THE LONG 19TH CENTURY IN GREATER RHODE ISLAND[1]

"History ... does not refer merely to the past
... history is literally present in all that we do."
— James Baldwin, 1965
"UNNAMEABLE OBJECTS,
UNSPEAKABLE CRIMES"

GO BACK TO THE PREVIOUS PERIOD

1. "Greater" Rhode Island would include relevant regions connected with the local culture, such as Block Island and the other channel islands that used to be considered part of this colony, contiguous areas such as New Bedford in Massachusetts, etc. "Rhode Island" had been for a long time an ambiguous designator, as it might refer to the moderately sized island in Narragansett Bay, or it might refer to the entire colony of which said island was a part, together with the extensive Providence Plantations on the mainland shore. Also, since the period of that ambiguity, there have been significant trades of land and towns between Rhode Island and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts — such as the entire city of Fall River. You need to deal with it.

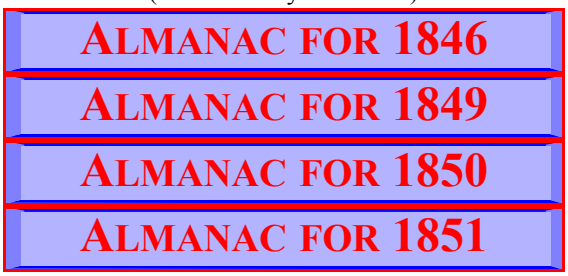
1846

In England, the beginning of George Cruickshank's COMIC ALMANAC, as well as of the Reynolds's Miscellany.

THE RHODE-ISLAND ALMANAC FOR 1846. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Providence, Rhode Island: Hugh H. Brown.

THE PROVIDENCE ALMANAC FOR 1846. Providence.

Henry Thoreau had in his personal library the 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1851 issues of AMERICAN ALMANAC AND REPOSITORY OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE (Boston: Grey & Bowen).



William Cooper Nell organized a Young Men's Literary Society.

He lectured, in New Bedford and Providence, Rhode Island, about the new Charles T. Torrey Monument in Mount Auburn Cemetery.

Granville Olney of Saylesville was brought before the Rhode Island Court of Common Pleas for being behind in his rent payments to Anthony B. Arnold of Providence for use of the Olney Thread Mill in Lincoln Woods. The court record suggests that the Machine Shop activity and the Thread Mill activity were linked.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

In Rhode Island, Byron Diman was in charge. The Providence Post Office issued a postage stamp:

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

James Stevens drew a map. Here is Jamestown, Rhode Island:

Here is a typically negative attitude toward Quakers in the arts, as expressed during this year in an epistle of the London Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends: "...we believe [music] to be both in its acquisition and its practice, unfavourable to the health of the soul.... Serious is the waste of time of those who give themselves up to it.... It not unfrequently leads into unprofitable, and even pernicious associations, and in some instances to a general indulgence in the vain amusements of the world."

There had come to be more lay opportunities for education than had previously been the case, and some Friends had begun to send their children to secular academies rather than to the Quaker school. In this year the School Committee reported that "The improved condition of schools, both public and private, within the limits of New England, may seem to have diminished the necessity of placing our children in the Boarding School; but we believe that most of these schools will be found to exercise an influence adverse to the simplicity and purity of our Christian profession, and many of them to expose the susceptible minds of our youth to those corrupting associations from which it has ever been the concern of Friends carefully to guard them." Also, the New England Yearly Meeting was splitting apart, into conservative followers of Friend John Wilbur of Hopkinton and liberal followers of English traveling minister Friend Joseph John Gurney, and this was having an impact on the school's attendance (attendance for the year ending in 1844 had been merely 55, which was less than in any year since the school had been in operation at Providence). In an attempt to cope with the ongoing problems at their Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island and elsewhere, the New England Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends established a General Committee on Education. This new committee was charged to give their personal attention closely to the school, meeting on campus monthly, attending instruction during school hours and "witnessing, advising, and directing in relation to the process of instruction." The members of the committee were charged to enter into free intercourse with both the young scholars and their teachers, and would "judge of the standing and progress of the children."

An anonymous Philadelphia publication celebrated the lives of Christ, Friend George Fox, Friend William Penn, Friend Robert Barclay, Friend William Edmundson, Friend Edward Burroughs, Friend James Parnel, Friends Francis Howgill and Hubberthorn, Friend Isaac Penington, Friend Richard Sellers, Friends Mary Dyer and William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson and William Leddra, Friend William Coddington of Rhode Island, and Friend Robert Hodgson:

THE ANCIENT BANNER;
OR
Brief Sketches
OF PERSONS AND SCENES IN THE EARLY HISTORY
OF FRIENDS.

"THOU HAST GIVEN A BANNER TO THEM THAT FEARED THEE,
THAT IT MAY BE DISPLAYED BECAUSE OF THE TRUTH."
Psalm 60,—4.

PHILADELPHIA:
JOSEPH KITE & CO., PRINTERS,
No. 50 North Fourth Street.

1846.

THE ANCIENT BANNER.

In boundless mercy, the Redeemer left,
The bosom of his Father, and assumed
A servant's form, though he had reigned a king,
In realms of glory, ere the worlds were made,
Or the creating words, "Let there be light"
In heaven were uttered. But though veiled in flesh,
His Deity and his Omnipotence,
Were manifest in miracles. Disease
Fled at his bidding, and the buried dead
Rose from the sepulchre, reanimate,
At his command, or, on the passing bier
Sat upright, when he touched it. But he came,
Not for this only, but to introduce
A glorious dispensation, in the place
Of types and shadows of the Jewish code.
Upon the mount, and round Jerusalem,
He taught a purer, and a holier law,—
His everlasting Gospel, which is yet
To fill the earth with gladness; for all climes
Shall feel its influence, and shall own its power.
He came to suffer, as a sacrifice
Acceptable to God. The sins of all
Were laid upon Him, when in agony
He bowed upon the cross. The temple's veil
Was rent asunder, and the mighty rocks,
Trembled, as the incarnate Deity,
By his atoning blood, opened that door,
Through which the soul, can have communion with
Its great Creator; and when purified,
From all defilements, find acceptance too,
Where it can finally partake of all
The joys of His salvation.
But the pure Church he planted,—the pure Church
Which his apostles watered,—and for which,
The blood of countless martyrs freely flowed,
In Roman Amphitheatres,—on racks,—
And in the dungeon's gloom,—this blessed Church,
Which grew in suffering, when it overspread
Surrounding nations, lost its purity.
Its truth was hidden, and its light obscured
By gross corruption, and idolatry.
As things of worship, it had images,
And even painted canvass was adored.
It had a head and bishop, but this head
Was not the Saviour, but the Pope of Rome.
Religion was a traffic. Men defiled,
Professed to pardon sin, and even sell,
The joys of heaven for money,—and to raise
Souls out of darkness to eternal light,
For paltry silver lavished upon them.
And thus thick darkness, overspread the Church
As with a mantle.
At length the midnight of apostacy
Passed by, and in the horizon appeared,
Day dawning upon Christendom. The light,
Grew stronger, as the Reformation spread.

For Luther, and Melancthon, could not be
Silenced by papal bulls, nor by decrees
Of excommunication thundered forth
Out of the Vatican. And yet the light,
Of Luther's reformation, never reached
Beyond the morning's dawn. The noontide blaze
Of Truth's unclouded day, he never saw.
Yet after him, its rising sun displayed
More and more light upon the horizon.
Though thus enlightened, the professing Church,
Was far from many of the precious truths
Of the Redeemer's gospel; and as yet,
Owned not his Spirit's government therein.
But now the time approached, when he would pour
A larger measure of his light below;
And as he chose unlearned fishermen
To spread his gospel when first introduced,
So now he passed mere human learning by,
And chose an instrument, comparable
To the small stone the youthful David used,
To smite the champion who defied the Lord.
Apart from human dwellings, in a green
Rich pasturage of England, sat a youth,
Who seemed a shepherd, for around him there
A flock was feeding, and the sportive lambs
Gambolled amid the herbage. But his face
Bore evidence of sadness. On his knee
The sacred book lay open, upon which
The youth looked long and earnestly, and then,
Closing the book, gazed upward, in deep thought
This was the instrument by whom the Lord
Designed to spread a clearer light below
And fuller reformation. He appeared,
Like ancient Samuel, to be set apart
For the Lord's service from his very birth.
Even in early childhood, he refrained
From youthful follies, and his mind was turned
To things of highest moment. He was filled
With awful feelings, by the wickedness
He saw around him. As he grew in years,
Horror of sin grew stronger; and his mind
Became so clothed with sadness, and so full
Of soul-felt longings, for the healing streams
Of heavenly consolation, that he left
His earthly kindred, seeking quietude
In solitary places, where he read
The book of inspiration, and in prayer,
Sought heavenly counsel.
In this deep-proving season he was told,
Of priests, whose reputation had spread wide
For sanctity and wisdom; and from these
He sought for consolation,—but in vain.
One of these ministers became enraged,
Because the youth had inadvertently
Misstepped within his garden; and a priest
Of greater reputation, counselled him
To use tobacco, and sing holy psalms!
And the inquirer found a third to be
But as an empty, hollow cask at best.
Finding no help in man, the youthful Fox,
Turned to a higher and a holier source,
For light and knowledge. In his Saviour's school,
He sat a scholar, and was clearly shown
The deep corruption, that had overspread
Professing Christendom. And one by one,
The doctrines of the Gospel, were unveiled,

To the attentive student,—doctrines, which,
Though clearly written on the sacred page,
Had long been hidden, by the rubbish man's
Perversions and inventions heaped thereon.
He saw that colleges, could not confer,
A saving knowledge of the way of Truth,
Nor qualify a minister to preach
The everlasting Gospel; but that Christ,
Is the true Teacher, and that he alone
Has power to call, anoint, and qualify,
And send a Gospel minister to preach
Glad tidings of salvation. He was shown,
No outward building, made of wood and stone
Could be a holy place,—and that the Church—
The only true and living Church—must be
A holy people gathered to the Lord,
And to his teaching. He was clearly taught,
The nature of baptism, by which souls
Are purified and fitted for this Church;
That this was not, by being dipped into,
Or sprinkled with clear water, but it was
The one baptism of the Holy Ghost.
He saw the Supper was no outward food,
Made and administered by human hands,—
But the Lord's Table was within the heart;
Where in communion with him, holy bread
Was blessed and broken, and the heavenly wine,
Which cheers the fainting spirit, handed forth.
The Saviour showed him that all outward wars,
Are now forbidden,—that the warfare here,
Is to be waged within. Its weapons too,
Though mighty, even to the pulling down,
Of the strong holds of Satan, are yet all
The Spirit's weapons. He was shown, that oaths
Judicial or profane, are banished from
The Christian dispensation, which commands,
"Swear not at all." He saw the compliments,—
Hat honour, and lip service of the world,
Sprang from pride's evil root, and were opposed
To the pure spirit of Christ's holy law.
And by His inward Light, was clearly seen
The perfect purity of heart and life
For which that Saviour calls, who never asked,
Things unattainable.

These truths and others, being thus revealed,
Fox was prepared and qualified to preach,
The unveiled Gospel, to the sons of men.
Clothed with divine authority, he went
Abroad through Britain, and proclaimed that Light,
Which Christ's illuminating Spirit sheds,
In the dark heart of man. Some heard of this,
Who seemed prepared and waiting, to receive
His Gospel message, and were turned to Him,
Whose Holy Spirit sealed it on their hearts.
And not a few of these, were called upon,
To take the message, and themselves declare
The way of Truth to others. But the Priests,
Carnal professors, and some magistrates,
Heard of the inward light, and purity,
With indignation, and they seized upon,
And thrust the Preacher within prison walls.
Not once alone, but often was he found,
Amid the very dregs of wickedness—
With robbers, and with blood-stained criminals,
Locked up in loathsome jails. And when abroad
Upon his Master's service, he was still

Reviled and buffetted, and spit upon.
But none of these things moved him, for within
He felt that soul-sustaining evidence,
Which bore his spirit high above the waves,
Of bitter persecution.
But now the time approached, for his release
From suffering and from labour. He had spent,
Long years in travel for the cause of Truth,—
Not all in Britain,—for he preached its light,
And power in Holland,—the West Indian isles,
And North America. Far through the wild,
And trackless wilderness, this faithful man,
Carried his Master's message; he lived,
To see Truth's banner fearlessly displayed
Upon both continents. He lived to see,
Pure hearted men and women gathered to
The inward teaching of the Saviour's will,—
Banded together in the covenant,
Of light and life. But his allotted work,
Was now accomplished, and his soul prepared,
For an inheritance with saints in light,
And with his loins all girded, he put off
His earthly shackles, triumphing in death,
That the Seed reigned, and Truth was over all!
Where the dark waters of the Delaware,
Roll onward to the ocean, sweeping by,
Primeval forests, where the red man still,
Built his rude wigwam, and the timid deer
Fled for concealment from the Indian's eye,
And the unerring arrow of his bow;
There, in the shadow of these ancient woods,
A sea-worn ship has anchored. On her deck,
Men of grave mien are gathered. One of whom,
Of noble figure, and quick searching eyes,
Surveys the scene, wrapt in the deepest thought.
And this is William Penn. He stands among,
Fellow believers, who have sought a home,
And place of refuge, in this wilderness.
Born of an ancient family, his sire
An English Admiral, the youthful Penn,
Might, with his talents, have soon ranked among
The proudest subjects of the British throne.
He chose the better part—to serve that King
Who is immortal and invisible.
While yet a student within college halls,
He heard Truth's message, and his heart was reached,
And fully owned it, though it came through one
Of that despised and persecuted class,
Called in derision Quakers. Thus convinced,
He left the college worship, to commune
In spirit with his Maker. And for this,
He was expelled from Oxford; and was soon
Maltreated by his father, who, enraged,
Because his only son, had turned away
From brilliant prospects, to pursue the path
Of self-denial, drove him harshly forth
From the paternal roof. But William Penn,
Had still a Father, who supported him,
With strength and courage to perform his will;
And he was called and qualified to preach,
And to bear witness of that blessed Light
Which shines within. He suffered in the cause,
His share of trial. He was dragged before
Judges and juries, and was shut within
The walls of prisons.
Looking abroad through England, he was filled

With deep commiseration, for the jails—
The loathsome, filthy jails—were crowded with
His brethren in the Truth. For their relief,
He sought the ear of royalty, and plead
Their cruel sufferings; and their innocence;
And thus became the instrument through which
Some prison doors were opened. But he sought
A place of refuge from oppression's power,
That Friends might worship the Creator there,
Free from imprisonment and penalties.
And such a place soon opened to his view,
Far in the Western Wilderness, beyond
The Atlantic's wave.
And here is William Penn, and here a band
Of weary emigrants, who now behold
The promised land before them; but it is
The Indian's country, and the Indian's home.
Penn had indeed, received a royal grant,
To occupy it; but a grant from one
Who had no rightful ownership therein;
He therefore buys it honestly from those
Whose claims are aboriginal, and just.
With these inhabitants, behold, he stands
Beneath an ancient elm, whose spreading limbs
O'erhang the Delaware. The forest chiefs
Sit in grave silence, while the pipe of peace
Goes round the circle. They have made a league
With faithful Onas—a perpetual league,
And treaty of true friendship, to endure
While the sun shines, and while the waters run.
And here was founded in the wilderness,
A refuge from oppression, where all creeds
Found toleration, and where truth and right
Were the foundation of its government,
And its protection. In that early day,
The infant colony sought no defence
But that of justice and of righteousness;
The only guarantees of peace on earth,
Because they ever breathe, good will to men.
His colony thus planted, William Penn
Sought his old field of labour, and again,
Both through the press and vocally, he plead
The right of conscience, and the rights of man;
And frequently, and forcibly he preached
Christ's universal and inshining Light.
His labour was incessant; and the cares,
And the perplexities connected with
His distant province, which he visited
A second time, bore heavily upon
His burdened spirit, which demanded rest;—
That rest was granted. In the midst of all
His labour and his trials, there was drawn
A veil, in mercy, round his active mind,
Which dimmed all outward things; but he still saw
The beauty and the loveliness of Truth,
And found sweet access to the Source of good.
And thus, shut out from the perplexities
And sorrows of the world, he was prepared
To hear the final summons, to put off
His tattered garments, and be clothed upon
With heavenly raiment.
Scotland, thou hadst a noble citizen,
In him of Ury! Born amid thy hills,
Though educated where enticing scenes,
Crowd giddy Paris, he rejected all
The world's allurements, and unlike the youth

Who talked with Jesus, Barclay turned away
From great possessions, and embraced the Truth.
He early dedicated all the powers
Of a well cultivated intellect
To the Redeemer and His holy cause.
He was a herald, to proclaim aloud,
Glad tidings of salvation; and his life
Preached a loud sermon by its purity.
Not only were his lips made eloquent,
By the live coal that touched them, but his pen,
Moved by a force from the same altar, poured
Light, truth, and wisdom. From it issued forth
The great Apology, which yet remains
One of the best expositors of Truth
That man has published, since that sacred book
Anciently written. Seekers are still led
By its direction, to that blessed Light,
And inward Teacher, who is Jesus Christ.
But now, this noble servant of the Lord,
Rests from his faithful labour, while his works
Yet follow him.
Early believers in the light of Truth,
Dwelt not at ease in Zion. They endured
Conflicts and trials, and imprisonments.
Even the humble Penington, whose mind
Seemed purged and purified from all the dross
Of human nature—who appeared as meek
And harmless as an infant—was compelled
To dwell in loathsome prisons. But he had,
Though in the midst of wickedness, sublime
And holy visions of the purity,
And the true nature of Christ's living Church.
While Edmundson, the faithful pioneer
Of Truth in Ireland, was compelled to drink
Deeply of suffering for the blessed cause.
Dragged from his home, half naked, by a mob
Who laid that home in ashes, he endured
Heart-rending cruelties. But all of these,
Stars of the morning, felt oppression's hand,
And some endured it to the closing scene.
Burroughs, a noble servant of the Lord,
Whose lips and pen were eloquent for Truth,
Drew his last breath in prison. Parnel, too,
A young and valiant soldier of the Lamb,
Died, a true martyr in a dungeon's gloom.
Howgill and Hubberthorn, both ministers
Of Christ's ordaining, were released from all
Their earthly trials within prison walls.
And beside these, there was a multitude
Of faithful men, and noble women too,
Who past from scenes of conflict, to the joys
Of the Redeemer's kingdom, within jails,
And some in dungeons. But amid it all,
Light spread in Britain, and a living Church
Was greatly multipled. The tender minds,
Even of children, felt the power of Truth,
And showed the fruit and firmness it affords.
When persecution, rioted within
The town of Bristol, and all older Friends
Were locked in prison, little children met,
Within their place of worship, by themselves,
To offer praises, in the very place
From which their parents had been dragged to jail.
But let us turn from Britain, and look down,
Upon an inland sea whose swelling waves
Encircle Malta. There a cloudless sun,

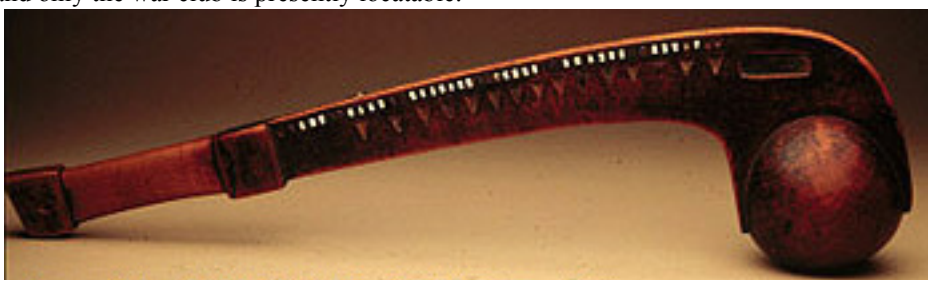
In Eastern beauty, pours its light upon
The Inquisition. All without its walls
Seems calm and peaceful, let us look within.
There, stretched upon the floor, within a close,
Dark, narrow cell, inhaling from a crack
A breath of purer air, two women lie.
But who are these, and wherefore are they here?
These are two ministers of Christ, who left
Their homes in England, faithfully to bear,
The Saviour's message into eastern lands.
And here at Malta they were seized upon
By bigotted intolerance, and shut
Within this fearful engine of the Pope.
Priests and Inquisitor assail them here,
And urge the claims of popery. The rack,
And cruel deaths are threatened; and again
Sweet liberty is offered, as the price
Of their apostacy. All, all in vain!
For years these tender women have been thus,
Victims of cruelty. At times apart,
Confined in gloomy, solitary cells.
But all these efforts to convert them failed:
The Inquisition had not power enough
To shake their faith and confidence in Him,
Whose holy presence was seen anciently
To save his children from devouring flames;
He, from this furnace of affliction, brought
These persecuted women, who came forth
Out of the burning, with no smell of fire
Upon their garments, and again they trod,
Their native land rejoicing.
In Hungary, two ministers of Christ,
Were stretched upon the rack. Their tortured limbs
Were almost torn asunder, but no force
Could tear them from their Master, and they came
Out of the furnace, well refined gold.
Nor were these all who suffered for the cause
Of truth and righteousness, in foreign lands.
For at Mequinez and Algiers, some toiled,
And died in slavery. But nothing could
Discourage faithful messengers of Christ
From his required service. They were found
Preaching repentance where the Israelites
Once toiled in Egypt, and the ancient Nile
Still rolls its waters. And the holy light
Of the eternal Gospel was proclaimed,
Where its great Author had first published it—
Where the rich temple of King Solomon,
Stood in its ancient glory. Even there,
The haughty Musselmen, were told of Him,
The one great Prophet, who now speaks within.
For their refusing to participate
In carnal warfare, many early Friends,
Were made to suffer. On a ship of war
Equiped for battle, Richard Sellers bore,
With a meek, Christian spirit, cruelties
The most atrocious, for obeying Him
Who was his heavenly Captain, and by whom,
War is forbidden. Sellers would not touch,
The instruments of carnage, nor could all
The cruelties inflicted, move his soul
From a reliance on that holy Arm,
Which had sustained him in the midst of all
His complicated trials; and he gained
A peaceful, but a greater victory
Than that of battle, for he wearied out

Oppression, by his constancy, and left
A holy savor, with that vessel's crew.
But let us turn from persecuting scenes,
That stain the annals of the older world,
To young America, whose virgin shores
Offer a refuge from oppression's power.
Here lies a harbour in the noble bay
Of Massachusetts. Many little isles
Dot its expanding waters, and Nahant
Spreads its long beach and eminence beyond,
A barrier to the ocean. The whole scene,
Looks beautiful, in the clear northern air,
And loveliness of morning. On the heights
That overlook the harbour, there is seen
An infant settlement. Let us approach,
And anchor where the Puritans have sought,
For liberty of conscience. But there seems,
Disquietude in Boston. Men appear
Urged on by stormy passions, and some wear
A look of unrelenting bitterness.
But what is that now rising into view,
Where crowds are gathered on an eminence?
These are the Puritans. They now surround
A common gallows. On its platform, stands
A lovely woman in the simple garb
Worn by the early Quakers. Of the throng,
She only seems unmoved, although her blood
They madly thirst for.
The first professors of Christ's inward Light,
Who brought this message into Boston bay,
Were inoffensive women. They were searched
For signs of witchcraft, and their books were burned.
The captain who had brought them, was compelled
To carry them away. But others came,
Both men and women, zealous for the Truth.
These were received with varied cruelties—
By frequent whippings and imprisonments.
Law after law was made excluding them;
But all in vain, for still these faithful ones
Carried their Master's message undismayed
Among the Puritans, and still they found
Those who received it, and embraced the Truth,
And steadily maintained it, in the midst
Of whipping posts, and pillories, and jails!
A law was then enacted, by which all
The banished Quakers, who were found again
Within the province, were to suffer death.
But these, though ever ready to obey
All just enactments, when laws trespassed on
The rights of conscience, and on God's command,
Could never for a moment hesitate,
Which to obey.—And soon there stood upon
A scaffold of New England, faithful friends,
Who, in obeying Christ, offended man!
Of these was Mary Dyer, who exclaimed,
While passing to this instrument of death,
"No eye can witness, and no ear can hear,
No tongue can utter, nor heart understand
The incomes and refreshings from the Lord
Which now I feel." And in the spirit which
These words a little pictured, Robinson,
Past to the presence of that Holy One
For whom he laboured, and in whom he died.
Then Stevenson, another faithful steward
And servant of the Lamb, was ushered from
Deep scenes of suffering into scenes of joy.

But Mary Dyer, who was all prepared,
To join these martyrs in their heavenward flight,
Was left a little longer upon earth.
But a few fleeting months had rolled away,
Ere this devoted woman felt constrained,
Again to go among the Puritans,
In Massachusetts, and in Boston too.
And here she stands! the second time, upon
A gallows of New England. No reprieve
Arrests her sentence now. But still she feels
The same sweet incomes, and refreshing streams
From the Lord's Holy Spirit. In the midst
Of that excited multitude, she seems
The most resigned and peaceful.—But the deed
Is now accomplished, and the scene is closed!
Among the faithful martyrs of the Lamb,
Gathered forever round His Holy Throne,
She doubtless wears a pure and spotless robe,
And bears the palm of victory.
The blood of Leddra was soon after shed,
Which closed the scene of martyrdom among
The early Quakers in this colony,
But not the scene of suffering. Women were
Dragged through its towns half-naked, tied to carts,
While the lash fell upon their unclothed backs,
And bloody streets, showed where they past along.
And such inhuman treatment was bestowed
On the first female minister of Christ,
Who preached the doctrine of his inward Light.
But in New England, there was really found
A refuge from oppression, justice reigned
Upon Rhode Island. In that early day,
The rights of conscience were held sacred there,
And persecution was a thing unknown.
A bright example, as a governor,
Was William Coddington. He loved the law—
The perfect law of righteousness—and strove
To govern by it; and all faithful Friends
Felt him a brother in the blessed Truth.
In North America, the Puritans
Stood not alone in efforts to prevent
The introduction and the spread of light.
The Dutch plantation of New Amsterdam,
Sustained a measure of the evil work.
The savage cruelties inflicted on
The faithful Hodgson, have few parallels
In any age or country; but the Lord
Was with His servant in the midst of all,
And healed his tortured and his mangled frame.
The early Friends were bright and shining stars,
For they reflected the clear holy light
The Sun of Righteousness bestowed on them.
They followed no deceiving, transient glare—
No ignis fatuus of bewildered minds;
They followed Jesus in the holiness
Of His unchanging Gospel. They endured
Stripes and imprisonment and pillories,
Torture and slavery and banishment,
And even death; but they would not forsake
Their Holy Leader, or His blessed cause.
Their patient suffering, and firm steadfastnesss,
Secured a rich inheritance for those
Who have succeeded them. Do these now feel
That firm devotion to the cause of Truth—That
singleheartedness their fathers felt?
Do they appreciate the price and worth

Of the great legacy and precious trust
Held for their children? The great cruelties
Borne by the fathers, have not been entailed
On their descendants, who now dwell at ease.
The world does not revile them. Do not some
Love it the more for this? and do they not
Make more alliance with it, and partake
More and more freely of its tempting baits,
Its fashions and its spirit? but are these
More pure and holy than they were of old,
When in the light of Truth, their fathers saw
That deep corruption overspread the world?
Other professors latterly have learned
To speak of Quakers with less bitterness
Than when the name reproachfully was cast
In ridicule upon them. Has not this
Drawn watchmen from the citadel of Truth?
Has it not opened doors that had been closed,
And should have been forever? And by these,
Has not an enemy been stealing in,
To spoil the goods of many; to assail,
And strive in secrecy to gather strength,
To overcome the citadel at last?
Is it not thought illiberal to refuse
Alliances with those who now profess
Respect and friendship? Must the Quaker then
Bow in the house of Rimmon, saying, Lord
Pardon in this thy servant? Do not some
Fail to resist encroachments, when they come
Clothed in enticing words, and wear the guise
Of charity and kindness, and are veiled,
Or sweetened to the taste, by courtesy?
But is a snare less certain, when concealed
By some enticing bait? or is a ball
Less sure and fatal, when it flies unheard,
Or, when the hand that sends it is unseen,
Or offers friendship? Did not Joab say,
"Art thou in health my brother?" and appeared
To kiss Amasa, while he thrust his sword
Into his life-blood? And when Jonas fled
From the Lord's service, and the stormy waves
Threatened the ship that bore him, was the cause
Not found within it? Was there not a calm
When he, whose disobedience to the Lord
Had raised the tempest, was no longer there?
Truth has a standard openly displayed,
Untorn—unsullied. Man indeed may change,
And may forsake it; but the Standard still
Remains immutable. May all who love
This Holy Banner, rally to it now!
May all whose dwellings are upon the sand,
Seek for a building on that living Rock,
Which stands forever;—for a storm has come—
A storm that tries foundations! Even now,
The flooding rains are falling, and the winds
Rapidly rising to a tempest, beat
Upon all dwellings. They alone can stand
Which have the Rock beneath them, and above
The Omnipresent and Omnipotent.

Some sort of apparently authentic war club, heavy pipe, and belt of beads, shells, and bones alleged to have been the ones allegedly collected by Alderman at the site of his killing of *Metacom* and alleged to have been passed on to Captain Benjamin Church and then allegedly to the Reverend John Checkley by Metacom's killer, allegedly in exchange for the Reverend's gold watch, were loaned at this point by Angelica Gilbert James to the Historical Society of Connecticut in Hartford. She alleged that she had inherited these items from her distant ancestor, the Reverend Checkley of Providence, Rhode Island. Eventually the Historical Society would return these three items to her but, in the process of returning them, all track would be lost of a couple of the items and only the war club is presently locatable.



The barrel of the gun with which, supposedly, King Phillip had been slain, was at this point on display in Plymouth, and this, at least, does appear to have been an authentic relic — at least in the sense that some such relic was indeed at the time on display, a physical object whatever its provenance, so described, and thus it would be glimpsed by Henry Thoreau in 1851:

July 31, Thursday: Those same round shells (*Scutella parma* (*placenta*)?) on the sand as at Cape Cod, the live ones reddish the dead white– Went off early this morning with Uncle Ned to catch bass with the small fish I had found on the sand the night before– 2 of his neighbor Albert Watson's boys were there –not James the oldest –but Edward the sailor & Mortimer –(or Mort –) in their boat They killed some striped basse (*Labrax lineatus*) with paddles in a shallow creek in the sand –& caught some lobsters. I remarked that the sea shore was singularly clean for notwithstanding the spattering of the water & mud & squirting of the clams & wading to & fro the boat my best black pants retained no stains nor dirt as they would acquire from walking in the country. I caught a bass with a young — haik? (perchance) trailing 30 feet behind while Uncle Ned paddled.– They catch them in England with a "trawl-net" sometimes they weigh 75 lbs here

At 11 AM set sail to Plymouth. We went somewhat out of a direct course to take advantage of the tide which was coming in. Saw the site of the first house which was burned –on Leyden Street –walked up the same. – parallel with the Town Brook. Hill from which Billington Sea was discovered hardly a mile from the shore on Watsons grounds. Watsons Hill where treaty was made across brook South of Burying Hill At [Marston] Watsons– The Oriental Plane– *Abies Douglasii*– ginkgo tree q.v. on Common. –a foreign hardhack –Eng. oak –dark colored small leaf –Spanish chestnut. Chinese arbor-vitæ– Norway spruce like our fir balsam– A new kind of fir-balsam– Black eagle one of the good cherries– fuchsias in hot house– Earth bank covered with cement.

Mr Thomas Russel –who cannot be 70 –at whose house on Leyden st. I took tea & spent the evening –told me that he remembered to have seen Ebeneezer Cobb a nat. of Plymouth who died in Kingston in 1801 aged 107 who remembered to have had personal knowledge of Peregrine White saw him an old man riding on horse back –(he lived to be 83)– White was born at Cape Cod harbor before the Pilgrims got to Plymouth– C. Sturgis's mother told me the same of herself at the same time. She remembered Cobb sitting in an arm chair like the one she herself occupied with his silver locks falling about his shoulders twirling one thumb over the other– Russell told me that he once bought some *primitive* woodland in P. which was sold at auction the bigest Pitch pines 2 ft diameter –for *8 shillings* an acre– If he had bought enough it would have been a pasture. There is still forest in this town which the axe has not touched says Geo. Bradford. According to Thatchers Hist. of P. there were 11,662 acres of woodland in '31. or 20 miles square. Pilgrims first saw Bil. sea about Jan 1st –visited it Jan 8th. The oldest stone in the Plymouth Burying ground 1681 (Coles? hill where those who died the first winter were buried –said to have been levelled & sown to conceal loss from Indians.) Oldest on our hill 1677 In Mrs Plympton's Garden on Leyden st. running down to Town Brook. Saw an abundance of pears –gathered excellent June-eating apples –saw a large lilack about 8 inches diameter– Methinks a soil may improve when at length it has shaded itself with vegetation.

Wm S Russel the Registrer at the Court House showed the oldest Town records. for all are preserved –on 1st page a plan of Leyden st dated Dec. 1620 –with names of settlers. They have a great many folios. The writing plain. Saw the charter granted by the Plymouth Company to the Pilgrims signed by Warwick date 1629 & the box in which it was brought over with the seal.
Pilgrim Hall– They used to crack off pieces of the Forefathers Rock for visitors with a cold chisel till the town forebade it. The stone remaining at wharf is about 7 ft square. Saw 2 old arm chairs that came over in the May flower.– the large picture by Sargent.– Standish's sword.– gun barrel with which Philip was killed – – mug & pocket-book of Clark the mate– Iron pot of Standish.– Old pipe tongs. Ind relics a flayer

KING PHILLIP
PLYMOUTH ROCK

a pot or mortar of a kind of fire proof stone very hard–

only 7 or 8 inches long. A Commission from Cromwell to Winslow? –his signature torn off. They talk of a monument on the rock. The burying hill 165 ft high. Manomet 394 ft high by state map. Saw more pears at Washburn's garden. No graves of Pilgrims.
Seaweed generally used along shore– Saw the *Prinos glabra*, inkberry at Bil. sea. Sandy plain with oaks of various kinds cut in less than 20 yrs– No communication with Sandwich– P end of world 50 miles thither by rail road– Old. Colony road poor property. Nothing saves P. but the rock. Fern-leaved beach–
Saw the King crab *Limulus polyphemus* –horseshoe & saucepan fish –at the island covered with sea green & buried in the sand –for concealment.
In P. the *Convolvulus arvensis* –small Bindweed.

CLARK'S ISLAND
BOSTON HARBOR

The following preposterous illustration of *Metacom* was prepared by Samuel Griswold Goodrich for Graham's American Monthly Magazine:

Spring: As the War on Mexico broke out, Thomas Mayne Reid, Jr. was in Newport, Rhode Island as a correspondent for the New-York Herald and was using the pen name "Ecolier" in addition to "The Poor Scholar."

April 22, Wednesday: Loring Dudley Chapin died. The body would be interred at the Swan Point Cemetery of Providence, Rhode Island.

Summer: In Providence, Rhode Island in approximately this year, the masons went on strike to have a day's labor defined as ten hours. In this strike the mason apprentice John William Davis (wage 40 cents a day) joined, and his boss became so angry with him that although it was conventional for apprentices to receive an extra dollar and the day off on College Commencement day early in September, his boss would neglect to provide him with the extra dollar with which to celebrate that holiday.

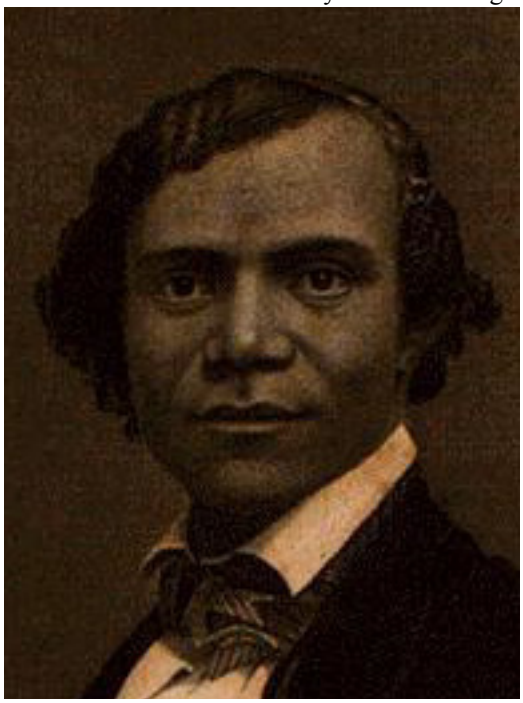
August 7: "The potatoes all about Kingstown are rotting."

RHODE ISLAND

In one area between Dublin and Cork in Ireland, travelers could smell the rotting potatoes even from the public highway.

IRISH POTATO FAMINE

Fall/Winter: Henry Bibb would spend the fall and winter of this year in New England, lecturing against slavery:



And there I found a kind reception wherever I traveled among the friends of freedom.

Presumably it was during this period that Bibb ventured into Rhode Island and met William J. Brown:

Henry Bibb, from Tennessee [Kentucky, actually], came in. He had taken an excursion from home and had never seen fit to go back again [well, actually, he had gone back, but then escaped again]. He saw the Free Soil ticket spread out, which gentlemen of that party left for distribution. Mr. Bibb was nearly white, and knew well what slavery was. Taking up a Liberty ticket he said, "I hope the colored people will sustain this ticket." Several of our people being present and knowing that that ticket was nothing more than Democratic bait to draw off the colored voters, came down with vengeance on the tickets, much to the great surprise of Bibb.

FREE SOIL PARTY
LIBERTY PARTY

1847

The Providence Gas Company was incorporated, to light the city's streets. Mains would be laid first in the principal downtown thoroughfares, and gradually gas would be superseding whale oil for highway illumination throughout Providence and in other urban areas of Rhode Island. (Presumably the archaic fixtures now in place along Benefit Street are intended as an architectural echo of this sort of street lighting.)

The Borden family began the luxurious Fall River line of steamboats, to transfer RR passengers out of Boston to New-York by steaming them on rails down to Fall River on Narragansett Bay and then steaming them over the waves along Long Island Sound. This would be a preferred, ultra-luxurious mode of travel until just prior to WWII. The Borden family was white[2] but virtually every member of the service staff on the steamboats would be black. (The *Lexington*, which would catch fire and sink in the night, in the winter, four miles from shore, with the greatest loss of life, would be a steamer on this line.)

On the old Fall River Line,
I fell for Suzie's line of talk,
And Susie fell for mine.
Then we fell in with a parson,
And he tied us tight as twine.
But I wish "oh Lord,"
I fell overboard,
On the old Fall River Line.

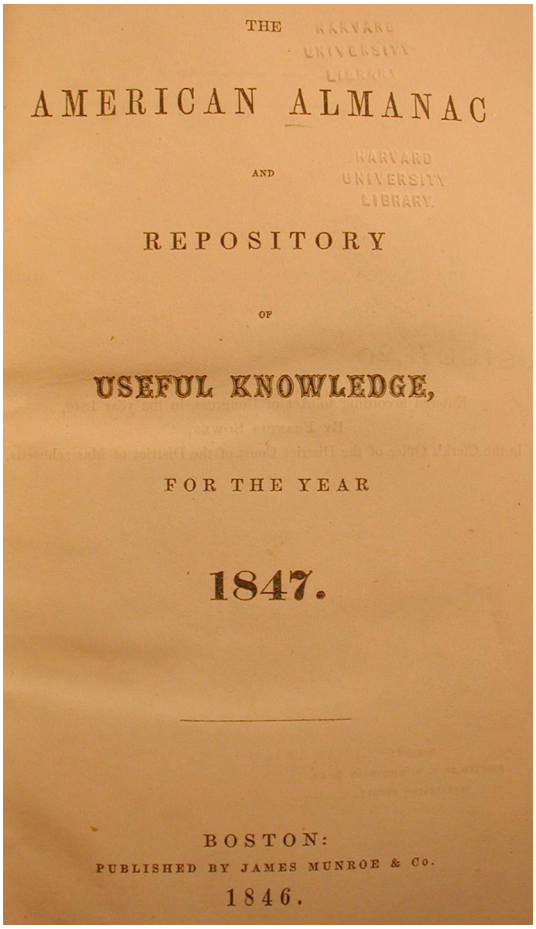
2. For instance, Lizzie Andrew Borden (1860-1927) of Fall River was a white woman.

THE PROVIDENCE ALMANAC FOR 1847.

THE RHODE-ISLAND ALMANAC FOR 1847. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Providence, Rhode Island: Hugh H. Brown.

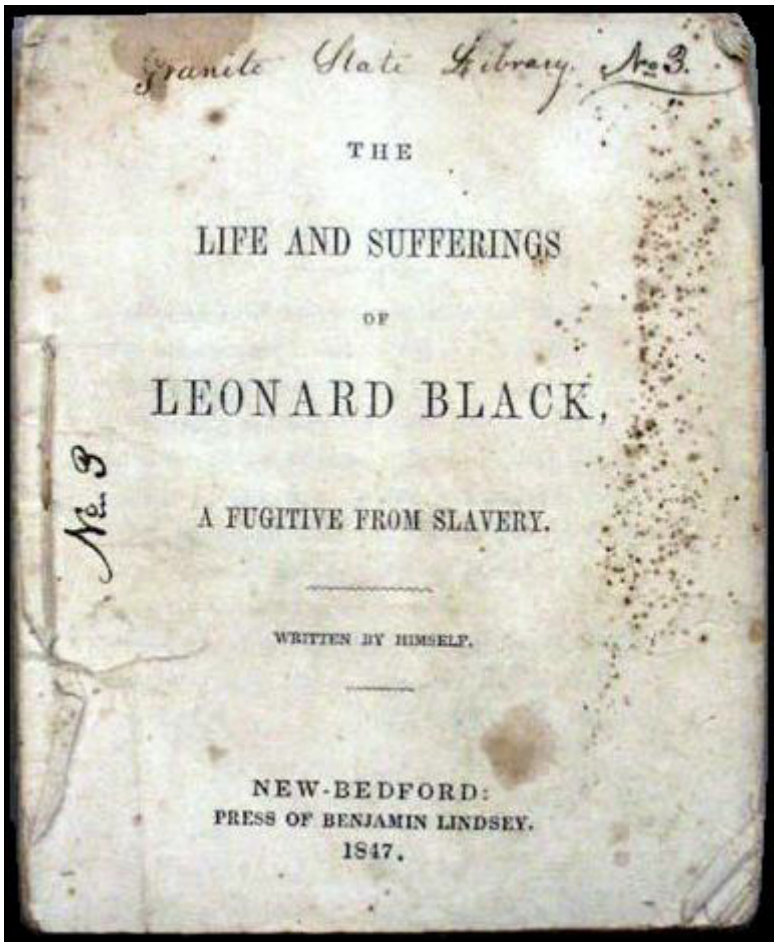
The Boston almanac for this year contained a comet list attributed to Professor Benjamin Peirce of Harvard College. This list contained no predictions of future returns, listing only previous visits and orbital calculations.

ASTRONOMY



(Professor Peirce's list ends with a comet seen during 1846 and thus does not include the comet discovered by Maria Mitchell on October 1st, 1847.)

Leonard Black's THE LIFE AND SUFFERINGS OF LEONARD BLACK, A FUGITIVE FROM SLAVERY was issued by Benjamin Lindsey on Nantucket and in New Bedford, as printed in Providence, Rhode Island:[3]



During this year, in Providence, William J. Brown fell ill.

(Do you suppose that this autobiography printed for Black in Providence in 1847 would serve as any sort of model for Brown's autobiography published in Providence in 1883?)

In Rhode Island, Elisha Harris was in charge.

The Quaker monthly meeting of South Kingstown, Rhode Island, which had in 1842 been suspended due to religious dissension, and had in 1845 divided itself, at this point resumed the worship of God as one Gurneyite group and another Wilburite group. This would be the local situation until 1881, when the local Wilburite meeting would be laid down (discontinued), and 1899 when the local Gurneyite meeting would also be laid down.

3. The book was for Black to sell to obtain funds for additional ministerial training. He told of his birth in Anne Arundel County, Maryland and related childhood experiences as a slave in Baltimore, especially emphasizing mistreatment while "owned like a cow or horse" by a series of slavemasters. He had escaped, married, and become a pastor in Portland and in Boston, as well as being an itinerant preacher.

As Providence, Rhode Island grew, crowding became a problem at the Dexter Asylum. When the Butler Hospital for the mentally ill would open in this year at a pastoral setting overlooking the Seekonk River, some of the asylum's inmates would be transferred there.

PSYCHOLOGY

In this year Friends Jarvia Congdon and Lydia Congdon came to the Yearly Meeting School on top of the hill as superintendents, briefly, and were then superseded by Friends Silas Cornell and Sarah M. Cornell.

Superintendents.

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

This magnificent image was prepared of a disgraced Providence, Rhode Island politician:

THOMAS WILSON DORR

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

April 29, Thursday: David Greene Haskins was ordained as a deacon in the Episcopal Church by Bishop Henslaw in Providence, Rhode Island.

Lydia Maria Child embraced an Emersonian conceit in order to express her dissatisfaction with her hubby:

> Poor David! He drives on at much the same result in *all* the

affairs of life. He constantly reminds me of Emerson's remark that "Some men expend infinite effort to arrive nowhere."

May 26, Wednesday: Nathaniel Hawthorne saw his school chum Franklin Pierce off on a foreign adventure:

> The author saw General Pierce, in Boston, on the eve of his departure for *Vera Cruz*. He had been intensely occupied, since his appointment, in effecting the arrangements necessary on leaving his affairs, as well as by the preparations, military and personal, demanded by the expedition. The transports were waiting at Newport to receive the troops. He was now in the midst of bustle, with some of the officers of his command about him, mingled with the friends whom he was to leave behind. The severest point of the crisis was over, for he had already bidden his family farewell. His spirits appeared to have risen with the occasion. He was evidently in his element; nor, to say the truth, dangerous as was the path before him, could it be regretted that his life was now to have the opportunity of that species of success which —in his youth, at least— he had considered the best worth struggling for. He looked so fit to be a soldier, that it was impossible to doubt —not merely his good conduct, which was as certain before the event as afterwards, but —his good fortune in the field, and his fortunate return.

NEWPORT
RHODE ISLAND
WAR ON MEXICO

August 17, Sunday: ... Mexico was won with less exertion & less true valor than are required to do one season's haying in New England– The former work was done by those who played truant and ran away from

the latter. Those Mexican's were mown down more easily than the summer's crop of grass in many a farmer's fields....

May 27, Thursday: Henry Thoreau's letter of May 8th was responded to by James Elliot Cabot presumably in Boston, speaking of Professor Agassiz's surprise and pleasure at the extent of Thoreau's subsequent collections, mentioning a live fox which was "doing well" in a cage in Agassiz's back yard.

> Mr. Agassiz was very much surprised and pleased at the extent of the collections you sent during his absence; the little fox he has established in comfortable quarters in his back-yard, where he is doing well. Among the fishes you sent there is one, probably two, new species.

