasses, but we were not to be cheated out of our rights in this way.

Such are the trifles which produce quarrels on shipboard. In fact, we had been too long from port. We were getting tired of one another, and were in an irritable state, both forward and aft. Our fresh provisions were, of course, gone, and the captain had stopped our rice, so that we had nothing but salt beef and salt pork throughout the week, with the exception of a very small duff on Sunday. This added to the discontent; and a thousand little things, daily and almost hourly occurring, which no one who has not



himself been on a long and tedious voyage can conceive of or properly appreciate— little wars and rumors of wars,— reports of things said in the cabin,— misunderstanding of words and looks— apparent abuses,— brought us into a state in which everything seemed to go wrong. Every encroachment upon the time allowed for rest, appeared unnecessary. Every shifting of the studding-sails was only to “haze”⁶⁰ the crew.

In the midst of this state of things, my messmate S _____ and myself petitioned the captain for leave to shift our berths from the steerage, where we had previously lived, into the forecastle. This, to our delight, was granted, and we turned in to bunk and mess with the crew forward. We now began to feel like sailors, which we never fully did when we were in the steerage. While there, however useful and active you may be, you are but a mongrel,— a sort of afterguard and “ship’s cousin.” You are immediately under the eye of the officers, cannot dance, sing, play, smoke, make a noise, or growl, (i.e. complain,) or take any other sailor’s pleasure; and you live with the steward, who is usually a go-between; and the crew never feel as though you were one of them. But if you live in the forecastle, you are “as independent as a wood-sawyer’s clerk,” (nautice,) and are a sailor. You hear sailors’ talk, learn their ways, their peculiarities of feeling as well as speaking and acting; and moreover pick up a great deal of curious and useful information in seamanship, ship’s customs, foreign countries, etc., from their long yarns and equally long disputes. No man can be a sailor, or know what sailors are, unless he has lived the forecastle with them— turned in and out with them, eaten of their dish and drank of their cup. After I had been a week there, nothing would have tempted me to go back to my old berth, and never afterwards, even in the worst of weather, when in a close and leaking forecastle off Cape Horn, did I for a moment wish myself in the steerage. Another thing which you learn better in the forecastle than you can anywhere else, is to make and mend clothes, and this is indispensable to sailors. A large part of their watches below they spend at this work, and here I learned that art which stood me in so good stead afterwards.

But to return to the state of the crew. Upon our coming into the forecastle, there was some difficulty about the uniting of the allowances of bread, by which we thought we were to lose a few pounds. This set us into a ferment. The captain would not condescend to explain, and we went aft in a body, with a Swede, the oldest and best sailor of the crew, for spokesman. The recollection of the scene that followed always brings up a smile, especially the quarter-deck dignity and eloquence of the captain. He was walking the weather side of the quarter-deck, and seeing us coming aft, stopped short in his walk, and with a voice and look intended to annihilate us, called out, “Well, what the d—!—I do you want now?” Whereupon we stated our grievances as respectfully as we could, but he broke in upon us, saying that we were getting fat and lazy, didn’t have enough to do, and that made us find fault. This provoked us, and we began to give word for word.

This would never answer. He clenched his fist, stamped and swore, and sent us all forward, saying, with oaths enough interspersed to send the words home,— “Away with you! go forward every one of you! I’ll haze you! I’ll work you up! You don’t have enough to do! If you a’n’t careful I’ll make a hell of the ship! . . . You’ve mistaken your man! I’m F _____ T _____, all the way from ‘down east.’ I’ve been through the mill, ground, and bolted, and come out a regular-built down-east johnny-cake, good when it’s hot, but when it’s cold, sour and indigestible;— and you’ll find me so! The latter part of this harangue I remember well, for it made a strong impression, and the “downeast johnny-cake” became a by-word for the rest of the voyage. So much for our petition for the redress of grievances. The matter was however set right, for the mate, after allowing the captain due time to cool off, explained it to him, and at night we were all called aft to hear another harangue, in which, of course, the whole blame of the misunderstanding was thrown upon us. We ventured to hint that he would not give us time to explain; but it wouldn’t do. We were driven back discomfited. Thus the affair blew over, but the irritation caused by it remained; and we never had peace or a good understanding again so long as the captain and crew remained together.