RHODE ISLAND

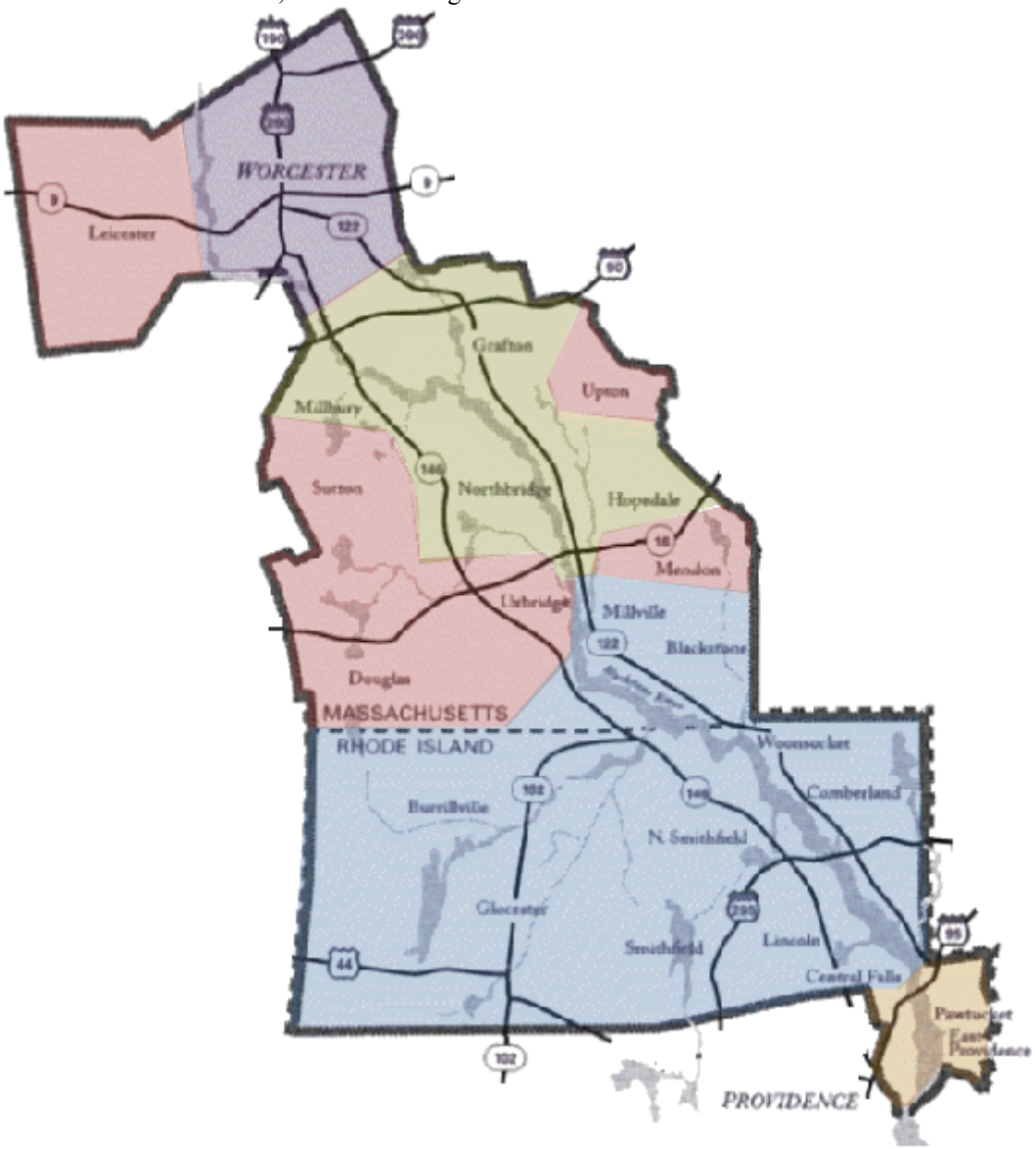
ROGUE ISLAND

Franklin Pierce departed from Newport, Rhode Island on his grand foreign adventure:

> He sailed from Newport on the 27th of May, in the bark *Kepler*, having on board three companies of the Ninth Regiment of Infantry, together with Colonel Ransom, its commander, and the officers belonging to the detachment. The passage was long and tedious, with protracted calms, and so smooth a sea that a sail boat might have performed the voyage in safety. The *Kepler* arrived at *Vera Cruz* in precisely a month after her departure from the United States, without speaking a single vessel from the south during the passage, and, of course, receiving no intelligence as to the position and state of the army which these reenforcements were to join.... During the passage from America, under the tropics, he would go down into the stifling air of the hold, with a lemon, a cup of tea, and, better and more efficacious than all, a kind word, for the sick.

HAWTHORNE'S BIO OF PIERCE
WAR ON MEXICO

October 25, Monday: The railroad carried passengers from Providence, Rhode Island to Worcester in two hours. On the inaugural run a train of nine cars was pulled by three engines. The opening of the Providence-Worcester Railroad instantly obsoleted the Blackstone Canal: "The two unions between Worcester and Providence — the first was weak as water; the last is strong as iron."



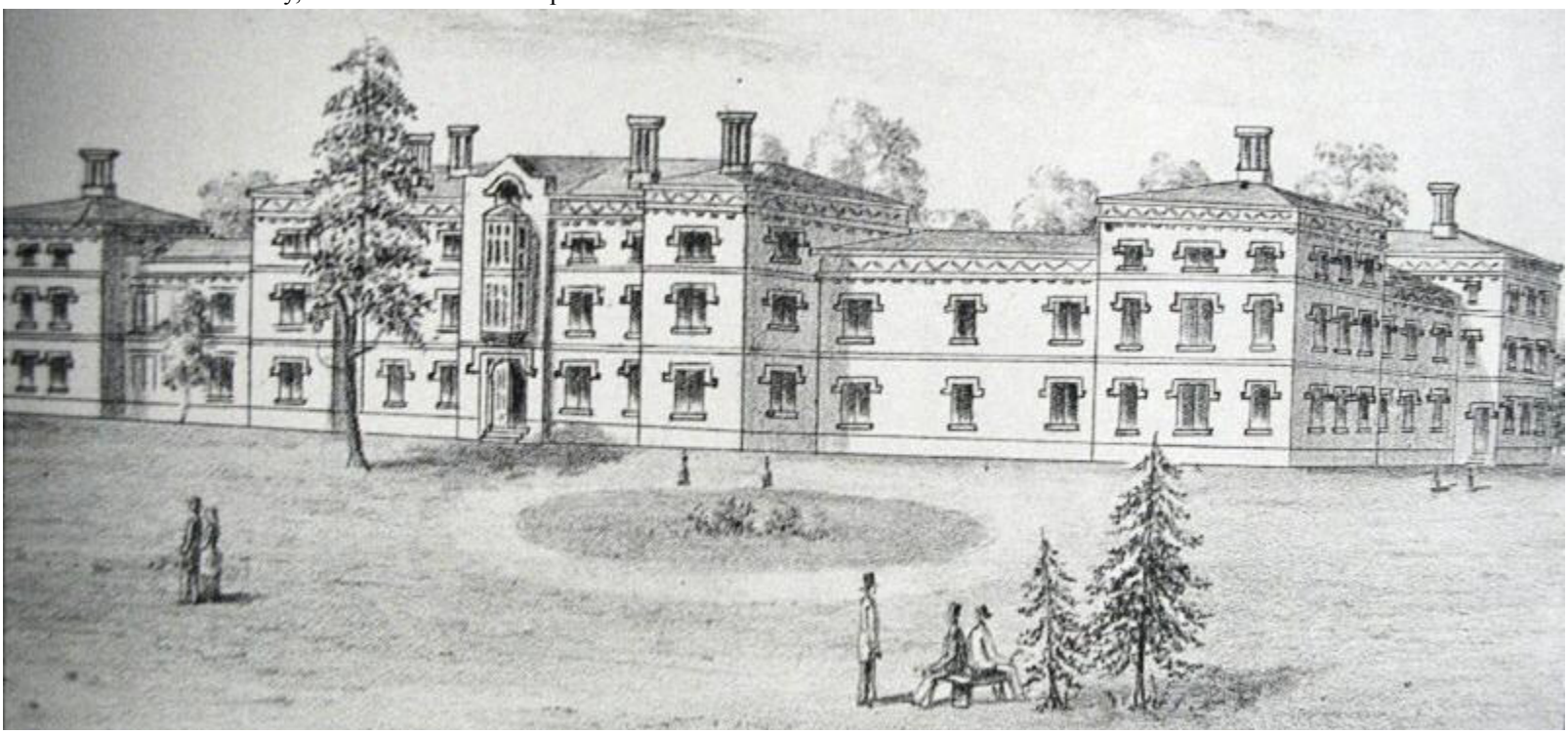
"[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly."
— Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington

This railroad (which remains a major factor in the state's economy) would in the following year construct a massive terminal, the Union Passenger Depot, in Providence.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

December 1, Wednesday: The Butler Hospital for the Insane opened in Providence, Rhode Island on a former farm of 114 acres, the Grotto Farm with a brick house dating to 1731, to the northeast of the settlement, which had been obtained for $6,000. The facility was an E-shaped, 3-story brick building in the Tudor-Gothic style of the day, and had rooms for 100 patients.



One of the first three patients was delusional and evidently schizophrenic. Another was probably a manic depressive. The third was a former sailor who may have been a victim of neural syphilis. The cost of caring for patients at this hospital would be $2 per day (an equivalent sum of money in that era would have minimally supported two small families of laborers). Dr. Ray would learn that:

> None but those directly engaged in the service can have the least conception of the difficulty experienced in devising amusements for the insane. ...The farm furnishes employment to the patients, the effect of which in promoting the bodily and mental health of our patients is of incalculable value ... of every form. ...How much more suitable for such a purpose is a hospital furnished with the means of exercise, labor, warming and ventilation ... than a narrow room of a country jail with its

irresponsible keeper.[4]

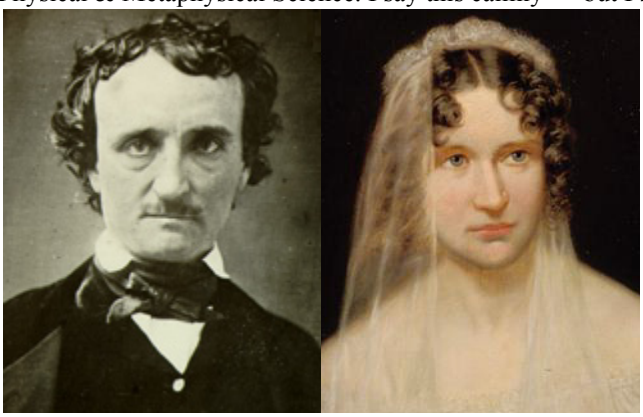
PSYCHOLOGY

1848

The bereaved Edgar Allan Poe, his life falling apart, wrote the poems "Ulalume" and "Annabel Lee," and the story "Hop-Frog," and began a long prose poem entitled EUREKA in which he was going to unite his consciousness with the cosmos, or, at least, with the *KOSMOS* of Alexander von Humboldt — to whom "with very profound respect" he would dedicate this work. Our poet was one guy who was going to hold it together if it could possibly be held together! As a study on the nature and origin of the universe this 150-page prose poem on what today we would term "cosmology" was remarkably prescient regardless of its author's personal lack of qualifications to engage in scientific research. The conventional understanding of that day notwithstanding –that the universe was static and eternal– Poe depicted it as something that had exploded into being out of a "primordial particle" in "one instantaneous flash" (this, of course, is the Big Bang theory, that would not become received wisdom until the 1960s). The universe was held to be expanding, and the prospect was offered that it might one day collapse (this is the inference that Alexander Friedmann would in 1922 derive from Albert Einstein's equations). Poe toyed with the idea of something like black holes. He provided a correct appreciation of Olbers Paradox, the issue of why the sky is dark at night rather than suffused with light: the universe is finite both in space and in time. For more of an appreciation of Poe's musings, consult Tom Siegfried's STRANGER MATTERS: UNDISCOVERED IDEAS ON THE FRONTIERS OF SPACE AND TIME (Joseph Henry Press, 2002). Poe wrote to a friend during this year that

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

"What I have propounded will (in good time) revolutionize the world of Physical & Metaphysical Science. I say this calmly — but I say it."



A rich and well-connected and middle-aged Providence, Rhode Island widow and poet, Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman, addressed a Valentine's Day poem to this eligible widower poet cosmologist, whom she was unaware that she had met three years earlier — and he replied with his poem "To Helen" and they became engaged on condition that he stop drinking. Sarah's mother, who had been burned by the behavior of Sarah's father, insisted that her daughter protect herself by obtaining from Poe a prenuptial agreement turning her property over to her mother. Scandalous stories were at the time in circulation about the behavior of the poet, who, apparently, in the middle of all this, staged a suicide gesture. (This was the year in which he coined our term "normality," evidently as an oppositional term to whatever it was that he personally was representing.) Poe continued to drink (in fact the photo above was taken on Winchester Street in Providence on the day after a binge), so Sarah called off the wedding. Poe would level accusations against her family and, less than a year later, would attempt another such marriage, this time with Sarah Elmira Royster — and would shortly thereafter be found unconscious in Baltimore and would die.

Completion of the Union Passenger Depot of the Providence and Worcester Railroad, on filled land once part of Providence's Salt Cove, as our nation's largest train station. (Eat salt, Grand Central!)[5]

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

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

On the East Side of Providence, Rhode Island, the extensive "What Cheer Farm" had been owned by Governor Arthur Fenner, and then by his son, Governor James Fenner. In this year Samuel Dexter gave a small piece of this land to the city. Today this small piece is known as Fenner Park (it is at Governor and Williams Streets).

5. This station would spectacularly burn on February 20, 1896.

The case of Luther v. Borden was based upon an arrest that had been dubious: Luther Borden, a Rhode Island military officer, had been sent, by "Law and Order" government officials who were refusing to step down although they had already been voted out of power, to arrest Martin Luther (no relation), an activist in Dorr's new "Suffrage" government. After his arrest, this Dorr activist had objected that his arrest amounted to nothing more or less than a straightforward trespass under the criminal code. In other words, he was insisting not only that he should be released, but even that the people who perpetrated this had committed an offense for which they needed to be punished. –This would wind up being heard by the nine infallible (on a good day) justices of the Supreme Court of the United States of America.

The RG Hazard & Co cotton cloth company on the Saugatucket River in Peace Dale in South Kingstown, Rhode Island incorporated itself as the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company.

January 27, Friday: Just as Henry Thoreau was in Concord preparing to address the lyceum audience, Karl Marx in Brussels had been completing the COMMUNIST MANIFESTO in the German language and Alexis de Tocqueville

READ THE FULL TEXT

in Paris had been preparing a prophetic speech he would deliver in the Chamber of Deputies. On this date Tocqueville warned this ruling group that the working classes of Paris were acquiring a set of attitudes which went well beyond the mere overthrowal of laws, or ministries, or governments, extending even into "the overthrow of society, breaking down the bases on which it now rests." The French political system was resting, he offered, on too narrow a base, and that base was going to widen itself, if necessary through another revolution.

Margaret Fuller reported to the New-York Tribune from Rome:

> January 27.
> This morning comes the plan of the Address of the Chamber of Deputies to the King: it contains some passages that are keenest satire upon him, as also some remarks which have been made, some words of truth spoken in the Chamber of Peers, that must have given him some twinges of nervous shame as he read. M. Guizot's speech on the affairs of Switzerland shows his usual shabbiness and falsehood. Surely never prime minister stood in so mean a position as he: one like Metternich seems noble and manly in comparison; for if there is a cruel, atheistical, treacherous policy, there needs not at least continual evasion to avoid declaring in words what is so glaringly manifest in fact.
> There is news that the revolution has now broken out in Naples; that neither Sicilians nor Neapolitans will trust the king, but demand his abdication; and that his bad demon, Coclo, has fled, carrying two hundred thousand ducats of gold. But in particulars this news is not yet sure, though, no doubt, there is truth, at the bottom.
> Aggressions on the part of the Austrians continue in the North. The advocates Tommaso and Manin (a light thus reflected on the name of the last Doge), having dared to declare formally the necessity of reform, are thrown into prison. Every day the cloud swells, and the next fortnight is likely to bring important tidings.

Senator Daniel Webster argued in regard to the "Dorr Rebellion" in Rhode Island, before the Supreme Court of the United States of America. Two very similar cases had been combined. One case was that of Martin Luther v. Luther M. Borden and others, which had come before the court by writ of error from the Circuit Court of Rhode Island. A jury, under the rulings of the court (Mr. Justice Story), had found in that case for the defendants, and this was what was being appealed. The other case was that of Rachel Luther v. Luther M. Borden and others, which had come before the higher court because the lower court opinion had been split. The first case was argued by Mr. Hallet and Attorney-General Clifford for the plaintiffs in error, and by Mr. Whipple and Mr. Webster for the defendants in error. Chief Justice Roger Taney would deliver the opinion of the Supreme Court, affirming the judgment of the lower court in the first case but dismissing the second case for want of jurisdiction. Here is Webster's argument:

> There is something novel and extraordinary in the case now before the court. All will admit that it is not such a one as is usually presented for judicial consideration.
> It is well known, that in the years 1841 and 1842 political agitation existed in Rhode Island. Some of the citizens of that State undertook to form a new constitution of government, beginning their proceedings towards that end by meetings of the people, held without authority of law, and conducting those proceedings through such forms as led them, in 1842, to say that they had established a new constitution and form of government, and placed Mr. Thomas W. Dorr at its head. The previously existing, and then existing, government of Rhode Island treated these proceedings as nugatory, so far as they went to establish a new constitution; and criminal, so far as they proposed to confer authority upon any persons to interfere with the acts of the existing government, or to exercise powers of legislation, or administration of the laws. All will remember that the state of things approached, if not actual conflict between men in arms, at least the "perilous edge of battle." Arms were resorted to, force was used, and greater force threatened. In June, 1842, this agitation subsided. The new government, as it called itself, disappeared from the scene of action. The former government, the Charter government, as it was sometimes styled, resumed undisputed control, went on in its ordinary course, and the peace of the State was restored.
> But the past had been too serious to be forgotten. The legislature of the State had, at an early stage of the troubles, found it necessary to pass special laws for the punishment of the persons concerned in these proceedings. It defined the crime of treason, as well as smaller offences, and authorized the declaration of martial law. Governor King, under this authority, proclaimed the existence of treason and rebellion in the State, and declared the State under martial law. This having been done, and the ephemeral government of Mr. Dorr having disappeared, the grand juries of the State found indictments against several persons for having disturbed the peace of the State, and one against Dorr himself for treason. This indictment came on in the Supreme Court of Rhode Island in 1844, before a tribunal admitted on all hands to be the legal judicature of the State. He was tried by a jury of Rhode Island, above all objection, and after all challenge. By that jury, under the instructions of the

court, he was convicted of treason, and sentenced to imprisonment for life.

Now an action is brought in the courts of the United States, and before your honors, by appeal, in which it is attempted to prove that the characters of this drama have been oddly and wrongly cast; that there has been a great mistake in the courts of Rhode Island. It is alleged, that Mr. Dorr, instead of being a traitor or an insurrectionist, was the real governor of the State at the time; that the force used by him was exercised in defence of the constitution and laws, and not against them; that he who opposed the constituted authorities was not Mr. Dorr, but Governor King; and that it was **he** who should have been indicted, and tried, and sentenced. This is rather an important mistake, to be sure, if it be a mistake. "Change places," cries poor Lear, "**change places**, and **handy-dandy**, which is the justice and which the thief?" So our learned opponents say, "Change places, and, **handy-dandy**, which is the governor and which the rebel?" The aspect of the case is, as I have said, novel. It may perhaps give vivacity and variety to judicial investigations. It may relieve the drudgery of perusing briefs, demurrers, and pleas in bar, bills in equity and answers, and introduce topics which give sprightliness, freshness, and something of an uncommon public interest to proceedings in courts of law.

However difficult it may be, and I suppose it to be **wholly** impossible, that this court should take judicial cognizance of the questions which the plaintiff has presented to the court below, yet I do not think it a matter of regret that the cause has come hither. It is said, and truly said, that the case involves the consideration and discussion of what are the true principles of government in our American system of public liberty. This is very right. The case does involve these questions, and harm can never come from their discussion, especially when such discussion is addressed to reason and not to passion; when it is had before magistrates and lawyers, and not before excited masses out of doors. I agree entirely that the case does raise considerations, somewhat extensive, of the true character of our American system of popular liberty; and although I am constrained to differ from the learned counsel who opened the cause for the plaintiff in error, on the principles and character of that American liberty, and upon the true characteristics of that American system on which changes of the government and constitution, if they become necessary, are to be made, yet I agree with him that this case does present them for consideration.

Now, there are certain principles of public liberty, which, though they do not exist in all forms of government, exist, nevertheless, to some extent, in different forms of government. The protection of life and property, the *habeas corpus*, trial by jury, the right of open trial, these are principles of public liberty existing in their best form in the republican institutions of this country, but, to the extent mentioned, existing also in the constitution of England. Our American liberty, allow me to say, therefore, has an ancestry, a pedigree, a history. Our ancestors brought to this continent all

that was valuable, in their judgment, in the political institutions of England, and left behind them all that was without value, or that was objectionable. During the colonial period they were closely connected of course with the colonial system; but they were Englishmen, as well as colonists, and took an interest in whatever concerned the mother country, especially in all great questions of public liberty in that country. They accordingly took a deep concern in the Revolution of 1688. The American colonists had suffered from the tyranny of James the Second. Their charters had been wrested from them by mockeries of law, and by the corruption of judges in the city of London; and in no part of England was there more gratification, or a more resolute feeling, when James abdicated and William came over, than in the American colonies. All know that Massachusetts immediately overthrew what had been done under the reign of James, and took possession of the colonial fort in the harbor of Boston in the name of the new king.

When the United States separated from England, by the Declaration of 1776, they departed from the political maxims and examples of the mother country, and entered upon a course more exclusively American. From that day down, our institutions and our history relate to ourselves. Through the period of the Declaration of Independence, of the Confederation, of the Convention, and the adoption of the Constitution, all our public acts are records out of which a knowledge of our system of American liberty is to be drawn.

From the Declaration of Independence, the governments of what had been colonies before were adapted to their new condition. They no longer owed allegiance to crowned heads. No tie bound them to England. The whole system became entirely popular, and all legislative and constitutional provisions had regard to this new, peculiar, American character, which they had assumed. Where the form of government was already well enough, they let it alone. Where reform was necessary, they reformed it. What was valuable, they retained; what was essential, they added, and no more. Through the whole proceeding, from 1776 to the latest period, the whole course of American public acts, the whole progress of this American system, was marked by a peculiar conservatism. The object was to do what was necessary, and no more; and to do that with the utmost temperance and prudence.

Now, without going into historical details at length, let me state what I understand the American principles to be, on which this system rests.

First and chief, no man makes a question, that the people are the source of all political power. Government is instituted for their good, and its members are their agents and servants. He who would argue against this must argue without an adversary. And who thinks there is any peculiar merit in asserting a doctrine like this, in the midst of twenty millions of people, when nineteen millions nine hundred and ninety-nine thousand nine hundred and ninety-nine of them hold it, as well as himself? There is no other doctrine of government here; and no man imputes to another, and no man should claim for himself, any peculiar merit for asserting what everybody knows to be true, and nobody

denies. Why, where else can we look but to the people for political power, in a popular government? We have no hereditary executive, no hereditary branch of the legislature, no inherited masses of property, no system of entails, no long trusts, no long family settlements, no primogeniture. Every estate in the country, from the richest to the poorest, is divided among sons and daughters alike. Alienation is made as easy as possible; everywhere the transmissibility of property is perfectly free. The whole system is arranged so as to produce, as far as unequal industry and enterprise render it possible, a universal equality among men; an equality of rights absolutely, and an equality of condition, so far as the different characters of individuals will allow such equality to be produced. He who considers that there may be, is, or ever has been, since the Declaration of Independence, any person who looks to any other source of power in this country than the people, so as to give peculiar merit to those who clamor loudest in its assertion, must be out of his mind, even more than Don Quixote. His imagination was only perverted. He saw things not as they were, though what he saw were things. He saw windmills, and took them to be giants, knights on horseback. This was bad enough; but whoever says, or speaks as if he thought, that anybody looks to any other source of political power in this country than the people, must have a stronger and wilder imagination, for he sees nothing but the creations of his own fancy. He stares at phantoms.

Well, then, let all admit, what none deny, that the only source of political power in this country is the people. Let us admit that they are **sovereign**, for they are so; that is to say, the aggregate community, the collected will of the people, is sovereign. I confess that I think Chief Justice Jay spoke rather paradoxically than philosophically, when he said that this country exhibited the extraordinary spectacle of many sovereigns and no subjects. The people, he said, are all sovereigns; and the peculiarity of the case is that they have no subjects, except a few colored persons. This must be rather fanciful. The aggregate community is sovereign, but that is not **the** sovereignty which acts in the daily exercise of sovereign power. The people cannot act daily as the people. They must establish a government, and invest it with so much of the sovereign power as the case requires; and this sovereign power being delegated and placed in the hands of the government, that government becomes what is popularly called THE STATE. I like the old-fashioned way of stating things as they are; and this is the true idea of a state. It is an organized government, representing the collected will of the people, as far as they see fit to invest that government with power. And in that respect it is true, that, though **this** government possesses sovereign power, it does not possess **all** sovereign power; and so the State governments, though sovereign in some respects, are not so in all. Nor could it be shown that the powers of both, as delegated, embrace the whole range of what might be called sovereign power. We usually speak of the States as sovereign States. I do not object to this. But the Constitution never so styles them, nor does the Constitution speak of the government here as the

general or the **federal** government. It calls this government the United States; and it calls the State governments State governments. Still the fact is undeniably so; legislation is a sovereign power, and is exercised by the United States government to a certain extent, and also by the States, according to the forms which they themselves have established, and subject to the provisions of the Constitution of the United States.

Well, then, having agreed that all power is originally from the people, and that they can confer as much of it as they please, the next principle is, that, as the exercise of legislative power and the other powers of government immediately by the people themselves is impracticable, they must be exercised by REPRESENTATIVES of the people; and what distinguishes American governments as much as any thing else from any governments of ancient or of modern times, is the marvellous felicity of their representative system. It has with us, allow me to say, a somewhat different origin from the representation of the commons in England, though that has been worked up to some resemblance of our own. The representative system in England had its origin, not in any supposed rights of the people themselves, but in the necessities and commands of the crown. At first, knights and burgesses were summoned, often against their will, to a Parliament called by the king. Many remonstrances were presented against sending up these representatives; the charge of paying them was, not unfrequently, felt to be burdensome by the people. But the king wished their counsel and advice, and perhaps the presence of a popular body, to enable him to make greater headway against the feudal barons in the aristocratic and hereditary branch of the legislature. In process of time these knights and burgesses assumed more and more a popular character, and became, by degrees, the guardians of popular rights. The people through them obtained protection against the encroachments of the crown and the aristocracy, till in our day they are understood to be the representatives of the people, charged with the protection of their rights. With us it was always just so. Representation has always been of this character. The power is with the people; but they cannot exercise it in masses or *per capita*; they can only exercise it by their representatives. The whole system with us has been popular from the beginning.

Now, the basis of this representation is suffrage. The right to choose representatives is every man's part in the exercise of sovereign power; to have a voice in it, if he has the proper qualifications, is the portion of political power belonging to every elector. That is the beginning. That is the mode in which power emanates from its source, and gets into the hands of conventions, legislatures, courts of law, and the chair of the executive. It begins in suffrage. Suffrage is the delegation of the power of an individual to some agent.

This being so, then follow two other great principles of the American system.

1. The first is, that the right of suffrage shall be guarded, protected, and secured against force and against fraud; and,
2. The second is, that its exercise shall be prescribed by

previous law; its qualifications shall be prescribed by previous law; the time and place of its exercise shall be prescribed by previous law; the manner of its exercise, under whose supervision (always sworn officers of the law), is to be prescribed. And then, again, the results are to be certified to the central power by some certain rule, by some known public officers, in some clear and definite form, to the end that two things may be done: first, that every man entitled to vote may vote; second, that his vote may be sent forward and counted, and so he may exercise his part of sovereignty, in common with his fellow-citizens.

In the exercise of political power through representatives we know nothing, we never have known any thing, but such an exercise as should take place through the prescribed forms of law. When we depart from that, we shall wander as widely from the American track as the pole is from the track of the sun.

I have said that it is one principle of the American system, that the people limit their governments, National and State. They do so; but it is another principle, equally true and certain, and, according to my judgment of things, equally important, that the people often **limit themselves**. They set bounds to their own power. They have chosen to secure the institutions which they establish against the sudden impulses of mere majorities. All our institutions teem with instances of this. It was their great conservative principle, in constituting forms of government, that they should secure what they had established against hasty changes by simple majorities. By the fifth article of the Constitution of the United States, Congress, two thirds of both houses concurring, may propose amendments of the Constitution; or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the States, may call a convention; and amendments proposed in either of these forms must be ratified by the legislatures or conventions of three fourths of the States. The fifth article of the Constitution, if it was made a topic for those who framed the "people's constitution" of Rhode Island, could only have been a matter of reproach. It gives no countenance to any of their proceedings, or to any thing like them. On the contrary, it is one remarkable instance of the enactment and application of that great American principle, that the constitution of government should be cautiously and prudently interfered with, and that changes should not ordinarily be begun and carried through by bare majorities.

But the people limit themselves also in other ways. They limit themselves in the first exercise of their political rights. They limit themselves, by all their constitutions, in two important respects; that is to say, in regard to the qualifications of **electors**, and in regard to the qualifications of the **elected**. In every State, and in all the States, the people have precluded themselves from voting for everybody they might wish to vote for; they have limited their own right of choosing. They have said, We will elect no man who has not such and such qualifications. We will not vote ourselves, unless we have such and such qualifications. They have also limited themselves to certain prescribed forms for the conduct of elections. They must

vote at a particular place, at a particular time, and under particular conditions, or not at all. It is in these modes that we are to ascertain the will of the American people; and our Constitution and laws know no other mode. We are not to take the will of the people from public meetings, nor from tumultuous assemblies, by which the timid are terrified, the prudent are alarmed, and by which society is disturbed. These are not American modes of signifying the will of the people, and they never were. If any thing in the country, not ascertained by a regular vote, by regular returns, and by regular representation, has been established, it is an exception, and not the rule; it is an anomaly which, I believe, can scarcely be found.

It is true that at the Revolution, when all government was immediately dissolved, the people got together, and what did they do? Did they exercise sovereign power? They began an inceptive organization, the object of which was to bring together representatives of the people, who should form a government. This was the mode of proceeding in those States where their legislatures were dissolved. It was much like that had in England upon the abdication of James the Second. He ran away, he abdicated. He threw the great seal into the Thames. I am not aware that, on the 4th of May, 1842, any great seal was thrown into Providence River! But James abdicated, and King William took the government; and how did he proceed? Why, he at once requested all who had been members of the old Parliament, of any regular Parliament in the time of Charles the Second, to assemble. The Peers, being a standing body, could of course assemble; and all they did was to recommend the calling of a convention, to be chosen by the same electors, and composed of the same numbers, as composed a Parliament. The convention assembled, and, as all know, was turned into a Parliament. This was a case of necessity, a revolution. Don't we call it so? And why? Not merely because a new sovereign then ascended the throne of the Stuarts, but because there was a change in the organization of the government. The legal and established succession was broken. The convention did not assemble under any preceding law. There was a *hiatus*, a syncope, in the action of the body politic. This was revolution, and the Parliaments that assembled afterwards referred their legal origin to that revolution.

Is it not obvious enough, that men cannot get together and count themselves, and say they are so many hundreds and so many thousands, and judge of their own qualifications, and call themselves the people, and set up a government? Why, another set of men, forty miles off, on the same day, with the same propriety, with as good qualifications, and in as large numbers, may meet and set up another government; one may meet at Newport and another at Chepachet, and both may call themselves the people. What is this but anarchy? What liberty is there here, but a tumultuary, tempestuous, violent, stormy liberty, a sort of South American liberty, without power except in its spasms, a liberty supported by arms to-day, crushed by arms to-morrow? Is that **our** liberty?

The regular action of popular power, on the other hand, places

upon public liberty the most beautiful face that ever adorned that angel form. All is regular and harmonious in its features, and gentle in its operation. The stream of public authority, under American liberty, running in this channel, has the strength of the Missouri, while its waters are as transparent as those of a crystal lake. It is powerful for good. It produces no tumult, no violence, and no wrong;—

"Though deep, yet clear; though gentle, yet not dull;
Strong, without rage; without o'erflowing, full."

Another American principle growing out of this, and just as important and well settled as is the truth that the people are the source of power, is, that, when in the course of events it becomes necessary to ascertain the will of the people on a new exigency, or a new state of things or of opinion, the legislative power provides for that ascertainment by an ordinary act of legislation. Has not that been our whole history? It would take me from now till the sun shall go down to advert to all the instances of it, and I shall only refer to the most prominent, and especially to the establishment of the Constitution under which you sit. The old Congress, upon the suggestion of the delegates who assembled at Annapolis in May, 1786, recommended to the States that they should send delegates to a convention to be holden at Philadelphia to form a Constitution. No article of the old Confederation gave them power to do this; but they did it, and the States did appoint delegates, who assembled at Philadelphia, and formed the Constitution. It was communicated to the old Congress, and that body recommended to the States to make provision for calling the people together to act upon its adoption. Was not that exactly the case of passing a law to ascertain the will of the people in a new exigency? And this method was adopted without opposition, nobody suggesting that there could be any other mode of ascertaining the will of the people.

My learned friend went through the constitutions of several of the States. It is enough to say, that, of the old thirteen States, the constitutions, with but one exception, contained no provision for their own amendment. In New Hampshire there was a provision for taking the sense of the people once in seven years. Yet there is hardly one that has not altered its constitution, and it has been done by conventions called by the legislature, as an ordinary exercise of legislative power. Now what State ever altered its constitution in any other mode? What alteration has ever been brought in, put in, forced in, or got in anyhow, by resolutions of mass meetings, and then by applying force? In what State has an assembly, calling itself the people, convened without law, without authority, without qualifications, without certain officers, with no oaths, securities, or sanctions of any kind, met and made a constitution, and called it the constitution of the STATE? There must be some authentic mode of ascertaining the will of the people, else all is anarchy. It resolves itself into the law of the strongest, or, what is the same thing, of the most numerous for the moment, and all constitutions and all legislative rights are prostrated and

disregarded.
But my learned adversary says, that, if we maintain that the people (for he speaks in the name and on behalf of the people, to which I do not object) cannot commence changes in their government but by some previous act of legislation, and if the legislature will not grant such an act, we do in fact follow the example of the Holy Alliance, "the doctors of Laybach," where the assembled sovereigns said that all changes of government must proceed from sovereigns; and it is said that we mark out the same rule for the people of Rhode Island.
Now will any man, will my adversary here, on a moment's reflection, undertake to show the least resemblance on earth between what I have called the American doctrine, and the doctrine of the sovereigns at Laybach? What do I contend for? I say that the will of the people must prevail, when it is ascertained; but there must be some legal and authentic mode of ascertaining that will; and then the people may make what government they please. Was that the doctrine of Laybach? Was not the doctrine there held this,—that the **sovereigns** should say what changes shall be made? Changes must proceed from them; new constitutions and new laws emanate from them; and all the people had to do was to submit. That is what they maintained. All changes began with the sovereigns, and ended with the sovereigns. Pray, at about the time that the Congress of Laybach was in session, did the allied powers put it to the people of Italy to say what sort of change they would have? And at a more recent date, did they ask the citizens of Cracow what change they would have in their constitution? Or did they take away their constitution, laws, and liberties, by their own sovereign act? All that is necessary here is, that the will of the people should be ascertained, by some regular rule of proceeding, prescribed by previous law. But when ascertained, that will is as sovereign as the will of a despotic prince, of the Czar of Muscovy, or the Emperor of Austria himself, though not quite so easily made known. A ukase or an edict signifies at once the will of a despotic prince; but that will of the people, which is here as sovereign as the will of such a prince, is not so quickly ascertained or known; and thence arises the necessity for suffrage, which is the mode whereby each man's power is made to tell upon the constitution of the government, and in the enactment of laws.
One of the most recent laws for taking the will of the people in any State is the law of 1845, of the State of New York. It begins by recommending to the people to assemble in their several election districts, and proceed to vote for delegates to a convention. If you will take the pains to read that act, it will be seen that New York regarded it as an ordinary exercise of legislative power. It applies all the penalties for fraudulent voting, as in other elections. It punishes false oaths, as in other cases. Certificates of the proper officers were to be held conclusive, and the will of the people was, in this respect, collected essentially in the same manner, supervised by the same officers, under the same guards against force and fraud, collusion and misrepresentation, as are usual

in voting for State or United States officers.
We see, therefore, from the commencement of the government under which we live, down to this late act of the State of New York, one uniform current of law, of precedent, and of practice, all going to establish the point that changes in government are to be brought about by the will of the people, assembled under such legislative provisions as may be necessary to ascertain that will, truly and authentically.
In the next place, may it please your honors, it becomes very important to consider what bearing the Constitution and laws of the United States have upon this Rhode Island question. Of course the Constitution of the United States recognizes the existence of States. One branch of the legislature of the United States is composed of Senators, appointed by the States, in their State capacities. The Constitution of the United States [Article IV, § 4] says that "the United States shall guarantee to each State a republican form of government, and shall protect the several States against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive when the legislature cannot be convened, against domestic violence." Now, I cannot but think this a very stringent article, drawing after it the most important consequences, and all of them **good** consequences. The Constitution, in the section cited, speaks of States as having existing legislatures and existing executives; and it speaks of cases in which violence is practised or threatened against the State, in other words, "domestic violence"; and it says the State shall be protected. It says, then, does it not? that the existing government of a State shall be protected. My adversary says, if so, and if the legislature would not call a convention, and if, when the people rise to make a constitution, the United States step in and prohibit them, why, the rights and privileges of the people are checked, controlled. Undoubtedly. The Constitution does not proceed on the **ground** of revolution; it does not proceed on any right of revolution; but it does go on the idea, that, within and under the Constitution, no new form of government can be established in any State, without the authority of the existing government.
Admitting the legitimacy of the argument of my learned adversary, it would not authorize the inference he draws from it, because his own case falls within the same range. He has proved, he thinks, that there was an existing government, a paper government, at least; a rightful government, as he alleges. Suppose it to be rightful, in his sense of right. Suppose three fourths of the people of Rhode Island to have been engaged in it, and ready to sustain it. What then? How is it to be done without the consent of the previous government? How is the fact, that three fourths of the people are in favor of the new government, to be legally ascertained? And if the existing government deny that fact, and if that government hold on, and will not surrender till displaced by force, and if it is threatened by force, then the case of the Constitution arises, and the United States must aid the government that is in, because an attempt to displace a government by force is "domestic violence." It is the exigency provided for by the Constitution.

If the existing government maintain its post, though three fourths of the State have adopted the new constitution, is it not evident enough that the exigency arises in which the constitutional power here must go to the aid of the existing government? Look at the law of 28th February, 1795 [Statutes at Large, Volume I, page 424]. Its words are, "And in case of an insurrection in any State, **against the government thereof**, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States, on application of the legislature of such State, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), to call forth such number of the militia of any other State or States, as may be applied for, as he may judge sufficient to suppress such insurrection." Insurrection against the **existing** government is, then, the thing to be suppressed.

But the law and the Constitution, the whole system of American institutions, do not contemplate a case in which a resort will be necessary to proceedings *aliunde*, or outside of the law and the Constitution, for the purpose of amending the frame of government. They go on the idea that the States are all republican, that they are all representative in their forms, and that these popular governments in each State, the annually created creatures of the people, will give all proper facilities and necessary aids to bring about changes which the people may judge necessary in their constitutions. They take that ground and act on no other supposition. They assume that the popular will in all particulars will be accomplished. And history has proved that the presumption is well founded.

This, may it please your honors, is the view I take of what I have called the American system. These are the methods of bringing about changes in government.

Now, it is proper to look into this record, and see what the questions are that are presented by it, and consider,—

1. Whether the case is one for judicial investigation at all; that is, whether this court can try the matters which the plaintiff has offered to prove in the court below; and,

2. In the second place, whether many things which he did offer to prove, if they could have been and had been proved, were not acts of criminality, and therefore no justification; and,

3. Whether all that was offered to be proved would show that, in point of fact, there had been established and put in operation any new constitution, displacing the old charter government of Rhode Island.

The declaration is in trespass. The writ was issued on the 8th of October, 1842, in which Martin Luther complains that Luther M. Borden and others broke into his house in Warren, Rhode Island, on the 29th of June, 1842, and disturbed his family and committed other illegal acts.

The defendant answers, that large numbers of men were in arms, in Rhode Island, for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the State, and making war upon it; and that, for the preservation of the government and people, martial law had been proclaimed by the Governor, under an act of the legislature, on the 25th of June, 1842. The plea goes on to aver, that the plaintiff was aiding and abetting this attempt to overthrow the

government, and that the defendant was under the military authority of John T. Child, and was ordered by him to arrest the plaintiff; for which purpose he applied at the door of his house, and being refused entrance he forced the door.

The action is thus for an alleged trespass, and the plea is justification under the law of Rhode Island. The plea and replications are as usual in such cases in point of form. The plea was filed at the November term of 1842, and the case was tried at the November term of 1843, in the Circuit Court in Rhode Island. In order to make out a defence, the defendant offered the charter of Rhode Island, the participation of the State in the Declaration of Independence, its uniting with the Confederation in 1778, its admission into the Union in 1790, its continuance in the Union and its recognition as a State down to May, 1843, when the constitution now in force was adopted. Here let it be particularly remarked, that Congress admitted Rhode Island into the Constitution under this identical old charter government, thereby giving sanction to it as a republican form of government. The defendant then refers to all the laws and proceedings of the Assembly, till the adoption of the present constitution of Rhode Island. To repel the case of the defendant, the plaintiff read the proceedings of the old legislature, and documents to show that the idea of changing the government had been entertained as long ago as 1790. He read also certain resolutions of the Assembly in 1841, memorials praying changes in the constitution, and other documents to the same effect. He next offered to prove that suffrage associations were formed throughout the State in 1840 and 1841, and that steps were taken by them for holding public meetings; and to show the proceedings had at those meetings. In the next place, he offered to prove that a mass convention was held at Newport, attended by over four thousand persons, and another at Providence, at which over six thousand attended, at which resolutions were passed in favor of the change. Then he offered to prove the election of delegates; the meeting of the convention in October, 1841, and the draughting of the Dorr constitution; the reassembling in 1841, the completion of the draught, its submission to the people, their voting upon it, its adoption, and the proclamation on the 13th of January, 1842, that the constitution so adopted was the law of the land.

That is the substance of what was averred as to the formation of the Dorr constitution. The plaintiff next offered to prove that the constitution was adopted by a large majority of the qualified voters of the State; that officers were elected under it in April, 1842; that this new government assembled on the 3d of May; and he offered a copy of its proceedings. He sets forth that the court refused to admit testimony upon these subjects, and to these points; and ruled that the old government and laws of the State were in full force and power, and then existing, when the alleged trespass was made, and that they justified the acts of the defendants, according to their plea.

I will give a few references to other proceedings of this new government. The new constitution was proclaimed on the 13th of January, 1842, by some of the officers of the convention. On the

13th of April, officers were appointed under it, and Mr. Dorr was chosen governor. On Tuesday, the 3d of May, the new legislature met, was organized, and then, it is insisted, the new constitution became the law of the land. The legislature sat through that whole day, morning and evening; adjourned; met the next day, and sat through all that day, morning and evening, and did a great deal of paper business. It went through the forms of choosing a Supreme Court, and transacting other business of a similar kind, and on the evening of the 4th of May it adjourned, to meet again on the first Monday of July, in Providence,

"And word spake never more."

It never reassembled. This government, then, whatever it was, came into existence on the **third** day of May, and went out of existence on the **fourth** day of May.

I will now give some references concerning the new constitution authorized by the government, the old government, and which is now the constitution of Rhode Island. It was framed in November, 1842. It was voted upon by the people on the 21st, 22d, and 23d days of November, was then by them accepted, and became by its own provisions the constitution of Rhode Island on the first Tuesday of May, 1843.

Now, what, in the mean time, had become of Mr. Dorr's government? According to the principle of its friends, they are forced to admit that it was superseded by the new, that is to say, the present government, because the people accepted the new government. But there was no new government till May, 1843. According to them, then, there was an *interregnum* of a whole year. If Mr. Dorr had had a government, what became of it? If it ever came in, what put it out of existence? Why did it not meet on the day to which it had adjourned? It was not displaced by the new constitution, because that had not been agreed upon in convention till November. It was not adopted by the people till the last of November, and it did not go into operation till May. What then had become of Mr. Dorr's government?

I think it is important to note that the new constitution, established according to the prescribed forms, came thus into operation in May, 1843, and was admitted by all to be the constitution of the State. What then happened in the State of Rhode Island? I do not mean to go through all the trials that were had after this ideal government of Mr. Dorr ceased to exist; but I will ask attention to the report of the trial of Dorr for treason, which took place in 1844, before all the judges of the Supreme Court of the State. He was indicted in August, 1842, and the trial came on in March, 1844. The indictment was found while the charter government was in force, and the trial was had under the new constitution. He was found guilty of treason.

And I turn to the report of the trial now, to call attention to the language of the court in its charge, as delivered by Chief Justice Durfee. I present the following extract from that charge:—

> "It may be, Gentlemen, that he really believed himself to be the governor of the State, and that he acted

throughout under this delusion. However this may go to extenuate the offence, it does not take from it its legal guilt. It is no defence to an indictment for the violation of any law for the defendant to come into court and say, 'I thought that I was but exercising a constitutional right, and I claim an acquittal on the ground of mistake,' Were it so, there would be an end to all law and all government. Courts and juries would have nothing to do but to sit in judgment upon indictments, in order to acquit or excuse. The accused has only to prove that he has been systematic in committing crime, and that he thought that he had a right to commit it; and, according to this doctrine, you must acquit. The main ground upon which the prisoner sought for a justification was, that a constitution had been adopted by a majority of the male adult population of this State, voting in their primary or natural capacity or condition, and that he was subsequently elected, and did the acts charged, as governor under it. He offered the votes themselves to prove its adoption, which were also to be followed by proof of his election. This evidence we have ruled out. Courts and juries, Gentlemen, do not count votes to determine whether a constitution has been adopted or a governor elected, or not. Courts take notice, without proof offered from the bar, what the constitution is or was, and who is or was the governor of their own State. It belongs to the legislature to exercise this high duty. It is the legislature which, in the exercise of its delegated sovereignty, counts the votes and declares whether a constitution be adopted or a governor elected, or not; and we cannot revise and reverse their acts in this particular, without usurping their power. Were the votes on the adoption of our present constitution now offered here to prove that it was or was not adopted; or those given for the governor under it, to prove that he was or was not elected; we could not receive the evidence ourselves, we could not permit it to pass to the jury. And why not? Because, if we did so, we should cease to be a mere judicial, and become a political tribunal, with the whole sovereignty in our hands. Neither the people nor the legislature would be sovereign. We should be sovereign, or you would be sovereign; and we should deal out to parties litigant, here at our bar, sovereignty to this or that, according to rules or laws of our own making, and heretofore unknown in courts.

"In what condition would this country be, if appeals could be thus taken to courts and juries? **This** jury might decide one way, and **that** another, and the sovereignty might be found here to-day, and there to-morrow. Sovereignty is above courts or juries, and the creature cannot sit in judgment upon its creator. Were

> this instrument offered as the constitution of a foreign state, we might, perhaps, under some circumstances, require proof of its existence; but, even in that case, the fact would not be ascertained by counting the votes given at its adoption, but by the certificate of the secretary of state, under the broad seal of the state. This instrument is not offered as a foreign constitution, and this court is bound to know what the constitution of the government is under which it acts, without any proof even of that high character. We know nothing of the existence of the so-called 'people's constitution' as law, and there is no proof before you of its adoption, and of the election of the prisoner as governor under it; and you can return a verdict only on the evidence that has passed to you."

Having thus, may it please your honors, attempted to state the questions as they arise, and having referred to what has taken place in Rhode Island, I shall present what further I have to say in three propositions:—

1st. I say, first, that the matters offered to be proved by the plaintiff in the court below are not of judicial cognizance; and proof of them, therefore, was properly rejected by the court.

2d. If all these matters could be, and had been, legally proved, they would have constituted no defence, because they show nothing but an **illegal** attempt to overthrow the government of Rhode Island.

3d. No proof was offered by the plaintiff to show that, in fact, another government had gone into operation, by which the Charter government had become displaced.

And first, these matters are not of judicial cognizance. Does this need arguing? Are the various matters of fact alleged, the meetings, the appointment of committees, the qualifications of voters,—is there any one of all these matters of which a court of law can take cognizance in a case in which it is to decide on sovereignty? Are fundamental changes in the frame of a government to be thus proved? The thing to be proved is a change of the sovereign power. Two legislatures existed at the same time, both claiming power to pass laws. Both could not have a legal existence. What, then, is the attempt of our adversaries? To put down one sovereign government, and to put another up, by facts and proceedings in regard to elections out of doors, unauthorized by any law whatever. Regular proceedings for a change of government may in some cases, perhaps, be taken notice of by a court; but this court must look elsewhere than out of doors, and to public meetings, irregular and unauthorized, for the decision of such a question as this. It naturally looks to that authority under which it sits here, to the provisions of the Constitution which have created this tribunal, and to the laws by which its proceedings are regulated. It must look to the acts of the government of the United States, in its various branches.

This Rhode Island disturbance, as everybody knows, was brought

to the knowledge of the President of the United States [John Tyler] by the public authorities of Rhode Island; and how did he treat it? The United States have guaranteed to each State a republican form of government. And a law of Congress has directed the President, in a constitutional case requiring the adoption of such a proceeding, to call out the militia to put down domestic violence, and suppress insurrection. Well, then, application was made to the President of the United States, to the executive power of the United States. For, according to our system, it devolves upon the executive to determine, in the first instance, what are and what are not governments. The President recognizes governments, foreign governments, as they appear from time to time in the occurrences of this changeful world. And the Constitution and the laws, if an insurrection exists against the government of any State, rendering it necessary to appear with an armed force, make it his duty to call out the militia and suppress it.

Two things may here be properly considered. The first is, that the Constitution declares that the United States shall protect every State against domestic violence; and the law of 1795, making provision for carrying this constitutional duty into effect in all proper cases, declares, that, "in case of an insurrection in any State against the government thereof, it shall be lawful for the President of the United States to call out the militia of other States to suppress such insurrection." These constitutional and legal provisions make it the indispensable duty of the President to decide, in cases of commotion, what is the rightful government of the State. He cannot avoid such decision. And in this case he decided, of course, that the existing government, the charter government, was the rightful government. He could not possibly have decided otherwise.

In the next place, if events had made it necessary to call out the militia, and the officers and soldiers of such militia, in protecting the existing government, had done precisely what the defendants in this case did, could an action have been maintained against them? No one would assert so absurd a proposition.

In reply to the requisition of the Governor, the President stated that he did not think it was yet time for the application of force; but he wrote a letter to the Secretary of War, in which he directed him to confer with the Governor of Rhode Island; and, whenever it should appear to them to be necessary, to call out from Massachusetts and Connecticut a militia force sufficient to **terminate at once** this insurrection, by the authority of the government of the United States. We are at no loss, therefore, to know how the executive government of the United States treated this insurrection. It was regarded as fit **to be suppressed**. That is manifest from the President's letters to the Secretary of War and to Governor King.

Now, the eye of this court must be directed to the proceedings of the general government, which had its attention called to the subject, and which did institute proceedings respecting it. And the court will learn from the proceedings of the executive

branch of the government, and of the two chambers above us, how the disturbances in Rhode Island were regarded; whether they were looked upon as the establishment of any government, or as a mere pure, unauthorized, unqualified **insurrection** against the authority of the existing government of the State.

I say, therefore, that, upon that ground, these facts are not facts which this court can inquire into, or which the court below could try; because they are facts going to prove (if they prove any thing) the establishment of a new sovereignty; and that is a question to be settled elsewhere and otherwise. From the very nature of the case, it is not a question to be decided by judicial inquiry. Take, for example, one of the points which it involves. My adversary offered to prove that the constitution was adopted by a majority of the people of Rhode Island; by a large majority, as he alleges. What does this offer call on your honors to do? Why, to ascertain, by proof, what is the number of citizens of Rhode Island, and how many attended the meetings at which the delegates to the convention were elected; and then you have to add them all up, and prove by testimony the qualifications of every one of them to be an elector. It is enough to state such a proposition to show its absurdity. As none such ever was sustained in a court of law, so none can be or ought to be sustained. Observe that minutes of proceedings can be no proof, for they were made by no authentic persons; registers were kept by no warranted officers; chairmen and moderators were chosen without authority. In short, there are no official records; there is no testimony in the case but parol. Chief Justice Durfee has stated this so plainly, that I need not dwell upon it.

But, again, I say you cannot look into the facts attempted to be proved, because of the certainty of the continuance of the old government till the new and legal constitution went into effect on the 3d of May, 1843. To prove that there was another constitution of two days' duration would be ridiculous. And I say that the decision of Rhode Island herself, by her legislature, by her executive, by the adjudication of her highest court of law, on the trial of Dorr, has shut up the whole case. Do you propose,—I will not put it in that form,—but would it be proper for this court to reverse that adjudication? That declares that the judges of Rhode Island know nothing of the "People's Constitution." Is it possible, then, for this court, or for the court below, to know any thing of it?

It appears to me that, if there were nothing else in the case, the proceedings of Rhode Island herself must close everybody's mouth, in the court and out of it. Rhode Island is competent to decide the question herself, and everybody else ought to be bound by her decision. And she has decided it.

And it is but a branch of this to say, according to my second proposition,—

2. That if every thing offered had been proved, if in the nature of the case these facts and proceedings could have been received as proof, the court could not have listened to them, because every one of them is regarded by the State in which they took place as a **criminal** act. Who can derive any authority from acts

declared to be criminal? The very proceedings which are now set up here show that this pretended constitution was founded upon acts which the legislature of the State had provided punishment for, and which the courts of the State have punished. All, therefore, which the plaintiff has attempted to prove, are acts which he was not allowed to prove, because they were criminal in themselves, and have been so treated and punished, so far as the State government, in its discretion, has thought proper to punish them.

3. Thirdly, and lastly, I say that there is no evidence offered, nor has any distinct allegation been made, that there was an actual government established and put in operation to displace the Charter government, even for a single day. That is evident enough. You find the whole embraced in those two days, the 3d and 4th of May. The French revolution was thought to be somewhat rapid. That took **three** days. But this work was accomplished in two. It is all there, and what is it? Its birth, its whole life, and its death were accomplished in forty-eight hours. What does it appear that the members of this government did? Why, they voted that A should be treasurer, and C, secretary, and Mr. Dorr, governor; and chose officers of the Supreme Court. But did ever any man under that authority attempt to exercise a particle of official power? Did any man ever bring a suit? Did ever an officer make an arrest? Did any act proceed from any member of this government, or from any agent of it, to touch a citizen of Rhode Island in his person, his safety, or his property, so as to make the party answerable upon an indictment or in a civil suit? Never. It never performed one single act of government. It never did a thing in the world! All was patriotism, and all was paper; and with patriotism and with paper it went out on the 4th of May, admitting itself to be, as all must regard it, a contemptible **sham**!

I have now done with the principles involved in this case, and the questions presented on this record.

In regard to the other case, I have but few words to say. And, first, I think it is to be regretted that the court below sent up such a list of points on which it was divided. I shall not go through them, and shall leave it to the court to say whether, after they shall have disposed of the first cause, there is any thing left. I shall only draw attention to the subject of martial law; and in respect to that, instead of going back to martial law as it existed in England at the time the charter of Rhode Island was granted, I shall merely observe that martial law confers power of arrest, of summary trial, and prompt execution; and that when it has been proclaimed, the land becomes a camp, and the law of the camp is the law of the land. Mr. Justice Story defines martial law to be the law of war, a resort to military authority in cases where the civil law is not sufficient; and it confers summary power, not to be used arbitrarily or for the gratification of personal feelings of hatred or revenge, but for the preservation of order and of the public peace. The officer clothed with it is to judge of the degree of force that the necessity of the case may demand; and there is no limit to this, except such as is to be found in the nature and character of the

exigency.

I now take leave of this whole case. That it is an interesting incident in the history of our institutions, I freely admit. That it has come hither is a subject of no regret to me. I might have said, that I see nothing to complain of in the proceedings of what is called the Charter government of Rhode Island, except that it might perhaps have discreetly taken measures at an earlier period for revising the constitution. If in that delay it erred, it was the error into which prudent and cautious men would fall. As to the enormity of freehold suffrage, how long is it since Virginia, the parent of States, gave up her freehold suffrage? How long is it since nobody voted for governor in New York without a freehold qualification? There are now States in which no man can vote for members of the upper branch of the legislature who does not own fifty acres of land. Every State requires more or less of a property qualification in its officers and electors; and it is for discreet legislation, or constitutional provisions, to determine what its amount shall be. Even the Dorr constitution had a property qualification. According to its provisions, for officers of the State, to be sure, anybody could vote; but its authors remembered that taxation and representation go together, and therefore they declared that no man, in any town, should vote to lay a tax for town purposes who had not the means to pay his portion. It said to him, You cannot vote in the town of Providence to levy a tax for repairing the streets of Providence; but you may vote for governor, and for thirteen representatives from the town of Providence, and send them to the legislature, and there they may tax the people of Rhode Island at their sovereign will and pleasure.

I believe that no harm can come of the Rhode Island agitation in 1841, but rather good. It will purify the political atmosphere from some of its noxious mists, and I hope it will clear men's minds from unfounded notions and dangerous delusions. I hope it will bring them to look at the regularity, the order, with which we carry on what, if the word were not so much abused, I would call our **glorious** representative system of popular government. Its principles will stand the test of this crisis, as they have stood the test and torture of others. They are exposed always, and they always will be exposed, to dangers. There are dangers from the extremes of too much and of too little popular liberty; from monarchy, or military despotism, on one side, and from licentiousness and anarchy on the other. This always will be the case. The classical navigator had been told that he must pass a narrow and dangerous strait:

> "Dextrum Scylla latus, laevum implacata Charybdis,
> Obsidet."

Forewarned he was alive to his danger, and knew, by signs not doubtful, where he was, when he approached its scene:

> "Et gemitum ingentem pelagi, pulsataque saxa,
> Audimus longe, fractasque ad litora voces;
> Exsultantque vada, atque aestu miscentur arenae.

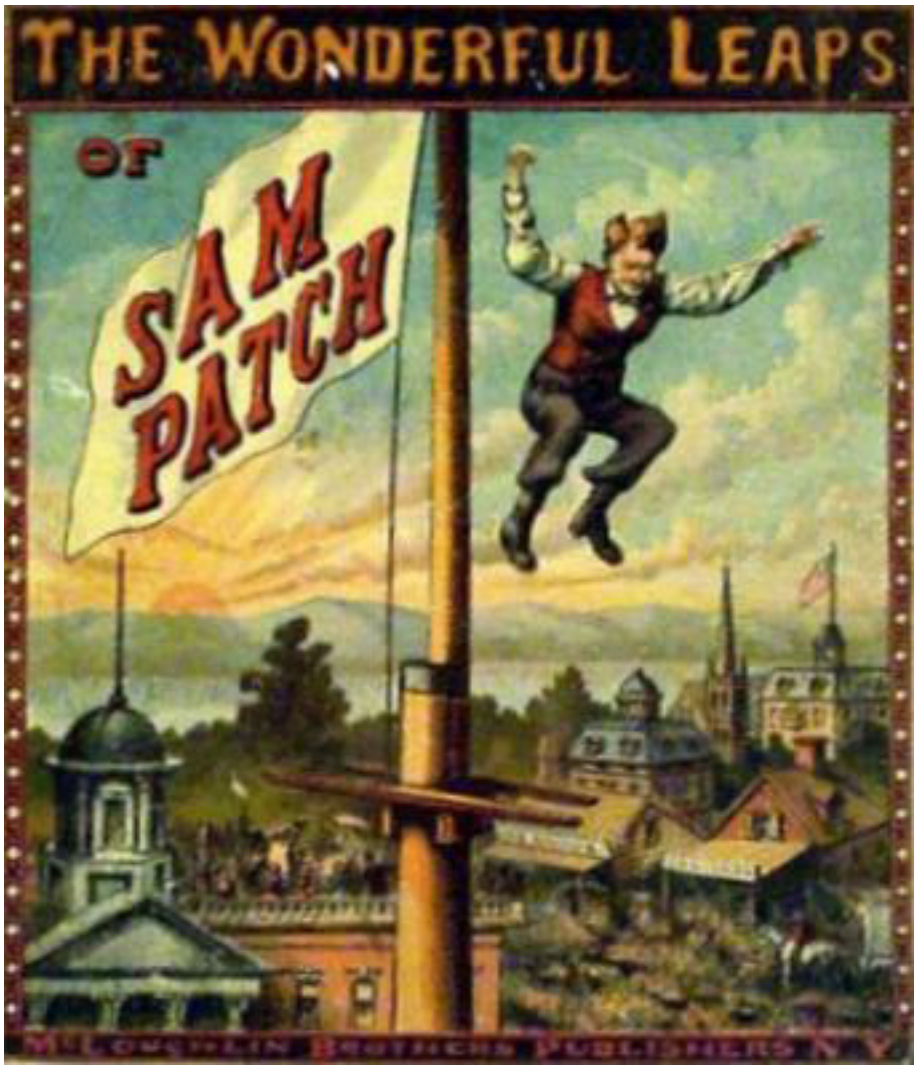
> ... Nimirum haec ilia Charybdis!"
>
> The long-seeing sagacity of our fathers enables us to know equally well where we are, when we hear the voices of tumultuary assemblies, and see the turbulence created by numbers meeting and acting without the restraints of law; and has most wisely provided constitutional means of escape and security. When the established authority of government is openly contemned; when no deference is paid to the regular and authentic declarations of the public will; when assembled masses put themselves above the law, and, calling themselves the people, attempt by force to seize on the government; when the social and political order of the state is thus threatened with overthrow, and the spray of the waves of violent popular commotion lashes the stars,—our political pilots may well cry out:
>
> "Nimirum haec illa Charybdis!"
>
> The prudence of the country, the sober wisdom of the people, has thus far enabled us to carry this Constitution, and all our constitutions, through the perils which have surrounded them, without running upon the rocks on one side, or being swallowed up in the eddying whirlpools of the other. And I fervently hope that this signal happiness and good fortune will continue, and that our children after us will exercise a similar prudence, and wisdom, and justice; and that, under the Divine blessing, our system of free government may continue to go on, with equal prosperity, to the end of time.

Spring: Dr. H.C. Preston relocated his medical practice in homœopathy to Providence, Rhode Island.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

June 17, Saturday: Sam Patch's legacy evidently was "You don't need to be from Rhode Island in order to be too stupid to be alive." It was reported in this day's newspapers that Hosea Hollenbrook, a lad who did not know how to swim, had attempted to repeat Sam's leap at the Genesee Falls in Rochester, New York — and of course had not survived.



Gone But Not Forgotten

August 4, Friday: The Reverend Edwin M. Stone, Congregationalist Minister at Large to the poor of Providence, Rhode Island, made a record of the following thought: "Passing through Martin Street today, I saw two children — a negro & a white about four years old, walking very lovingly together each with an arm thrown over the other's neck. The scene suggests the inquiry, 'Is prejudice against color natural or acquired?'"

August 7, Monday: Frederick Douglass was grazed by a thrown rock in Harrisburg PA.[6]

Work began on the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, Rhode Island. The architect was Patrick C. Keeley of Brooklyn. (The edifice would be dedicated on July 25, 1852 and consecrated on August 15, 1884.)

November: Edgar Allan Poe visited Providence, Rhode Island again to do some more wooing of the eligible widow Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman, wooing which clearly failed in its result because the poet then traveled by train to Boston, the town of his birth, and with a bottle of laudanum either attempted suicide or made a suicide gesture.

November 7, Tuesday: Presidential election day. The candidates were the Whig Zachary Taylor, the Democrat Lewis Cass, and the Free Soil Party candidate Martin Van Buren. Until this point the Whigs had been the expectable victors in Massachusetts elections. However, dramatic "Free-Soil" gains over the Whigs in this election marked the beginning of a long period of political instability. From this point until December 1853, when the tenuous aggregation of the Free-Soilers, Know-Nothings, temperance one-issue people, and Irish Catholics with the Democratic Party would begin to unravel, this uneasy coalition would have to hope for divisions within the Whig Party in order to achieve any victory at the Massachusetts polls.

This defeat marked the end of Martin Van Buren's political career.

After the election of a Whig as president, Zachary Taylor, the friends of Nathaniel Hawthorne, such as Henry Wadsworth Longfellow and James Russell Lowell, took up a subscription for his support.

William J. Brown of Providence, Rhode Island would recollect a tactful speech he made (we will forgive him if what he would report later is perhaps more like the speech he could have made, would have made, should have made, than like the speech he actually did make, as such is a common failing among aged recollectors), as follows:

ES 94-95: The Law and Order party broke up, the colored voters

6. The rock that heaved at him in Northampton MA has been preserved, by the Stetson family there. I don't know whether this Harrisburg rock has been similarly preserved, or not.

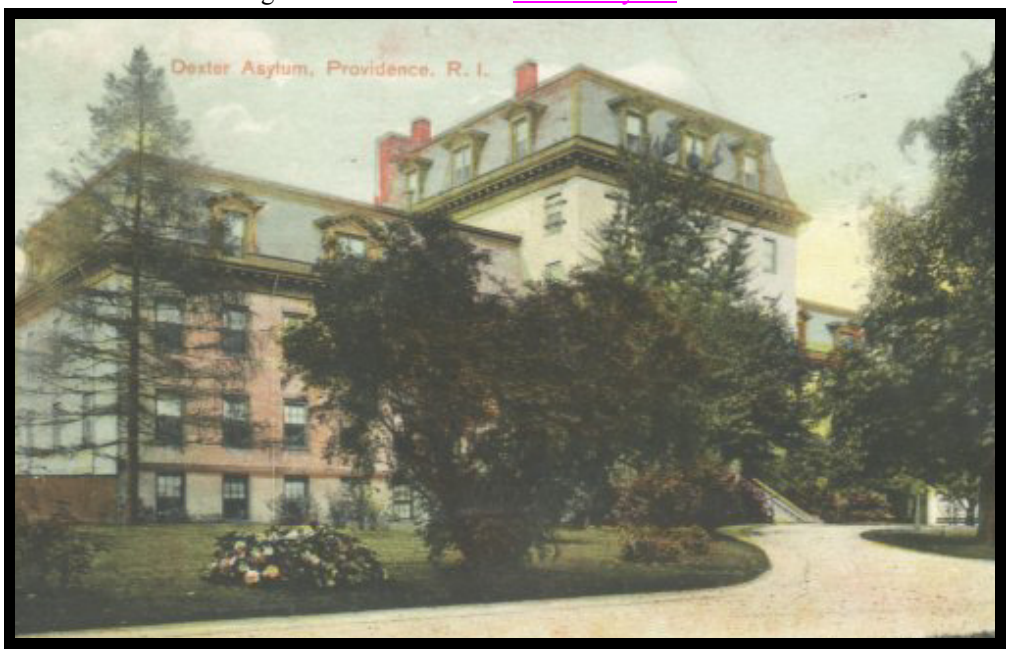
went over to the Whig party, the most of the Law and Order party being Whigs, still claiming our support. Their candidate for President was a slaveholder, Zachary Taylor. We did not like the idea of voting for a slaveholder, and called a meeting on South Main Street to see what we should do. I opposed the meeting being held in that part of the city, fearing it would prove injurious to my interest. I was in that part of the city working at shoe making, my custom was good, and I knew that if I attended that meeting and spoke in favor of the Whig candidate, I should lose their custom and perhaps get hurt. I could not speak in favor of the Democratic candidate for I was opposed to that party. I was obliged to attend the meeting in the third ward. I was at my wit's ends to know what to do. I attended the meeting and found the place packed with people, and about one hundred and fifty people filled out to the hall door. The meeting was opened when I arrived, Mr. Thomas Howland presiding as chairman. I went in and took the farthest corner of the room. George C. Willis was called, and took his position in front of the stage; addressing the chairman, he remarked, that we were in a very curious position; we must be decided in favor of one party or the other, and his opinion was of the two evils, we must choose the least; and his choice was in favor of Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate. Several others spoke, and in harsh terms denounced the Democratic party. I was then called, and tried to decline, but the call came from every one, Brown, Brown. I was compelled to speak. I arose, addressed the president, and told the audience we were called together to settle a very grave question, which as citizens, it was our duty to decide which of the two parties we were to support. We were not to decide upon the man, but the party. If we were to decide on the candidate, it would be not to cast a vote for Taylor, for he is a slaveholder; and this I presume is the feeling of every colored voter, but we are identified with the Whig party, and it is the duty of every colored person to cast his vote for the Whig party, shutting his eyes against the candidate; as he is nothing more than a servant for the party; but I wish it understood that I am not opposed to either party as such; because I believe there are good and bad men in both parties. I have warm friends in the Democratic party, which I highly esteem, and who would take pleasure at any time in doing me a favor. Some of them are my best customers; but in speaking of the party, those men know well the duty demanded of them by their party, and would not neglect it for the sake of accommodating me. I blame no man for carrying out the principles of his party. He has a perfect right to do so, for this is a free country, and we all have a right alike to enjoy our own opinion; there being two parties we are stirred up to action. It makes lively times, and I hope the times will continue to be lively, and our meetings to increase in number, for the more we have, and the larger the attendance upon them, the more my business will increase, for the more shoes that are worn out in attending these meetings, the more custom I shall have. I sat down amid loud cheering. It was a bitter pill for us to vote for a man who was a slaveholder; but placing him in the light of a servant for the party, and we identified

with that party, we managed to swallow it down whole. After voting to sustain Zachary Taylor as a candidate for the next Presidential election, we closed the meeting.

December: Edgar Allan Poe's suicide attempt or gesture with the bottle of laudanum evidently had a desirable effect, for, taking the "temperance pledge," he and his Helen of Providence, Rhode Island (Friend Sarah Helen Power Whitman) became engaged to be wed. Poe delivered his lecture "The Poetic Principle." Fearing that their funded widow was in the clutches of a fortune hunter, the family was transferring all of Helen's assets into the name of her mother, and the marriage plans would collapse between Christmas and the turn of the new year. The legacy of this episode is that if you visit the Providence Athenaeum at 251 Benefit Street, you can see not only a Poe daguerreotype but also a portrait of Sarah.

1849

Thomas M. Burgess, mayor of Providence, Rhode Island, called for either a limit on inmates or the construction of new buildings to accommodate the Dexter Asylum's 190 men and women.



In Luther v. Borden, the US Supreme Court decision growing out of the "Dorr War" of Spring 1842, the justices refused to opinion as to which of the Rhode Island governments was the real one. The opinion of the court was that Article IV, Section 4 having assigned to the executive and the legislative arms of the federal government rather than to the judicial arm the power to guarantee republican government in the states and to recognize lawful state governments, it was up to them under the Constitution to make any such judgment calls. Chief Justice Roger B. Taney did deliver himself of an *obiter dictum*, that it was only the existing state authority, by which he meant the Rhode Island conservatives (surprise!), that could legally resort to violence, terming this violence "martial law."

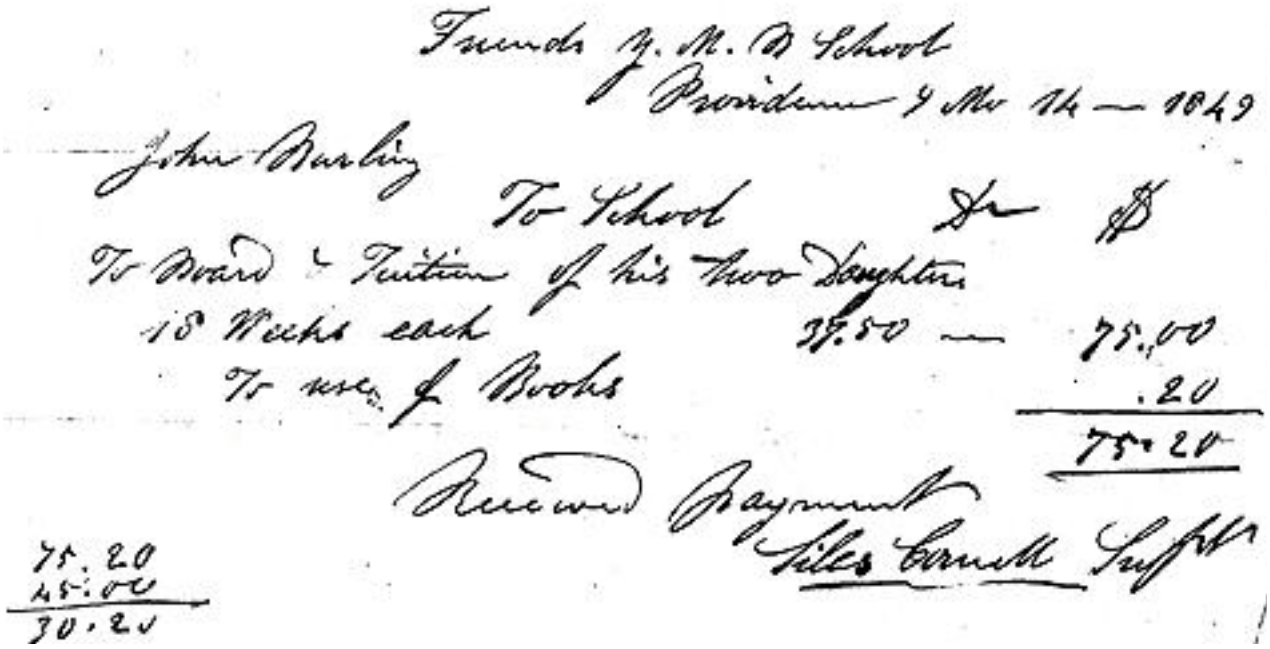
READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

In Rhode Island, Henry B. Anthony was in charge. The Association for the Benefit of Colored Children, in existence in Providence for a decade, constructed a facility called "The Shelter" at 20 Olive Street on College Hill that could provide sleeping areas for 50 such children. Black boys would become apprentices at age 10, black girls at 12.

Benedict Jaeger relocated from the District of Columbia to Providence (where he would remain for some six years). He had his CLASS BOOK OF ZOÖLOGY, DESIGNED TO AFFORD TO PUPILS IN COMMON SCHOOLS AND ACADEMIES A KNOWLEDGE OF THE ANIMAL KINGDOM, WITH A LIST OF THE DIFFERENT SPECIES FOUND IN THE STATE OF NEW YORK printed in New-York.

In Rhode Island, the 1719 Smithfield meetinghouse of the Religious Society of Friends was remodeled.

The Boys School accommodations of the Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island were during this year enlarged. We have a receipt from this year, for a payment that a Quaker father, Friend George G.T. Burling, made for the education of two daughters at the facility's Girls School:



Publication in this year in Providence of a memorial to certain deceased members of the Religious Society of Friends.[7]

READ ALL ABOUT IT

7. The lives which are memorialized are those of Huldah B. Hoag of the Sandwich, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Phebe B. Taber of the Unity monthly meeting in Albion, Maine, John Page and Lydia Breed of the Weare, New Hampshire monthly meeting, Alice Rathbun of the Smithfield, Rhode Island monthly meeting, and Noah Reed of the Windham, Massachusetts monthly meeting.

In about this year a Daguerreotype was made of Friend Pliny Earle, MD:

Some land north of Olney Street, which had been purchased in 1842 by the school with money left in the last will and testament of Friend Moses Brown, was resold by the school.

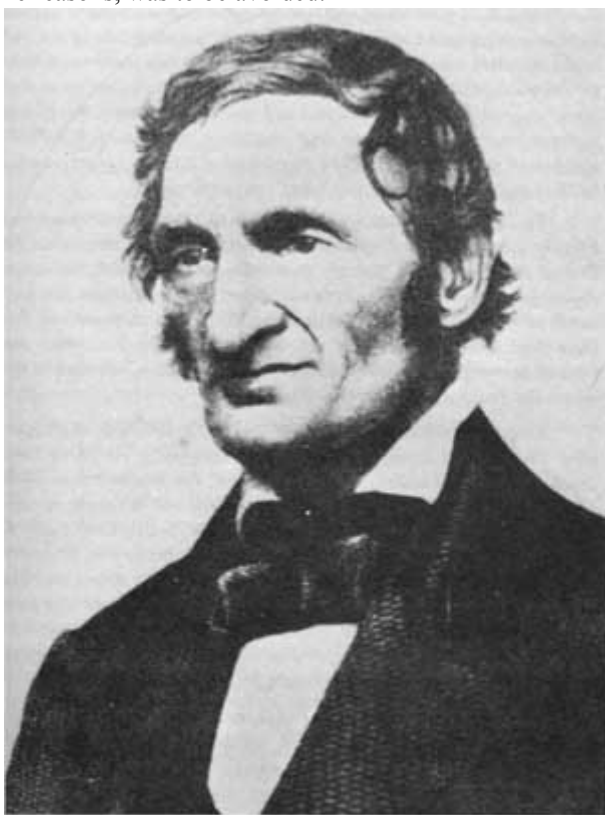
The widow Paulina Kellogg Wright got married a 2d time, with Thomas Davis, a jewelry maker and Democratic politician of Providence, Rhode Island.

PAULINA WRIGHT DAVIS

William Henry Harvey's A MANUAL OF THE BRITISH MARINE ALGAE... (London: John van Voorst). Also, his *PHYCOLOGIA BRITANNICA* (Plates 217-294). (London: Reeve & Banham). Also, his THE SEA-SIDE BOOK: BEING AN INTRODUCTION TO THE NATURAL HISTORY OF THE BRITISH COASTS (London: John Van Voorst, Paternoster Row; this would pass through a series of editions).

THE SEA-SIDE BOOK

Dr. William Andrus Alcott's FAMILIAR LETTERS TO YOUNG MEN ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS. DESIGNED AS A COMPANION TO THE YOUNG MAN'S GUIDE, first published in Providence, Rhode Island, added to his familiar preoccupations, such as that the cause of a man's ails (such as the tuberculosis that was then endemic among the Irish workers in New England factories) must be that in defiance of God's law and to the damage of his own health, he had not in private kept his hands off himself, the added details that just as spicy food was to be avoided because it stimulated the lusts, so also spicy reading (was he referring to one-handed magazines, or to WALDEN?), for the same reasons, was to be avoided.



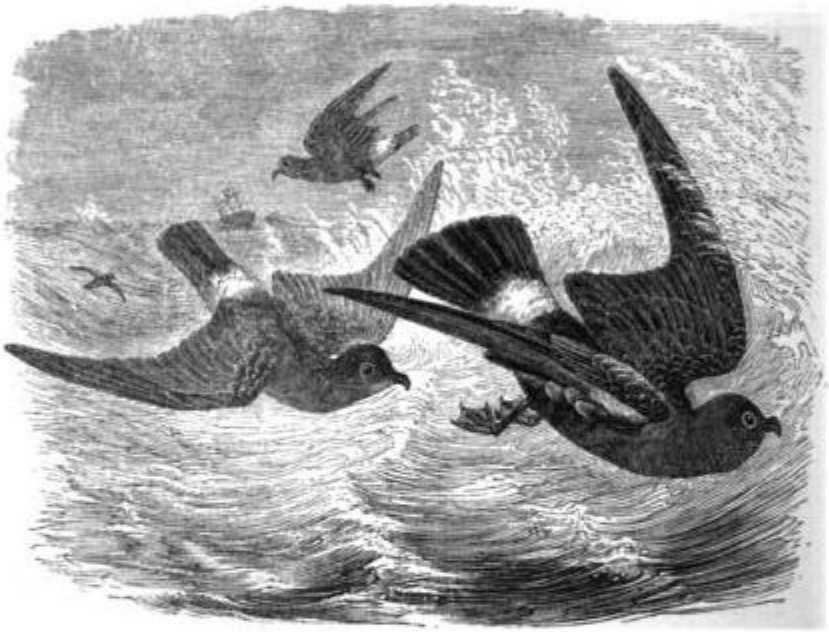
Mr. The Spicy Life Is Not Worth Living

MASTURBATION

There is even a graver class of books than those to which I have here alluded, that are far too exciting for the healthy mental palate. This class is to be found in our bookstores. I scarcely know a man who would hesitate to keep and sell them, even though he were a professed disciple of the Saviour.

This may seem a very grave charge, but is it not founded on the strictest truth? It is not asserted, or even intimated, that

on the watch for prey. Its name, Petrel, is given, Mr. Yarrell tells us, from its "habit of paddling along the surface, from the Apostle Peter, who walked on the sea."



STORM PETREL.

The last little bird of which we have spoken ends the list of our marine birds, and naturally suggests to us a storm, as a storm does a shipwreck; and from a shipwreck to floating pieces of timber, or drift-wood, the passage is easy and natural. We shall now inquire whether such floating spars are worth examining. They often come ashore covered externally with Barnacles, and pierced through and through by the *Teredo* and *Limnoria*. All these animals have something interesting in their history. The Common Barnacle

these men who sell the machinery of Satan, even consider well what they are doing. They are trained to it — they act as mere machines, or almost so. If you say they have no right thus to act — they are bound to reflect — my reply is, *that* is your own assertion, and not mine. To their own master they stand or fall, who deal out to the community, in any way or shape, what operates like a fire-brand every where, whether it acts upon the body, the mind, or the heart. Nor does it mend their condition very much to be able to say in the great day of account, that they did it in sport, or even to obtain a livelihood.

Should you be so fortunate as to escape the deteriorating influences of the whole paraphernalia of physical, intellectual, and moral excitement; and should the temptation present itself of spreading before the public, as a means of gaining a subsistence for yourself and family, such things as I have referred to, remember that you are not now in the condition of those whose minds have never been at all enlightened on this subject. Weigh well the consequences of your conduct, before you act. Remember your accountability to God, and to future generations.

...How can a person be expected to deny himself and take up his cross, in the larger, less frequently occurring affairs of life, who has not first learned to deny himself in small matters?

The same remarks and the same admonitions may apply to the case of those before whom exciting intellectual and moral food is continually presented. If they govern the appetite — which incessantly cries, Give, give — in these smaller occurrences, may they not hope to pave the way for self-government in larger matters, whenever the time of trial shall come? ... For until each generation shall be as an improved edition of that which precedes it, the work of God, delegated to man on earth, will never be accomplished.

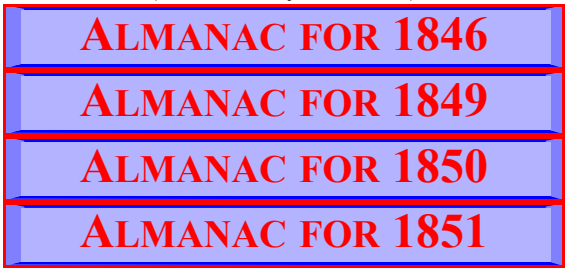
July 22, Sunday: Emma Lazarus was born as the fourth of Esther Nathan Lazarus's and Moses Lazarus's seven children. She would grow up in New-York and in Newport, Rhode Island, and would be educated by private tutors with whom she would study mythology, music, American poetry, European literature, German, French, and Italian. Her father, a sugar merchant, would support her writing financially as well as emotionally.

1850

THE RHODE-ISLAND ALMANAC FOR 1850. By Isaac Bickerstaff. Providence: Hugh H. Brown.

THE PROVIDENCE ALMANAC FOR 1850. By John F. Moore.

Henry Thoreau had in his personal library the 1846, 1849, 1850, and 1851 issues of AMERICAN ALMANAC AND REPOSITORY OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE (Boston: Grey & Bowen).



John Russell Bartlett returned to Providence, Rhode Island. From this year into 1853 he would serve as a United States Commissioner for the survey of the boundary between the United States and Mexico, although owing to lack of funding this project would never be completed.

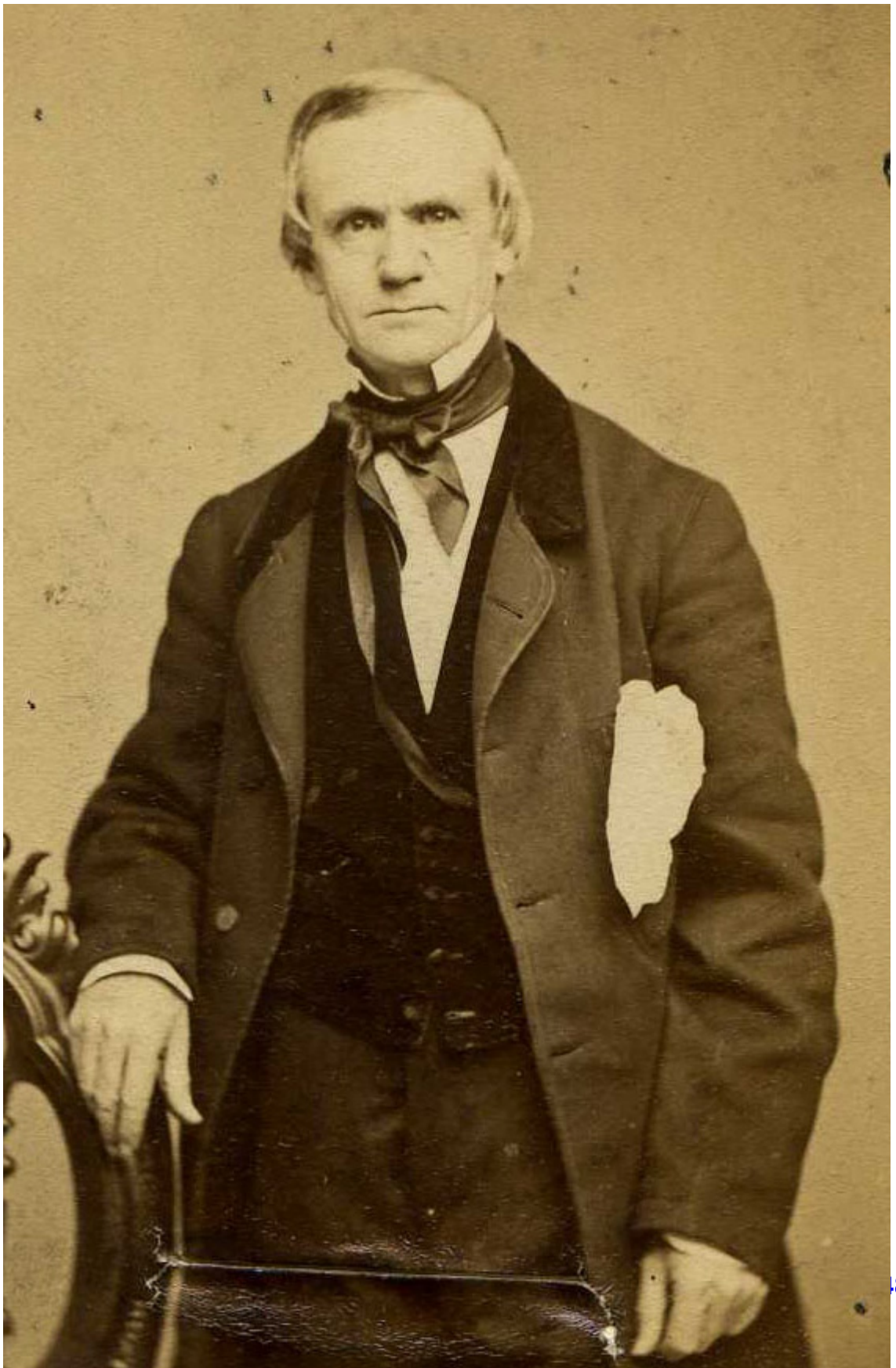
The Providence Reform School for wayward children was organized at the former Tockwotton[8] Hotel of India Point. This facility would become the core of the Rhode Island reform school for juvenile offenders.[9]

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Largely in response to the presence of large numbers of Roman Catholics in the state, the tax exemption on property used for religious and educational purposes was at this point further limited, to three acres of land, so far as such land was used exclusively for such purposes. This new stipulation immediately became a political issue and was repealed, with all such land "not leased or rented" being again free from taxation. (In 1852 even this restriction would be removed and all property, whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, would be made totally exempt from taxation. In 1870 the political winds would again blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than $20,000 became taxable. In 1872 this anti-Catholic prejudice would resurface, and the tax exemption would be restricted again to only "buildings for free public schools or for religious worship" and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of

8. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the Narragansett Bay.

9. "STATE REFORM SCHOOL, THE, Tockwotton Street, corner East, as the name implies, is a school of reformation, where minors sentenced by the courts, together with those intrusted to it by parents or guardians, are instructed in virtue and morality, the common branches of learning, and some useful kind of labor. There are two buildings: the main building of brick, painted white, with a fine portico on two sides in the Doric style, and containing the dormitories, chapel, library, dining-room, etc.; and a brick structure in the rear, used as a workshop. The buildings (with the exception of the workshop) were formerly the Tockwotton Hotel. The property was purchased by the city in 1850, and held by it until July 1, 1880, when it was transferred to the State. The inmates average 190 (170 boys and 20 girls), and the system of management is known as the "congregate." Visitors admitted from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M. Governor-st. H. C. In the winter of 1882, the Reform School will be removed to a site near the other State institutions in Cranston, where two cottages for the boys, one for the girls, a workshop, and a superintendent's house, all of stone have been erected at an expense of about $110,000. Here the "open" or family system will probably be adopted."



883

such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, became taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church became again free from taxation, and added to that were the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The USA was designated as an independent province of the Redemptorists. That Catholic order's first US provincial would be a well-known Dutch preacher, Father Bernard Hafkenscheid. The first labor of this group would be that of staffing parishes and giving missions for immigrants speaking the German language, but the provincial soon ordered that the order reach out also to American Catholics who spoke English. Among the first individuals to be implementing this plan would be Father Isaac Hecker, Father Clarence Walworth (who had accompanied Hecker into the Redemptorists), and another priest who had been born in America, Augustine F. Hewit.[10]

From this year into 1856, the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge would be the Unitarian minister in Providence, Rhode Island.

The daybooks for the Machine Shop business at Saylesville describe the sorts of work done there during the 1850s and 1860s: there are entries for making household furniture such as sofas, for the filing and setting of saws, for the repair of wagons and sleighs, for the making of wooden boxes, and for the manufacture of braid. There was an extensive grist mill operation. On the Walling maps of 1851, 1855, and 1862 there is a Moshassuck Grist Mill just across the road at the head of Machine Shop Pond, and it would appear that Arnold Moffett was running this grist mill in addition to the Machine Shop.

We know from Stanley Lebergott's MANPOWER IN ECONOMIC GROWTH (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1964) what monthly farm wages typically amounted to in Massachusetts during this period, over and above of course one's room and board:

1818	$13.50
1826	$13.50
1830	$12.00
1850	$13.55
1860	$15.34

Incidentally, such wages were ordinarily significantly higher in Massachusetts than elsewhere, except for a brief period during which the wage was higher in Minnesota, and a brief period during which it was higher in Rhode Island.

10.Hewit, the son of a Congregationalist minister, had been an Episcopalian deacon and had journeyed to Catholicism in 1846.

During this year Brown University would be drastically cheapening itself –following the lead of the University of Virginia– by allowing a Ph.B. degree to be earned in three years, by drastically reducing the requirements for an A.B., by allowing the A.M. degree to be earned by the amount of work formerly required for the A.B., etc. The result would be that the university in Providence, Rhode Island would be for a period of years, until "the New System" would be abandoned as utterly debasing, "flooded by a class of young men of little solidity or earnestness of character, who resort to this college ... for the sake of cheap honors."

As the Reverend Leonard Withington completed his 2d term on the board of the Dummer Academy, much of it as that institution's President, Bowdoin College awarded to him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity.

The town of Mendon purchased Harrison Hall of its proprietors, for use as a town hall. The building that had been its 1st Quaker meetinghouse was sold to Colonel Israel Plummer and would be converted into a depot at the Northbridge Quarries on the Providence and Worcester Railroad.

At this point the historian James Bowden felt that he had been able to get inside the minds of Rhode Island politicians of seven generations past. He has announced that the Rhode Island government of 1675/1676 had spurned an invitation from the other English colonies of New-England to unite with these other white people against the red people of the region, and has announced that he knows this to be because this was a warlike proposal to which the Quakers in that government could not "conscientiously accede":

> [I]n dependence on the protecting care of Him who hath the hearts of all men at his disposal, they refrained from engaging in the war.[11]

11. Bowden, James. THE HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS IN AMERICA. Two volumes, London, 1850, 1854.

Yeah, right. This report was –of course– not even a good first approximation to the truth on the ground:

"The usual interpretation of the actions and inactions of the Rhode Island government has been that its members were inhibited by the pacifist scruples of the Quakers among them. Historians have not cited, nor have I found, evidence upon which to base this belief.... Such reading back of later Quaker understandings of the peace testimony obscures not only other wartime motives but the nature of the peace testimony as it was understood in that particular time and place. Third, in many respects the government activities do not appear to have been constrained. ... There were Quakers who bore arms during the war. Captain Weston Clarke, who was sent to relieve Warwick, Lieutenant Robert Westcott, who was killed in the Great Swamp Fight, and Abraham Mann of Providence, who was wounded are three examples."