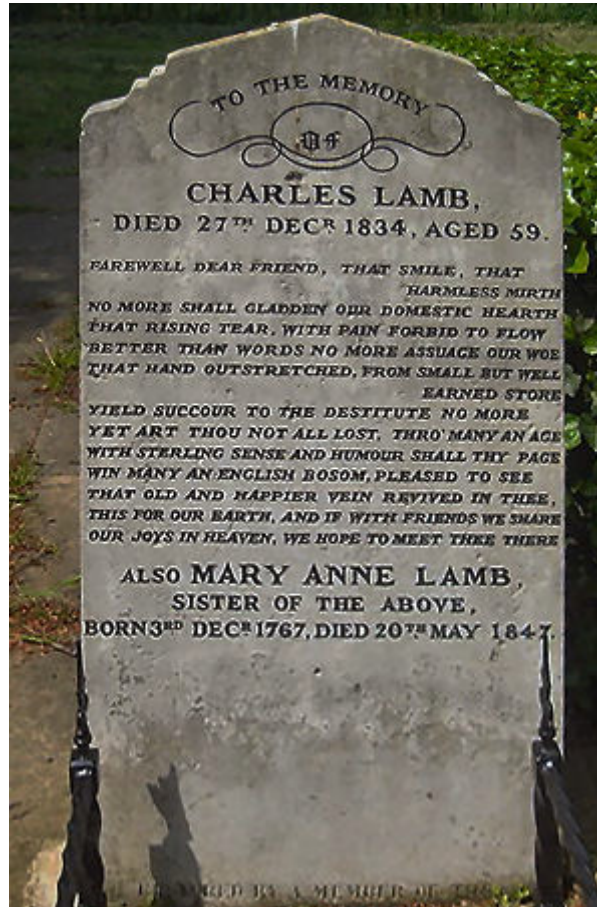
60.Haze is a word of frequent use on board ship, and never, I believe, used elsewhere. It is very expressive to a sailor, and means to punish by hard work. Let an officer once say, “I’ll haze you,” and your fate is fixed. You will be “worked up,” if you are not a better man than he is.

1834

1834

December 26, Friday: Gaetano Donizetti's tragedia lirica Gemma di Vergy to words of Bidera after Dumas was performed for the initial time, in Teatro alla Scala, Milan.

December 27, Saturday: [Charles Lamb](#) died at the age of 59 of a streptococcal infection to the face, erysipelas, that had been contracted when he slipped and fell in the street in Edmonton. A new collection of his poems had just appeared on bookstore shelves. The body would be interred at All Saints' Churchyard in Edmonton. [Mary Lamb](#) would continue for more than a dozen years, before her body would be placed beside that of her brother.



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

1st day 28th of 12 M / This is the last first day in the Year 1834 - It is a season of the Year which for various reasons seldom or never fails to bring with it a serious course of reflections - Our Meeting was pretty well attended both forenoon & Afternoon & Father Rodman was in each engaged in a short but will adapted & I thought will Authorised testimonies & tho' it was not a time of abounding with me it seemed as if there was an rather unusual solemnity prevailing over the gathering This evening called at Father Rodmans & had a more than common intersting time in conversation with some four young folks & believe left some impressions that will not be soon forgotten. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 30, Tuesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 30th of 12th M 1834 / On this day 30th or 12th M 1781 I was born & from accounts I have had of that day 53 years ago there occurred much such a Snow Storm as we have had today - I am not only growing Old - but am already so. I feel that a few more years should I live to see them, will place me emphatically on the list of the Ancients. - Many of my near & dear Associates in life & a great many of them much younger in life, have already been called from works to reward. My Mother & divers of my near connections have left time while we were residents at [Providence](#), but there is none of them that I miss so much for company as my dear Sister in law Ruth Rodman - She was born this same month & was, & the same year, & was always to me a very interesting companion. - Well, there is consolation in the belief that our loss is her gain, as I doubt not her spirit is among the just made perfect. -
How long we shall remain even in [Newport](#) is uncertain - but now we are again in our own town & old neighbourhood & living but a few yards distant from the house & place where I was born 53 Years ago. -*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



December 31, Wednesday: Gaetano Donizetti left Milan for Paris where he hoped to produce an opera at the Theatre-Italien.

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



ARRGH AUTOMATED RESearch REPORT

GENERATION HOTLINE



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.

General Events of 1834

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

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

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



GO ON TO EVENTS OF 1835