– Meredith Baldwin Weddle, WALKING IN THE WAY OF PEACE: QUAKER PACIFISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. England: Oxford UP, 2001, pages 172-173, page 204

THE QUAKER PEACE TESTIMONY

George Thomas Downing's business in Newport, Rhode Island expanded to include an establishment on Mathewson Street in Providence. The success of this Providence venture would provide the operating capital for construction of the luxurious Sea Girt House fronting on Bellevue Avenue in Newport. This 5-story building had large stores on its 1st floor and accommodations over them. Amenities included restaurant meals, game suppers in private parlors, and accommodations not only for gentlemen boarders but also for entire families. The complex included the Downing family residence. The family operated a confectionery and catering business, supplying the Newport "cottages" — their services included the providing of music. (Evidently they were too successful, for eventually they would be burned out.)

The Irish who had emigrated to the USA were providing a great deal of, and an increasing amount of, assistance for their Irish relatives on the old sod:

Low Estimates for Total Remittances to Ireland

Year	Pounds
1848	£460,000
1849	£540,000
1850	£957,000
1851	£990,000

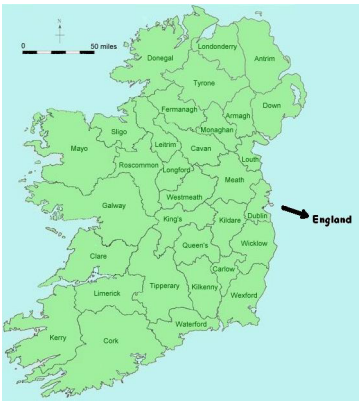
Because of the fact that:

> It is useless to disguise the truth that any great improvement in the social system of Ireland must be founded upon an extensive change in the present state of agrarian occupation, and that this change necessarily implies a long, continued and systematic ejectment of small holders and of squatting cottiers.

the trend among the "improving" absentee landlords of the island had become to hire gangs of thugs who would evict small tenants and tear the roofs from their cottages to make certain they could not come back:

Families Evicted

Year	Families
1847	6,026
1848	9,657
1849	16,686
1850	19,949
1851	13,197



Meanwhile (just to show how parochial and limited such sympathy can be), in Burlington, Vermont, the first parish of French-Canadian Catholics in New England was being formed, but only over the vociferous objections of local Catholics of Irish-American extraction. In general, these Irish-Americans were hostile to competition, and in particular, therefore, they were even hostile to competition from other Catholics, if they happened to be French-Canadian Americans rather than of Irish extraction. These French-Canadian Catholics, such as for one example Alek Therien of Concord, because they had not only an ethnicity problem in Anglo-Saxon New England but also a communication problem, would need to be willing to do harder work for longer hours per day, and for lower wages.[12]

They wouldn't be receiving any sympathy from Frederick Douglass, for in his experience, to be pro-Catholic was to be pro-slavery:

> The two hundred years this curse has set in the sanctuary proves that there is no warfare between slavery and church.

For instance, the Dorr War of Rhode Island, in the vehemence of its anti-Irish and anti-Catholic and anti-immigrant sentiments, was pure Frederick Douglass.

ANTI-CATHOLICISM

It is religious bigotry and politics, not the US Constitution, that has created today's monopoly public school system.

In about this decade of the 19th Century, it was Protestant ministers, people who regarded Catholic schools as an abomination, who launched a social movement to create exclusive, government-run public schools, and what they were after were schools controlled by good folks like themselves, Protestants, schools that immigrant Catholic kids could be herded into, in which they would be cleaned up and Americanized and indoctrinated and transformed into hordes of decent little Protestant Americans. The public school movement succeeded in defunding the Catholic schools of New-York, despite the fact that the popular, progressive governor of the state, William Seward, stood with the Catholics in demanding equal treatment for religious schools.Here is the course of instruction for Courtlandville Academy in New York, for the year 1850:

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

SUMMARY OF THE SEVERAL TERMS

FIRST TERM	SECOND TERM	THIRD TERM	OF THE YEAR
Males———42.	Males———63.	Males———71.	Males———111.
Females——64.	Females——79.	Females——71.	Females——131.
Total———106.	Total———142.	Total———142.	Total———242.

NOTICE

COURSE OF INSTRUCTION, AND TEXT BOOKS.

12. It may be hard for use to imagine how there could have been harder work for longer hours per day for lower wages, than the Irish Potato Famine survivors were subjected to, or how people subjected to such conditions would meet with other than sympathy and commiseration — but evidently in this world **just any** hardship may be demanded.

Ordinary Elementary Studies.

Weld's and Brown's Grammars; Adam's Davies' University, and Colburn's Intellectual Arithmetics; Harris' Bookkeeping; Town's Analysis; Mitchell's Geography and Outline Maps; Parley's course of History; Sanders' Readers; Webster's Dictionary; Pennmanship, Composition and Declamation.

Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, &c.

Robinson's and Davies' Bordon's Algebra; Davies' Legendre's Geometry and Trigonometry; Davies' Surveying and Analytical Geometry; Olmsted's Natural Philosophy; Burritt's and Olmsted's Astronomy, with Mattison's Astronomical Maps[13]; Potter's Technology.

Natural Science.

Lincoln's and Wood's Botany; Hitchcock's Geology; Cutter's Human Physiology; Wistar's Pancoast's Anatomy; Johnston's Turner's Chemistry; Comstock's Mineralogy; Smellie's Philosophy of Natural History; Liebeg's Organic Chemistry.

Intellectual, Moral, and Political Science.

Boyd and Newman's Rhetoric; Kaime's Elements of Criticism; Robbins and Taylor's General, and Wilson's U.S. Histories; Wayland's Moral Science and Political Economy; Whateley's Logic; Paley's Natural Theology; — Young's Science of Government; Abercrombie's Intellectual Philosophy; Milton's Poetry, (for analysing.)

Languages.

Andrews and Stoddard's Latin Grammar; Arnold's Practical Latin Exercises; Arnold's Latin Prose Composition; Cooper's Virgil; Schmitz and Zumpt's Caesar; Anthon's "Cicero de Oratore";
Sallust and Horace; Folsom's Livy; Kingsley's Tacitus; Anthon's Classical Dictionary; Leverett's and Ainsworth's Latin Lexicon; Sophocles' and Fisk's Greek Grammar; Arnold's Practical Greek Exercises; Arnold's Greek Prose Composition; Leusden's Greek Testament; Casserly's Jacob's Greek Reader; Xenophon's Anabasis and Memorabillia; Felton's Homer's Illiad and Odyssey; Donnegan's Greek Lexicon; Noel and Chapsal's and Bollmar's French Gramars; "Corinne ou L'Italie"; Vie de Washington; Charles the Twelfth; Siege of Rochelle; Telemarque; Madame De Stael's Germany; La Fontaine's Fables; Boyer's Surenne, and Meadow's Dictionary.

The Text Books in the above list are believed to be best adapted to accomplish the design of this Institution, viz : to furnish a course of study at once through and comprehensive, and that shall prepare the Student to prosecute successfully a more extended course of study, or to enter upon the duties of active life.

The institution has a somewhat extensive and well selected Library, and a handsome set of Philosophical and Chemical Apparatus; all of which is open to the student free from charge.

The Academy buildings are nearly new and highly commodious. This school is located in one of the most healthful and pleasant villages in the State, and amid a society exempt from the vicious influences attending the great thoroughfares of travel. Parents and guardians are assured that no pains will be spared on the part of the instructors to promote the welfare of those en-

13. Elijah Hinsdale Burritt's THE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HEAVENS.... NEW ED. REV. AND ILLUS. BY HIRAM MATTISON.

GEOGRAPHY OF HEAVENS

trusted to their care.

The advancement of pupil's in reading, speaking and composition writing, is deemed of primary importance. Exercises in Declamation and Composition are held in the Academy Hall every Wednesday afternoon; and at the close of the winter term, as well as at the close of the Academic year is a public exhibition of the Students in original orations, disputations and essays. Upon all the exercises of the school, public or ordinary, the patrons of the institution, and the friends of education are invited to be present.

The patronage which this school has received, and the favor with which it is now regarded by our citizens, and the public generally, encourage the Trustees to anticipate for it continued and increased prosperity.

The Academic year is divided into three terms, of fourteen weeks each. The first term of the ensuing year will commence on the 4th day of April; the second on the 15th day of August; and the third on the 2d day of December.

THE PRICES OF TUITION in the various studies pursued, are for the Latin, Greek and French Languages, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry, with Lectures, Botany, Mathematics, History, Moral and Mental Philosophy, Rhetoric, &c

$5.00 per Term,

Music in addition to other Studies,

$10.00 per Term,

Use of Piano

$2.00 per Term,

Painting and Drawing,

$5.00 per Term,

English Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Reading, Writing, &c.,

$3.75 per Term,

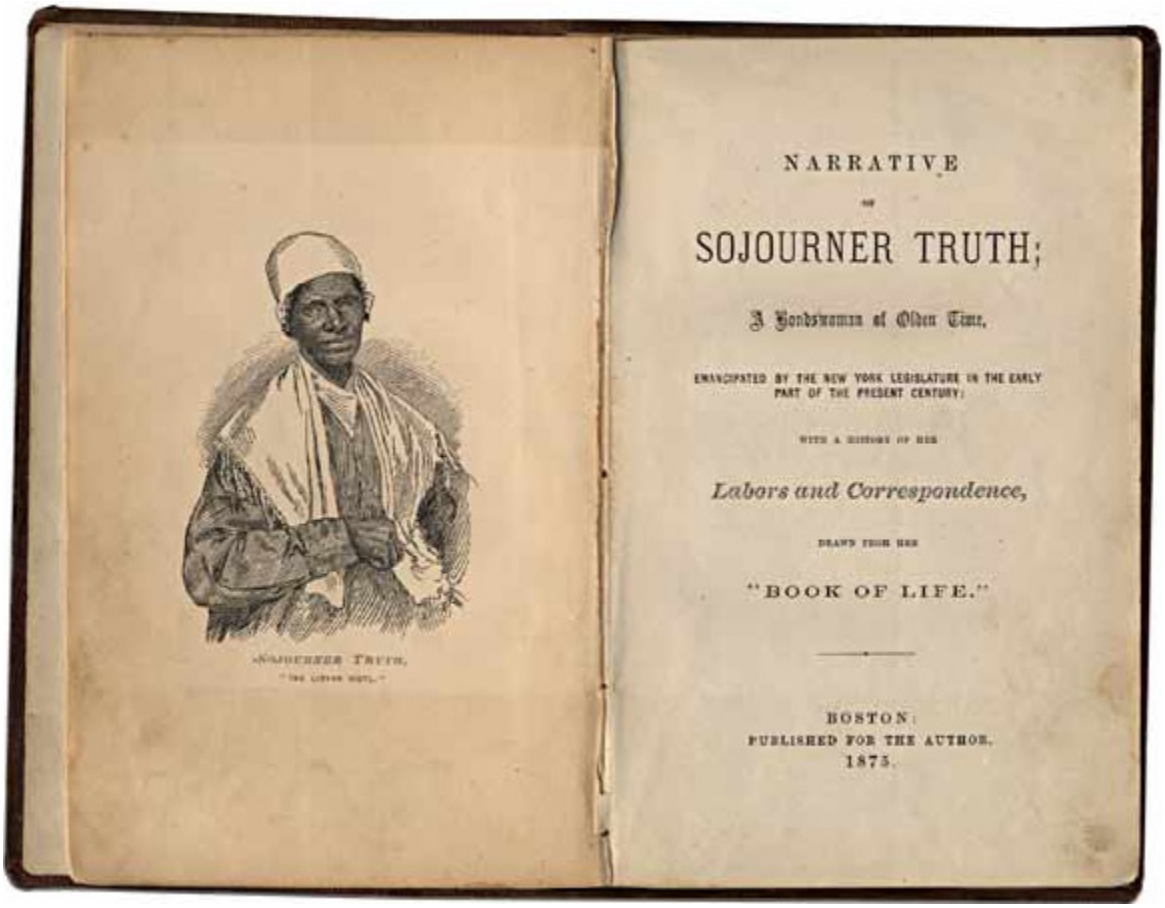
Young scholars in English branches,

$2.50 per Term,

No bills will be made for less time than half a Term, and Tuition is payable in advance, or promptly at the close of each Term.

Board, including Room, Washing, &c., may be obtained in convenient situations, at prices from $1 25 to $2 per week.
JOSEPH REYNOLDS, President.

April: The 128 pages of the 1st edition of NARRATIVE OF Sojourner Truth, A NORTHERN SLAVE, EMANCIPATED FROM BODILY SERVITUDE BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK, IN 1828. WITH A PORTRAIT were printed, on credit terms in Boston by the free-thinking printer from Providence, Rhode Island, George Brown Yerrinton who usually printed up the pamphlets of William Lloyd Garrison. Truth would be able to make a profit by offering it for 25 cents. The illustration is not of this original edition bound in soft covers only:[14]



READ THE FULL TEXT

July 23, Tuesday: A letter from South Kingstown, Rhode Island:

> We have begun to cart in today & we are also in the midst of haying having got in 30 loads but there are at least 70 more to get in & two of my men have mutinied & gone off drunk ... but we have eight Irishmen & five natives left — How could the work of the country be done but for the Emerald Islanders?

IRISH

14. THE NARRATIVE OF SOJOURNER TRUTH (1850) dictated by Sojourner Truth (*circa* 1797-1883); edited by Olive Gilbert. Frances Titus would edit several subsequent editions of this NARRATIVE, in 1875 (shown), in 1878, and finally in 1884 when he would be able to tack on a Memorial Chapter. In addition to adding a "Book of Life" section in which he drew upon Truth's scrapbook for autographs, letters, and articles about her travels and speeches, Titus would each time make significant alterations.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

August 2, Saturday: Documentation of the international slave trade, per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Message from the President ... relative to the searching of American vessels by British ships of war." –SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 31 Cong. 1 sess. XIV. No. 66.

A secular town meeting had been held in the vacant synagogue building in Newport in 1781, and until 1784 Rhode Island had had its General Assembly there and the state's Supreme Court had met there, and then the building had stood vacant and dilapidated under a Quaker caretaker who may possibly have used it as a waystation in the Underground Railroad, which is to say, as affordable (free) temporary housing for persons in transit (nope, we're not talking about folks hiding in the basement here, underneath that famous trap door where obviously the Jews had kept their firewood and their wood stove, we're just talking about folks living there for awhile, in this dilapidated black district of the town where they were reasonably safe). On this day, after extensive refurbishment by use of the funds supplied by the Touro brothers of New-York (successful sons of the first rabbi of the synagogue), "Touro Synagogue" was reconsecrated for religious services.

JUDAISM

September 6, Thursday: In South Kingstown, Rhode Island, "The potato rot is making great havoc here."

IRISH POTATO FAMINE

Sept. 6: What a generation this is! It carries some brains in its hat with a couple of spare cigars on top of them– It carries a heart in its breast and a lozenge in its waistcoat pocket
John Garfield brought me this morning (Sep. 6th) a Young Great Heron Ardea Herodias which he shot this morning on a pine tree on the North branch– It measured 4 ft 9 inches from bill to toe–& 6 ft in alar extent–and belongs to a different race from myself and Mr Frost. I am glad to recognize him for an American citizen.
In the twilight when you can only see the outlines of the trees in the horizon–the Elm tops indicate where the houses are. I have looked afar over fields and even over distant woods and seen the conspicuous graceful sheaflike top (head) of an elm which shadowed some farm-house. From the N W? part of Sudbury you can see an elm on the Boston road–on the hill top in the horizon in Wayland 5 or 6? miles distant. The elm is a tree which can be distinguished farther off perhaps than any other. The wheel wright still makes his hubs of it–his spokes of white oak his felleys of yellow oak which does not crack on the corners.– In England 'tis said they use the ash for felleys.

Fall: So far as we presently know, this was the point at which Sojourner Truth made her first speaking tour for women's rights and against slavery, in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, from her home base in Florence near Northampton, singing for her supper her "homemade songs":

"I go to hear myself as much as anyone else comes to hear me."

October 7, Monday: Jenny Lind sang in Howard's Hall in downtown Providence, Rhode Island. The most expensive of the 2,000 seats went to one William Ross, at a price of $650. Jenny autographed his ticket stub. There were another hundred people permitted to stand inside the building. The doors of the hall were purposely left open, and seats on nearby window ledges were being hawked at 25 cents each.

The published author Henry Thoreau was written to by a George Bailey in Portland, who had read A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS and was wondering about that WALDEN which had been mentioned in the advertisement at the end.

Portland, Me., Oct. 7th., 1850.

Dear Sir:

A few days since, by a lucky accident I met with a copy of a work of yours — "A week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers." — I read it with much interest, — and if I tell you plainly that I am delighted with the book, it is because I cannot help telling you so; — therefore you should pardon whatever is amiss in the expression. — I should like to ask you many questions touching your allusions to persons; such, for instance, as What were the names of the "aged shepherd" and "youthful pastor", p. 21? — What that of the "Concord poet" quoted on p. 49? — of the Justice of the Peace and Deacon, p. 68? what the name of "one who was born on its head waters," quoted on p. 90? — and many more of a similar nature; but I fear that such an act on the part of a stranger, would be but little short of impertinense, though it might be kindly considered by you; so I must not use that method of making myself "wise above what is written."

Next to confessing to you my admiration of your book, my object in writing you, is to make an enquiry for "Walden; or Life in the Woods," — announced at the close of the "Week", as shortly to be published. I have enquired for it in Boston, but no one can tell me anything about it. Will you please inform me if it has been published, and, if so, where it may be found? — Truly & Respectfully Yours,

Geo. A. Bailey

H.D. Thoreau, Esq., Concord, Mass.

Do we know that Thoreau responded to this letter? This confusion over *"Walden; or Life in the Woods"* would have of course been in reference to the incorrect "will soon be published" advertisement the publisher placed at the end of the book. The answers to the other inquiries would have been:

Here then an *aged shepherd* dwelt, ... The Reverend Ezra Ripley
Who to his flock his substance dealt,
And ruled them with a vigorous crook,
By precept of the sacred Book;
But he the pierless bridge passed o'er,
And solitary left the shore.
Anon a *youthful pastor* came, ... Nathaniel Hawthorne
Whose crook was not unknown to fame,
His lambs he viewed with gentle glance,
Spread o'er the country's wide expanse,
And fed with "Mosses from the Manse."
Here was our Hawthorne in the dale,
And here the shepherd told his tale.

* * *

"So fair we seem, so cold we are,
So fast we hasten to decay,
Yet through our night glows many a star,
That still shall claim its sunny day." ..... "The River," *"Concord poet"* Ellery Channing

* * *

"Justice of the Peace and Deacon"

* * *

"born on its head-waters" ..... Nathaniel Peabody Rogers
Editor of the Concord NH Herald of Freedom

October 23, Wednesday: According to Elizabeth Cady Stanton, speaking retrospectively in 1870,
"The movement in England, as in America, may be dated from the first National Convention, held at Worcester, Mass., October, 1850."

FEMINISM

Although Angelina Emily Grimké Weld was elected to be a member for this vital convention, it would turn out that she would be unable to attend.

Why was it that Stanton, and also Susan B. Anthony, Friend Lucretia Mott, and other pioneers regarded this 1850 Convention in Worcester as the beginning of the crusade for woman's equality? Why had it not been the 1848 meeting at Seneca Falls for which Stanton had drafted the celebrated Declaration of Sentiments and in which Mott had played such a leading role?

- The gathering at Seneca Falls had been largely a local affair as would be several others that followed, whereas by way of radical contrast this Worcester convention had attracted delegates from most of the northern states.
- Seneca Falls had sparked discussion but it was not clear in its aftermath that there was a national constituency ready to take up the cause. The attendance in response to this Worcester meeting's Call of those who wanted to see a woman's rights movement, and the positive reaction to its published proceedings both here and in Europe, showed that a sufficient number of women, and some men, were indeed ready.
- This 1850 convention eventuated in a set of standing committees which marked the beginnings of organized work for woman's rights.

The records of the convention may be studied at:

http://www.wwhp.org/Resources/WomensRights/proceedings.html

Waldo Emerson declined to address this convention, and continued to decline such invitations until the 1855 convention in Boston, saying "I do not think it yet appears that women wish this equal share in public affairs," meaning of course "I do not think it yet appears that we wish to grant women this equal share in public affairs."

Were I in a sarcastic mood, I would characterize this attitude by inventing a news clipping something like the following:

> His Excellency, Hon. Ralph W. Emerson, Representative of the Human Race, treated with the woman, Mrs. James Mott, for purposes of pacification and common decency.

At the beginning of the meeting a Quaker male, Friend Joseph C. Hathaway of Farmington, New York, was appointed President *pro tem*. As the meeting was getting itself properly organized, however, Paulina Wright Davis was selected as President, with Friend Joseph sitting down instead as Secretary for the meeting. At least three New York Quakers were on the body's Central Committee — Hathaway, Friend Pliny Sexton and Friend Sarah H. Hallock, and we immediately note that although this Central Committee was by and large female, two of the three Quakes in this committee were male.

During the course of this convention Friend Lucretia Mott had occasion to straighten out Wendell Phillips, and he later commented that "she put, as she well knows how, the silken snapper on her whiplash," that it had been "beautifully done, so the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment."

Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn't** make up:[15]

> His Excellency, Gov. Ramsey and Hon. Richard W. Thompson, have been appointed Commissioners, to treat with the Sioux for the lands west of the Mississippi.

The list of the "members" of this Convention is of interest in that it includes Sophia Foord of Dedham MA, Sojourner Truth of Northampton, Elizabeth Oakes Smith the lyceum lecturer, etc. The newspaper report described Truth's appearance as dark and "uncomely." Friend Lucretia Mott, a leader at the convention, described Truth more charitably as "the poor woman who had grown up under the curse of Slavery." Those on the list, those who officially registered as "members" of the Convention, some 267 in all, were only a fraction of the thousands who attended one or more of the sessions. As J.G. Forman reported in the New-York Daily Tribune for October 24, 1850, "it was voted that all present be invited to take part in the discussions of the Convention, but that only those who signed the roll of membership be allowed to vote." The process of signing probably meant that people who arrived together or sat together would have adjacent numbers in the sequence that appears in the Proceedings. This would explain the clustering of people by region and by family name:

1	Hannah M. Darlington	Kennett Square, Pennsylvania
2	T.B. Elliot	Boston
3	Antoinette L. Brown	Henrietta NY
4	Sarah Pillsbury	Concord NH
5	Eliza J. Kenney	Salem MA
6	M.S. Firth	Leicester MA
7	Oliver Dennett	Portland ME
8	Julia A. McIntyre	Charlton MA
9	Emily Sanford	Oxford MA
10	H.M. Sanford	Oxford MA
11	C.D.M. Lane	Worcester
12	Elizabeth Firth	Leicester MA
13	S.C. Sargent	Boston
14	C.A.K. Ball	Worcester
15	M.A. Thompson	Worcester
16	Lucinda Safford	Worcester
17	S.E. Hall	Worcester
18	S.D. Holmes	Kingston MA
19	Z.W. Harlow	Plymouth MA
20	N.B. Spooner	Plymouth MA
21	Ignatius Sargent	Boston
22	A.B. Humphrey	Hopedale
23	M.R. Hadwen	Worcester
24	J.H. Shaw	Nantucket Island
25	Diana W. Ballou	Cumberland RI
26	Olive Darling	Millville MA
27	M.A. Walden	Hopedale
28	C.M. Collins	Brooklyn CT
29	A.H. Metcalf	Worcester
30	P.B. Cogswell	Concord NH
31	Sarah Tyndale	Philadelphia

15. From the *Dakota Tawaxitku Kin*, or The Dakota Friend, St. Paul, Minnesota, November 1850. This word "Sioux," incidentally, is a hopelessly offensive and alienating term, for it is short for the Ojibwa term "*nadouessioux*" or "enemy." A better term would be "Dakota," which in the Dakota language means "union" or "ally." It tells you a lot about the patronizing attitude of these missionaries, that they would be willing to use an offputting term like "Sioux" in this newspaper.

• 32	A.P.B. Rawson	Worcester
• 33	Nathaniel Barney	Nantucket Island
• 34	Sarah H. Earle	Worcester MA
• 35	Parker Pillsbury	Concord NH
• 36	Lewis Ford	Abington MA
• 37	J.T. Everett	Princeton MA
• 38	Loring Moody	Harwich MA
• 39	Sojourner Truth	Northampton
• 40	Friend Pliny Sexton	Palmyra NY
• 41	Rev. J.G. Forman	W. Bridgewater MA
• 42	Andrew Stone M.D.	Worcester
• 43	Samuel May, Jr.	Leicester MA
• 44	Sarah R. May	Leicester MA
• 45	Frederick Douglass	Rochester NY
• 46	Charles Bigham	Feltonville MA
• 47	J.T. Partridge	Worcester
• 48	Eliza C. Clapp	Leicester MA
• 49	Daniel Steward	East Line MA
• 50	E.B. Chase	Valley Falls MA
• 51	Sophia Foord	Dedham MA
• 52	E.A. Clark	Worcester
• 53	E.H. Taft	Dedham MA
• 54	Olive W. Hastings	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
• 55	Rebecca Plumly	Philadelphia
• 56	S.L. Hastings	Lancaster, Pennsylvania
• 57	Sophia Taft	
• 58	Anna E. Ruggles	Worcester
• 59	Mrs. A.E. Brown	Brattleboro VT
• 60	Janette Jackson	Philadelphia
• 61	Anna R. Cox	Philadelphia
• 62	Cynthia P. Bliss	Pawtucket, Rhode Island
• 63	R.M.C. Capron	Providence
• 64	M.H. Mowry	Providence
• 65	Mary Eddy	Providence
• 66	Mary Abbott	Hopedale
• 67	Anna E. Fish	Hopedale
• 68	C.G. Munyan	Hopedale
• 69	Maria L. Southwick	Worcester
• 70	Anna Cornell	Plainfield CT
• 71	S. Monroe	Plainfield CT
• 72	Anna E. Price	Plainfield CT
• 73	M.C. Monroe	Plainfield CT
• 74	F.C. Johnson	Sturbridge MA
• 75	Thomas Hill	Webster MA
• 76	Elizabeth Frail	Hopkinton MA
• 77	Eli Belknap	Hopkinton MA
• 78	M.M. Frail	Hopkinton MA
• 79	Valentine Belknap	Hopkinton MA
• 80	Phebe Goodwin	West Chester, Pennsylvania
• 81	Edgar Hicks	Brooklyn NY
• 82	Ira Foster	Canterbury NH
• 83	Effingham L. Capron	Worcester
• 84	Frances H. Drake	Leominster MA
• 85	Calvin Fairbanks	Leominster MA

- 86 E.M. Dodge Worcester
- 87 Eliza Barney Nantucket Island
- 88 Lydia Barney Nantucket Island
- 89 Alice Jackson Avondale, Pennsylvania
- 90 G.D. Williams Leicester MA
- 91 Marian Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 92 Elizabeth Earle Worcester
- 93 Friend Joseph C. Hathaway Farmington NY
- 94 E. Jane Alden Lowell MA
- 95 Elizabeth Dayton Lowell MA
- 96 Lima H. Ober Boston
- 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman Saratoga Springs NY
- 98 Dorothy Whiting Clintonville MA
- 99 Emily Whiting Clintonville MA
- 100 Abigail Morgan Clinton MA
- 101 Julia Worcester Milton NH
- 102 Mary R. Metcalf Worcester
- 103 R.H. Ober Boston
- 104 D.A. Mundy Hopedale
- 105 Dr. S. Rogers Worcester
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick Worcester
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter New-York
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow Worcester
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Picket Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason Worcester
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 Lucy Stone West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery Worcester
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce Worcester
- 128 C.M. Trenor Worcester
- 129 R.C. Capron Worcester
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison Boston
- 131 Emily Loveland Worcester
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester Worcester
- 133 Phebe Worcester Worcester
- 134 Adeline Worcester Worcester
- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price Hopedale
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent Boston

- 140 D.H. Knowlton
- 141 E.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 142 G. Valentine MA
- 143 A. Prince Worcester
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth Worcester
- 145 J.G. Warren Worcester
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell Worcester
- 147 Martin Stowell Worcester
- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp Worcester
- 149 C. M. Barbour Worcester
- 150 Daniel Mitchell Pawtucket, Rhode Island
- 151 Alice H. Easton
- 152 Anna Q.T. Parsons Boston
- 153 C.D. McLane Worcester
- 154 W.H. Channing Boston
- 155 Wendell Phillips Boston
- 156 Abby K. Foster Worcester
- 157 S. S. Foster Worcester
- 158 Paulina Wright Davis Providence
- 159 Wm. D. Cady Warren MA
- 160 Ernestine L. Rose New-York
- 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden Roxbury MA
- 162 C.M. Shaw Boston
- 163 Ophilia D. Hill Worcester
- 164 Mrs. P. Allen Millbury MA
- 165 Lucy C. Dike Thompson CT
- 166 E. Goddard Worcester
- 167 M.F. Gilbert West Brookfield MA
- 168 G. Davis Providence
- 169 A.H. Johnson Worcester
- 170 W.H. Harrington Worcester
- 171 E.B. Briggs Worcester
- 172 A.C. Lackey Upton MA
- 173 Ora Ober Worcester
- 174 A. Barnes Princeton RI
- 175 Thomas Provan Hopedale
- 176 Rebecca Provan Hopedale
- 177 A.W. Thayer Worcester
- 178 M.M. Munyan Millbury MA
- 179 W.H. Johnson Worcester
- 180 Dr. S. Mowry Chepachet RI
- 181 George W. Benson Northampton
- 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter Worcester
- 183 H.S. Brigham Bolton MA
- 184 E.A. Welsh Feltonville MA
- 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore Charlton MA
- 186 Margaret S. Merrit Charlton MA
- 187 Martha Willard Charlton MA
- 188 A.N. Lamb Charlton MA
- 189 Mrs. Chaplin Worcester
- 190 Caroline Farnum
- 191 N.B. Hill Blackstone MA
- 192 K. Parsons Worcester
- 193 Jillson Worcester

• 194	E.W.K. Thompson	
• 195	L. Wait	Boston
• 196	Mrs. Mary G. Wright	CA
• 197	F.H. Underwood	Webster MA
• 198	Asa Cutler	CT
• 199	J.B. Willard	Westford MA
• 200	Perry Joslin	Worcester
• 201	Friend Sarah H. Hallock	Milton NY
• 202	Elizabeth Johnson	Worcester
• 203	Seneth Smith	Oxford MA
• 204	Marian Hill	Webster MA
• 205	Wm. Coe	Worcester
• 206	E.T. Smith	Leominster MA
• 207	Mary R. Hubbard	
• 208	S. Aldrich	Hopkinton MA
• 209	M.A. Maynard	Feltonville MA
• 210	S.P.R.	Feltonville MA
• 211	Anna R. Blake	Monmouth ME
• 212	Ellen M. Prescott	Monmouth ME
• 213	J.M. Cummings	Worcester
• 214	Nancy Fay	Upton MA
• 215	M. Jane Davis	Worcester
• 216	D.R. Crandell	Worcester
• 217	E.M. Burleigh	Oxford MA
• 218	Sarah Chafee	Leominster MA
• 219	Adeline Perry	Worcester
• 220	Lydia E. Chase	Worcester
• 221	J.A. Fuller	Worcester
• 222	Sarah Prentice	Worcester
• 223	Emily Prentice	Worcester
• 224	H.N. Fairbanks	Worcester
• 225	Mrs. A. Crowl	Worcester
• 226	Dwight Tracy	Worcester
• 227	J.S. Perry	Worcester
• 228	Isaac Norcross	Worcester
• 229	M.A.W. Johnson	Salem OH
• 230	Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols	Brattleboro VT
• 231	Charles Calistus Burleigh	Plainfield CT
• 232	E.A. Parrington	Worcester
• 233	Mrs. Parrington	Worcester
• 234	Harriet F. Hunt	Boston
• 235	Chas F. Hovey	Boston
• 236	Friend Lucretia Mott	Philadelphia
• 237	Susan Fuller	Worcester
• 238	Thomas Earle	Worcester
• 239	Alice Earle	Worcester
• 240	Martha B. Earle	Worcester
• 241	Anne H. Southwick	Worcester
• 242	Joseph A. Howland	Worcester
• 243	Adeline H. Howland	Worcester
• 244	O.T. Harris	Worcester
• 245	Julia T. Harris	Worcester
• 246	John M. Spear	Boston
• 247	E.J. Alden	

• 248	E.D. Draper	Hopedale
• 249	D.R.P. Hewitt	Salem MA
• 250	L.G. Wilkins	Salem MA
• 251	J.H. Binney	Worcester
• 252	Mary Adams	Worcester
• 253	Anna T. Draper	
• 254	Josephine Reglar	
• 255	Anna Goulding	Worcester
• 256	Adeline S. Greene	
• 257	Silence Bigelow	
• 258	A. Wyman	
• 259	L.H. Ober	
• 260	Betsey F. Lawton	Chepachet RI
• 261	Emma Parker	Philadelphia
• 262	Olive W. Hastings	Lancaster MA (error?)
• 263	Silas Smith	IO
• 264	Asenath Fuller	
• 265	Denney M.F. Walker	
• 266	Eunice D.F. Pierce	
• 267	Elijah Houghton	

November: In Providence, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Charles Calistus Burleigh, and Charles Lenox Remond addressed the annual meeting of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society. This would be the first of Sojourner's antislavery speeches that has been documented.

I think it likely that it would have been at this point that William J. Brown met Frederick Douglass:

> PAGES 93-94: When Frederick Douglass paid us a visit, I met him in company with several brethren, and he was introduced as a Methodist preacher. He said he had heard we were brought up on election day on crackers and cheese. He received his information from an Abolitionist in the Democratic party. It came about in this way: When the colored people were first called upon to vote to see whether the people wanted a constitution or not, the Suffrage party threatened to mob any colored person daring to vote that day. We proposed to meet at the old artillery gun house the day before. We had a meeting that evening and thought it best to get the people together and keep them over night, so they would be ready for the polls in the morning. In order to keep them we must have something to eat, for if the Democrats got hold of them we could not get them to vote, for they would get them filled up with rum so that we could not do a thing with them; so in order to secure them we had to hunt them up, bring them to the armory, and keep men there to entertain them. I met with them in the afternoon and found men of all sorts, from all parts of the city, and all associating together. They had coffee, crackers, cheese and shaved beef. During the time a lot of muskets were brought in, and put in a rack. It is said they were brought in to use in case of disturbance, some said good enough, let them come. They scraped the hollow and every place, getting all the men they could find; then coffee, crackers and cheese were plenty, and no one disturbed them. When the polls

were opened, those in the first ward went to vote in a body, headed by two powerful men. They voted in the Benefit Street school house; the officers went ahead to open the way. They all voted and then went home, that ended the crackers and cheese. Mr. Bibb tried hard to get the colored voters to vote the Liberty ticket. We made him understand it was not all gold that glitters. He left our quarters and went about his business, and the Law and Order party elected their candidates. I received six dollars for my work. Mr. Bowen employed me after election to go around and see if there were strangers that had been here long enough to vote, and see that their names were registered, and at the next election he would pay me. I collected quite a number who had never taken the trouble to register their names.

1851

In Rhode Island, Philip Allen was in charge. The General Assembly offered a blueprint for reform by promulgating a report by Thomas Hazard on the status and treatment of the poor and insane. It became possible to commit patients to the Butler Hospital for the Insane in Providence against their will. (It should be born in mind that this hospital was never guilty of the more coercive restraints. It was able to maintain a patient population of 100-150 while using restraints only once — on an inmate who could not be dissuaded from trying to open a self-inflicted wound.)

PSYCHOLOGY

The Roman Catholic Sisters of Mercy established St. Aloysius Home in their convent on Claverick Street in Providence, Rhode Island near the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul. (By 1862 this orphanage –the oldest continuous social welfare agency in the diocese– would be occupying a better building, on Prairie Avenue.)

At the Yearly Meeting School on top of the hill, a barn had burned down and was replaced with one built of stone. Board and tuition stood at $72 per year per young scholar, plus a surcharge for the occasional non-Quaker pupil. The school staff and the scholars began a practice of walking down the hill to the Providence meetinghouse at the corner of North Main Street and Meeting Street, for worship both at a Sunday afternoon worship and at a Midweek worship (presumably, non-Quaker scholars would have been exempted from this).

The Merino woolens mill in Providence, Rhode Island that had burned in 1841 would be being rebuilt from this year into 1853, by the Franklin Manufacturing Company. Instead of the woolen goods that had been being produced, the new mill would produce cotton goods. (In the 1890s nearly 300 workers in this mill would be making shoelaces and similar items for the greater glory of the Joslin Braiding Company, and then in 1930 the Lincoln Lace and Braid Company would take over the mill buildings, which would at some point be abandoned — and in 1994 would be torched by vandals.)

1852

Dr. H.C. Preston became President of the Rhode Island Homœopathic Society. He became an associate editor and a constant contributor to the Philadelphia Journal of Homœopathy.

All property in Rhode Island, whether real or personal, that was used in connection with religion and education, or the income of which was devoted to religion or education, was in this year freed from taxation. (In 1870 the political winds would blow in the opposite direction and exemption of the personal property of religious and charitable societies would be again restricted, with any such property having a value greater than $20,000 became taxable. Anti-Catholic prejudice would in 1872 cause the tax exemption to be restricted again to only "buildings for free public schools or for religious worship" and one acre of the ground upon which they stood, and this only if both the land and the buildings were used for no purpose other than free public schooling plus religious worship. Rented property and invested funds of such institutions, and the school property of the Catholic church and other semi-private educations institutions, would become taxable. In 1894 the schools of the Catholic church be again freed from taxation, and added to that would be the buildings of charitable institutions and one acre of the ground on which they stood.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

Quaker discipline eased up a bit, and the enrollment at the Yearly Meeting School in Providence picked up from its low point of 55 in 1845, and was averaging about 95.

In the future the school would not be utilizing superintendents, but instead would be utilizing principals:

Superintendents.

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

The distinction between a superintendent and a principal is not a casual one. It is, rather, that "principal" is a legal term of art, reserved for the sort of situation in which a person has a direct personal financial stake in outcomes. A principal is a principal because he or she received part of the proceeds.

Friend John Kellam has been researching the records that are now stored on the second floor of the Rhode Island Historical Society repository on Hope Avenue in Providence, and has by email provided me with the following synopsis of the situation:

> *In 1852 the school closed immediately after a fire for repairs and opportune improvements; and reopened for the winter term in early 1853. The printed minutes of the 1852 Yearly Meeting are missing from the bound book. Oak Grove Seminary (a school which was in competition) opened at Vassalboro, Maine in 1854, and would come under the care of the New England Yearly Meeting in 1884. School charges per term in 1850 were $30 for child members, $45 for children of members, and $50 for members of other Yearly Meetings, and would be raised by small increments to 1855 when they were $40 for members, $60 for children of members, and $100 for all others. The $5 charged for instruction in Ancient Languages or French or Drawing didn't change during those years. But although those charges made annual income from scholars rise from $6,912 in 1850 to $12,362, the School (general) Fund indebtedness increased from $1,956 in 1853 to $8,277 in 1855 when a special Meeting for Sufferings (precursor to Permanent Board later on) on March 9th, 1855 received notice from the Boarding School Committee that the school was vacated, with Charles and Cynthia Earle appointed as Steward and Matron to reside in the School House and hold the custody of the premises and property. The Boarding School reopened at commencement of the winter term, with teaching provided under contract for $1,500 (later, $3,000 per year) by Joseph and Gertrude Cartland as the Principals. In 1856 the School Fund debt reduced from $8,277 to $5,922. $1,233 worth of farm produce was taken by Joseph Cartland to be used within the Institution and accounted for. For several years an excess of income over expenses was applied to reduce the School Fund debt until the School Committee was hopeful that all debt could be soon eliminated. Meanwhile, the $6,500 proceeds from the 1849 sale of one of the two 10-acre lots (the one north of Olney Street) was placed in the School Fund as a loan from the Farm Fund which for several years received interest of about $700 per year until repayment was made of the principal.*

January 23, Friday: The case of John Gordon, hanged for the murder of Amasa Sprague, had been being discussed in Rhode Island for seven years. Had he been guilty of a crime, or had he been the innocent Catholic/Irish impoverished immigrant victim of a rush to judgment and a judicial murder?

The Orléans family (the former ruling house) was banned from France by President Louis-Napoléon Bonaparte.

RHODE ISLAND ROGUE ISLAND

January 23, Friday: The snow is so deep & the cold so intense that the crows [**American Crow *Corvus brachyrhynchos***] are compelled to be very bold in seeking their food – and come very near the houses in the village. One is now walking about & pecking the dung in the street in front of Frank Munroe's. They remind me as they sail along over the street of the turkey buzzards of the south & perhaps many hard winters in succession would make them as tame.

There is a vegetable life as well as a spiritual & animal life in us – for the hair & nails continue to grow after the *anima* has left the body & the spiritual & animal life it is dead. There is also probably an inorganic mineral life.

The surface of the snow on the 20th was not yet disturbed or rippled even by the wind.

P.m. Deep Cut going to Fair Haven Hill No music from the telegraph harp on the causeway – where the wind is strong but in the cut this cold day I hear memorable strains. What must the birds & beasts think where it passes through woods – who heard only the squeaking of the trees before? I should think that these strains would get into their music at last. Will not the mocking bird be heard one day inserting this strain in his medley? It intoxicates me. Orpheus is still alive – All poetry and mythology revive – The spirits of all bards sweep the strings. I hear the clearest silver lyre-like tones – Tertaean tones. I think of menander & the rest – It is the most glorious music I ever heard. All those bards revive & flourish again in that half-hour in the deep-cut. The breeze came through an oak still wearing its dry leaves The very fine clear tones seemed to come from the very core & pith of the telegraph pole. I know not but it is my own chords that tremble so divinely. There are barytones – & high sharp tones &c Some come sweeping seemingly from further along the wire. The latent music of the earth had found here a vent. Music AEolian – There were 2 strings in fact one each side

I do not know but this will make me read the Greek poets. Thus as ever the finest uses of things are the accidental. Mr Morse did not invent this music.

I see where the squirrels have torn the pine-cones in pieces for the sake of to come at their seeds. And in some cases the **mice**? have nibbled the buds of the pitch pines where the plums have been bent down by the snow.

The Blue Hills of Milton are now White.

Lindley in Loudon dismisses the winter berries by saying "The species are low shrubs of little beauty."

There are some whose ears help me so that my things have a rare significance when I read to them. It is almost too good a hearing – so that for the time I regard my own writing from too favorable a point of view.

Just before sunset there were few clouds or specks to be seen in the western sky – but the sun gets down lower, and many dark clouds are made visible – their sides toward us being darkened. In the bright light they were but floating feathers of vapor – now they swell into dark evening clouds.

It is a fair sunset with many purplish fishes in the horizon – pinkish & golden with bright edges – like a school of purplish whales they sail or float down from the north – Or like leopards skins they hang in the west. – If the sun goes behind a cloud – it is still reflected from the least haziness or vapor in that part of the sky – the air is so clear – and the after glow is remarkably long – And now the blaze is put out – and only a few glowing clouds like the flickering light of the fire skirt the west. And now only the brands and embers mixed with smoke make an Indian red along the horizon. And the new moon[16] & the evening star together preside over the twilight scene.

VENUS

The thermometer was at 21° this morning

Some botanical names have originated in a mere blunder. Thus the *Cytharexyllum melanocardium* of the West Ind. "called by the French *fidele*, from its faithfulness or durability in building," the English have corrupted into fiddle-wood & so the genus goes. It is unfit for musical instruments – Lindley

February 11, Wednesday: The Rhode Island General Assembly abolished capital punishment even for such crimes as murder and arson. (In 1872, the General Assembly would re-enact the penalty of death by hanging, for a murder committed while under sentence of life imprisonment.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

February 11, Wednesday: When the thermometer is down to 20° in the morning, as last month, I think of the poor dogs who have no masters.

DOG

If a poor dog has no master, every body will throw a billet of wood at him. it never rains but it pours

It now rains–a drizzling rain mixed with mist–which ever and anon fills the air to the height of 15 or 20 feet–

It makes what they call an old fashioned mill-privelege in the streets–i.e. I suppose a privelege on a small stream good only for a part of the year.

16. January 21st and 22nd had been the nights of no moon.

Perhaps the best evidence of an amelioration of the climate–at least that the snows are less deep than formerly–is the snow-shoes which still lie about in so many garrets–now useless–though the population of this town has not essentially increased for 75 years past–and the travelling within the limits of the town accordingly not much facilitated. No man ever uses them now–yet the old men used them in their youth.
I have lived some 30 odd years on this planet and I have yet to hear the first syllable of valuable or even earnest advice from my seniors. They have told me nothing and probably can tell me nothing to the purpose. There is life–an experiment untried by me–& it does not avail me that you have tried it. If I have any valuable experience I am sure to reflect that this my mentors said nothing about. What were mysteries to the child, remain mysteries to the old man
It is a mistake to suppose that in a country where rail roads & steamboats the printing press and the church and the usual evidences of what is called civilization exists the condition of a very large body of the inhabitants cannot be as degraded as that of savages. Savages have their high & their low estate–& so have civilized nations. To know this I should not need to look further than the shanties which everywhere line our rail roads–that last improvement in civilization. But I will refer you to Ire Land, which is marked as one of the white or enlightened spots on the map– Yet I have no doubt that that nations rulers are as wise as the averaged of civilized rulers.

July: Until September, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow would be renting Charles T. Hazard's very spacious "Cliff House" (it no longer exists) at Newport on Aquidneck Island in Rhode Island and there played host to, among others, Julia Ward and his wife Frances's brother Thomas Gold Appleton.[17]

> Here we are, in the clover-fields on the cliff, at Hazard's house; near the beach, with the glorious sea unrolling its changing billows before us. Here, in truth, the sea speaks Italian; at Nahant it speaks Norse. Went this morning into the Jewish burying-ground, with a polite old gentleman who keeps the key. It is a shady nook, at the corner of two dusty, frequented streets, with an iron fence and a granite gateway, ... Over one of the graves grows a weeping willow, - a grandchild of the willow over Napoleon's grave in St. Helena.

After the described visit to the Jewish Cemetery at the intersection of Kay Street, Touro Street, and Bellevue Avenue, opened in 1677, the oldest Jewish burial ground in the USA, he began a poem that would appear in Putnam's Monthly Magazine for July 1854:

[on following screen]

17. Late June through Labor Day would become the "summer visiting season" for the rows of "cottages" along Belmont Avenue in Newport.

The Jewish Cemetery at Newport

How strange it seems! These Hebrews in their graves,
Close by the street of this fair seaport town,
Silent beside the never-silent waves,
At rest in all this moving up and down!

The trees are white with dust, that o'er their sleep
Wave their broad curtains in the southwind's breath,
While underneath these leafy tents they keep
The long, mysterious Exodus of Death.

And these sepulchral stones, so old and brown,
That pave with level flags their burial-place,
Seem like the tablets of the Law, thrown down
And broken by Moses at the mountain's base.

The very names recorded here are strange,
Of foreign accent, and of different climes;
Alvares and Rivera interchange
With Abraham and Jacob of old times.

"Blessed be God! for he created Death!"
The mourner said, "and Death is rest and peace!"
Then added, in the certainty of faith,
"And giveth Life that nevermore shall cease."

Closed are the portals of their Synagogue,
No Psalms of David now the silence break,
No Rabbi reads the ancient Decalogue
In the grand dialect the Prophets spake.

Gone are the living, but the dead remain,
And not neglected; for a hand unseen,
Scattering its bounty, like a summer rain,
Still keeps their graves and their remembrance green.

How came they here? What burst of Christian hate,
What persecution, merciless and blind,
Drove o'er the sea -that desert desolate -
These Ishmaels and Hagars of mankind?

They lived in narrow streets and lanes obscure,
Ghetto and Judenstrass, in mirk and mire;
Taught in the school of patience to endure
The life of anguish and the death of fire.

All their lives long, with the unleavened bread
And bitter herbs of exile and its fears,
The wasting famine of the heart they fed,
And slaked its thirst with marah of their tears.

Anathema maranatha! was the cry
That rang from town to town, from street to street:
At every gate the accursed Mordecai
Was mocked and jeered, and spurned by Christian feet.

Pride and humiliation hand in hand
Walked with them through the world where'er they went;
Trampled and beaten were they as the sand,
And yet unshaken as the continent.

For in the background figures vague and vast
Of patriarchs and of prophets rose sublime,
And all the great traditions of the Past
They saw reflected in the coming time.

And thus forever with reverted look
The mystic volume of the world they read,
Spelling it backward, like a Hebrew book,
Till life became a Legend of the Dead.

But ah! what once has been shall be no more!
The groaning earth in travail and in pain
Brings forth its races, but does not restore,
And the dead nations never rise again.

TOURO SYNAGOGUE

July 25, Sunday: Dedication of the present St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church structure in Newport, Rhode Island.

 July 25, Sunday: 4 Am. to Cliffs

This early twitter or breathing of chip birds in the dawn sounds like something organic in the earth. This is a morning celebrated by birds. Our blue-bird sits on the peak of the house & warbles as in the spring –but as he does not now by day. This morning is all the more glorious for a white fog –which though not universal is still very extensive over all lowlands –some 50 feet high or more –though there was none at 10 last night– There are white cob-webs on the grass. The battalions of the fog are continually on the move. How hardy are cows that lie in the fog chewing the cud all night. They wake up with no stiffness in their limbs. They are indifferent to fogs as frogs to water –like hippopotami fitted are they to dwell ever on the river bank of this world –fitted to meadows & their vicissitudes. I see where in pastures of short firm turf they have pulled up the grass by the roots & it lies scattered in small tufts. (To anticipate a little when I return this way I find two farmers loading their cart with dirt –and they are so unmanly as to excuse themselves to me for working this sunday morning – by saying –with a serious face that they are burying a cow –which died last night –after some month of sickness –which however they unthinkingly admit that they killed last night being the most convenient time for them – and I see that they are now putting more loads of soil over her body to save the manure– How often men will betray their sense of guilt and hence their actual guilt by their excuses –where no guilt necessarily was. I remarked that it must be cold for a cow lying in such fogs all night but one answered properly– "Well, I dont know how it may be with a sick cow, but it wont hurt a well crittur any." The ditch stone crop is abundant in the now dry pool by the roadside near Hubbards.) From Fair Haven Hill –the sun having risen –I see great wreathes of fog far NE revealing the course of the river –a noble sight –as it were the river elevated –or rather the ghost of the ample stream that once flowed to ocean between these now distant uplands in another geological period –filling the broad meadows.– The dews saved to the earth by this great musketaquid condenser refrigerator and now the rising sun makes glow with downiest white the ample wreathes which rise higher than the highest trees. The farmers that lie slumbering on this their day of rest how little do they know of this stupendous pageant. The bright fresh aspect of the woods glistening with moisture when the early sun falls on them (As I came along the whole earth resounded with the crowing of cocks –from the eastern unto the western horizon, and as I passed a yard I saw a white rooster on the topmost rail of a fence pouring forth his challenges for destiny to come ove –

This salutation was travelling round the world Some six hours since had resounded through England France & Spain –then the sun passed over a belt of silence where the atlantic flows –except a clarion here & there from some cooped up cock upon the waves –till greeted with a general all hail along the Atlantic shore. Looking now from the rocks –the fog is a perfect sea over the great Sudbury meadows in the SW –commencing at the base of this cliff & reaching to the hills south of Wayland & further still to Framingham –through which only the tops of the higher hills are seen as islands –great bays of the sea many miles across where the largest fleets would find ample room –& in which countless farms & farm houses are immersed. The fog rises highest over the channel of the river and over the ponds in the woods which are thus revealed– I clearly distinguish where white pond lies by this sign –and various other ponds methinks to which I have walked 10 or 12 miles distant, & I distinguish the course of the assabet far in the west & SW beyond the woods Every valley is densely packed with the downy vapor– What levelling on a great scale is done thus for the eye! The fog rises to the top of round

hill in the sudbury meadows whose sunburnt yellow grass makes it look like a low sand bar in the ocean and I can judge thus pretty accurately what hills are higher than this by their elevation above the surface of the fog. Every meadow & water-course makes an arm of this bay– The primeval banks make thus a channel which only the fogs of late summer & autumn fogs fill. The Wayland hills make a sort of promontory or peninsula like some Nahant. If I look across thither I think of the sea monsters that swim in that sea –& of the wrecks that strew the bottom many fathom deep— — where in an hour when this sea dries up farms will smile & farmhouses be revealed.– A certain thrilling vastness or wasteness it now suggests. This is one of those ambrosial white –ever-memorable fogs presaging fair weather– It produces the most picturesque and grandest effects –as it rises & travels hither & thither enveloping & concealing trees & forests & hills– It is lifted up now into quite a little white **mt** over Fair Haven Bay and even on its skirts only the tops of the highest pines are seen above it –& all adown the river it has an uneven outline like a rugged **mt** ridge in one place some rainbow tints and far far in the S horizon near the further verge of the sea over Saxonville? is heaved up into great waves as if there were breakers there. In the mean while the wood thrush [***Catharus mustelina***] & the jay & the robin sing around me here, & birds are heard singing from the midst of the fog. And in one short hour this sea will all evaporate & the sun be reflected from farm windows on its green bottom. It is a rare music the earliest bee's hum amid the flowers –revisiting the flower bells just after sunrise.

Of flowers observed before June 11th the following I know or think to be still in blossom viz—
Stellaria media
Shepherd's purse Probably
Potentilla Canadensis
Columbine?
Hedyotis
Grasses & Sedges
Sorrel??
Trifolium procumbens yel. clover
Celandine
Red Clover

in favorable moist & shady places
Tall Crowfoot
Forget-me-not common
Hypoxis erecta
Blue-eyed grass scarce
Sarracenia??
Nuphars both not numerous
Ranunculus Purshii??
Ribwort
Cotton-grass common
Rubus Canadensis?
Cistus very scarce
Canada Snap Dragon Potentilla argentea not very common?
White-weed may be here & there
White clover??
Meadow-rue very common
High blackberry?
Bitter-sweet still.
Yarrow very common
Knawel?
Utricularia vulgaris?

Gone out of Blossom since June 10th (of those observed after June 10th before June 24th) the following
Iris versicolor
Broom rape?
Fumaria?
Viburnums

Dracaena
Carrion-flower
Cornels
Silene antirrhina?
Erigeron strigosum
Wax-work?
Large purple orchises.
Hound's tongue?
Tufted Loose-strife
4 leaved " ??
A veronica
Aralia hispida
Grape vines
Moss rose & early straight thorned (?)
Pyrolas?
Swamp pink? may linger somewhere
Prinos laevigatus
Pogonia?
Iris Virginica
Elder?
Mitchella?
Diervilla
Mt Laurel
Sweet briar.

Of those observed between June 10th & 24th the following are still common.

Marsh speedwell
Floating heart
Mullein
Dog's bane
Cow wheat
Butter & eggs
Prunella
Epilobium
Some or most galiums.

1853

The Providence, Rhode Island Baptist church for people of color that was favored by William J. Brown at this point secured the services of a recent graduate of a theological institution, the Reverend Chauncey Leonard. There was, however, a problem connected with this hire, as the young man had received financial assistance during his education, and part of that deal was that he had agreed to go as a missionary to Liberia. It would turn out that if he was to stay and minister in the USA instead, he would need to repay said student loan — and on the low salary that this church congregation would be able to afford to pay, it would prove to be difficult for him to discharge such a dead horse. The situation they were creating was, therefore, unfortunately preloaded for a future personnel problem, a problem that would surface after but two years of the Reverend Leonard's pastorate in Providence.[18]

In Rhode Island, F.M. Dimond was the Acting Governor.

Grist Mill activity began to fill the pages of the daybooks for the Machine Shop business at Saylesville. There had been a shift away from general job shop work toward the making of wooden boxes.

In Providence, Rhode Island, the United States Army Corps of Engineers was surveying the river prior to dredging a channel south of Fox Point to a depth of 10 feet and width of 100 feet.

The Howard Building in downtown Providence, Rhode Island, named for George A. Howard, containing Howard's Hall where large-scale performances and lectures were staged, in this year burned down for the 1st time. (The building would promptly be rebuilt but would burn down again in 1858 and need to be again rebuilt in 1859.)

At the Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island, the vacation between semesters was increased from two weeks to one month. Installation of gas lighting brought a great improvement over the whale-oil lamps that had previously been needed for study. Average annual attendance had increased to 144 young scholars, mostly Quaker.

Sarah Harris, who as a 19-year-old in 1832 had generated considerable hostility among white citizens by attempting to attend Prudence Crandall's boarding school "for young ladies and little misses" in Canterbury, Connecticut –when in fact she only "looked white" but actually "was black"– had since married with the blacksmith George Fayerweather, and the couple had begun a family, and they had christened their 1st infant with the name Prudence Crandall Fayerweather. In this year this family moved into a cottage in Kingstown, Rhode Island that had been built by George's father — a structure now in the Historic Register.

18. Note please, that the organization we are speaking of here was a Baptist one, and definitely was not the Methodist or "AME" one which has so frequently been inferred to have been taking part in the Underground Railroad. There is nothing in the late-life reminiscences of Brown to suggest that he or his associates or his denomination ever were involved in any way with escaping slaves.

February 1, Tuesday: Paulina Wright Davis's The Una began publication out of Providence, Rhode Island and Washington DC:

The masthead proclaimed it "A Paper Devoted to the Elevation of Women." This was among the 1st such periodicals (Amelia Bloomer had begun her temperance newspaper The Lily in 1849) and was definitely the

1st to be owned, edited, and published by a woman. The periodical would be printed for a couple of years before collapsing in 1855 due to lack of funds.

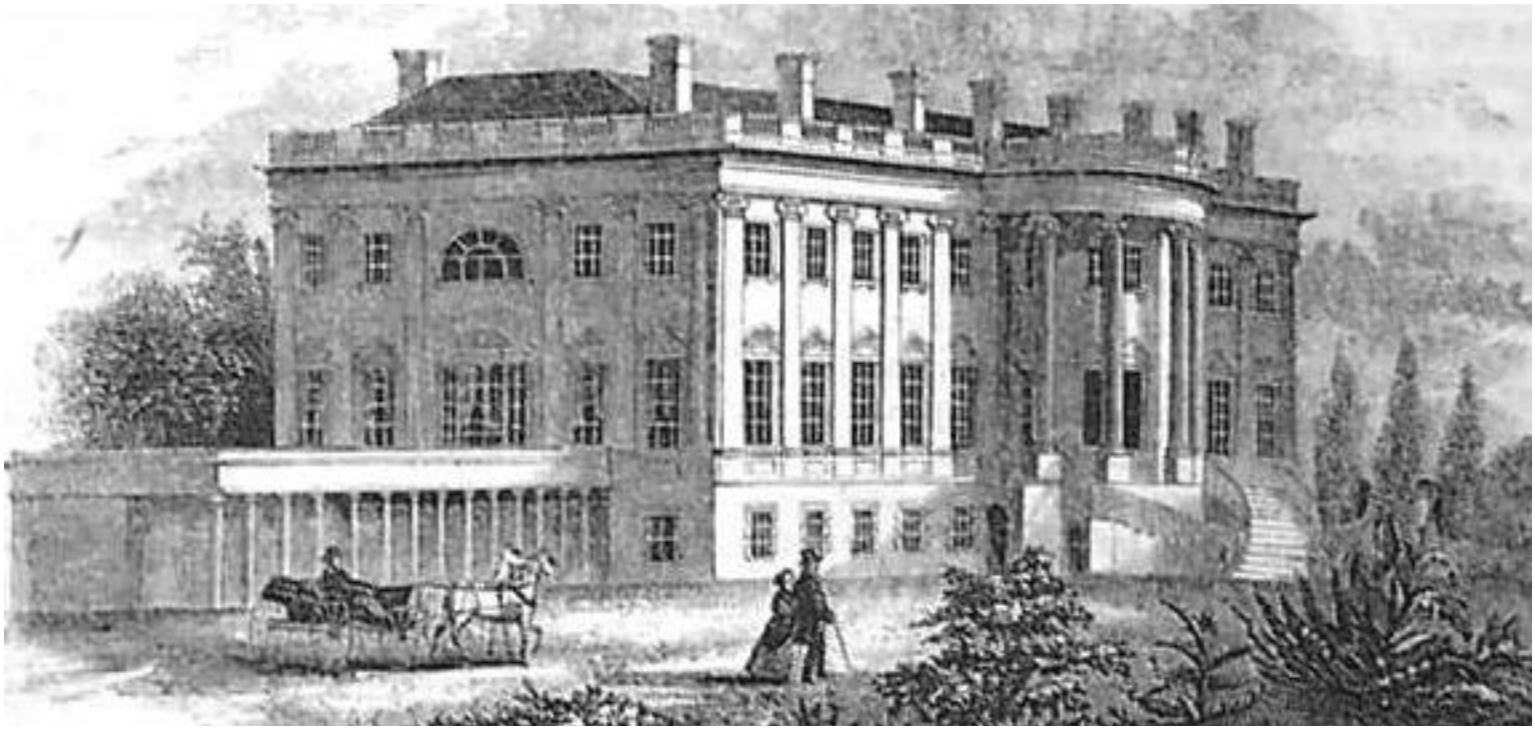
FEMINISM

March 4, Friday morning The name of former Senator and Congressman Franklin Pierce, a heroic officer of a volunteer brigade in the successful war upon Mexico, had not been placed in nomination at the national convention of his Democratic party until the 35th polling of its delegates, and he had not become their chosen candidate until their 49th ballot (it is almost as if they were aware that he had been rather totally ineffective during that conflict, displaying little more ability than the ability to fall off a horse). Nevertheless on this morning he became President of the United States of America (until March 3, 1857). It was snowing. Although a commemorative copper token was struck,

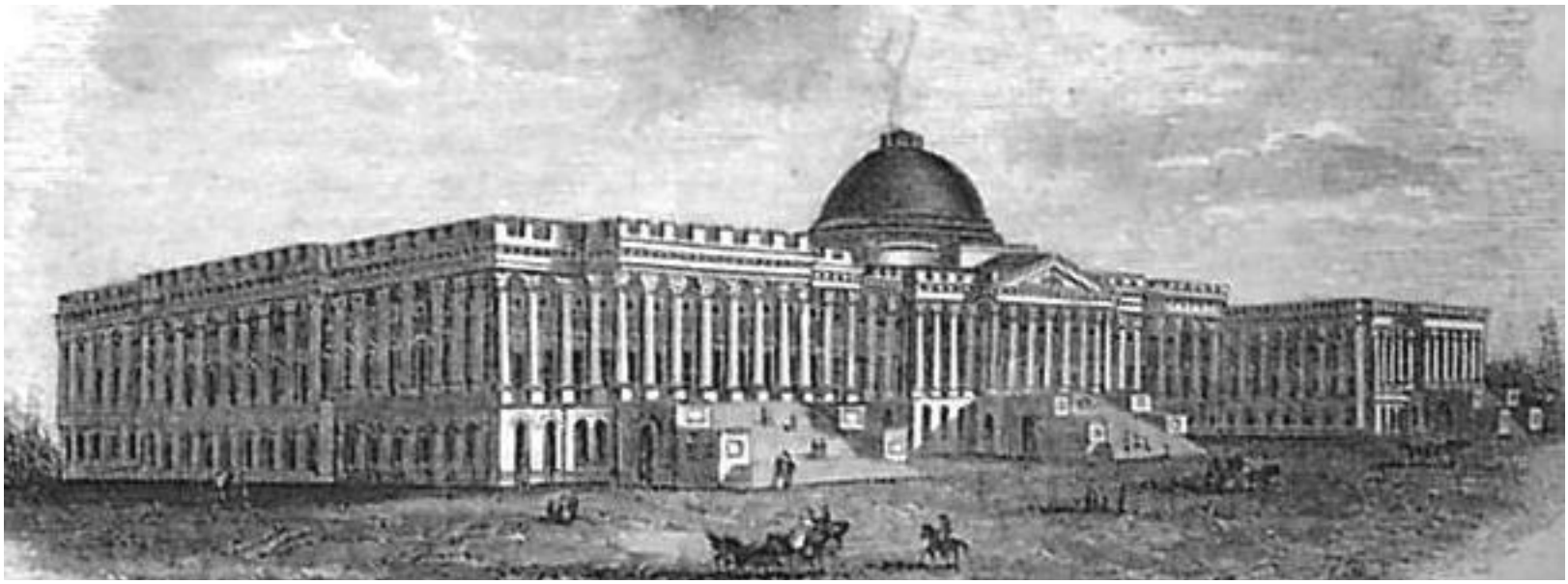
there would be no inaugural fete because officially he was in mourning, his only child Ben having been killed in that railroad car accident of January 6th.

(Mrs. Pierce would be sitting out his presidency at home in New Hampshire in mourning; she would never

visit the White House.)



When Chief Justice Roger Taney came to administer the oath of office as President of the United States of America on the East Portico of the Capitol, this gent who had never caviled at the thought of killing other humans, who would earn fame as one of our very worst presidents, due to his religious scruples quailed at the term "swear" and chose, rather, to "affirm" that he would perform his duties in his new office. He would go down in history not only as incompetent but also as our only president to affirm, rather than swear, his oath of office.[19]



19. Oh, give us a break please!

My Countrymen: It is a relief to feel that no heart but my own can know the personal regret and bitter sorrow over which I have been borne to a position so suitable for others rather than desirable for myself. The circumstances under which I have been called for a limited period to preside over the destinies of the Republic fill me with a profound sense of responsibility, but with nothing like shrinking apprehension. I repair to the post assigned me not as to one sought, but in obedience to the unsolicited expression of your will, answerable only for a fearless, faithful, and diligent exercise of my best powers. I ought to be, and am, truly grateful for the rare manifestation of the nation's confidence; but this, so far from lightening my obligations, only adds to their weight. You have summoned me in my weakness; you must sustain me by your strength. When looking for the fulfillment of reasonable requirements, you will not be unmindful of the great changes which have occurred, even within the last quarter of a century, and the consequent augmentation and complexity of duties imposed in the administration both of your home and foreign affairs. Whether the elements of inherent force in the Republic have kept pace with its unparalleled progression in territory, population, and wealth has been the subject of earnest thought and discussion on both sides of the ocean. Less than sixty-four years ago the Father of his Country made "the" then "recent accession of the important State of North Carolina to the Constitution of the United States" one of the subjects of his special congratulation. At that moment, however, when the agitation consequent upon the Revolutionary struggle had hardly subsided, when we were just emerging from the weakness and embarrassments of the Confederation, there was an evident consciousness of vigor equal to the great mission so wisely and bravely fulfilled by our fathers. It was not a presumptuous assurance, but a calm faith, springing from a clear view of the sources of power in a government constituted like ours. It is no paradox to say that although comparatively weak the new-born nation was intrinsically strong. Inconsiderable in population and apparent resources, it was upheld by a broad and intelligent comprehension of rights and an all-pervading purpose to maintain them, stronger than armaments. It came from the furnace of the Revolution, tempered to the necessities of the times. The thoughts of the men of that day were as practical as their sentiments were patriotic. They wasted no portion of their energies upon idle and delusive speculations, but with a firm and fearless step advanced beyond the governmental landmarks which had hitherto circumscribed the limits of human freedom and planted their standard, where it has stood against dangers which have threatened from abroad, and internal agitation, which has at times fearfully menaced at home. They proved themselves equal to the solution of the great problem, to understand which their minds had been illuminated by the dawning lights of the Revolution. The object sought was not a thing dreamed of; it was a thing realized. They had exhibited only the power to achieve, but, what all history affirms to be so much more unusual, the capacity to maintain. The oppressed throughout the world from that day to the present have turned their eyes hitherward, not

to find those lights extinguished or to fear lest they should wane, but to be constantly cheered by their steady and increasing radiance. In this our country has, in my judgment, thus far fulfilled its highest duty to suffering humanity. It has spoken and will continue to speak, not only by its words, but by its acts, the language of sympathy, encouragement, and hope to those who earnestly listen to tones which pronounce for the largest rational liberty. But after all, the most animating encouragement and potent appeal for freedom will be its own history—its trials and its triumphs. Preeminently, the power of our advocacy reposes in our example; but no example, be it remembered, can be powerful for lasting good, whatever apparent advantages may be gained, which is not based upon eternal principles of right and justice. Our fathers decided for themselves, both upon the hour to declare and the hour to strike. They were their own judges of the circumstances under which it became them to pledge to each other "their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor" for the acquisition of the priceless inheritance transmitted to us. The energy with which that great conflict was opened and, under the guidance of a manifest and beneficent Providence the uncomplaining endurance with which it was prosecuted to its consummation were only surpassed by the wisdom and patriotic spirit of concession which characterized all the counsels of the early fathers. One of the most impressive evidences of that wisdom is to be found in the fact that the actual working of our system has dispelled a degree of solicitude which at the outset disturbed bold hearts and far-reaching intellects. The apprehension of dangers from extended territory, multiplied States, accumulated wealth, and augmented population has proved to be unfounded. The stars upon your banner have become nearly threefold their original number; your densely populated possessions skirt the shores of the two great oceans; and yet this vast increase of people and territory has not only shown itself compatible with the harmonious action of the States and Federal Government in their respective constitutional spheres, but has afforded an additional guaranty of the strength and integrity of both. With an experience thus suggestive and cheering, the policy of my Administration will not be controlled by any timid forebodings of evil from expansion. Indeed, it is not to be disguised that our attitude as a nation and our position on the globe render the acquisition of certain possessions not within our jurisdiction eminently important for our protection, if not in the future essential for the preservation of the rights of commerce and the peace of the world. Should they be obtained, it will be through no grasping spirit, but with a view to obvious national interest and security, and in a manner entirely consistent with the strictest observance of national faith. We have nothing in our history or position to invite aggression; we have everything to beckon us to the cultivation of relations of peace and amity with all nations. Purposes, therefore, at once just and pacific will be significantly marked in the conduct of our foreign affairs. I intend that my Administration shall leave no blot upon our fair record, and trust I may safely give the assurance that no

act within the legitimate scope of my constitutional control will be tolerated on the part of any portion of our citizens which can not challenge a ready justification before the tribunal of the civilized world. An Administration would be unworthy of confidence at home or respect abroad should it cease to be influenced by the conviction that no apparent advantage can be purchased at a price so dear as that of national wrong or dishonor. It is not your privilege as a nation to speak of a distant past. The striking incidents of your history, replete with instruction and furnishing abundant grounds for hopeful confidence, are comprised in a period comparatively brief. But if your past is limited, your future is boundless. Its obligations throng the unexplored pathway of advancement, and will be limitless as duration. Hence a sound and comprehensive policy should embrace not less the distant future than the urgent present. The great objects of our pursuit as a people are best to be attained by peace, and are entirely consistent with the tranquillity and interests of the rest of mankind. With the neighboring nations upon our continent we should cultivate kindly and fraternal relations. We can desire nothing in regard to them so much as to see them consolidate their strength and pursue the paths of prosperity and happiness. If in the course of their growth we should open new channels of trade and create additional facilities for friendly intercourse, the benefits realized will be equal and mutual. Of the complicated European systems of national polity we have heretofore been independent. From their wars, their tumults, and anxieties we have been, happily, almost entirely exempt. Whilst these are confined to the nations which gave them existence, and within their legitimate jurisdiction, they can not affect us except as they appeal to our sympathies in the cause of human freedom and universal advancement. But the vast interests of commerce are common to all mankind, and the advantages of trade and international intercourse must always present a noble field for the moral influence of a great people. With these views firmly and honestly carried out, we have a right to expect, and shall under all circumstances require, prompt reciprocity. The rights which belong to us as a nation are not alone to be regarded, but those which pertain to every citizen in his individual capacity, at home and abroad, must be sacredly maintained. So long as he can discern every star in its place upon that ensign, without wealth to purchase for him preferment or title to secure for him place, it will be his privilege, and must be his acknowledged right, to stand unabashed even in the presence of princes, with a proud consciousness that he is himself one of a nation of sovereigns and that he can not in legitimate pursuit wander so far from home that the agent whom he shall leave behind in the place which I now occupy will not see that no rude hand of power or tyrannical passion is laid upon him with impunity. He must realize that upon every sea and on every soil where our enterprise may rightfully seek the protection of our flag American citizenship is an inviolable panoply for the security of American rights. And in this connection it can hardly be necessary to reaffirm a principle which should now be regarded

as fundamental. The rights, security, and repose of this Confederacy reject the idea of interference or colonization on this side of the ocean by any foreign power beyond present jurisdiction as utterly inadmissible. The opportunities of observation furnished by my brief experience as a soldier confirmed in my own mind the opinion, entertained and acted upon by others from the formation of the Government, that the maintenance of large standing armies in our country would be not only dangerous, but unnecessary. They also illustrated the importance—I might well say the absolute necessity—of the military science and practical skill furnished in such an eminent degree by the institution which has made your Army what it is, under the discipline and instruction of officers not more distinguished for their solid attainments, gallantry, and devotion to the public service than for unobtrusive bearing and high moral tone. The Army as organized must be the nucleus around which in every time of need the strength of your military power, the sure bulwark of your defense—a national militia—may be readily formed into a well-disciplined and efficient organization. And the skill and self-devotion of the Navy assure you that you may take the performance of the past as a pledge for the future, and may confidently expect that the flag which has waved its untarnished folds over every sea will still float in undiminished honor. But these, like many other subjects, will be appropriately brought at a future time to the attention of the coordinate branches of the Government, to which I shall always look with profound respect and with trustful confidence that they will accord to me the aid and support which I shall so much need and which their experience and wisdom will readily suggest. In the administration of domestic affairs you expect a devoted integrity in the public service and an observance of rigid economy in all departments, so marked as never justly to be questioned. If this reasonable expectation be not realized, I frankly confess that one of your leading hopes is doomed to disappointment, and that my efforts in a very important particular must result in a humiliating failure. Offices can be properly regarded only in the light of aids for the accomplishment of these objects, and as occupancy can confer no prerogative nor importunate desire for preferment any claim, the public interest imperatively demands that they be considered with sole reference to the duties to be performed. Good citizens may well claim the protection of good laws and the benign influence of good government, but a claim for office is what the people of a republic should never recognize. No reasonable man of any party will expect the Administration to be so regardless of its responsibility and of the obvious elements of success as to retain persons known to be under the influence of political hostility and partisan prejudice in positions which will require not only severe labor, but cordial cooperation. Having no implied engagements to ratify, no rewards to bestow, no resentments to remember, and no personal wishes to consult in selections for official station, I shall fulfill this difficult and delicate trust, admitting no motive as worthy either of my character or position which does not contemplate an efficient

discharge of duty and the best interests of my country. I acknowledge my obligations to the masses of my countrymen, and to them alone. Higher objects than personal aggrandizement gave direction and energy to their exertions in the late canvass, and they shall not be disappointed. They require at my hands diligence, integrity, and capacity wherever there are duties to be performed. Without these qualities in their public servants, more stringent laws for the prevention or punishment of fraud, negligence, and peculation will be vain. With them they will be unnecessary. But these are not the only points to which you look for vigilant watchfulness. The dangers of a concentration of all power in the general government of a confederacy so vast as ours are too obvious to be disregarded. You have a right, therefore, to expect your agents in every department to regard strictly the limits imposed upon them by the Constitution of the United States. The great scheme of our constitutional liberty rests upon a proper distribution of power between the State and Federal authorities, and experience has shown that the harmony and happiness of our people must depend upon a just discrimination between the separate rights and responsibilities of the States and your common rights and obligations under the General Government; and here, in my opinion, are the considerations which should form the true basis of future concord in regard to the questions which have most seriously disturbed public tranquillity. If the Federal Government will confine itself to the exercise of powers clearly granted by the Constitution, it can hardly happen that its action upon any question should endanger the institutions of the States or interfere with their right to manage matters strictly domestic according to the will of their own people. In expressing briefly my views upon an important subject rich has recently agitated the nation to almost a fearful degree, I am moved by no other impulse than a most earnest desire for the perpetuation of that Union which has made us what we are, showering upon us blessings and conferring a power and influence which our fathers could hardly have anticipated, even with their most sanguine hopes directed to a far-off future. The sentiments I now announce were not unknown before the expression of the voice which called me here. My own position upon this subject was clear and unequivocal, upon the record of my words and my acts, and it is only recurred to at this time because silence might perhaps be misconstrued. With the Union my best and dearest earthly hopes are entwined. Without it what are we individually or collectively? What becomes of the noblest field ever opened for the advancement of our race in religion, in government, in the arts, and in all that dignifies and adorns mankind? From that radiant constellation which both illumines our own way and points out to struggling nations their course, let but a single star be lost, and, if these be not utter darkness, the luster of the whole is dimmed. Do my countrymen need any assurance that such a catastrophe is not to overtake them while I possess the power to stay it? It is with me an earnest and vital belief that as the Union has been the source, under Providence, of our prosperity to this time, so it is the

surest pledge of a continuance of the blessings we have enjoyed, and which we are sacredly bound to transmit undiminished to our children. The field of calm and free discussion in our country is open, and will always be so, but never has been and never can be traversed for good in a spirit of sectionalism and uncharitableness. The founders of the Republic dealt with things as they were presented to them, in a spirit of self-sacrificing patriotism, and, as time has proved, with a comprehensive wisdom which it will always be safe for us to consult. Every measure tending to strengthen the fraternal feelings of all the members of our Union has had my heartfelt approbation. To every theory of society or government, whether the offspring of feverish ambition or of morbid enthusiasm, calculated to dissolve the bonds of law and affection which unite us, I shall interpose a ready and stern resistance. I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different States of this Confederacy, is recognized by the Constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 50, commonly called the "compromise measures," are strictly constitutional and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect. I believe that the constituted authorities of this Republic are bound to regard the rights of the South in this respect as they would view any other legal and constitutional right, and that the laws to enforce them should be respected and obeyed, not with a reluctance encouraged by abstract opinions as to their propriety in a different state of society, but cheerfully and according to the decisions of the tribunal to which their exposition belongs. Such have been, and are, my convictions, and upon them I shall act. I fervently hope that the question is at rest, and that no sectional or ambitious or fanatical excitement may again threaten the durability of our institutions or obscure the light of our prosperity. But let not the foundation of our hope rest upon man's wisdom. It will not be sufficient that sectional prejudices find no place in the public deliberations. It will not be sufficient that the rash counsels of human passion are rejected. It must be felt that there is no national security but in the nation's humble, acknowledged dependence upon God and His overruling providence. We have been carried in safety through a perilous crisis. Wise counsels, like those which gave us the Constitution, prevailed to uphold it. Let the period be remembered as an admonition, and not as an encouragement, in any section of the Union, to make experiments where experiments are fraught with such fearful hazard. Let it be impressed upon all hearts that, beautiful as our fabric is, no earthly power or wisdom could ever reunite its broken fragments. Standing, as I do, almost within view of the green slopes of Monticello, and, as it were, within reach of the tomb of Washington, with all the cherished memories of the past gathering around me like so many eloquent voices of exhortation from heaven, I can express no better hope for my country than that the kind Providence which smiled upon our fathers may enable their children to preserve the blessings they have inherited.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Thomas Davis had been elected to the federal congress, and on this day took his seat as a Democrat. His wife Paulina Wright Davis would reside with him in Washington DC. (Thomas would serve out his term, but would then fail to win re-election in 1854 and would need to return to the manufacture of jewelry in Providence, Rhode Island.)

A good time was had that day in Washington DC, by all and sundry:

Pierce would, as he had pledged, be appointing an entirely proslavery cabinet:

To Thine Own Self Be True

September: Before the Supreme Court of Rhode Island, the case of Perry Davis vs. George Kendall (as reported in THE AMERICAN LAW REGISTER for 1852-1891, Volume 2, Number 11 for September 1854, pages 681-685). Evidently a drug dealer named Kendall had been manufacturing and vending a compound similar to the Providence drug dealer Davis's "Pain-Killer" "Manufactured by Perry Davis" "The original inventor, No. 74 High St." under the name "J.A. Perry's Vegetable Pain-Killer," in bottles of similar size though of somewhat different shape, thus pirating Mr. Davis's trade-mark under which said compound had become extensively and favorably known. The attorney for the defendant drug dealer Kendall pointed out to the court that there was no copy-right on words of the English language such as "Pain-Killer." The Supreme Court held that the whole question in this case was, whether the defendant drug dealer's label was liable to deceive the public, and to lead them to suppose they are purchasing an article manufactured by the plaintiff drug dealer Davis instead of by the defendant drug dealer Kendall. The majority of the court ruled for the plaintiff drug dealer, agreeing that his copy-right had in fact illicitly been infringed and that he would therefore be entitled to legal redress.

ETHANOL
OPIATES

(The past is a foreign country — you will instantly notice that our courts no longer proactively protect the entitlements of drug dealers in any such manner.)

November 9, Wednesday: Perry Davis of Providence, Rhode Island was ordained to the Baptist ministry.

Since Mr. Davis was a world-class drug dealer specializing in opiates and ethanol, we may be pardoned for turning at this point to an insight about the heartlessness of capitalist society by Karl Marx:

"*Religious* distress is at the same time the *expression* of real distress and the *protest* against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world, just as it is the spirit of a spiritless situation. It is the *opium* of the people. The abolition of religion as the *illusory* happiness of the people is required for their *real* happiness. The demand to give up the illusion about its condition is the demand to *give up a condition which needs illusions*. The criticism of religion is, therefore, *in embryo, the criticism of that vale of tears* of which religion is the *halo*."

— Karl Marx, CRITIQUE OF HEGEL'S PHILOSOPHY OF RIGHT (February 1844)

Excerpt from "Thoreau as Storyteller in the Journal" by Professor Sandra Harbert Petrulionis:

On November 29, 1853, sandwiched in between the Journal's discussion of a rare beetle and a local boy's find of a Native American artifact, Thoreau records a story told to him by local farmer George Minott—a tale of a rabid dog which met its demise in Concord many years before. Francis H. Allen included this tale in his 1936 Men of Concord, a compilation of the Journal's character sketches. As a way of leading in to it, Thoreau relates the fact that recently a boy in nearby Lincoln had been fatally bitten by a rabid dog. Thoreau —who calls what he's about to write a "story"— justifies the digression as "worth telling for

it shows how much trouble the passage of one mad dog through the town may produce" (Journal V 522).

[5] In classic storytelling fashion, Thoreau begins by establishing the time and setting: "It was when he [Minott] was a boy and lived down below the Old Ben Prescott House—over the Cellar Hole on what is now Hawthorne's Land." The following excerpts summarize Minott's description of the dog's progress through town:

> When the dog got to the old Ben Prescott Place ... there were a couple of turkies—[it] drove them into a corner—bit off the head of one.... They then raised the cry of mad dog ... his [Minott's] mother and Aunt Prescott ... coming down the road—& he shouted to them to take care of them selves—for that dog was mad— Minott next saw Harry Hooper—coming down the road after his cows ... & he shouted to him to look out for the dog was mad—but Harry ... being short the dog leaped right upon his open breast & made a pass at his throat, but missed it. (522-523)

[6] the name of Fay—dressed in small clothes" was waylaid by the dog and bitten twice because he failed to heed Minott's warning that the oncoming dog was mad. Thoreau writes that "Fay ... well frightened, kicked the dog, "seized [it] ... held him ... fast & called lustily for somebody to come & kill him." Unfortunately, when a man named Lewis "rushed out" to help, his axe was somewhat "dull," and after a worthless "blow across the back," the "dog trotted along still toward town" (523-524).

[7] The dog proceeded to bite two cows, both of which later died, to grab "a goose in the wing" and "kept on through the town" (523). Finally, however, it met its demise at the hands of the story's unlikely hero: "The next thing that was heard of him—Black Cato ... was waked up about midnight ... he took a club & went out to see what was the matter— Looking over into the pen this dog reared up at him & he knocked him back into it & jumping over—mauled him till he thought he was dead & then tossed him out" (524-525). Unfortunately, Cato discovered the next morning that the dog was in fact not dead and had disappeared. Later that day, he encountered the dog again, "but this time having heard the mad dog story he ... ran—but still the dog came on & once or twice he knocked him aside with a large stone—till at length ... he gave him a blow which killed him— & lest he should run away again he cut off his head & threw both head & body into the river—" (525). Cato succeeds where esteemed white citizens fail; his heroic act rids the town of danger.

[8] From the vantage of our safe hindsight, the story's humor is inseparable from its potential tragedy. Anyone who comes in contact with this dog could, of course, be killed. Nevertheless, Thoreau has a bit of fun at the expense of the townsfolk. Mr. Fay was possibly Grant Fay, a local farmer whose son Addison was a contemporary of Thoreau. As "a large and stout old gentleman ... dressed in small clothes," twice bitten by the dog largely through his own ineptitude, Fay suffers at Thoreau's hands.

> Moreover, Thoreau concludes with the information that "Fay went home ... drank some spirit ... went straight over to Dr. Heywoods ... & ... was doctored 3 weeks. cried like a baby. The Dr cut out the mangled flesh & ... Fay ... never experienced any further ill effects from the bite" (525).

November 27, Sunday: On or after this day, when he made his will, Christopher A. Greene, who had had some sort of serious respiratory condition ever since his military service in Florida, died in Providence, Rhode Island at the age of 37. (Sarah Chace Greene would for many years be operating a girls' school in Providence.)

1854

In Rhode Island, William W. Hoppin was in charge.

At the Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island, the "old" gymnasium was erected — a wooden structure that was for use only by the boy scholars. The charge for board and tuition was increased to $80 per scholar per year, plus a surcharge of $120 if the scholar happened not to be from a Quaker family. There would be an additional surcharge of $10 for instruction in ancient languages, French, and drawing.

One attitude toward Quakers in the arts:

> Thou shalt rob me no more of sweet silence and rest,
> For I've proved thee a trap, a seducer at best.
> —Friend Amelia Opie's "Farewell to Music"

(Amelia, who had been a popular fiction writer before giving this up in 1825 in order to become a Quaker, had died in 1853 leaving her book manuscript THE PAINTER AND HIS WIFE unfinished.)

And another, completely different, attitude toward Quakers in the arts, in the same year: Friend John Greenleaf Whittier's LITERARY RECREATIONS AND MISCELLANIES. Among the poems from this period is "Maud Muller," with its best-known couplet:

> Of all sad words of tongue and pen
> The saddest are these, "It might have been."

Thomas Allen Jenckes became a member of the Rhode Island House of Representatives. He would be a Representative until 1857.

The Hartford, Providence, and Fishkill railroad link was completed, connecting Rhode Island with the Hudson River.

Yet another outbreak of the cholera in Providence, Rhode Island prompted Dr. Edwin M. Snow to characterize the condition of the local Moshassuck River as “filthy as any common sewer.”

George F. Wilson and Professor Eben N. Horsford built a chemical laboratory just to the east of Providence: Geo. F. Wilson & Co. They would name their chemical works, and also the village that grew up around it, in honor of Count von Rumford, because he had funded at Harvard University a professorship, and because this chair had since 1847 been held by Professor Horsford as “Rumford Professor of the Application of Science to the Useful Arts.” The factory would manufacture:

— Horsford’s Cream of Tartar Substitute.
— Horsford’s Bread Preparation.
— Horsford’s Phosphatic Baking Powder (Double-Acting Baking Powder).
— Rumford Yeast Powder.
— Horsford’s Acid Phosphate.
— Horsford’s Anti-Chlorine.

— Horsford's Sulphite for Preserving Cider.

The previous type of baking powder (now known as single-acting) merely fizzed in the presence of liquid. Housewives had been able to make it themselves by combining baking soda and cream of tartar, but timing was critical as the mixture fizzed out rapidly while being mixed. The new "double-acting" baking powder was a convenience product: it was the old concoction plus a substance that did not begin to fizz until heated — sodium aluminum phosphate. Initially the phosphate would be obtained from ground-up slaughterhouse bones. This mixture had a good shelf life, so all the housewife would need to do would be to spoon it out of the convenient red can. Professor Horsford, who of course resided in Cambridge rather than in Rhode Island, would become quite wealthy.

Judah Touro died, leaving more than half a million dollars to various Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish charities (half a million dollars was serious money in those days). His will established, also, a Ministerial Fund for the empty synagogue in Newport, Rhode Island at which his father had once officiated while there were still Jews living in that town.

TOURO SYNAGOGUE

It was at some point during the early 1850s that the Howes established a summer residence in South Portsmouth at Lawton's Valley on Aquidneck Island. Eventually Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe and Julia Ward Howe and their six children would have the house at 745 Union Street known as "Oak Glen" as their long-term summer home.

RHODE ISLAND

May 27, Saturday: In the afternoon Henry Thoreau went to Saw Mill Brook.

In London, the Athenaeum reported that although Thoreau was a graduate of Harvard College and therefore qualified as a minister, instead he had chosen to manufacture pencils and had moved into a hut on the shore of a pond in order to live in a primitive manner and write. The article described WEEK as "a curious mixture of dull and prolix dissertation, with some of the most faithful and animated descriptions of external nature which has [*sic*??] ever appeared."

In Worcester, Bronson Alcott succeeded in persuading the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson to take charge of the Boston vigilantes, and the two took the train into Boston. Martin Stowell of Worcester came also. When they reached Boston, however, they found that the Committee was unable to agree upon a plan of action, and it appears that the Reverend took matters into his own hands. He went out and purchased a dozen axes with which to attack the door of the courthouse. That night, at the mass rally at Faneuil Hall at which the committee intended to instigate the sort of howling mob which would be needed in order to cover their purposive activity and distract the guards, the committee members slipped out early and took up their positions at the courthouse and waited for the mob to be marshalled. When Martin Stowell gave the signal, a black man ran to the west door and hammered it open with a 12-foot beam and leaped inside, with the Reverend Higginson close behind him. The people who managed to get inside the courthouse were immediately, however, repulsed by a group of policemen with clubs. The Reverend Higginson was badly beaten on the head and face, and one of the policemen was killed either by knife or gunshot to the midriff. The police began arresting individual rioters, and the mob began to pull back, but the Reverend Higginson, and a lawyer named Seth Webb who had been one of his classmates in college, held firm. Then they were joined by Alcott, cane in hand, who walked right up to the door of the courthouse and looked in. A shot was fired inside the building, or was not fired (although some claimed this, Alcott himself never made any mention of having heard such a

sound), as Alcott turned around and came back away from the courthouse.

A little-known fact is that Newport, Rhode Island businessman George Thomas Downing was one of those involved in this attack on the Boston courthouse.

One of the onlookers to these events, who would take no part in them but would suffer in his home town for having so much as been present, was Moncure Daniel Conway. Word that he had been present would circulate in Virginia, so that when he attempted to return to visit his father and mother, a crowd of young men would confront him and order him to leave the town immediately or suffer the consequences.

The Boston mayor, Dr. Jerome Van Crowninshield Smith, a local-politics weathervane, issued the following declaration:

> **Under the excitement that now pervades the city, you are respectfully requested to cooperate with the Municipal authorities in the maintenance of peace and good order. The law must be obeyed, let the consequences be what they may.**

Of course, just as the courthouse officials could agree with peace with quiet, the abolitionists could agree with peace with justice. –They could agree that the ideal of peace and good order was utterly incompatible with kidnapping, and with human enslavement. They could agree that the higher law, which was the law of righteousness, and the law of nature and of God, must be obeyed — whatever the consequences.

RESISTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW
HIGHER LAW

A jury, meeting in the building in which Anthony Burns was being held and judged, rendered a verdict of guilty at 10:15 PM — James Wilson was to hang.

Because there had been an alert that Peter Dunbar's[20] truckmen were planning to attack the home of Wendell Phillips, Phillips being elsewhere but his family being in the home, Bronson Alcott, Henry Kemp, Francis Jackson, and the Reverend Samuel Joseph May each armed themselves with a pistol, to sit out the night in the Phillips parlor. They would sit out this night with their pistols in their laps, however, without incident.

Because there were fears that the slavemaster, Mr. Charles Francis Suttle, and his attorney at law, William Brent, might be attacked at their lodgings on the 1st floor of the Revere House, an honor guard of southern students was recruited from Harvard College.[21] Suttle and Brent then relocated to a room in the hotel's garret, for greater security inside their cordon of armed students.

Knowing that during the attack on the courthouse he had discharged his pistol toward Watson Freeman but that Freeman had been unharmed, Lewis Hayden considered it entirely possible that it had been his bullet that had

20. What relation would this Peter Dunbar, a member of the management team at the Customs House on the waterfront, and his son Peter Dunbar, Jr., the captain of the guard at the courthouse guarding Anthony Burns, have been to Concord's Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau?

21. Moncure Daniel Conway, as a Harvard student from the South, was recruited to take part in this armed guard at the hotel. The two visitors to Boston were not unknown to him, but rather, they were close neighbors or distant relatives. Nevertheless, he declined to get involved in the affair.

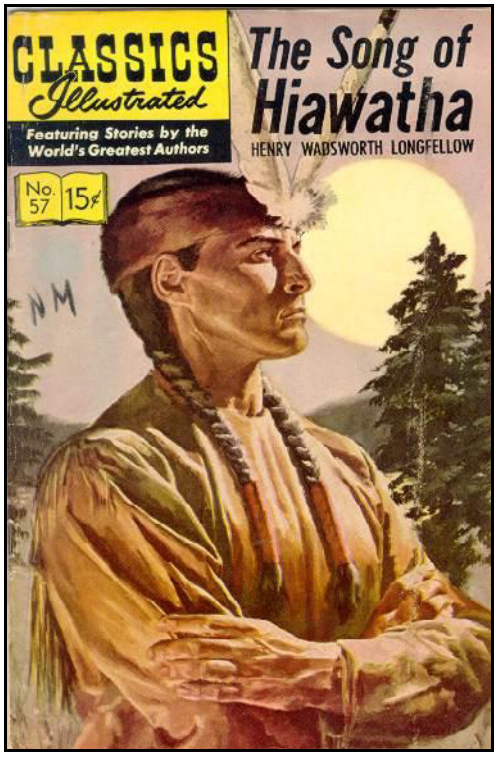
struck the deputy James Batchelder in the major vein of his leg, causing him to bleed out and promptly killing him. Therefore in the evening some activist friends got Hayden into a carriage and conveyed him to the home of Dr. Henry Ingersoll Bowditch in Brookline. (In that period, no-one would have imagined that a person of

color could have been permitted to ride inside such a horse-and-carriage. Thus, drawing the carriage's window curtains was in and of itself adequate to provide complete concealment.) Hayden was met at his destination by a group of black men resolved to prevent the re-enslavement of Burns.

The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson in a note to his wife in Worcester, written in haste from a home in Boston in which he had sought refuge after the attempted rescue of Anthony Burns: "There has been an attempt at rescue, and failed. I am not hurt, except for a scratch on the face which will probably prevent me from doing anything more about it, lest I be recognized."

June 22, Thursday: There was a political convention at Concord attended by George Frisbie Hoar, with the objective of fusing the Free Soilers and the more dissident members of the Whigs of Massachusetts into a new political party, to which few Whigs came.

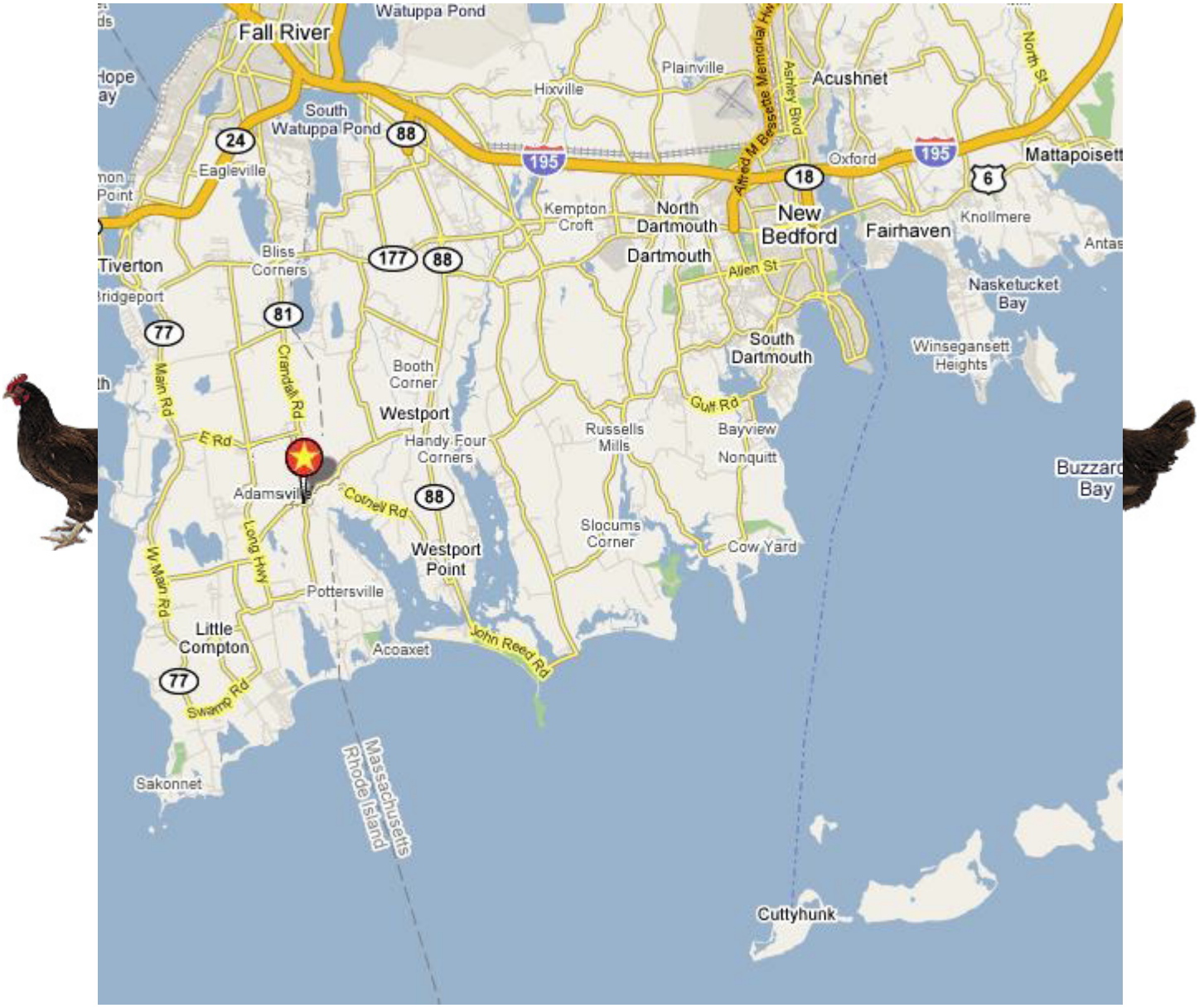
Henry Wadsworth Longfellow determined to utilize the trochaic dimeter measure of the Finnish epic KALEVALA for an epic poem of his own, on the American Indians. This would become THE SONG OF "HIAWATHA". Begun at Nahant, continued in Newport, Rhode Island, the poem would be finished in Cambridge on March 21, 1855.



RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

August: A farmer in Adamsville in the district known as Little Compton, Rhode Island obtained a red cock from a sailor in New Bedford who said it was a "Malay" or a "Chittagong." William Tripp would grant his acquisition the run of his hen-yard, and the result, by 1896, would be the breed once known as the "Tripp fowl" and now known as the "Rhode Island Red." (This Rhode Island Red, "the bird we gave to the nation," has been of course, since May 3, 1954, our state's totem bird.)



October 14, Saturday: Henry Thoreau wrote to H.G.O. Blake.

Concord Sat. Pm. Oct 14th '54
Blake,

I have just returned
from Plymouth, where I have
been detained surveying much
longer than I expected.
What do you say to visiting
Wachusett next Thursday?
I will start at 7. 1/4 A.m. unless
there is a prospect of a stormy day,
go by cars to Westminster, & thence
on foot 5 or 6 miles to the
Mt top, where I may engage to

Page 2
meet you at (or before) 12.M.
If the weather is unfavorable,
I will try again—on Friday,—&
again on Monday.
If a storm comes on after starting,
I will seek you at the tavern
in Princeton Center, as soon
as circumstances will permit.
I shall expect an answer [at once]
to clinch the bargain.
Yrs
Henry D. Thoreau. <not HDT>

Thoreau, who had at this point arrived back in Concord, was being written to by an abolitionist and businessman and abolitionism coordinator, Asa Fairbanks, in Rhode Island, representing the Providence Lyceum:

Providence Oct 14[.] [1854]
[Mr.] *Henry D Thoreau*
Dear Sir
Our Course of Independent[,] *or*
reform Lectures (ten in number) we propose
to commence [N]*ext* [M]*onth. Will you give me*
the liberty to put your name in program, and
say when it will suit your [convenience] to come.
every Lecturer will choose his own subject,
but we expect all[,] *whether* [Anti[S]lavery] *or*
what else, will be of a reformatory [Character]
who
We have engaged Theodore Parker[,] *^will give*
the Introductory Nov. 1st[.] *(Garrison, W. Phillips*
[Thos] *W. Higginson Lucy Stone* (Mrs Rose of New York[ ]
Antoinett L[]*Brown and hope to* [have] *Cassius* [M]

Clay, & Henry Ward Beecher, (we had a course
of these lectures last year and the receipts from
[] *tickets at a low price paid expenses and* [~~*a*~~*]*
fifteen to twenty dollars to the Lecturers—we
think we shall do as well this year as last, and
perhaps better[,] *the Anthony* [Burns] [affair] *and the*
of [~~*S*~~]~~*lavery*~~ *Nebraska bill, and other outrages*[,] *has done much*
to awaken the feeling of a class of [M]*inds*
heretofore [quiet,] *on all questions of reform*

Page 2

In getting up these popular Lectures [we]
not thought [at] *first, it would*[,] *do us well to have* [them] [,]*too radical, or it*
would be best to have a part of
the speakers of the conservative class, but experience
has shown us [~~*St*~~] *in Providence surely, that the*
[M]*asses who attend such Lectures are better suited*
with reform lectures than with the old
school conservatives[.] *I will thank you for an*
early reply
Yours Respectfully for [true freedom]
A. Fairbanks
<misc nature notes on remainder of page, reading from opposite direction>

October 18, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau's plan for his "Course of Lectures" changed when a letter from Asa Fairbanks asked him to permit his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in Providence, Rhode Island on November 1st. Fairbanks advised Thoreau that:

> *every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we expect all ... will be of a reformatory Character.*
> (CORRESPONDENCE 345)

November 6, Monday: Henry Thoreau completed surveying the farm of the old General James Colburn. This farm of approximately 130 acres was near the Lee or Elwell Farm (Gleason E5) bordering on the Assabet River. Thoreau mentioned that there was a "haunted house" in this area.

View Henry Thoreau's personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

(The official copy of this survey of course had become the property of the person or persons who had hired this Concord town surveyor to do their surveying work during the 19th Century. Such materials have yet to be recovered.)

View this particular personal working draft of a survey in fine detail:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/137.htm

Thoreau was being written to again by this Asa Fairbanks of Providence, Rhode Island in regard to the proposed lecture of a "reformatory Character":

Providence Nov. 6. 1854
Mr Henry D Thore[a]*u*
Dear Sir
I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst. Your stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time, I altered other arrangements on purpose to accommodate you, and notified you as soon as I was able to accomplish them. had you named the last Wedn[e]*sday in Nov. or the second Wednsday in December, I could have replied to you at once–or any time in Janu*[a]*ry or Feb*[ruary] *it would have been the same*[.] *I shall regret the disappointment very Much but must submit to it if you have Made such overtures as you can not avoid— I hope however you will be able to come at the time appointed*[.]
Truly
A. Fairbanks

The Reverend Daniel Foster was writing Thoreau from his farm in East Princeton MA that he and friends had been reading WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS aloud "with pauses for conversation."

East Princeton Nov. 6. 1854.

Friend Thoreau,
On my return from a
lecturing tour in the Mystic Valley
Dom informed me of your call with
your English [c]*ompanion on your way*
to a meeting on the summit of Mt.
Wachusett. I am glad you called but
sorry that I was not at home. I hope

you will come & see us while we
are here & get acquainted with our
pond "old crow hill," "redemption
rock" "Uncle William" now nearly
90 [years] *old, bonnie Charlie & other notables*
of the place justly considered worthy
the notice of a philosopher. I shall
not tell you that you will be
welcome as long as you can stay
with us for if you don't know that
fact the usual polite phrase of in-
vitation will not assure you.
I have read your"Walden" slowly, aloud with constant

Page 2
pauses for conversation thereon, &
with very much satisfaction & profit.
I like to read aloud of evenings a
book which like this one provokes
discussion in the circle of [hearers]
& reader. I was the more interested
in your book from the personal
& strong interest felt for you & for
your own sake in my soul. My in-
tercourse with you when I lived in Con-
cord & since at times when I have been in
Concord has been uncommonly useful in
aiding & strengthening my own best
purpose. Most thoroughly do I respect
& reverence a manly self-poised mind.
My own great aim in life has ever been
to act in accordance with my own convictions.
To be destitute of bank stock & rail road
shares & the influence which wealth
& position bestow through the folly
of the unthinking multitude is
no evil to that one who seeks
truth & immortal living as the greatest
& the best inheritance. In the scramble
for money in which most men engage

Page 3
one may fail but whoever travels the

road of patient study & self control
reaches the goal & is crowned with
the immortal wealth. I would not
be understood in this to depreciate
the value of wealth. I am working in
the hope of being rich in this world's
[gear] *sometime through the ownership*
of a piece of land on which shall
stand my own illuminated & happy
home. But if I do not reach the
accomplishment of this hope I will
nevertheless bate no jot of my cheer-
fulness joy & energy till the end.
I will deserve success & thus of course
I shall succeed in all my hopes
some time or other. I have enjoyed
the ponds the hills & the woods of
this vicinity very greatly this year.
We have nothing quite equal to
your Walden or Concord, but aside
from these our natural attractions
exceed yours. I have been farming &
preaching this summer, have reared

Page 3
to maturity & harvested 90 bushels
of corn one bushel beans, 8 bushels
potatoes, 20 bushels squashes &
20 bushels of apples. I cannot tell
with the same precision how
many thoughts I have called into
exercise by my moral husbandry
tho I hope my labor herein has not been
in vain.
Dom wishes to be remembered with
sisterly greetings to Sophia & yourself &
with filial affection to your father
& mother. We enjoyed the visit your
mother & sister repaid us very much indeed
& only regreeted that Mr. Thoreau & yourself
were not with us at the same time[.]
I hope your "Walden" will get a wide
circulation, as it deserves, & replenish
your bank, as it ought to do. I thank

you for the book & will hold myself
your debtor till opportunity offers for
securing a receipt in full
Yours truly
Daniel Foster

By way of radical contrast, when Moncure Daniel Conway read WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS, he didn't think much of the book as a guide to life. On this day he was listing his objections for Waldo Emerson's benefit:

1. That it hasn't optimism enough ...
2. That one couldn't pursue **his** Art of Living and get married.
3. That one hasn't time to spend or strength to spare from what is his work to take care of such universal rebellion.

It is clear that Conway had not been reading WALDEN "with pauses for thought." To this minister, whose ideal of Nature was frankly that it should be like a garden where everything is in its place and under control and serving a purpose, Thoreau seemed like the kind of guy who couldn't live "unless snakes are coiling around his leg or lizzards perching on his shoulders." (Conway all his life had a morbid fear of and a morbid fascination with snakes: during his childhood he even had a slave walking in front of him to beat the ground with a stick and scare away these snakes. Obviously, if Thoreau wasn't afraid of snakes, there must be a whole lot of other things that were wrong with him as well!)[22]

AUTOBIOGRAPHY VOLUME II

December 1, Friday-6, Wednesday: Henry Thoreau's new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" was advertised in the Liberator and in all four of Providence, Rhode Island's major newspapers—the Daily Post, Daily Journal, Bulletin, and Daily Tribune.[23]

The Post and the Tribune also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as

> a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about $30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.
>
> [Providence Daily Post, December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence Daily Tribune, December

22. Conway's criticism of Thoreau to Emerson, that Thoreau hadn't optimism enough, sounds very strange if you bear in mind that later on in life Conway would repudiate Emerson on the grounds that Emerson was so optimistic that he was entirely unable to deal with the dark things in life!
23. Liberator, December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence Daily Post, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Bulletin, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Journal, December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Tribune, December 6, page 3, column 5.

"THE WILD"[24]

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
October 8, 1854, Sunday; 7:00 PM	Leyden Hall, Plymouth MA	"Moonlight"
November 21, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30 PM	Spring Garden Institute, Philadelphia PA	"THE WILD"
December 6, 1854	Providence, Rhode Island	"WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT"

24.From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag's "THOREAU'S LECTURES AFTER WALDEN: AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR."

NARRATIVE OF EVENT: In a September 21, 1854 letter to H.G.O. Blake, Thoreau noted his plan to lecture in Philadelphia and elsewhere during the approaching lecture season. He also indicated his unpreparedness to do so, "As it is, I have agreed to go a-lecturing to Plymouth, Sunday after next (October 1) and to Philadelphia in November, and thereafter to the West, **if they shall want me**; and, as I have prepared nothing in that shape, I feel as if my hours were spoken for" (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 339). Philadelphia, then, was to be his first **extra-vagant** post-WALDEN jump over the cowyard fence of his familiar New England lecturing territory. As it turned out, however, he would not lecture outside New England again until late in 1856, when he gave three lectures in New Jersey during his Eagleswood surveying venture.

View Thoreau's personal working drafts of his surveys courtesy of AT&T and the Concord Free Public Library:

http://www.concordlibrary.org/scollect/Thoreau_Surveys/Thoreau_Surveys.htm

Thoreau's uncertainty about his lecture material is reflected in an October 6, 1854 letter from William B. Thomas, chairman of the committee in charge of the lecture series at Philadelphia's Spring Garden Institute. Wrote Thomas:[25]

You will please accept our thanks for your prompt response to our invitation. We have entered you for the 21st Nov.

Please inform us as early as possible upon what subject you will speak.

The Spring Garden Institute, located at the junction of Broad and Spring Garden Streets, was founded in 1850 to give technical training to young men. One of the earliest nineteenth-century mechanics' institutes, it helped fill a need created by the breakdown of the apprentice system in this country.[26]

On November 19, Waldo Emerson wrote from Concord, Massachusetts to his Philadelphia friend, the Reverend William Henry Furness, announcing Thoreau's impending visit and asking Furness to show Thoreau the Academy of Natural Sciences. He added that Thoreau would particularly like to see the Academy's collection of birds. Furness, who had attended school with Waldo Emerson in Boston, was at this time and for the rest of his life the minister of the Unitarian Church in Philadelphia.[27] The following day Bronson Alcott noted in his journal, "*Evening, with Emerson at the American House till 10 oclock. E. tells me that Thoreau left today for Philadelphia to lecture there*."[28]

Thoreau's journal entry for November 20 begins, "To Philadelphia. 7 A. M., to Boston; 9 A. M., Boston to New York, by express train, land route." Ever the observer, he noted, "Pleasantest part of the whole route between Springfield MA and Hartford CT, along the river; perhaps include the hilly region this side of Springfield. Reached Canal Street at 5 P. M., or candle-light." Quickly, he was on another train, where, despite

25.Thomas's letter is in the Sewall Collection at MCo; we quote from a typescript at the Thoreau Textual Center, CU-SB.
26. Charles Boewe, "Thoreau's 1854 Lecture in Philadelphia," ENGLISH LANGUAGE NOTES, 2 (December 1964): 118.
27.Waldo Emerson's letter to the Reverend William Henry Furness is summarized and its provenance discussed in Boewe, "Thoreau's 1854 Lecture," 120-21.
28. Bronson Alcott, "Diary for 1854," entry of 20 November, MH (*59M-308).

the invisibility of the nighttime landscape, he yet saw something worth recording:

> Started for Philadelphia from foot of Liberty Street at 6 P. M., via Newark, etc., etc., Bordentown, etc., etc., Camden Ferry, to Philadelphia, all in the dark. Saw only the glossy panelling of the cars reflected out into the dark, like the magnificent lit facade of a row of edifices reaching all the way to Philadelphia, except when we stopped and a lanthorn or two showed us a ragged boy and the dark buildings of some New Jersey town. Arrive at 10 P. M.; time, four hours from New York, thirteen from Boston, fifteen from Concord. Put up at Jones's Exchange Hotel, 77 Dock Street; lodgings thirty-seven and a half cents per night, meals separate; not to be named with French's in New York; next door to the fair of the Franklin Institute, then open, and over against the Exchange, in the neighborhood of the printing-offices. (JOURNAL, 7:72-73)

On the day of his lecture, the 21st, the journal notes Thoreau observing Philadelphia "from the cupola of the State-House, where the Declaration of Independence was declared. The best view of the city I got." He also remarked the "Fine view from Fairmount water-works." Waldo Emerson's request to the Reverend William Henry Furness did not go ignored, for the journal reports, "Was admitted into the building of the Academy of Natural Sciences by a Mr. Durand of the botanical department, Mr. Furness applying to him."[29] And, apropos of Emerson's mentioning the Academy's bird collection, Thoreau remarked in the journal, "It is said to be the largest collection of birds in the world." Other Academy holdings also are mentioned, including "a male moose not so high as the female which we shot" in Maine. Tucked between an attempt to identify an ornamental tree that he supposed "the alianthus, or Tree of Heaven" and a description of "the neat-looking women marketers with full cheeks" is the intriguing comment, "The American Philosophical Society is described as a company of old women." The day's entry continues with this unintentionally humorous juxtaposition of natural phenomena, "Furness described a lotus identical with an Egyptian one as found somewhere down the river below Philadelphia; also spoke of a spotted chrysalis which he had also seen in Massachusetts. There was a mosquito about my head at night." The entry concludes, "Lodged at the United States Hotel, opposite the Girard (formerly United States) Bank." For whatever reason, possibly the undistinguished accommodations at Jones's Exchange Hotel, Thoreau had changed addresses for his second night in Philadelphia (JOURNAL, 7:73-75).

The next morning, according to the journal, Thoreau "Left at 7:30 A. M. for New York, by boat to Tacony and rail *via* Bristol, Trenton, Princeton (near by), New Brunswick, Rahway, Newark, etc." He noted a few of the natural features he saw in passing but found the trip "Uninteresting, except the boat." In New-York he played the tourist, going to the Crystal Palace, where he saw a specimen of coal "fifty feet thick as it was cut from the mine, in the form of a square column." He also saw "sculptures and paintings innumerable, and armor from the Tower of London, some of the Eighth Century."

At Phineas Taylor Barnum's Museum he examined the camelopard, which he found not so tall as claimed, and a diorama of the houses of the world, which he found looked much alike. He spent part of the day with his friend Horace Greeley, who "appeared to know and be known by everybody." Greeley took him to the opera,

29.According to Charles Boewe, Elias Durand was a Philadelphia pharmacist and noted botanist ("Thoreau's 1854 Lecture," 119).

where, Thoreau notes in his journal, Greeley "was admitted free" (JOURNAL, 7:75-76). Whether Thoreau too got in for nothing is not mentioned. The journal also does not mention his trip home from New York. By far the most important of Thoreau's journal omissions, however, is his lecture itself. Despite the career significance of his Philadelphia engagement, he said nothing at all of the event that had brought him so far from Concord.

Some three weeks after the lecture, Bronson Alcott noted in his diary entry for 11 December 1854, "*I pass the morning and dine with Thoreau, who read me parts of his new Lecture lately read at Philadelphia and Providence.*"[30] Alcott, however, was referring to Thoreau's "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" lecture, which Thoreau had read only in Providence (*Moshasuck*), Rhode Island before December 11, the date of Alcott's entry (see lecture 46 below).

30. Bronson Alcott, "Diary for 1854," entry of 11 December, MH (*59M-308).

SPRING GARDEN INSTITUTE; PHILADELPHIA PA

Courtesy of Bradley P. Dean

ADVERTISEMENTS, REVIEWS, AND RESPONSES: The following advertisement appeared in the Philadelphia PUBLIC LEDGER AND DAILY TRANSCRIPT on November 21, 1854: "Spring Garden Institute Lectures — The Second Lecture will be delivered on Tuesday Evening, 21st instant, at 7 1/2 o'clock, at the Institute Building, Broad and Spring Garden Sts., by Henry D. Thoreau, Esq. of Concord, Mass. Subject 'The Wild.'" The same advertisement, minus the location, appeared in the Philadelphia DAILY PENNSYLVANIAN on both 20 and 21 November.

The only known response to Henry Thoreau's lecture is that of Miss Caroline Haven, reported by the Reverend William Henry Furness in a 26 November 1854 letter to Waldo Emerson. Caroline was the daughter of Charles E. Haven, one of Furness's parishioners.[31] Furness wrote:[32]

> *I was glad to see Mr. Thoreau. He was full of interesting talk for the little while that we saw him, & it was amusing to hear his intonations. And then he looked so differently from my idea of him . . . . He had a glimpse of the Academy [of Natural Sciences] as he will tell you — I could not hear him lecture for which I was sorry. Miss Caroline Haven heard him, & from her report I judge the audience was stupid & did not appreciate him.*

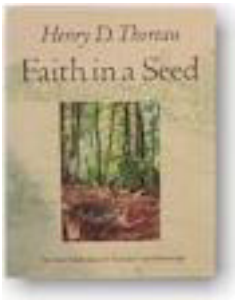
This letter is especially noteworthy because it contains a small pencil sketch of Thoreau made by Furness. Interestingly, the aforementioned 19 November 1854 letter from Waldo Emerson to Furness contains, drawn on the last of its four pages, two pencil sketches of Thoreau's head in profile that are very similar to this Furness drawing. Charles Boewe, who located the Emerson letter at the Academy of Natural Sciences, suggests that these impressions of Thoreau are also Furness's work, the prototype from which he drew the image on his 26 November reply to Emerson.[33]

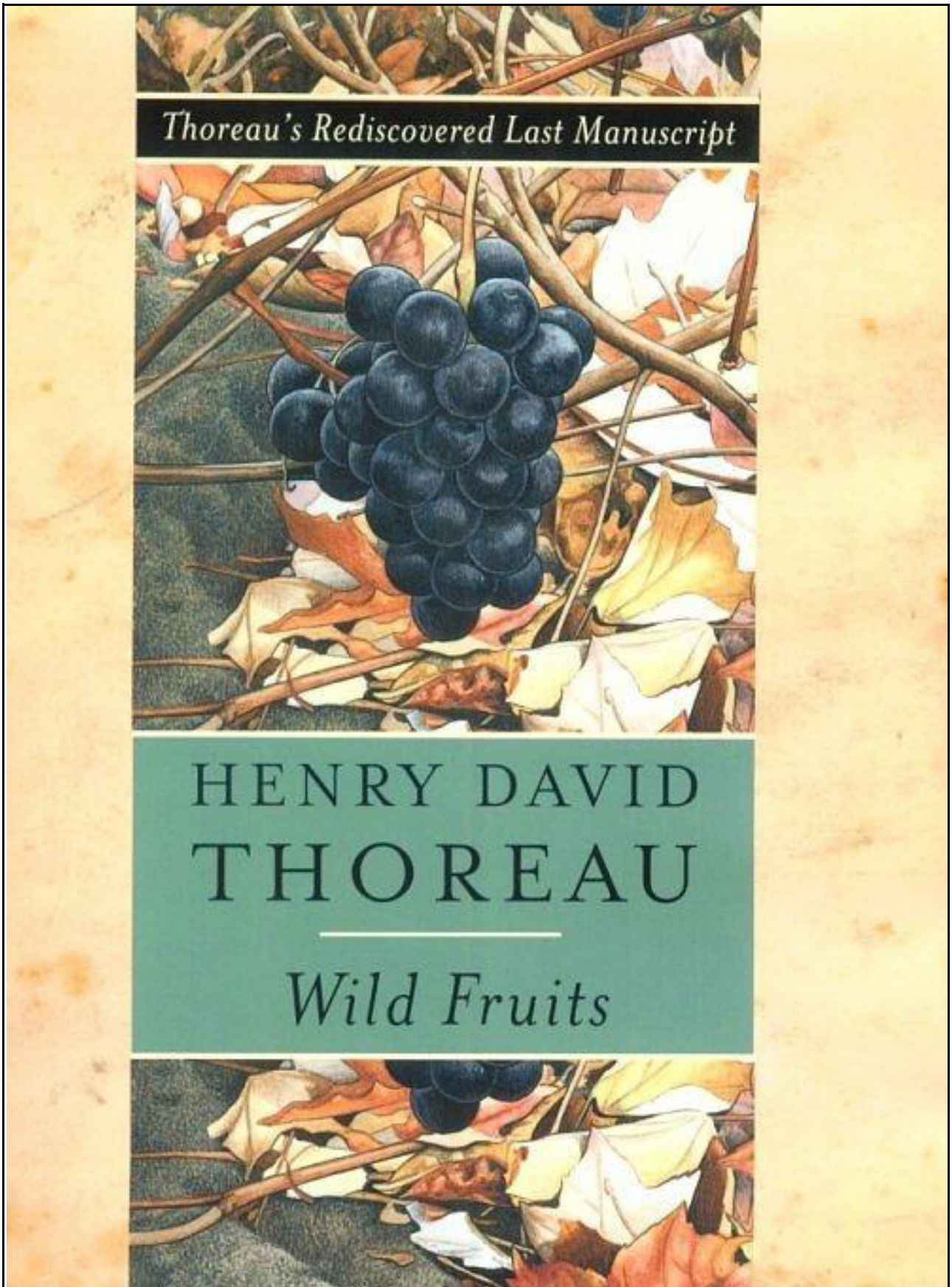
DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: Aside from having extracted the passages about moonlit walks (see lecture 44 above), Thoreau seems not to have done much more with the second part of his two-part, 163-page version of "WALKING, OR THE WILD" **"WALKING, OR THE WILD"** — the part on "THE WILD" which he had last delivered on the afternoon of 23 May 1852 in Plymouth, Massachusetts (see lectures 40-41 in the "Before

31. Charles Boewe, "Thoreau's 1854 Lecture," 121.
32. William Henry Furness, RECORDS OF A LIFELONG FRIENDSHIP, ed. Horace Howard Furness, (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1910), pages 101-103.
33. Charles Boewe, "Thoreau's 1854 Lecture," 120-21*n*14.

WALDEN" calendar). Very likely, then, the text he read before the Spring Garden Institute was some seventy pages long, which would have taken him somewhat more than an hour to read. Interestingly, the title page of this draft of the lecture, acquired a few years ago by the library at the University of California, Santa Barbara, bears the following sentence, written in pencil, in Thoreau's hand, in the upper-right corner: "I regard this as a sort of introduction to all I may write hereafter." Bradley P. Dean has speculated that Thoreau wrote this highly provocative sentence sometime in late 1854 or early 1855, when Thoreau apparently began to contemplate more earnest, purposeful work on the natural history projects he would spend so much of his time on throughout the remainder of the 1850s and which resulted in such works as "AUTUMNAL TINTS". "SUCCESSION OF FOREST TREES" "SUCCESSION OF FOREST TREES", "WILD APPLES", "HUCKLEBERRIES", "THE DISPERSION OF SEEDS" "THE DISPERSION OF SEEDS", and WILD FRUITS.[34]

34.For Bradley P. Dean's speculations about the sentence Thoreau wrote in the upper-right corner of this lecture draft's title-page, see his "'A Sort of Introduction,'" THOREAU RESEARCH NEWSLETTER, 1 (January 1990): 1-2. Dean published the first portion of Thoreau's WILD FRUITS manuscript, which is housed in the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection, NN, in his edition of Thoreau's FAITH IN A SEED: THE DISPERSION OF SEEDS AND OTHER LATE NATURAL HISTORY WRITINGS (Washington: Shearwater Books, Island Press, 1993), pages 178-203. Dean had edited the remainder of the WILD FRUITS manuscript.



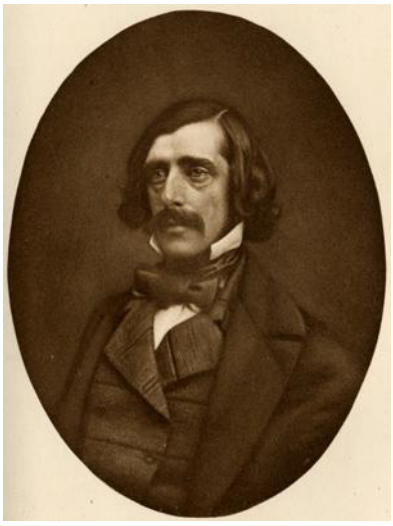

Thoreau's Rediscovered Last Manuscript
HENRY DAVID
THOREAU
Wild Fruits

December 6, Wednesday: All week, Henry Thoreau's new lecture "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" had been being advertised in The Liberator and in all four of Providence, Rhode Island's major newspapers — the Daily Post, Daily Journal, Bulletin, and Daily Tribune.[35]

The Daily Post and the Daily Tribune had also run brief articles in which the visiting lecturer had been being described as

> a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years [*sic*] for about $30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with a vast amount of useful knowledge—setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course.
>
> [Providence Daily Post, December 6, page 2, column 4. A slightly altered version of this sentence appeared in the Providence Daily Tribune, December

On this day the lecturer arrived by train and, accompanied by Charles King Newcomb, visited the Reverend Roger Williams's slate rock in the Blackstone estuary, and visited an old hilltop fort in Seekonk on the east side of the bay.



Beginning at 7:30 PM, at Railroad Hall, Thoreau delivered his lecture, or sermon, for the first time. Admission was 25 cents. Thoreau was impressed by the railroad depot in which he was lecturing, "its towers and great

35. Liberator, December 1, page 3, column 2; Providence Daily Post, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Bulletin, December 5, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Journal, December 5, page 3, column 1, and December 6, page 3, column 1; Providence Daily Tribune, December 6, page 3, column 5.

length of brick." The only indication of how the audience responded is Thoreau's journal entry of that evening:

> After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, i.e., to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man,—average thoughts and manners,—not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; i.e., I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with

THOREAU'S SERMON

[Various versions of "LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE", variously titled, would be delivered:

- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on December 6, 1854 at Railroad Hall in Providence
- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on December 26, 1854 in the New Bedford Lyceum
- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on December 28, 1854 at the Athenaeum on Nantucket Island
- On January 4, 1855 in the Worcester Lyceum, as "The Connection between Man's Employment and His Higher Life"
- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on February 14, 1855 in the Concord Lyceum
- "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" on November 16, 1856 for the Eagleswood community
- "Getting a Living" on December 18, 1856 in the vestry of the Congregational Church of Amherst, New Hampshire
- "LIFE MISSPENT" on Sunday morning, October 9, 1859 to the Reverend Theodore Parker's 28th Congregational Society in Boston Music Hall
- "LIFE MISSPENT" on Sunday, September 9, 1860 at Welles Hall in Lowell.]

 December 6: To Providence to lecture I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to Providence, but know not when it froze, I have been so busy writing my lecture.

"WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT"[36]

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
November 21, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM	Spring Garden Institute, Philadelphia PA	"The Wild"
December 6, 1854, Wednesday; 7:30PM	Providence; Railroad Hall	"WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT"
December 26, 1854, Tuesday; 7:30PM	New Bedford; Lyceum	"WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT"

36. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag's "THOREAU'S LECTURES AFTER WALDEN: AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR."

NARRATIVE OF EVENT: On or about October 18th, Henry Thoreau received a letter from Asa Fairbanks asking if he would allow his name to appear in a program of reform lectures scheduled to commence in Providence, Rhode Island on November 1st. Fairbanks informed Thoreau that "*every Lecturer will choose his own Subject, but we expect all ... will be of a reformatory Character*" (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 345). After indicating that remuneration to the course lecturers would be an expected "expenses and fifteen to twenty dollars" or "perhaps better," Fairbanks pressed the issue of reform as a required topic:

> *The Anthony Burns affair and the Nebraska bill, and other outrages of Slavery has done much to awaken the feeling of a class of Minds heretofore quiet, on all questions of reform[.] In getting up these popular Lectures we thought at first, it would not do as well to have them too radical, or it would be best to have a part of the Speakers of the conservative class, but experience has shown us in Providence surely, that the Masses who attend such Lectures are better suited with reform lectures than with the old school conservatives.* (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 346)

The independent Thoreau may have bristled at the reform stipulation, as the editors of his correspondence suggest, but he responded within a short time and accepted the offer.

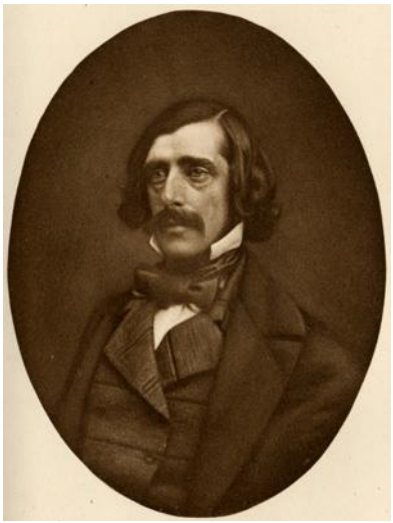
Asa Fairbanks's letter of November 6th suggests that letters had passed between him and Thoreau in which efforts to establish a date were being made:

> *I am in receipt of yours of the 4th inst, You stating explicitly that the 6th December would suit you better than any other time.... Had you named the last Wednesday in Nov. or the second Wedn[e]sday in December, I could have replied to you at once or any time in Janu[a]ry or Feb[ruary] it would have been the same[.] I shall regret the disappointment very much but must submit to it if you have such overtures as you cannot avoid.* (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, pages 348-49)

Asa Fairbanks's cryptic reference to "such overtures as you cannot avoid" is no doubt an indication that Thoreau's schedule for the next four months was so full that he could not be as flexible as Fairbanks wished. He was scheduled to deliver one of his two "WALKING, OR THE WILD" lectures in Philadelphia on 21 November; and he was planning to make a western lecture tour in late December, January, and –if the demand he encountered warranted an extension– February. Very likely, then, December 6th was the only Wednesday between mid-November 1854 and February 1855 that he expected to be available. Interestingly enough, on November 17th Thoreau wrote to a William E. Sheldon announcing that he was "still at liberty" to read "a lecture either on the Wild or on Moosehunting as you may prefer" before an unspecified "Society" on the evening of December 5th, the day before his Providence engagement (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 351). There is no record of this proposed lecture taking place (see Appendix A below). Moreover, on November 27th, Andrew Whitney wrote from Nantucket Island in response to a letter Thoreau had sent two days earlier: "We cannot have you between the 4 & 15th of Dec. without bringing two lecturers in one week — which we wish to avoid if possible" (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 352). This suggests that as late as November 25th Thoreau did not regard the December 6th Providence engagement as firmly established.

On December 6th, Henry Thoreau took the train to Providence, where, his journal reports, he was "struck with the Providence depot, its towers and great length of brick" (JOURNAL, 7:79). The depot's hall was also the site of his evening talk. A month earlier, on 2 November, the Providence DAILY JOURNAL had cautioned that the

new building's steep entry with no handrail was a peril, especially to ladies during the impending winter. It is not known if the problem had been corrected by the date of the lecture. Advertisements in the LIBERATOR and in all four of Providence's major newspapers indicate that Thoreau's lecture was the fourth of a scheduled ten, commencing with the Reverend Theodore Parker and including talks by the Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Cassius M. Clay, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, and others. Tickets for the entire course cost one dollar, while single-lecture admission cost twenty-five cents. The doors to Railroad Hall opened Wednesday evening at 6:30 for the lecture, which was scheduled to begin an hour later. Thoreau made the most of his two-day Providence visit by inspecting "Roger Williams's Rock" on the Blackstone River and an old fort overlooking Narragansett Bay, both in the company of Waldo Emerson's friend Charles King Newcomb, and by walking through the countryside west of Providence (JOURNAL, 7:79-80).



The only indications of how the audience responded to the lecture come, rather obliquely, from Thoreau himself. In a journal entry of that evening, he wrote:

> After lecturing twice this winter I feel that I am in danger of cheapening myself by trying to become a successful lecturer, *i.e.*, to interest my audiences. I am disappointed to find that most that I am and value myself for is lost, or worse than lost, on my audience. I fail to get even the attention of the mass. I should suit them better if I suited myself less. I feel that the public demand an average man, -average thoughts and manners, -not originality, nor even absolute excellence. You cannot interest them except as you are like them and sympathize with them. I would rather that my audience come to me than that I should go to them, and so they be sifted; *i.e.*, I would rather write books than lectures. That is fine, this coarse. To read to a promiscuous audience who are at your mercy the fine thoughts you solaced yourself with far away is as violent as to fatten geese by cramming, and in this case they do not get fatter. (JOURNAL, 7:79-80)

This appraisal of what his audiences demanded of him and what he was willing to give suggests that "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" may not have been well received in Providence. Moreover, Thoreau was out of sorts from having been forced to abandon his plans for a lecture tour and from having spent most of the preceding four months at his desk writing lectures for "promiscuous" audiences. Indeed, his unusually rigorous schedule had prevented him even from seeing the winter come in. "I see thick ice and boys skating all the way to

Providence," he wrote in his journal on December 6th, "but [I] know not when it froze, I have been so busy writing my lecture" (JOURNAL, 7:79). And two days later he complained:

> Winter has come unnoticed by me, I have been so busy writing. This is the life most lead in respect to Nature. How different from my habitual one! It is hasty, coarse, and trivial, as if you were a spindle in a factory. The other is leisurely, fine, and glorious, like a flower. In the first case you are merely getting your living; in the second you live as you go along. (JOURNAL, 7:80)

Thoreau's reference to writing lectures as "merely getting your living" is a fine touch of self-directed irony, for in almost the entire first half of "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" –the very lecture he had just finished writing and delivering– he argues that "A man had better starve at once than lose his innocence in the process of getting his bread."[37] Subsequently, in a 19 December 1854 letter to H.G.O. Blake, Thoreau punningly testified to his "truly providential meeting with Mr T Brown; providential because it saved me from the suspicion that my words had fallen altogether on stony ground, when it turned out that there was some Worcester soil there" (THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 354). Since Thoreau had yet to give his Worcester lecture, he here clearly refers to Theophilus Brown's fortuitous presence in his Providence audience.

37.Quoted from the reconstructed text of "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" in Bradley P. Dean, "Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," p. 323.

RAILROAD HALL; PROVIDENCE RI

Courtesy of Bradley P. Dean

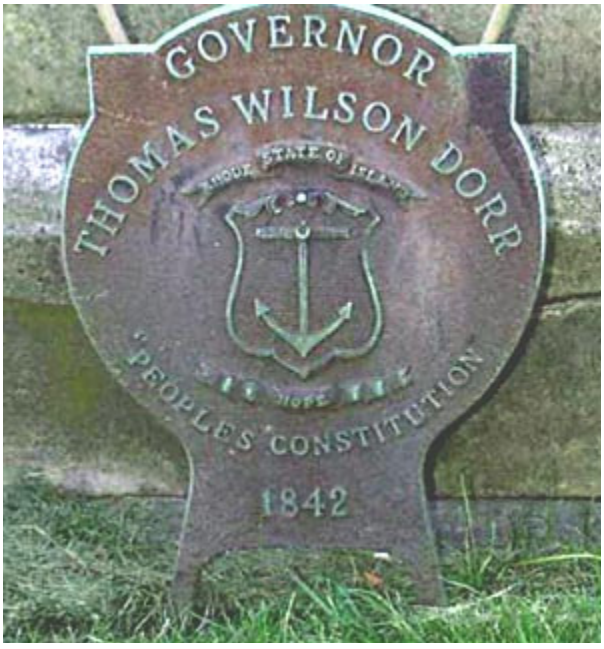
ADVERTISEMENTS, REVIEWS, AND RESPONSES: The lecture was advertised in the LIBERATOR on 1 December and, the day before and the day of the lecture, in all four of Providence's major newspapers — the DAILY POST, DAILY JOURNAL, BULLETIN, and DAILY TRIBUNE. The LIBERATOR remarked that "The people are anticipating the remaining lectures with a great deal of interest, and the names of the lecturers are a sufficient guarantee that their anticipations will not be disappointed." On the day Henry Thoreau lectured the POST and the TRIBUNE also ran brief articles in which Thoreau was described as "a young man of high ability, who built his house in the woods, and there lived five years for about $30 a year, during which time he stored his mind with **a vast amount of useful knowledge** — setting an example for poor young men who thirst for learning, showing those who are determined to get a good education how they can have it by pursuing the right course."

In a diary entry of 11 December 1854, Bronson Alcott wrote, "*Monday 11. I pass the morning and dine with Thoreau, who read me parts of his new Lecture lately read at Philadelphia and Providence*[.]"[38] Alcott was mistaken about Thoreau having read "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" in Philadelphia: Bradley P. Dean's detailed study of Thoreau's composition process for the lecture,[39] and Thoreau's own journal remark about being extremely busy writing his lecture, indicate that he was just able to finish writing the lecture before delivering it in Providence, Rhode Island. It is also unlikely that Thoreau would have changed the lecture topic that had been advertised in the Philadelphia newspapers (see lecture 45 above).

DESCRIPTION OF TOPIC: Using textual and physical evidence from the extant lecture manuscripts, as well as newspaper summaries of Thoreau's several deliveries of "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" and its later (1859-60, see lectures 64 and 72 below) manifestation, "LIFE MISSPENT", Bradley P. Dean was able to trace in remarkable detail Thoreau's composition process from the time Thoreau first conceived of the lecture to the time he mailed the final draft of "LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE" to James Thomas Fields, editor of The Atlantic Monthly magazine. "WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT" contained precisely one hundred paragraphs, fifty-four of which remained in the text and were eventually published in "Life without Principle."[40]

38. Bronson Alcott, "Diary for 1854," entry of 11 December, MH (*59M-308).
39. Bradley P. Dean's study is summarized in his "Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," pp. 286-91; for its more detailed counterpart, see the first volume of his two-volume MA thesis, "The Sound of a Flail: Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," Eastern Washington University, 1984. Copies of Dean's thesis are available at WaChenE; CtU; the Thoreau Textual Center, CU-SB; and the Thoreau Society Archives, MCo.
40.Seven of these fifty-four lecture paragraphs Thoreau conflated to three paragraphs in the essay. Dean's "Reconstructions of Thoreau's Early 'Life without Principle' Lectures," p. 337, contains a graph showing the structural changes between the lectures and the essay.

December 27, Wednesday: Thomas Wilson Dorr died in Providence, Rhode Island.



Henry Thoreau took a steamer out of Hyannis port for Nantucket Island, and there he spent the night at the home of Captain Edward W. Gardiner. The New Bedford Evening Standard (page 2, column 2) observed that the previous night's lecture, which it had advertised as being on the subject of "Getting a Living,"

> displayed much thought, but was in some respects decidedly peculiar.

Friend Daniel Ricketson would later write to Thoreau to advise that he had

> *heard several sensible people speak well of your lecture*

but would conclude that the lecture

> *was not generally understood.*

Friend Daniel's attitude was shared by Charles W. Morgan, who had been present for the lecture and who afterward wrote in his journal:

> *evening to the Lyceum where we had a lecture from the eccentric Henry J.* [sic] *Thoreau— The Hermit author very caustic against the usual avocations & employments of the world and a definition of what is true labour & true wages— audience very large & quiet—but I think he*

1855

Major W.H. Emory completed a survey of the new boundary that had been established by the Gadsden Purchase of 1852 between the United States of America and Mexico. Returned from some three years in the Southwest region of the United States, from this year until 1872 John Russell Bartlett would serve as Secretary of State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations (this would be the longest anyone ever served in that capacity). He would be most diligent in the preservation of Providence and Rhode Island's historical records.

Texas slaveowners were in the habit of offering rewards of $200-$600 for the recapture of slaves fleeing south toward the Mexican border. A group of bounty hunters, unprepared for the resistance they received, abandoned their mission. Much to his own surprise, Noah Smithwick, a member of this group, found himself hoping that the freedom-seekers they had been pursuing would be able to make their way into Mexico.[41]

By order of Texas Governor Elisha Pease, Captain James Callahan of the Texas Rangers entered Mexico and attempted to round up former slaves. Callahan meanwhile insisted that the purpose of his excursion was to pursue renegade native Americans, not recover fugitive slaves. The Rangers reduced a small village to ruins. The Mexican government, however, with the assistance of local native Americans, forced this band of Rangers to withdraw without the blacks they had captured.[42]

41. Noah Smithwick. THE EVOLUTION OF A STATE (Austin TX: Gammel Book Company, 1900), page 326.
42. Ronnie C. Tyler. "Fugitive Slaves in Mexico," Journal of Negro History, Volume 57, Issue 1 (January 1972), pages 8-9; Frederick Law Olmsted. A JOURNEY THROUGH TEXAS. (NY: Dix, Edwards and Company, 1857), page 333.

Thomas Allen Jenckes was appointed as one of the commissioners to revise the laws of the state of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. He would in particular be revising the patent and copyright laws, and the laws regulating the civil service. Refer to Ari Hoogenboom's "Thomas A. Jenckes and Civil Service Reform" (Mississippi Valley Historical Review 47 for March 1961: 636-58).

Judah Touro, youngest son of Rabbi Isaac Touro, had relocated to New Orleans in his early twenties and had accumulated a considerable fortune there in the Deep South as a merchant/trader. At the time of his death his estate totaled nearly $1,000,000, most of which was designated in his will to charitable organizations, orphanages, religious institutions, and towards good works in various cities including the place of his birth, Newport, Rhode Island. His bequest would provide a public park, and preserve the historic Old Stone Mill.

In Providence, the Quakers were not doing nearly so well. The Yearly Meeting School was forced to send its young scholars home and shut its doors due to bills that could not be paid. To correct this situation, steps needed to be taken to reduce the debt from more than $8,000 to about $3,000 — steps such as re-engaging the principals Joseph and Gertrude W. Cartland on a contract system. After five months the school was able to re-open its doors. This crisis would lead to some easement of school regulations. In addition, in the future there were to be graduation ceremonies during which the graduating scholars were to be handed diplomas.[43]

The Reverend Samuel Ringgold Ward made an interesting comment about the hypocrisy of racially segregated Quaker schools such as the "Moses Brown" Yearly Meeting School of Providence, Rhode Island:

> They [white Quakers] will give us good advice. They will aid us in giving us a partial education but never in a Quaker school, beside their own children. Whatever they do for us savors of pity, and is done at arm's length.[44]

A fire at the Peace Dale Manufacturing Company in South Kingstown, Rhode Island destroyed several buildings containing the firm's equipment for the manufacture of "Negro cloth" for the Southern market.[45] Henceforth the company would specialize in the manufacture of shawls and cassimeres for white women.

Such items of common use are seldom preserved for the historical record. One such shawl, however, has been located, and is now on exhibit at the Museum of Primitive Art and Culture in South Kingstown. It is of finely woven woolen worsted fabric of a combed, velvety feel, and is about 60 inches square. It has a Z-twist fringe. Such shawls were produced in natural colors such as charcoal and beige. The sheep who grew the wool for this manufacturing activity were at Narragansett Pier. Since one such shawl would be presented to President Abraham Lincoln and he would wear it frequently, the shawls are now referred to as "Lincoln shawls." Here is a current figurine of Lincoln with his Peace Dale shawl draped around his shoulders as was his habit:

43. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

> [24] No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
>
> — MATTHEW 6:24 MATTHEW 6:24

The Providence, Warren, and Bristol railroad link began to provide mass transportation for the East Bay region of Rhode Island. If the locomotive used for this service was a new one, it may have looked like this, for this was "A good Standard Type" built by Danforth Cooke & Company in 1855:

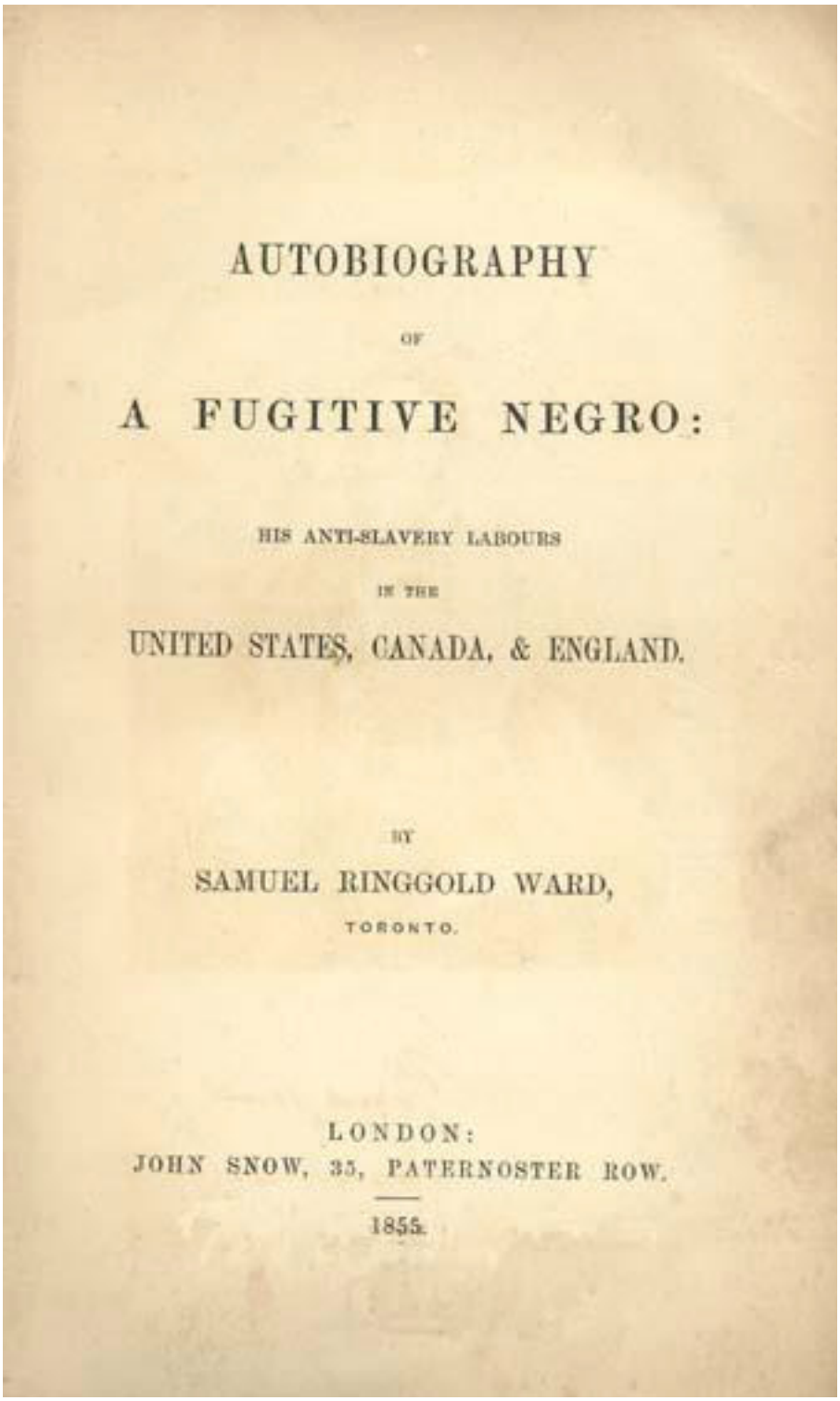
William J. Brown would report a beginning of a decline, in the Baptist church for people of color on College Hill in Providence, Rhode Island, due to their having lost their minister:

> PAGES 121-124: Our church had been in a very low state. It commenced to decrease in 1855, directly after our pastor, Rev. Chauncey Leonard, left us. He had been with us some two years, when he united with us. He had come directly from a theological institution. His education was good, and his oratory surpassed any pastor that ever graced our pulpit since the organization of our church. He was receiving from us four hundred dollars a year, which was all we were able to give, and a portion of that came from the Rhode Island State Convention. But our pastor was greatly in debt for his education, and if he did not go as a missionary to Liberia, he must repay them. As soon as they learned that he had settled over our church, they demanded their pay, and this brought him into such straitened circumstances that he could not remain here and support his family; and having an offer from the people in Baltimore, Md., to take charge of a select school, and supply a church, with a salary of six hundred dollars, he tendered his resignation to our church and accepted the call to Baltimore. That left us without any pastor, and the church fell into a despondent state.... Brother Waterman remarked that we had better disband, as we were all paupers, our pastor had gone and we could not do anything. But the majority proposed to continue together and trust in the Lord.

(During this period of his church's vulnerability, Brown would be serving proudly as a lay minister or exhorter.)

44. Here's an amusing anecdote about the school. Recently some historical researchers asked the school's official historian in what year it had been that the Quakers had admitted their very 1st student of color. After due research into the records –or pretense of research –or simple stalling, the school administration opted to stonewall, informing the researchers that they had been utterly unable to discover any answer to that intriguing poser.

45. Inquiring minds want to know: precisely how cheap and precisely how sturdy would cloth have needed to be in that era, to have been categorizable as such, "Negro cloth" — cloth provided by white slavemasters at their expense, so that their slaves might fashion garments to decently conceal their bodies and thus avoid offending the sensitivities of the masters?



AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

A FUGITIVE NEGRO:

HIS ANTI-SLAVERY LABOURS

IN THE

UNITED STATES, CANADA, & ENGLAND.

BY

SAMUEL RINGGOLD WARD,

TORONTO.

LONDON:
JOHN SNOW, 35, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1855.

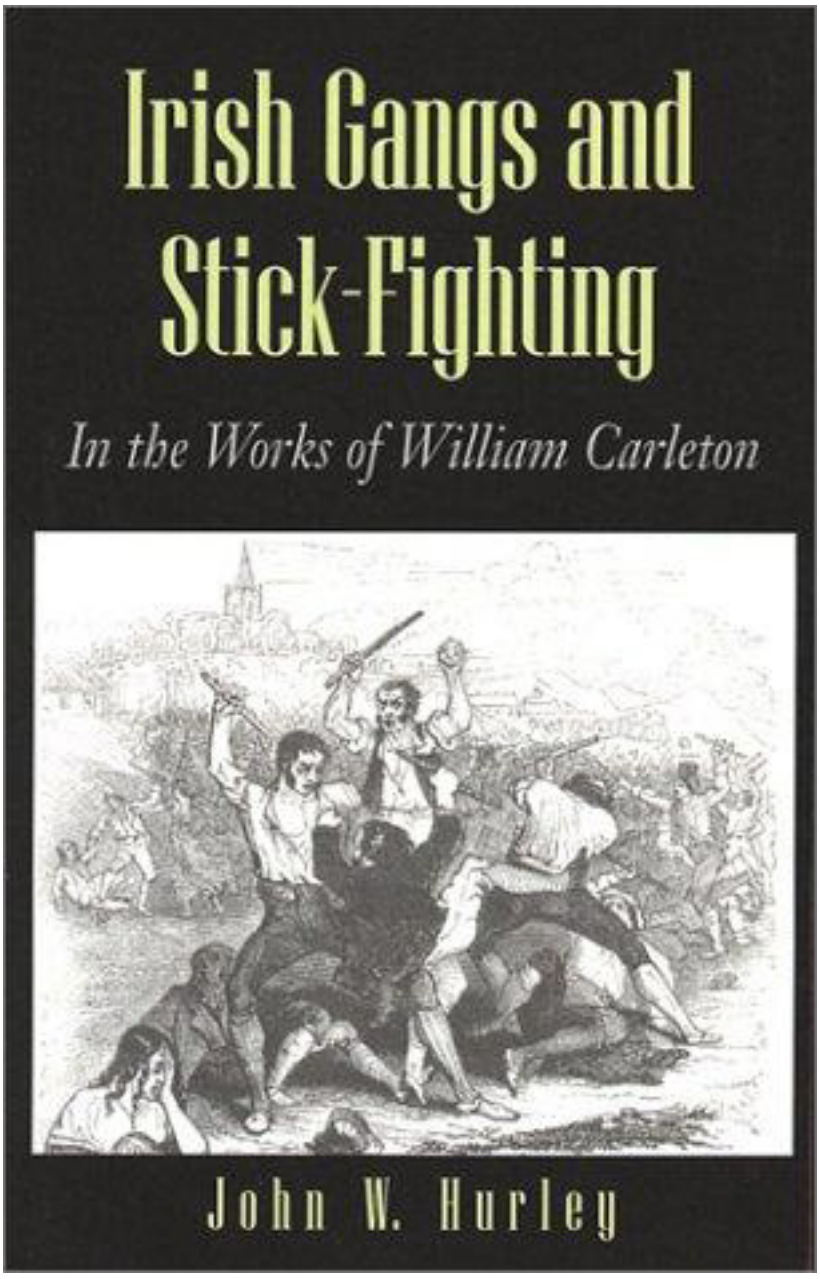
Professor Francis Wayland finished his service as President of Providence, Rhode Island's Brown University.

March 22, Thursday: Prejudice toward Irish Catholic immigrants, fanned by the Providence Journal (nowadays this paper is referred to locally as the "ProJo"), was using as its vehicle the American, or "Know-Nothing" party, a secret organization that was sweeping town, city, and state elections in the mid-fifties. In this year its candidate, William W. Hoppin, had captured the Rhode Island governorship. Some of the party's more zealous adherents even planned a raid on St. Xavier's Convent, home of the "female Jesuits," supported by a fake rumor they were circulating to the effect that a Protestant girl, named Rebecca Newell, was being held against her will by the nuns of Sisters of Mercy.

The password of these Know-Nothing Protestant rioters was "show yourself." (Is the password of the Ku Klux Klan "expose yourself"?)

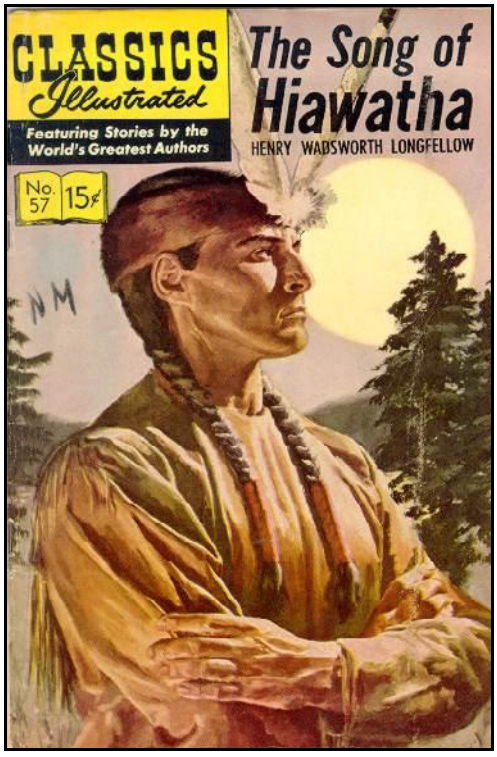
ANTI-CATHOLICISM

In Providence, Rhode Island on this day, an angry mob instigated by the ProJo and the Know-Nothings dispersed when confronted with Bishop Bernard O'Reilly and an equally militant crowd of Irishmen. On this day, God's providence was definitely on the side of the big shillelaghs!


Irish Gangs and Stick-Fighting
In the Works of William Carleton
John W. Hurley

July 3, Tuesday-September 12: The Longfellows were renting "Periwinkle," the home of Joshua Perry at #58 Perry Street in Newport, Rhode Island (the structure presently on that lot may or may not have been the one the Longfellows used). At the time Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was whacking away at the printer's proof sheets of his THE SONG OF "HIAWATHA":

> *July 19th: In the revision I have now got to the parts I wrote last summer at Nahant; and I have to change and rewrite a good deal of it. But it is next to impossible to do anything here, with so many people in the house and no school for the children.*
> *July 26th: To-day is very hot. How can I work? If I shut the window blinds, darkness! If I open them — glare! Chamber-maids chattering about - children crying — and everything sticky except Postage stamps, which having stuck all together like a swarm of bees, refuse further duty. Such is the state of affairs this morning at ten o'clock, when having come to my room to work upon "Hiawatha," ...*
> *August 20th: In great doubt about a canto of Hiawatha, — whether to retain or suppress it. It is odd how confused one's mind becomes about such matters from long looking at the same subject.*



August 26, Sunday, 1855: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, vacationing at Newport, Rhode Island, attended a repeat of the "striking sermon on 'Skeptics'" that had been delivered in April in Washington DC by the Reverend Moncure Daniel Conway –whom Longfellow had already met as a student– in which Conway "said a good word for doubters and the much abused free-thinkers." Conway promised that he would promptly review Longfellow's new saga THE SONG OF "HIAWATHA" in the National Intelligencer.

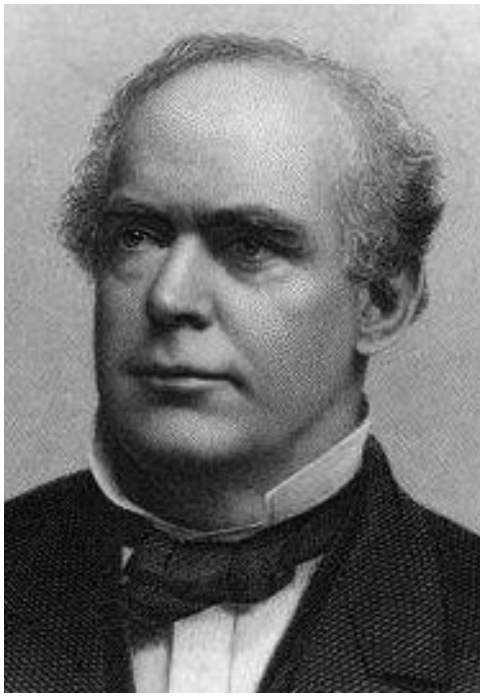
William Cooper Nell spent the evening at the home of the Putnams (this would not have been the Roxbury home of the Unitarian reverend George Putnam but the Salem home of hairdresser George Putnam and his wife Adelaide V. Putnam and their son Joseph H. Putnam). Charlotte L. Forten was also there and she would record that "We amused ourselves with making conundrums, reading and reciting poetry."

October 15, Monday: The last issue of The Una, Paulina Wright Davis's woman's rights journal.

FEMINISM

1856

Salmon Portland Chase was elected Governor of Ohio and would serve two terms (1856-1860). Governor Chase would promote education, attempt to reform the prison system, establish an insane asylum, and promote women's rights. Chase was smitten by a lust which would characterize him the rest of his life, "presidential fever." He tried to secure the presidential nomination of the 1st Republican convention in 1856 but failed. Having the support of Rhode Island money, he would try again in 1860, but would fail even to muster the support of the Ohio delegation and the nomination would go to one of the senators from Illinois, Abraham Lincoln.



In Rhode Island, William W. Hoppin was in charge. The Providence Home for Aged Women was organized. (Its present building at Front and East streets, overlooking the harbor, would open in 1864. Elderly men in need would wait ten years longer for a comparable facility — I presume this male facility was on the ground now occupied by the Brown University Fieldhouse and its playing field surrounded by an immense stone wall, across Lloyd from the Moses Brown School.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the Unitarian minister in Providence, Rhode Island, at this point was called to minister in Brookline, Massachusetts.

In Newport, Rhode Island a carpenter who lived at 8 Cross Street, William C. Thurston, was functioning as the "Keeper of Jews' Synagogue." (If anybody has any idea that these perennial wide-eyed tales about the empty Touro Synagogue being used in antebellum years as a station on the Underground Railroad might possibly have some grain of truth to them — why, dude, this is the guy to put under your microscope. Was this William C. Thurston perchance a Quaker abolitionist?)

Having been while a Whig a volunteer counsel for the Underground Railroad, Rutherford B. Hayes helped found the Ohio Republican party.

March 15, Saturday: The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr. wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chase:

> *I am desirous to have Stephen S. Foster go into R. Island, as a lecturer for a few weeks. He has just returned home from some successful labours in New Hampshire. I prefer to confer with you on the subject, before laying the matter before the Executive Committee. A meeting of that committee is to be held here on Monday morning, and if you could conveniently give me a reply to this, by that time, I shall be much obliged to you.*
> *There are, we all know, "many men, many minds," and there is a class of them, with whom Mr. Foster is better able to deal than any other person I know.*
> *Probably* Wendell Phillips *will attend the R. I. Convention if held. I am not authorized yet to promise* him. Asa Fairbanks proposes a three-days *convention (Friday, Saturday, and Sunday). What think you of that arrangement? Phillips would not give so much time to it as that, but we might have other speakers for Friday and Saturday morning, when Phillips would come (if he can come at all), and remain through. We will have a good convention, if we have any. I think S.S.F. can direct attention to it with more effect than either Brown or S. Holley, I mean, in the way*

of securing attendance.

RHODE ISLAND

Elizabeth B. Chace.

March 27, Thursday: The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr. wrote from the Anti-Slavery Office to Mrs. Elizabeth Buffum Chase:

> *As W. Phillips can give no time to the R.I. Convention, until the last week in* April, we have, after conferring with Providence *friends, fixed upon the* 25th, 26th, and 27th *of that month as the days.*
> *A. Fairbanks gives me no encouragement about the formation of a State Society. It seems to me to be, like Immediate Emancipation itself, one of the first things to be done. Action, in this country, to be effective, must be organized.*
> *Nor is it a* very numerous *Society that is wanted. We are not politicians –thank God– I hope we are not "Know nothings" in any sense; we are not striving to form a great Lodge or body, every man of which shall talk, and move, and vote, to order.*
> *I began my note chiefly to say that I propose appointing a meeting for S.S. Foster at* Pawtucket *on Sunday, April 6th, and I think he will stop and see you on the Saturday evening previous, as you desired. I am not sure who the best person in Pawtucket for me to write to is, since Daniel Mitchell has gone.*

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Will you give me your opinion as to the three best places for S.S.F. to spend the three Sundays in, which are all he can give to R.I.?

ASA FAIRBANKS
RHODE ISLAND

STEPHEN S. FOSTER

May 1, Thursday: John Wilbur died in Hopkinton, Rhode Island.

June 10, Tuesday: Caroline Hazard was born in Peace Dale, Rhode Island, to Rowland and Margaret Rood Hazard. She would be educated by private tutors at Mary A. Shaw's School in Providence.

June 10: In a hollow apple tree, hole eighteen inches deep, young pigeon woodpeckers **[Yellow-shafted Flicker *Colaptes auratus*]**, large and well feathered. They utter their squeaking hiss whenever I cover the hole with my hand, apparently taking it for the approach of the mother. A strong, rank fetid smell issues from the hole.

June 17, Tuesday: The Reverend Theodore Parker wrote to Dr. Füster, a Viennese professor, mentioning news of Professor Pierre Jean Édouard Desor.

In Worcester, Henry Thoreau, H.G.O. Blake, and Theophilus Brown needed to use a carriage when they went out to Quinsigamund Pond, because they were being accompanied by Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau.

Friend Daniel Ricketson abandoned Newport, Rhode Island to visit Concord to see Henry, unaware that Henry had gone to Worcester. The father John Thoreau must have been very short indeed, for a man who himself stood 5'3" to have pronounced him "very short":

> *Left Newport this morning at five o'clock for Concord, Mass., via Providence and Boston, and arrived at C. about 12 M. The sail up the Providence or Blackstone River was very fine, the morning being clear and the air very refreshing. My object in coming to Concord was to see H.D. Thoreau, but unfortunately I found him on a visit at Worcester, but I was received with great kindness and cordiality by his father and mother, and took tea with them. Mrs. Thoreau, like a true mother, idolizes her son, and gave me a long and interesting account of his character. Mr. Thoreau, a very short old gentleman, is a pleasant person. We took a short walk together after tea, returned to the Middlesex Hotel at ten. Mrs. T. gave me a long and particular account of W.E. Channing, who spent so many years here.*

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU
ELLERY CHANNING
PROVIDENCE

July 18, Friday: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Day before yesterday there was a fugitive slave in Boston. Came secreted in a vessel. He is off for Canada."

The series of poems by Louisa May Alcott, entitled "Beach Bubbles," continued in Boston's Saturday Evening Gazette.

August 1, Friday: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Darkey celebration."

August 31, Sunday: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "Heard Lucretia Mott the Quakeress at Dr. Hedges' church in the evening."[46]

Nathaniel Jarvis Wyeth died.

46. Since in this year the Reverend Frederic Henry Hedge, who had been since 1850 the Unitarian minister in Providence, Rhode Island, was being called to minister in Brookline MA, we should not take this to mean, necessarily, that the Reverend Hedge was present when Friend Lucretia Mott spoke.

(One marvels when one learns that when Friend Lucretia came to Providence, she wound up speaking at the Unitarian church, until one becomes aware that as a known Hicksite Quaker, one in favor of racial integration rather than of racial apartheid, she would have been turned away from the local Quaker meetinghouse at its door.)

September 4, Thursday: Henry Thoreau was being written to in Concord by Bronson Alcott presumably from Walpole, New Hampshire.

1856. September 17
Thursday, 4th
Mr. Bradford takes the morning train for
Concord, and I send by him a note with my Circular
to Thoreau, also a copy of the same to Emerson.
To Thoreau, I say,—
"I am so unfortunate, I find,
as to be about leaving home for Vermont on Friday
next, the day you [purpose] *coming to Walpole. I*
may return Wednesday the 10—to leave on Saturday
following for Fitchburg—thence I go to Worcester,
Wolcott, New York City, and much fear I shall
miss seeing you here unless you will come up

Page 2
{heading on paper: 818 September. 1856.}
on Thursday instead, and give me Friday the 12.th.
You will find my house and household right glad to
receive and entertain their wise guest; our hills too and streams all
well pleased to second [their] *hospitality.*
So come if you can. Mr. Bradford, who slept here
last night, will vouch for all, and my tour of
talk will borrow riches from the traveller's contributions.
But whether I see you here, or in Concord,
or do not see, there remains a country for me—
an America—while my friends survive to think
and write of England, old or new.—
Very truly Yours

Thoreau was also being written to in Concord by Benjamin B. Wiley from Providence, Rhode Island.

Providence R. I. Sep 4. 1856
Henry D. Thoreau[,] *Esq*[.]
Concord
Dear Sir
Having read your "week on the Concord" which you sent D W
Vaughan a short time since, I enclose $ *1.*$\frac{27}{}$ *for which will you please*
send me a copy of the same[.]
I have your "Walden" which I have read several times. If you can
send me any writings of yours besides the above works I will esteem

it a favor and will immediately remit you the amount due[.]
I consider that the moderate price I pay for excellent writings does not remove my obligation to their author and I most gladly take this occasion to tender you my warmest thanks for the pleasure and improvement you have afforded me[.]
Yours very truly
B. B. Wiley

Sept. 4. P. M. - To Miles Swamp, Conantum. What are those small yellow birds -,with two white bars on wings, about the oak at IIubbard's Grove? Aralia racen osa berries just ripe, at tall helianthus by bass [.1] beyond William Wheeler's; not edible. Indian hemp out of bloom. Butterflies in read a day or two. The crackling flight of grasshoppers. The grass also is all alive with them, and they trouble me by getting into my shoes, which are loose, and obliging lne to empty them occasionally. Measured an archangelica stem (now of course dry) in Corner Spring Swamp, eight feet eight inches high, and seven and a quarter inches in circumference at ground. It is a somewhat zigzag stem with few joints and a broad umbelliferous top, so that it makes a great show. One of those plants that have their fall early. There are many splendid scarlet arum berries there now in prime,' forming a dense ovate head on a short peduncle; the individual berries of various sizes, between pear and mitre and (-hit) form, flattened against each other on a singular (.nom l)nrple and white) coir, which is hollow. What raids and venomous luxuriance in this swamp sprout land! Viola pedata again. I see where squirrels have eaten green sweet viburnum berries on the wall, together with hazelnuts. The former, gathered red, turn dark purple and shrivelled, like raisins, in the House, and are edible, but chiefly seed. The feverbush is conspicuously flower-budded. Even its spicy leaves have been cut by the tailor bee, and circular pieces taken out. Ile was, perhaps, attracted by its smoothness and soundness. Large puffballs, sometime.

September 21, Friday: Ellery Channing came to his father Doctor Walter Channing's home in Boston from New Bedford, Massachusetts to visit his ailing estranged wife Ellen Fuller Channing. His sister Barbara Channing observed that he was "prepared," or preparing himself, for Ellen's eventual inevitable death.[47]

Friend Daniel Ricketson to his journal, in Concord:

WALDO EMERSON

Poor sleep at hotel. Thoreau called at 8. Walked with him to Walden Pond and saw the location of the Shanty where he lived alone some two years, bathed and visited the cliff and several other hills to obtain views of the pond and surrounding country, which is very picturesque, and the Concord River constantly seen in its meandering course through the neighboring fields, &c. Dined with Thoreau at his father's house; after dinner went on the river with Thoreau and Channing; called at an old farmhouse and saw a Mr. Hosmer, a friend of my companions; visited old battleground; saw the old mansion where Hawthorne formerly lived. Took tea with R.W. Emerson, in whose family Thoreau is quite at home, having been an inmate there. Suffered from embarrassment or rather a sense of incongruity in my being at Emerson's. I spent the night with Channing, who kindly made a good bed for me, the one at the hotel being so poor.

October 31, Friday: Benjamin B. Wiley wrote from Providence, Rhode Island to Henry Thoreau in Concord, asking, among other things, about mystical philosophy in general and Confucius in particular:

CHARLES KING NEWCOMB
THEOPHILUS BROWN
H.G.O. BLAKE

Providence Oct 31, 1856
H D Thoreau
Concord
Dear Sir
In Worcester I saw Theo Brown who was very glad to hear from you. In the evening we went together to see Harry Blake. Both these gentlemen were well. Mr Blake is an enthusiast in matters which the world passes by as of little account. Since I returned here I have taken two morning walks with Chas Newcomb. He suggested that he would like to walk to the White Mountains with me some time and it may yet be done. He walks daily some miles and seems to be in pretty good health. He says he would like to visit Concord, but named no time for that purpose.

47. For some six months, which in Ellery's inconstant universe would be like six light years, this father had been able to hold a steady newspaper job paying a respectable income of $500 per year, and had been actively engaged in a process of reestablishing a relationship with his children.

I am anxious to know a little more of Confucius. Can you briefly, so that it will not take too much of your time, write me his views in regard to Creation, Immortality, man's preexistence if he speaks of it, and generally anything relating to man's Origin, Purpose, & Destiny.
I would also like much to know the names of the leading Hindoo philosophers and their ideas on the preceding topics
Is Swedenborg a valuable man to you, and if so, why?
Do not think me too presuming because I ask you these questions. I am an inquirer (as indeed I always hope to be) and have to avail myself of the wisdom of those who have commenced life before me.
Though I cannot hope that my existence will be of any direct benefit to you, yet I cannot fail to exert influence somewhere, and that it may be of an elevating character, I wish to make my own the experience of collective humanity.
I shall leave here next Thursday Nov 6 for Chicago. My address there will be care of Strong & Wiley. I shall undoubtedly spend the winter there and how much longer I shall stay I cannot tell.
I suggested brevity in your remarks about the views of those philosophers. This was entirely for your convenience. I shall read appreciatingly and most attentively whatever you find time to write.
Yours truly
B. B. Wiley

THOREAU AND CHINA

November 18, Tuesday: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "A panther was shot in Greenwich on Sunday morning early, supposed to be one which escaped from a menagerie 2 years ago."

Nathaniel Hawthorne wrote in his journal:

> *... on the intervening day, we took a pretty long walk together, and sat down in a hollow among the sand hills (sheltering ourselves from the high, cool wind) and smoked a cigar. Melville, as he always does, began to reason of Providence and futurity, and of everything that lies beyond human ken, and informed me that he had "pretty much made up his mind to be annihilated;" but still he does not seem to rest in that anticipation; and, I think, will never rest until he gets hold of a definite belief. It is strange how he persists — and has persisted ever since I knew him, and probably long before — in wandering to and fro over these deserts, as dismal and monotonous as the sand hills amid which we were sitting. He can neither believe, nor be comfortable in his unbelief; and he is too honest and courageous not to try to do one or the other. If he were a religious man, he would be one of the most truly religious and reverential; he has a very high and noble nature, and better worth immortality than most of us.*

> *He sailed from Liverpool in a steamer on Tuesday, leaving his trunk behind in my consulate, and taking only a carpet-bag to hold all his travelling-gear. This is the next best thing to going naked; and as he wears his beard and moustache, and so needs no dressing-case — nothing but a tooth-brush — I do not know a more independent personage. He learned his travelling habits by drifting about all over the South Sea, with no other clothes or equipage than a red flannel shirt and a pair of duck trowsers. Yet we seldom see men of less criticizable manners than he.*

December 2, Tuesday: From the Rhode Island diary of John Hamlin Cady (1838-1914): "A woman was picked up floating in the river this morning, dead. She was taken up and put in a coffin."

December 12, Friday: Henry Thoreau responded to an inquiry by Benjamin B. Wiley of Providence, Rhode Island about Confucius by explaining what he took to be the core of the teaching and providing Wiley with three of his own translations from *CONFUCIUS ET MENCIUS. LES QUATRE LIVRES DE PHILOSOPHIE MORALE ET POLITIQUE DE LA CHINE, TRADUIT DU CHINOIS PAR M.J. PAUTHIER*.

MENCIUS
CHINA

Concord Dec 12 '56

Dear Sir,
I but recently returned from New Jersey after an absence of a little over a month, and found your letter awaiting me. I am glad to hear that you have walked with Newcomb, though I fear that you will not have many more opportunities to do so. I have no doubt that i n his company you would ere long find yourself, if not on those White Mountains you speak of, yet on some equally high, though not laid down in the geographies.
It is refreshing to hear of your earnest purposes with respect to your culture, & I can send you no better wish, than that they may not be thwarted by the cares and temptations of life. Depend on it, now is the accepted time, & probably you will never find yourself better disposed or freer to attend to your culture than at this moment. When They who inspire us with the idea are ready, shall not we be ready also?
I do not now remember anything which Confucius has said directly respecting man's "origin, purpose, and destiny". He was more practical than that. He is full of wisdom applied to human relations — to the private Life — the Family — Government &c. It is remark able that according to his own account the sum & substance of his teaching is, as you know, to Do as you would be done by.
He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men."
"To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes."
"As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect."
This last, I think, will speak to your condition.
But at this rate I might fill many letters.
Our acquaintance with the ancient Hindoos is not at all personal. The few names that can be relied on are very shadowy. It is however tangible works that we know. The best I think of are the Bhagvat-Geeta (an episode in an ancient heroic poem called the Mahabarata) — the Vedas — The Vishnu Purana — The Institutes of Menu — &c
I cannot say that Swedenborg has been directly & practically valuable to me, for I have not been a reader of him, except to a slight extent: — but I have the highest regard for him and trust that I shall read all his works in some world or other. He had a wonderful

knowledge of our interior & spiritual life — though his illuminations are occasionally blurred by trivialities. He comes nearer to answering, or attempting to answer, literally, your questions concerning man's origin purpose & destiny, than any of the worthies I have referred to. But I think that this is not altogether a recommendation; since such an answer to these questions cannot be discovered, any more than perpetual motion, for which no reward is now offered. The noblest man it is, methinks, that knows, & by his life suggests, the most about these things. Crack away at these nuts however as long as you can — the very exercise will ennoble you — & you may get something better than the answer you expect —
Yrs
Henry D. Thoreau

The translations which Thoreau provided to Wiley from his M.J. Pauthier translations in his Commonplace Book are:

He also said — (I translate from the French) Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct and to direct a nation of men."

[23.6] "Conduct yourself suitably toward the persons of your family, then you will be able to instruct & to direct a nation of men." Thseng-tseu^in spirit of C.

"To nourish ones self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich and honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes."

[108.15] The Philosopher^C said to nourish one's self with a little rice, to drink water, to have only his bended arm to support his head, is a state which has also its satisfaction. To be rich & honored by iniquitous means, is for me as the floating cloud which passes. C.

"As soon as a child is born we must respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it by & by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of 40 or 50 years, without having learned any thing, it is no more worthy of any respect."

[121.22] As soon as a child is born (it is necessary to)^we should respect its faculties; the knowledge which will come to it (in course)^by and by does not resemble at all its present state. If it arrives at the age of forty or fifty years, without

having learned anything, it is no more worthy of any respect.

THOREAU AND CHINA

Dec 12th Wonderful—wonderful is our life and that of our companions—! That there should be such a thing as a brute animal—not human—! & that it should attain to a sort of society with our race!! Think of cats, for instance; they are neither Chinese nor Tartars—; they do not go to school nor read the Testament— Yet how near they come to doing so—how much they are like us who do so What sort of philosophers are we who know absolutely nothing of At length—without the origin & destiny of cats?— having solved any of these problems, we fatten & kill & eat some of our cousins!! ...Yesterday morning I noticed that several people were having their pigs killed, not foreseeing the thaw. Such warm weather as this the animal heat will hardly get out before night— I saw Peter, the dexterous pig-butcher—busy in 2 or 3 places—& in the Pm I saw him with washed hands & knives in sheath—& his leather overalls drawn off—going to his solitary house on the edge of the Great Fields—carrying in the rain a piece of the pork he had slaughtered with a string put through it. Often he carries home the head, which is less prized taking his pay thus in kind—& these supplies do not come amiss to his outcast family. I saw Lynch's dog stealthily feeding at a half of his master's pig which lay dressed on a wheelbarrow at the door— A little yellow brown dog—with fore feet braced on the ice—& out-stretched neck—he {swif} eagerly browsed along the edge of the meat half a foot to right & left—with incessant short & rapid snatches which brought it away as readily as if it had been pudding. He evidently knew very well that he was stealing—but made the most of his time. The little brown dog weighed a pound or 2 more afterward than before. Where is the great natural historian—? Is he a butcher or the patron of butchers? As well look for a great anthropologist among cannibals.

CAT

DOG

1857

In this year the Corporation (governing board) of Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island recognized the bad direction in which the school had been heading and, to enthusiastic approval from the student body, abandoned the "New System" by which the degrees being offered had been being cheapened.

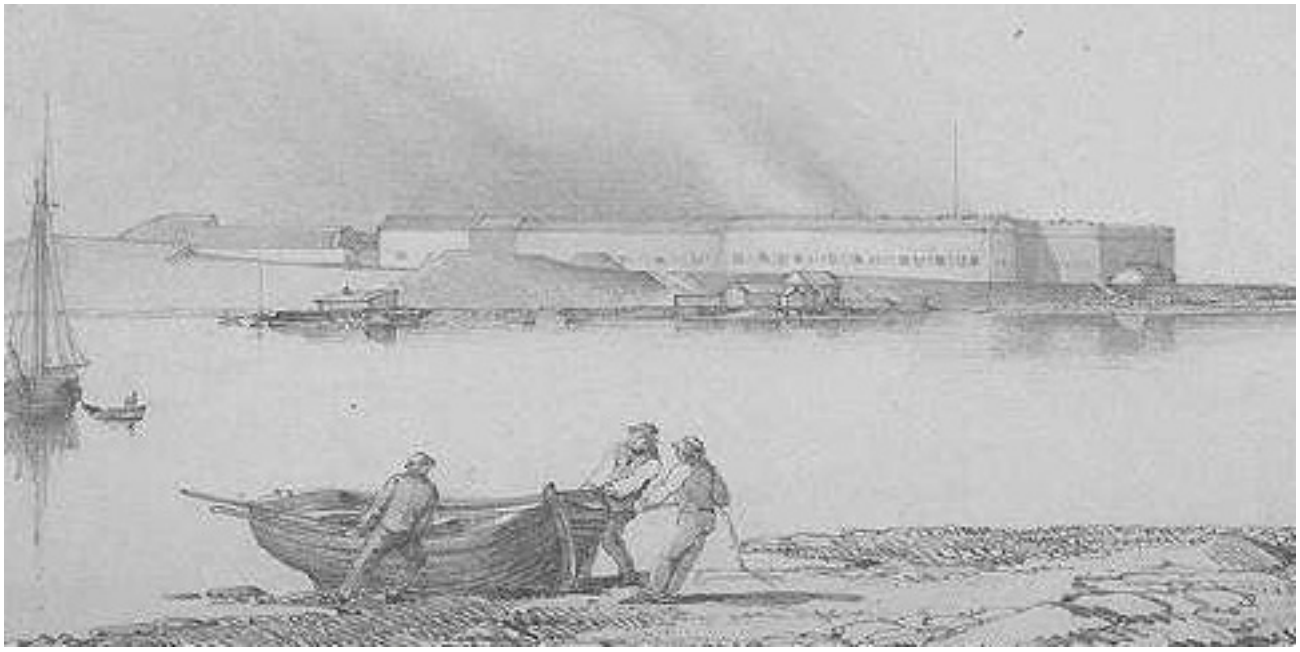
In Rhode Island, Elisha Dyer, a descendant of William Dyer and Mary Dyer, became the governor.

DYER OR DYRE

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The daybooks for the Machine Shop business at Saylesville indicate that at this point its primary activity was the manufacture of braid, in particularly laces, for the Greene and Daniels Mill in Pawtucket, for a wholesale outlet in Philadelphia, etc.

Completion of construction of Fort Adams guarding Newport Harbor, at 60 acres with 468 cannon the second largest along our nation's coastline. Of course, cheap desperate Irish labor had been utilized to cut and move and position the stone that had been required. This sketch of the fort, and of three Rhode Islanders, had been done about seven years earlier:



The Great Meetinghouse of the Friends in Newport, Rhode Island was again enlarged.

The old stone jail of Kingston, Rhode Island was again added to, with iron bars embedded within the new walls. Originally the sheriff's family had occupied the ground floor and the cells had been upstairs. In the new arrangement, the sheriff's family occupied the front of the building and, in the two-story annex, the bottom portion was used for criminals who needed to be seriously locked up, while the upper portion was used for the housing of debtors. In one of the cells upstairs, for instance, there was some decorative painting around the edges of the ceiling.

In Providence, Rhode Island, at a cost of about $225,000, a 3-story granite custom house was erected at the corner of Weybosset and Custom-House Streets. The upper floors of the structure were to house the Internal-Revenue Office, the United-States Court Room, and office space for judges and other government officials. The Post-Office Department would use the lower story. (This Post Office would in 1880 rearrange and refurnish its quarters by installing, among other improvements, over 1,500 brass letter-boxes secured by Yale locks.)

Across the street from the State Reform School in Providence, Rhode Island's Fox Point neighborhood, a Home for Aged Women[48] was established for "poor, aged, and respectable women of this city, who find themselves homeless and comfortless in the decline of life." This would, eventually, become the Tockwotton[49] Home run by "Mother Cool" (Eliza Helen Coole).

Martin Johnson Heade relocated from Trenton, New Jersey to Providence, Rhode Island, and made his studio at 34 North Main Street while boarding at 43 College Street. His "Commodore Perry," "Portrait of Bishop Clark," and "View in Narragansett Bay" were placed on display in the Boston Athenæum. Would it have been in this timeframe that he also painted this portrait of Friend Moses Brown, deceased for a number of decades, based upon a detailed sketch that had been made during Friend Moses's old age suffering from vertigo in his mansion Elmgrove near the Friends Yearly Meeting School he had founded?

48. "HOME FOR AGED WOMEN, Tockwotton Street, opposite the State Reform School, is in a delightful situation, overlooking the harbor and bay. It was founded in 1856, and received inmates in a building formerly standing upon the site of the present handsome brick edifice, which was completed during November 1864. It is supported mainly by donations, collections, and from the income of an invested fund. Inmates are received upon conditions similar to those imposed by the Home for Aged Men, except that the entrance-fee is $150, and the minimum age 65. Number of inmates, 42. Visitors admitted daily, except Sunday. Governor-st. H. C."

49. Tockwotton is a native American name. The area was originally a plateau and bluff or headland 50 feet in height, facing the Narragansett Bay.

(We immediately notice of course that this artist has quite erased Moses's signature cherry-red nose wart.)

One of the changes that had been made as a result of the financial crisis of 1855 was that the students would be given a graduation ceremony, during which they would be handed a diploma. In this year, the first graduate of the Yearly Meeting School was Mary S. Harris of Leeds, New York.

From this year into 1866, George Thomas Downing would be leading in a campaign that would eventuate in the closure of separate and unequal black public schools in Providence, Rhode Island.

In this year, according to SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49 (pages 14-21, 70-1, etc.), there were at least 20 negreros from New-York, New Orleans, and other US ports.

The negreros *William Clark* and *Jupiter*, of New Orleans, *Eliza Jane*, of New-York, *Jos. H. Record*, of Newport, Rhode Island, and *Onward*, of Boston were captured by British cruisers (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, pages 13, 25-6, 69, etc).

The negrero *James Buchanan* escaped capture because it was under American colors, while carrying 300 slaves (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, page 38).

The negrero *James Titers*, of New Orleans, was carrying 1,200 slaves when it was captured by a British cruiser (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session XII, Number 49, pages 31-4, 40-1).

Four New Orleans negreros were operating along the African coast (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, page 30).

The negrero *Cortes*, of New-York, was captured (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 27-8).

The negrero *Charles*, of Boston, was captured by British cruisers while carrying 400 slaves (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 9, 13, 36, 69, etc).

The *Adams Gray* and *W.D. Miller* of New Orleans were fully equipped as negreros (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, pages 3-5, 13).

Between this year and the following one, such American vessels as the *Charlotte*, of New-York, the *Charles*, of Maryland, etc., were reported to be negreros (SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 1st session, XII, Number 49, *passim*).

Slavery had been brought to an end in Rhode Island in 1843 and in Connecticut in 1848. In this year it was ended in New Hampshire as well and the North was poised and positioned to become self-righteous in contradistinction to the recalcitrant South. In analyzing the transition known as "gradual emancipation" in New England, Joanne Pope Melish has specified in considerable detail how the stigma of status, "slave," gradually evolved into the stigma of being, "black":

> Throughout New England the mapping of dependency from the category "slave" onto the category "person of color" was achieved by a range of practices that insisted upon a slavelike status for persons of color in freedom.

Actually she has analyzed this in considerable critical detail:

> meaning of "free" as it had developed in the ideology of the olition movement was a category that existed paradoxically in two apparently contradictory semantic domains: "absence" and "availability." The language of abolition framed the possible meanings of "free person of color" as a category to include a state of being for whites along with people of color: "free" always included the state of being "free of slavery," which included a presumption of freedom from slaves themselves –that is, the promise of the ultimate absence of the humans occupying

that category– as a desirable status for white.... In whites' minds, formally and conceptually, free people of color had no place at all, even though they were physically still present as day or contract laborers.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: A somewhat more sincere and determined effort to enforce the slave-trade laws now followed; and yet it is a significant fact that not until Lincoln's administration did a slave-trader suffer death for violating the laws of the United States. The participation of Americans in the trade continued, declining somewhat between 1825 and 1830, and then reviving, until it reached its highest activity between 1840 and 1860. The development of a vast internal slave-trade, and the consequent rise in the South of vested interests strongly opposed to slave smuggling, led to a falling off in the illicit introduction of Negroes after 1825, until the fifties; nevertheless, smuggling never entirely ceased, and large numbers were thus added to the plantations of the Gulf States.

Monroe had various constitutional scruples as to the execution of the Act of 1819;[50] but, as Congress took no action, he at last put a fair interpretation on his powers, and appointed Samuel Bacon as an agent in Africa to form a settlement for recaptured Africans. Gradually the agency thus formed became merged with that of the Colonization Society on Cape Mesurado; and from this union Liberia was finally evolved.[51]

Meantime, during the years 1818 to 1820, the activity of the slave-traders was prodigious. General James Tallmadge declared in the House, February 15, 1819: "Our laws are already highly penal against their introduction, and yet, it is a well known fact, that about fourteen thousand slaves have been brought into our country this last year."[52] In the same year Middleton of South Carolina and Wright of Virginia estimated illicit introduction at 13,000 and 15,000 respectively.[53] Judge Story, in charging a jury, took occasion to say: "We have but too many proofs from unquestionable sources, that it [the slave-trade] is still carried on with all the implacable rapacity of former times. Avarice has grown more subtle in its evasions, and watches and seizes its prey with an appetite quickened rather than suppressed by its guilty vigils. American citizens are steeped to their very mouths (I can hardly use too bold a figure) in this stream of iniquity."[54] The following year, 1820, brought some significant statements from various members of Congress. Said Smith of South Carolina: "Pharaoh was, for his temerity, drowned in the Red Sea, in pursuing them [the Israelites] contrary to God's express will; but our Northern friends have not been afraid even of that, in their zeal to furnish the Southern States with Africans. They are better seamen than

50. Attorney-General Wirt advised him, October, 1819, that no part of the appropriation could be used to purchase land in Africa or tools for the Negroes, or as salary for the agent: OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, I. 314-7. Monroe laid the case before Congress in a special message Dec. 20, 1819 (HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, page 57); but no action was taken there.
51. Cf. Kendall's Report, August, 1830: SENATE DOCUMENT, 21st Congress 2d session, I. No. 1, pages 211-8; also see below, Chapter X.
52. Speech in the House of Representatives, Feb. 15, 1819, page 18; published in Boston, 1849.
53. Jay, INQUIRY INTO AMERICAN COLONIZATION (1838), page 59, note.
54. Quoted in Friends' FACTS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE SLAVE TRADE (ed. 1841), pages 7-8.

Pharaoh, and calculate by that means to elude the vigilance of Heaven; which they seem to disregard, if they can but elude the violated laws of their country."[55] As late as May he saw little hope of suppressing the traffic.[56] Sergeant of Pennsylvania declared: "It is notorious that, in spite of the utmost vigilance that can be employed, African negroes are clandestinely brought in and sold as slaves."[57] Plumer of New Hampshire stated that "of the unhappy beings, thus in violation of all laws transported to our shores, and thrown by force into the mass of our black population, scarcely one in a hundred is ever detected by the officers of the General Government, in a part of the country, where, if we are to believe the statement of Governor Rabun, 'an officer who would perform his duty, by attempting to enforce the law [against the slave trade] is, by many, considered as an officious meddler, and treated with derision and contempt;' ... I have been told by a gentleman, who has attended particularly to this subject, that ten thousand slaves were in one year smuggled into the United States; and that, even for the last year, we must count the number not by hundreds, but by thousands."[58] In 1821 a committee of Congress characterized prevailing methods as those "of the grossest fraud that could be practised to deceive the officers of government."[59] Another committee, in 1822, after a careful examination of the subject, declare that they "find it impossible to measure with precision the effect produced upon the American branch of the slave trade by the laws above mentioned, and the seizures under them. They are unable to state, whether those American merchants, the American capital and seamen which heretofore aided in this traffic, have abandoned it altogether, or have sought shelter under the flags of other nations." They then state the suspicious circumstance that, with the disappearance of the American flag from the traffic, "the trade, notwithstanding, increases annually, under the flags of other nations." They complain of the spasmodic efforts of the executive. They say that the first United States cruiser arrived on the African coast in March, 1820, and remained a "few weeks;" that since then four others had in two years made five visits in all; but "since the middle of last November, the commencement of the healthy season on that coast, no vessel has been, nor, as your committee is informed, is, under orders for that service."[60] The United States African agent, Ayres, reported in 1823: "I was informed by an American officer who had been on the coast in 1820, that he had boarded 20 American vessels in one morning, lying in the port of Gallinas, and fitted for the reception of slaves. It is a lamentable fact, that most of the harbours, between the Senegal and the line, were visited by an

55. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 270-1.
56. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 698.
57. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1207.
58. ANNALS OF CONGRESS, 16th Congress 1st session, page 1433.
59. Referring particularly to the case of the slaver "Plattsburg." Cf. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 10.
60. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, page 2. The President had in his message spoken in exhilarating tones of the success of the government in suppressing the trade. The House Committee appointed in pursuance of this passage made the above report. Their conclusions are confirmed by British reports: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1822, Vol. XXII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, III. page 44. So, too, in 1823, Ashmun, the African agent, reports that thousands of slaves are being abducted.

equal number of American vessels, and for the sole purpose of carrying away slaves. Although for some years the coast had been occasionally visited by our cruizers, their short stay and seldom appearance had made but slight impression on those traders, rendered hardy by repetition of crime, and avaricious by excessive gain. They were enabled by a regular system to gain intelligence of any cruizer being on the coast."[61]

Even such spasmodic efforts bore abundant fruit, and indicated what vigorous measures might have accomplished. Between May, 1818, and November, 1821, nearly six hundred Africans were recaptured and eleven American slavers taken.[62] Such measures gradually changed the character of the trade, and opened the international phase of the question. American slavers cleared for foreign ports, there took a foreign flag and papers, and then sailed boldly past American cruisers, although their real character was often well known. More stringent clearance laws and consular instructions might have greatly reduced this practice; but nothing was ever done, and gradually the laws became in large measure powerless to deal with the bulk of the illicit trade. In 1820, September 16, a British officer, in his official report, declares that, in spite of United States laws, "American vessels, American subjects, and American capital, are unquestionably engaged in the trade, though under other colours and in disguise."[63] The United States ship "Cyane" at one time reported ten captures within a few days, adding: "Although they are evidently owned by Americans, they are so completely covered by Spanish papers that it is impossible to condemn them."[64] The governor of Sierra Leone reported the rivers Nunez and Pongas full of renegade European and American slave-traders;[65] the trade was said to be carried on "to an extent that almost staggers belief."[66] Down to 1824 or 1825, reports from all quarters prove this activity in slave-trading.

The execution of the laws within the country exhibits grave defects and even criminal negligence. Attorney-General Wirt finds it necessary to assure collectors, in 1819, that "it is against public policy to dispense with prosecutions for violation of the law to prohibit the Slave trade."[67] One district attorney writes: "It appears to be almost impossible to enforce the laws of the United States against offenders after the negroes have been landed in the state."[68] Again, it is asserted that "when vessels engaged in the slave trade have been detained by the American cruizers, and sent into the slave-holding states, there appears at once a difficulty in securing the

61. Ayres to the Secretary of the Navy, Feb. 24, 1823; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 31.
62. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 5-6. The slavers were the "Ramirez," "Endymion," "Esperanza," "Plattsburg," "Science," "Alexander," "Eugene," "Mathilde," "Daphne," "Eliza," and "La Pensée." In these 573 Africans were taken. The naval officers were greatly handicapped by the size of the ships, etc. (cf. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), pages 33-41). They nevertheless acted with great zeal.
63. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, page 76. The names and description of a dozen or more American slavers are given: PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1821, Vol. XXIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 18-21.
64. HOUSE REPORTS, 17th Congress 1st session, II. No. 92, pages 15-20.
65. HOUSE DOCUMENT, 18th Congress 1st session, VI. No. 119, page 13.
66. PARLIAMENTARY PAPERS, 1823, Vol. XVIII., SLAVE TRADE, Further Papers, A, pages 10-11.
67. OPINIONS OF ATTORNEYS-GENERAL, V. 717.
68. R.W. Habersham to the Secretary of the Navy, August, 1821; reprinted in FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 47.

freedom to these captives which the laws of the United States have decreed for them."[69] In some cases, one man would smuggle in the Africans and hide them in the woods; then his partner would "rob" him, and so all trace be lost.[70] Perhaps 350 Africans were officially reported as brought in contrary to law from 1818 to 1820: the absurdity of this figure is apparent.[71] A circular letter to the marshals, in 1821, brought reports of only a few well-known cases, like that of the "General Ramirez;" the marshal of Louisiana had "no information."[72]

There appears to be little positive evidence of a large illicit importation into the country for a decade after 1825. It is hardly possible, however, considering the activity in the trade, that slaves were not largely imported. Indeed, when we note how the laws were continually broken in other respects, absence of evidence of petty smuggling becomes presumptive evidence that collusive or tacit understanding of officers and citizens allowed the trade to some extent.[73] Finally, it must be noted that during all this time scarcely a man suffered for participating in the trade, beyond the loss of the Africans and, more rarely, of his ship. Red-handed slavers, caught in the act and convicted, were too often, like La Coste of South Carolina, the subjects of executive clemency.[74] In certain cases there were those who even had the effrontery to ask Congress to cancel their own laws. For instance, in 1819 a Venezuelan privateer, secretly fitted out and manned by Americans in Baltimore, succeeded in capturing several American, Portuguese, and Spanish slavers, and appropriating the slaves; being finally wrecked herself, she transferred her crew and slaves to one of her prizes, the "Antelope," which was eventually captured by a United States cruiser and the 280 Africans sent to Georgia. After much litigation, the United States Supreme Court ordered those captured from Spaniards to be surrendered, and the others to be returned to Africa. By some mysterious process, only 139 Africans now remained, 100 of whom were sent to Africa. The Spanish claimants of the remaining thirty-nine sold them to a certain Mr. Wilde, who gave bond to transport them out of the country. Finally, in December, 1827, there came an innocent petition to Congress to *cancel this bond*.[75] A bill to that effect passed and was approved, May 2, 1828,[76] and in consequence these Africans remained as slaves in Georgia.

On the whole, it is plain that, although in the period from 1807 to 1820 Congress laid down broad lines of legislation sufficient, save in some details, to suppress the African slave trade to America, yet the execution of these laws was criminally lax. Moreover, by the facility with which slavers could disguise their identity, it was possible for them to escape even a vigorous enforcement of our laws. This situation could properly be met only by energetic and sincere international co-operation....[77]

69. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.
70. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 43.
71. Cf. above, pages 126-7.
72. FRIENDS' VIEW OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE (1824), page 42.
73. A few accounts of captures here and there would make the matter less suspicious; these, however, do not occur. How large this suspected illicit traffic was, it is of course impossible to say; there is no reason why it may not have reached many hundreds per year.

March: There appeared to have been a quarrel at a Saturday night party at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island between two undergraduates, Clarence Bates of Louisville, Kentucky and Charles P. Williams. In the course of the party Bates was playing the fiddle when Williams made a comment about the young lady who was accompanying Bates. Bates offered Williams a calling card, while stating "I demand of you, sir, the satisfaction of a gentleman and to refer any friend you may find to serve you to my friend Nelson here." The duel was planned for Monday at dawn. At 5:30AM the participants set out in two buggies across the Seekonk, into a clearing in the woods near a farmhouse on the Massachusetts side. They fired at the drop of a handkerchief, and Williams's hat fell off while Bates clutched his arm and cried out. Later, however, when it appeared that they were going to be arrested and imprisoned, Williams began to aver that the hole in his hat had been produced not by a bullet, but by his poking his finger through the material. Bates removed some clothing and demonstrated that in fact there was not so much as a scratch on either arm. They explained that the incident had been a school hoax. President Barnaby Sears expelled the southerner, and suspended Williams and the two students who had acted as seconds.

Summer: Dr. H.C. Preston visited St. John, New Brunswick, to see some patients of Dr. J.C. Peterson, a young homœopathic practitioner of that place.

Fall: Dr. H.C. Preston departed from Providence, Rhode Island.

74. Cf. editorial in Niles's Register, XXII. 114. Cf. also the following instances of pardons: —
PRESIDENT JEFFERSON: March 1, 1808, Phillip M. Topham, convicted for "carrying on an illegal slave-trade" (pardoned twice). PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 146, 148-9.
PRESIDENT MADISON: July 29, 1809, fifteen vessels arrived at New Orleans from Cuba, with 666 white persons and 683 negroes. Every penalty incurred under the Act of 1807 was remitted. (Note: "Several other pardons of this nature were granted.") PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 179.
Nov. 8, 1809, John Hopkins and Lewis Le Roy, convicted for importing a slave. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 184-5.
Feb. 12, 1810, William Sewall, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 194, 235, 240.
May 5, 1812, William Babbit, convicted for importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, I. 248.
PRESIDENT MONROE: June 11, 1822, Thomas Shields, convicted for bringing slaves into New Orleans. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 15.
Aug. 24, 1822, J.F. Smith, sentenced to five years' imprisonment and $3000 fine; served twenty-five months and was then pardoned. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 22.
July 23, 1823, certain parties liable to penalties for introducing slaves into Alabama. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 63.
Aug. 15, 1823, owners of schooner "Mary," convicted of importing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 66.
PRESIDENT J.Q. ADAMS: March 4, 1826, Robert Perry; his ship was forfeited for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 140.
Jan. 17, 1827, Jesse Perry; forfeited ship, and was convicted for introducing slaves. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 158.
Feb. 13, 1827, Zenas Winston; incurred penalties for slave-trading. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 161. The four following cases are similar to that of Winston: —
Feb. 24, 1827, John Tucker and William Morbon. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 162.
March 25, 1828, Joseph Badger. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 192.
Feb. 19, 1829, L.R. Wallace. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 215.
PRESIDENT JACKSON: Five cases. PARDONS AND REMISSIONS, IV. 225, 270, 301, 393, 440.
The above cases were taken from manuscript copies of the Washington records, made by Mr. W.C. Endicott, Jr., and kindly loaned me.
75. See SENATE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 60, 66, 340, 341, 343, 348, 352, 355; HOUSE JOURNAL, 20th Congress 1st session, pages 59, 76, 123, 134, 156, 169, 173, 279, 634, 641, 646, 647, 688, 692.
76. STATUTES AT LARGE, VI. 376.

November: The name of *Massasoit*, "Protector and Preserver of the Pilgrims," has always been something with which to conjure.[78] When in 1855 the Boston authorities had rejected a petition for a charter for a black militia company, the group had formed itself up anyway, and equipped itself with arms and with uniforms — and denominated itself the Massasoit Guard. In this month, after the Dred Scott decision was announced in the press, this guard fell in and paraded its black faces and its weapons 300 strong through the streets of Boston.

1858

Martin Johnson Heade was still living in Providence, Rhode Island, and his painting "Stolen Fruit is Always the Sweetest" was on display at the Boston Athenæum.

Two young scholars graduated from the Yearly Meeting School on top of the hill in Providence, Rhode Island.

The Howard Building downtown, named for the unforgettable George A. Howard and containing Howard's Hall where unforgettable performances and lectures were staged, had already burned down in 1853 and had been rebuilt. In this year it burned down for the 2d time. (The building would be rebuilt in 1859 but is no longer in existence.)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

77. Among interesting minor proceedings in this period were two Senate bills to register slaves so as to prevent illegal importation. They were both dropped in the House; a House proposition to the same effect also came to nothing: SENATE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, pages 147, 152, 157, 165, 170, 188, 201, 203, 232, 237; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 63, 74, 77, 202, 207, 285, 291, 297; HOUSE JOURNAL, 15th Congress 1st session, page 332; 15th Congress 2d session, pages 303, 305, 316; 16th Congress 1st session, page 150. Another proposition was contained in the Meigs resolution presented to the House, Feb. 5, 1820, which proposed to devote the public lands to the suppression of the slave-trade. This was ruled out of order. It was presented again and laid on the table in 1821: HOUSE JOURNAL, 16th Congress 1st session, pages 196, 200, 227; 16th Congress 2d session, page 238.

In the TRANSACTIONS OF THE RHODE ISLAND SOCIETY FOR THE ENCOURAGEMENT OF DOMESTIC INDUSTRY FOR 1858, a letter was published from a Mrs. Betsy Baker whose maiden name had been Betsey Metcalf. She confessed that it had been her (rather than Miss Hannah Metcalf or Mrs. Naomi Whipple as had been reported a generation earlier, in 1825) who had developed the art of making straw bonnets — that it had been her who had taught neighbors, so that the industry of making these bonnets had begun to spread through neighboring towns. The original of this letter is stored at the Rhode Island Historical Society in Providence, Rhode Island.[79]

STRAW TOWNS

78. For instance, today, from atop a hill that overlooks Plymouth Rock, a statue of the great Wampanoag sachem surveys the harbor in which the Pilgrim Fathers landed over 375 years ago. Holding a long peace pipe, the chief is dignified and confident (*vide* above), nothing about his figure causing trepidation to the tourist. The inscription identifying the native politician as "Protector and Preserver of the Pilgrims" dutifully elides the complexion of his constituency. This may arguably be the only statue ever erected in Massachusetts in honor of a man from Rhode Island. Today there are, situated in the Gay Head section of Martha's Vineyard, but 700 tribal descendants.

The Rhode Island Commissioner characterized Narragansett conditions as follows:

> The general condition of the tribe at present, compared to what it was … has … improved … now, they are provided with comfortable dwellings, are well clad, and have proper supplies of food. If they have not, as a community, become more industrious, they make better use of their earnings than formerly, when three fourths were spent for intoxicating liquors. The young men generally work out, by the month, on farms, … some few go to sea. There are but few members of the tribe who follow farming exclusively.… Quite a number are masons, stone cutters, and wallers, and command good wages for their work.

Rhode Island began a long-term efforts to destroy the Narragansett as a legal and political entity — with the tribe of course attempting to resist these efforts:

> A majority of the Indians, including the governing class, were evidently opposed to changing the existing relations to the State. They wished to be let alone in governing themselves. They objected to being taxed, to being subject to the draft, and especially to being made liable to be sued. They professed to be indifferent to the privileges of citizenship and to set a low value thereon.

1859

In downtown Providence, Rhode Island, the Howard Building was rebuilt for the 2d time after its 2d destruction by fire. (The show must go on!)

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The Narragansett Church in Charlestown, Rhode Island was rebuilt.

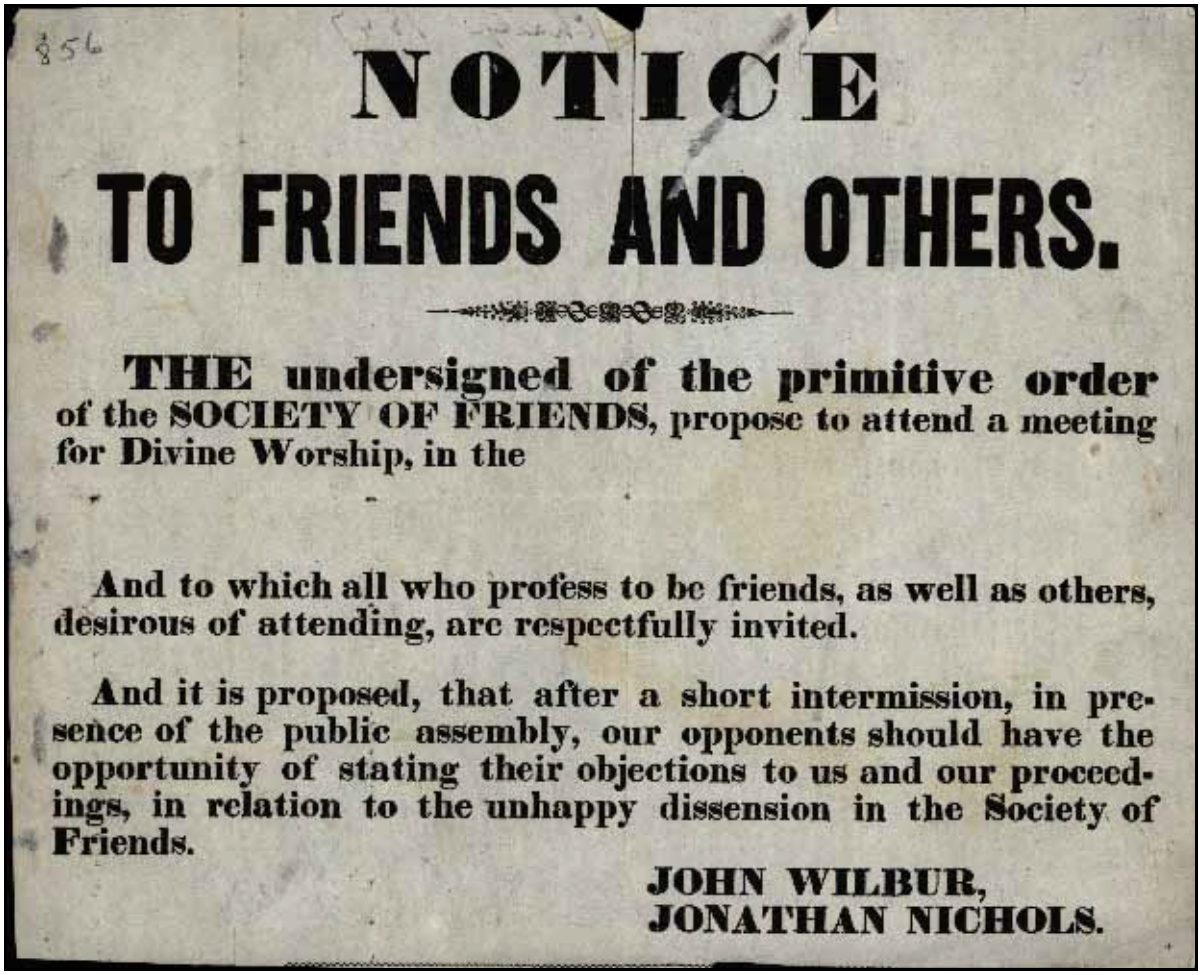
79. Is this story true? We have no reason to doubt it, and also, we have no reason to believe it.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

Here was William James in this year, in Newport, Rhode Island:

Several of Friend John Wilbur's polemical pamphlets had appeared during his lifetime (1774-1856), but at this point this Quaker preacher's primary work, JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE, became available in Providence, Rhode Island.



NOTICE

TO FRIENDS AND OTHERS.

THE undersigned of the primitive order of the SOCIETY OF FRIENDS, propose to attend a meeting for Divine Worship, in the

And to which all who profess to be friends, as well as others, desirous of attending, are respectfully invited.

And it is proposed, that after a short intermission, in presence of the public assembly, our opponents should have the opportunity of stating their objections to us and our proceedings, in relation to the unhappy dissension in the Society of Friends.

JOHN WILBUR,
JONATHAN NICHOLS.

READ THE FULL TEXT

Samuel Greene Arnold's HISTORY OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS was awarded a favorable review in the pages of The Atlantic Monthly.

Thoreau would copy from this historian's work into the 12 and final volume of his Indian Notebooks.

PALFREY'S AND ARNOLD'S HISTORIES.[80]

The London "Times," in its comments upon a recent desponding utterance of foreboding for our republic, by President Buchanan, in his Fort Duquesne Letter, affirms that the horizon of England is clearing while our own is darkening. Mr. Bright, true to the omen of his name, thinks better of our country. He seizes upon all fit occasions, as in his late speech at Manchester, to hold up to his countrymen the opposite view, so far at least as concerns our republic. He loves to recommend to his constituents American notions and institutions. Perhaps it may be allowed, — though this is hardly to be affirmed, if any decisive argument depends upon it,— that the peculiar institutions, political and social, of the two nations, have been on trial long enough, side by side, through the same race of men and in the pursuit of the same interests, to enable a wise discerner to strike the balance between them, in respect to their efficiency and their security as intrusted with the welfare and destiny of millions. If we can learn to look at the large experiment in that light, all that helps to put the real issue intelligently before us will be of equal interest to us, from whichever side of the water it may present itself. For ourselves, we believe that the best security against despair for our country is a knowledge of its history. If the study of our annals does not train up patriots among us, we must consent to lose our heritage. We are glad to be assured that our historians do not intend to allow the republic to decay before they have written out in full the tale of its life. Their records, well digested, may prove to be the pledges of its vigor and permanence.

There are those in the land, who, for reasons suggested by President Buchanan, and for others, of darker omen, to which he

80. HISTORY OF NEW ENGLAND DURING THE STUART DYNASTY. By John Gorham Palfrey. Vol. I. Boston: Little, Brown, & Co. 1858. 8vo. pp. 638.

HISTORY OF THE STATE OF RHODE ISLAND AND PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS. By Samuel Greene Arnold & Co. 1859. 8vo. pp. 574.

makes no reference, do despair, or greatly fear. What with an honest hate of some public iniquities among us, — the tolerance and strengthening of which many of our politicians regard as the vital conditions of our national existence, — and a dread of the excesses incident to our large liberty, it is not strange that some of our own citizens should accord in sentiment with the London "Times." Probably the same proportion of persons may be now living among the native population of our national soil, appeared at the era of the Revolution, preferring English institutions to our own, and predicting that her government will outlast our own. Discussions raised upon the present aspect of affairs in either country will not settle the issue thus opened. A real knowledge of our own institutions and a reasonable confidence in their permanence are to be found only in an intelligent and very intimate acquaintance with their growth and development. In our histories are to be found the materials of our prophecies.

We welcome, therefore, with infinite satisfaction, the two admirable volumes whose titles we have set down. For reasons which will appear before we conclude our remarks upon them, we find it convenient to unite their titles and to write about them together; but for distinctness of subject and marked individuality in the mode of treatment, no two books can stand more widely apart. Abilities and culture and aptitudes of the very highest order have been brought to the composition of each of them. An exhaustive use of abundant materials, and a most conscientious fidelity in digesting them into high-toned philosophical narrations, are marked features of both the volumes, and we will not venture upon the ungracious office of instituting comparisons, in these respects, between their authors. We must make a slight report of the story of each of them, and of the method and spirit in which it is told, and then confront them for mutual cross-examination.

Our historians have learned to write their books with full as much reference to their being read abroad as at home. The problem with which they first have to deal, therefore, is, how to make the men and the incidents and the cardinal points of our annals look as large to foreigners as they do to us. Many of our town-histories are written in the tone and style of Mr. Poole's "Little Pedlington," — the epithet *Little* being suppressed in the title, but obtruded on every page. The intensity and emphasis of our historic strain appear to foreigners to be disproportionate to the subject-matter of the story. Mr. Punch always represents a Yankee as larger than his garments. His trousers never cover his ankles; his cuffs stop far short of his wrists; his long neck extends beyond the reach of even his capacious collar; and the bone in him lacks amplitude of muscle. But Mr. Punch, with all his wisdom, does not fully understand the composition of a Yankee, as the greatest common multiple of a Teuton, Dane, Norman, Frank, Kelt, and Englishman. Dr. Palfrey's volume will largely conciliate our cousins beyond the water to our own conceit of our annals, because, more distinctly and cogently than any previous record in pamphlet or folio, it identifies the springs and purposes of our heroic age with an

era and a type of men which English historians now exalt on their own noblest pages.

Dr. Palfrey has had precisely that natural endowment, training, experience, mental discipline, and intercourse with the world in public and private relations, to furnish him with the best qualifications for the work to which he has devoted the autumn of an eminently useful and honored life. The sinewy fibre of his theme is religion. And he is a religious man of the highest pattern, deeply skilled in its scholarly lore, erudite in its Scriptural and controversial elements, and practised in the sagacity which it imparts for understanding and interpreting human nature. Religion enters into the subject-matter of his narrative, not so much in its philosophical bearings as in its civico-ecclesiastical and institutional relations; where it becomes the spine of the social fabric, traversed and perforated with the nervous life-chords for all the members of the organism. His education has been that of the highest ideal of New England, — through books and men, through professional duties and public services, bringing him into relations with youth, with men and women, and with the forms and the routine work of civil and political administrations. He has at his command the language of devotion, the rhetoric and logic of philosophy, and the technicalities of jurisprudence. To his personal friends, and they are very many in every walk of life, it is a matter of grateful recognition that he escaped from a political arena whose conflicts were not congenial with his delicacy of taste or of conscience, in season to give the vigor of his best years to the composition of a work which will spread his fame to other lands and identify it forever with what is of most reverent and honored remembrance on his native soil.

The historian's work, when done after the best pattern, involves a duty to his readers and a privilege for himself. To them he is bound to present all the essential facts, authenticated, illustrated, and carefully disposed in their natural relations. For himself, having done this, he is at liberty to construct his own theory, to follow his own philosophy, and to pronounce judicial decisions. The highest exaction to be made of an historian, and the loftiest function which he could claim to exercise, are expressed in these two conditions. The noble privilege and opportunity secured in the latter condition are the only adequate reward for the drudgery of the labor required in the former. It would be foolish to raise a question whether it be more essential for an historian to be faithful in his narration or to be wise in his comments. Only the statement we have made will serve to remind us how essential the philosophy of human nature is to throw life into a record of old annals.

The two books in our hands, where their specific themes are identical, substantially accord in their relation of facts, — allowing for a few exceptional cases, — but they differ widely in their philosophy. Very much of the fresh interest which both of them will create in their respective subjects will be found in the collisions of their philosophy.

Dr. Palfrey had a favorable opportunity for undertaking to write anew the history of New England. Those who have yet to acquaint

themselves with that history say there was no occasion for this reiterated labor. If such persons will merely read over his notes, without wasting any of their precious time upon his text, they will discover their mistake. There are in those notes matters new even to adepts. All the recent materials which have been lavishly contributed from public and private stores by public and private researches amount in sum and in importance to an actual necessity for their digest and incorporation into a new history. Dr. Palfrey has used these with a most patient fidelity, and his references to them and his extracts from them convey to his readers the results of an amount of labor which the most grateful of them will not be likely to overestimate. While he speaks to us in his text, he allows those whom we most wish to hear to speak to us in his rich and well-chosen excerpts from a mountain-heap of authorities.

The Dedication of the volume to Dr. Sparks has in it a rare felicity, which is to be referred to two facts: first, that the writer had some peculiarly touching and grateful things to say; and, second, that he knew how to say them in language fitted to the sentiment. In his Preface, he announces his purpose with its plan, refers us to his authorities and sources, and recognizes his obligations to individual friends. Some of the choicest matters in his Notes are the results of his own personal research in England.

The limit which he sets for himself will carry forward his History to the time of the English Revolution, thus embracing our annals during the vitality of our first Charter. That Charter, its origin, transfer, and subsequent service as the basis of government, the reiterated efforts to wrest it, and the persistent resolution to hold it, give to it a symbolic significance which warrants the dating of an epoch by it Dr. Palfrey regards our local political existence as commencing from the hour in which that document, with its official representatives, reached these shores. We have seen criticisms disputing this position, but, as we think, not even plausible, still less effective to discredit it. We must have an incident, besides a *punctum temporis*, for our start in government; and where could we find a better one than that on which the whole subsequent course and character of the government depended? We go, then, for the old Charter, and for the setting up of a jurisdiction under it here. It was an admirable and every way convenient document; good for securing rights, impotent as impairing liberties. It comforted the "Magistrates" to have it to fall back upon, when its provisions harmonized with their purposes; nor did they allow themselves to be embarrassed by it, when it appeared that some of their purposes were not fully provided for in it. That Charter got wonderfully aired and invigorated on its ocean-passage. The salt water agreed with its constitution. In a single instance, at least, it falsified the old maxim, — *Coeium, nun animum, mutant, qui trans mare currunt*. That was a marvellous piece of parchment. So far as Massachusetts was concerned, the Declaration of Independence was interlined upon it in sympathetic ink.

We hardly know of fifty octavo pages anywhere in which so much

investigation and labor condense their results so intelligibly into such useful information as in each of the first two chapters of this volume. The first is devoted to the Physical Geography of the Peninsula of New England, its Natural History, and its Aborigines; the second is a summary sketch of the Early Voyages and Explorations. In this we find the most discriminating view which we have ever seen of the marvellous adventures of John Smith, — so happily and suggestively described as the "fugitive slave" who was "the founder of Virginia." The notes on the credibility and authenticity of the narrations connected with his name are admirable. In reading these two chapters, one must muse upon the wilderness trampings and the ocean perils of the keen-set and all-enduring men who furnished the material for these high-seasoned pages.

"Puritanism in England" is, of course, the author's starting-point. Here he finds his men and their principles. A partial reformation is the most mischievous influence that can work in society. It unsettles, but is not willing to rebuild, even when it can learn how to do so. Reaction and excess are the Scylla and Charybdis of its perils. Compromise is the very essence of a partial reformation; and compromise in matters of moral and religious concern, where it is not folly, is crime. Where any party has been in earnest in a strife, there is no honest end at which it can rest till it reaches the goal of righteousness. The active element of Puritanism was the persistency of a religious party in pursuing a purpose which was yielded up, at a point short of its full attainment, by another branch of the party, which up to that point had made common cause with them. To speak plainly, the English Puritans regarded their former prelatical and conformist associates as traitors to a holy cause. They had engaged together in good faith in the work of reformation. They had suffered together. When the time came for triumph, a schism divided them; and the more zealous smarted from wounds inflicted by the lukewarm. It appeared that the Prelatists had been looking to ends of state policy, while the Puritans kept religion in view. The Conformists thought their ends were reached when Roman prelacy was set aside, and certain local ecclesiastical changes had been effected; but the real Puritans wanted to get and to establish the essential Gospel.

Dr. Palfrey tells this story concisely, but emphatically. He takes two stages of the Puritan development in England, from which to deduce respectively the emigration to Plymouth and to Massachusetts Bay. Stopping at intervals to make intelligible the perplexities connected with the patents and charters, his narrative is thenceforward continuous, admitting new threads to be woven into it as the pattern and the fabric both become richer. For the first time we have the full connection presented in solid history between the Scrooby Church and Plymouth Colony. And the tracing is beautifully done. An artist may find his paintings in these pages. Our poets may here find themes which will be the more tempting and rewarding, the more closely they are held to severe historic verity. They will find, that, after all, the most promising materials for the imagination to deal with are facts. The residence of the exiles in Holland, their

debates and arrangements with respect to a more distant remove, the ocean passage, the first forlorn experiences during two winters at Plymouth, are vividly presented. The paragraph, on page 182, beginning, "A visitor to Plymouth," gives us a picture better than that which hangs in the Pilgrim Hall. If the sternest foe of the Pilgrims across the water could have looked upon the exiles in their winter dreariness, hungry, wasted, dying, cowering beneath the accumulation of their woes, he might have regarded the scene as presenting but a reasonable retribution upon a stolid obstinacy in the most direful and needless self-inflictions. "Why could they not have been content to cling to the comforts of Old England, and to restrain their wilfulness of spirit?" The question is answered now differently from what it would have been then. We have used one wrong word about those exiles, in speaking of them as *cowering* under their woes. They did not *cower*, but *breasted* them.

After another most pregnant and exhaustive episode on Puritan politics in England, Dr. Palfrey brings in that thread of his story on which is strung the fortune of Massachusetts. It is here that Englishmen will find explained some of our vaunting views of the importance of our annals. Dr. Palfrey, in this and in other chapters, traces with skill and exactness the course of public measures and events in England, through kingly tyrannies and popular resistance, which ended by harmonizing the institutions of the mother country for a little while with those which had sprung up in this wilderness. He soon comes upon ticklish matters, but his touch and hold are firm, because he feels sure that he is dealing with men who understood themselves, and who were at least resolute and honest, to whatever degree they may have erred. Probably, like many of us who are aware that we could not possibly have lived comfortably with our ancestors, he feels all the more bound on that account to set their memory in the light of their noblest and least selfish ends. He is stout and unflinching in his championship of those ancestors: he sees in their experiment a lofty ideal; he vindicates their policy in the measures for realizing it; nor does he withhold apologetic or vindicatory words where "unmeet persons" among the whites or Indians stood in the way of it.

Henceforward Dr. Palfrey has to follow out each thread of his story by itself, as by-and-by he will have to gather them into one cord. He traces the developments of months and years in the original settlements, and pursues them as they lead him to new territory in the Northeast and the Southwest, into Maine, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. Another episode on the opening of the Civil War at home, which invited a large return of the exiles, and a record of the original confederacy of the New England Colonies, bring us to the present close of his labors. May they be speedily continued! and may we enjoy the reality, as we now do the promise of them!

We turn now to Mr. Arnold's book. The field which it traverses is narrower as regards space, but its spirit is large and generous, and its subject-matter is of the loftiest significance. If the writer does not indulge us with many disquisitions, it is not from lack of ability. Wherever, as in

his moralizings upon King Philip's War, and in his incidental comments upon the peculiarities and temper of his prominent men, he allows us to meet his own mind, he is uniformly wise and interesting. He stands by Rhode Island as does Dr. Palfrey by Massachusetts; and seeing that for a far longer period than the two books run on together the two Colonies were at strife, we are glad to have before us both the ways in which the story may be told. There are various sharp judgments on Massachusetts men and principles in the Rhode Island book. The argument is in good hands on either side.

Mr. Arnold begins with the first occupation of Rhode Island by white men, and conducts his narrative to the close of the century. His research has been faithful. His style is chaste, forcible, and often picturesque. He has seen the world widely, and he knows human nature. He understands very well what a place of honor and what a well-proved assurance of safety distinctive Rhode Island principles have attained. The issue, having been found so triumphant, has dignified to the historian the early, humble, and bewildering steps and processes through which it was reached. The narrative on his pages is the most distracting one ever written in the annals of civilized men. Every conceivable element of strife, discord, agitation, alarm, dissension, and bitterness is to be found in it, — redeemed only by a prevailing integrity, right-mindedness, and right-heartedness in all the leading spirits. Each man in each of the towns composing the original elements of the Colony was a whole "democratie" in himself, and generally a "fierce" one. Disputed boundaries with both the other Colonies, and an especial and continuous feud with Massachusetts, — unruly spirits, bent upon working out all manner of impracticable theories, — the oddest and most original, as well as the most obstinate and indomitable dreamers and enthusiasts, furnished some daily nutriment to dissension with their neighbors or among themselves. Men of mark, like Roger Williams, Samuel Gorton, Governor Arnold, and William Harris, appear equally competent for fomenting strife of a sort to threaten every essential element of civil society, and for averting all permanent harm while putting on trial the most revolutionary theories. On page 337, Mr. Arnold has a note most characteristic of a large portion of his whole theme, as covering both his men and their measures. Many of the documents, of an official character, written by citizens, towns, or rulers in Rhode Island, were of such a sort in language and matter, that the town of Warwick did not think them fit for the public records, and so enjoined that the clerk should keep them in a file by themselves. This was known as "the Impertinent File," and, more profanely, but not less appropriately, as "the Damned File." A certain "perditious letter," written by Roger Williams himself, serves as the nucleus of this deposit; and we read of another of the documents as being as "full of uncivil language as if it had been indited in hell."

Mr. Arnold picks his way through all these dissensions, and finds a full reward in the nobleness of the men and the principles with which he has in the main to deal. His only abatement of praise to Roger Williams is on account of his bitter

feud with William Harris. He repels, as slanderous, the imputations founded on alleged interpolations restricting religious liberty in the code, and cast at Roger Williams for undue severity to Quakers and for favoring Indian slavery. Randolph's visit, Andros's administration, the suspension and resumption of the Charter, bring him out into broader matters, which he treats with frankness and skill.

The more histories we have from the pens of competent writers, even though they go over the same ground, the more lively and interesting will the pages be. We need not fear that like fidelity and ability in the use of the same materials by different writers will reduce our modern histories to a dead level of uniform narration. None but those well-skilled in our annals are aware what scope they afford, not only for special pleas, but also for honest diversity of judgment, in viewing and pronouncing upon many test-points vital to the theme. Indeed, when the historic vein shall have been exhausted, it will be found that there is more than a score of special and contested points, in each of our first two centuries, admirably suited for monographs. We have but to compare a few pages in each of the two excellent works now in our hands, to see how men of the highest ability, of rigid candor, and scrupulous fidelity in the use of the same materials, while spreading the same facts before their readers, may tell different tales, varying to the whole extent of the diversity in their respective judgments and moralizings. We can easily illustrate this assertion from the pages before us. Though Dr. Palfrey stops more than a half-century short of the date to which Mr. Arnold carries us, the former indicates exactly how and where he will be at issue with the latter, even to the end of the story common to both of them. So strong and clear is Dr. Palfrey's avowal of fealty to the honorable and unsullied fame of the founders of Massachusetts, that he will not be likely, on any later page, to qualify what he has already written. It happens, too, that the points in which any two of our historians would be most disposed to part in judgment lie within the space and the years common to both these writers. We can but indicate, in a very brief way, some of the more salient divergences between them, and we must preface the specification by acknowledging again the high integrity of both. Dr. Palfrey writes, unmistakably, as a man proud of his Massachusetts lineage. He honors the men whose enterprise, constancy, persistency, and wise skill in laying foundations have, in his view, approved their methods and justified them, even where they are most exposed to a severe judgment. He wishes to tell their story as they would wish to have it told. They stand by his side as he reads their records, and supply him with a running comment as to meaning and intention. Thus he is helped to put their own construction on their own deeds, — to set their acts in the light of their motives, to give them credit for all the good that was in their purposes, and to ascribe their mistakes and errors to a limitation of their views, or to well-founded apprehensions of evil which they had reason to dread. Under such pilotage, the passengers, at least, would be safe, when their ship fell upon a place where two seas met. Now

Massachusetts and Rhode Island were in stiff hostility during the period here chronicled. The founder of Rhode Island and nearly all of its leading spirits had been "spewed out of the Bay Colony," — and the institutions which the Rhode Islanders set up, or rather, their seeming purpose to do without any *institutions*, constituted a standing grievance to the rigid disciplinarians of Massachusetts. Indeed, we have to look to the relations of annoyance, jealousy, and open strife, which arose between the two Colonies in the ten years following 1636, for the real explanation of the severity visited upon the Quakers in Massachusetts in the five years following 1656. These early Quakers, when not the veritable persons, were the ghosts of the old troublers of "the Lord's people in the Bay." Gorton, Randall Holden, Mrs. Dyer, and other "exorbitant persons," who had been found "unmeet to abide in this jurisdiction," could not be got rid of once for all.

Mr. Arnold glories in the early reproach of Rhode Island. He finds its title to honor above every other spot on earth in the phenomena which made it so hateful to Massachusetts. In every issue raised between it and the Bay Colony from the very first, and in every element of its strife, he stands stoutly forth as its champion, and casts scornful reflections, though not in a scornful spirit. Wherever our two historians have the same point under treatment, we discern this antagonism between them, — never in a single case manifesting itself in an offensive or bitter way, but tending greatly to give a brisk and quickening vigor to their pages. Arnold claims that a perfectly democratical government and entire religious freedom are "exclusively Rhode Island doctrines, and to her belongs the credit of them both." He might afford to give Massachusetts the appreciable honor of having been the indirect means of opening those large visions to the eyes of men who certainly were a most uncomfortable set of citizens while under pupilage. Mr. Bancroft had previously written thus: — "Had the territory of Rhode Island corresponded to the importance and singularity of the principles of its early existence, the world would have been filled with wonder at the phenomena of its history."[B] It was only because the State was no larger that it was a safe field for the first trial of such principles. And it has often proved, that, the larger the principle, the more circumscribed must needs be the field within which it is first tested. It was well that the first experiments on the capabilities of steam were tried by the nose of a tea-kettle. Seeing that most of the early settlers of Rhode Island had very little property, and scarce anything of what Christendom had previously been in the habit of regarding as religion, the territory was the most fitting place for the trial of revolutionary principles. Mr. Arnold says, very curtly, but very truly, — "No form of civil government then existing could tolerate her democracy, and even Christian charity denied her faith." (p. 280.) The wonder of the world, however, would have been more curiously engaged in watching what legislation for religion could possibly have devised for a community made up of all sorts of consciences. The little State deserves the honor claimed for her. But had she any alternative

course?[81]

Mr. Arnold, we think, defines with more sharp and guarded accuracy than does Dr. Palfrey the ruling aim and motive of the founders of Massachusetts. An historian of Massachusetts, knowing beforehand through what a course of unflinching and resolute consistency with their first principles he is to follow her early legislators, has reason to limit their aim and motive at the start, that he may not assume for them more than he can make good. Especially if he intend to palliate, and, still more, to justify, some of the severer and more oppressive elements of their policy, he will find it wise to qualify their purpose within the same limitations which they themselves set for it. Dr. Palfrey parts with an advantage of which he afterwards has need to avail himself, when he states the motive of the exiles too broadly, as a search for a place in which to exercise liberty of conscience. He speaks of these exiles as recognizing in "religious freedom a good of such vast worth as to be protected by the possessor, not only for himself, but for the myriads living and to be born, of whom he assumes to be the pioneer and the champion." (p. 301.) This large and unqualified claim might be advanced for the founders of Rhode Island, but it cannot be set up for the founders of Massachusetts. Whoever asserts it for the latter commits himself most unnecessarily to an awkward and ineffective defence of them in a long series of restrictive and severe measures against "religious freedom," beginning with the case of the Brownes at Salem, and including acts of general legislation as well as of continuous ecclesiastical and judicial proceeding. Winthrop tells us that the aim of his brotherhood was "to enjoy the ordinances of Christ in their purity here." The General Court repeatedly signified its desire to have a draft of laws prepared which might be "agreeable to the word of God." Now either of these statements of the ruling purpose of the colonists, as then universally understood and interpreted, was inconsistent with what we now understand by "freedom in religion," or "liberty of conscience." What were regarded as "the pure ordinances of Christ" could not have been set up here, nor could such laws as were then considered as "agreeable to the word of God" have been enacted here, without impairing individual freedom in matters of religion. Indeed, it was the very attempt to realize these objects which occasioned every interference with perfect liberty of conscience. The fathers of Massachusetts avowed their purpose to be, not the opening of an asylum for all kinds of consciences, but the establishment of a Christian commonwealth. Their consistency can be vindicated by following out their own idea, but not by assigning to them a larger one.

Mr. Arnold, as we have said, is more sharply guarded in his statement of the aim of the founders of the Bay Colony in this respect; and it is all the more remarkable that he does not give them the benefit of the recognized limitation. He defines for them a restricted object, but he judges them by a standard before which they never measured themselves, and then condemns them for short-comings. He tells us distinctly that the motives of the

81. BANCROFT'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. I. 380.

exiles "were certainly not those assigned them by Charles I., 'the freedom of liberty of conscience'" (p. 10); that "they looked for a home in the New World where they might erect an establishment in accordance with their peculiar theological views. 'They sought a faith's pure shrine,' based on what they held to be a purer system of worship, and a discipline more in unison with their notions of a church. Here they proceeded to organize a state, whose civil code followed close on the track of the Mosaic Law, and whose ecclesiastical polity, like that of the Jews, and of all those [Christian governments?] then existing, was identified with the civil power. They thus secured, what was denied them in England, the right to pursue their own form of religion without molestation, and in this the object of their exile was attained." (p. 11.) And again, Mr. Arnold says, — "They founded a colony for their own faith, without any idea of tolerating others." (p. 44.) All this is admirably said. It is precisely what the exiles would wish might be said of them in all the histories of them; for it is what they said of themselves, in defining their own object; it was, further, what they felt in their hearts to be their object, more intensely than they could give it utterance. But the object is at once seen to be limited within the fearful license of religious freedom. The Scriptural and legislative fetters on such liberty were too repressive not to amount to an essential qualification of it. "The Simple Cobbler of Agawam," Ward of Ipswich, made a clean breast for himself and his contemporaries, when he numbered among the "foure things which my heart hath naturally detested: Tolerations of diverse Religions, or of one Religion in segregant shapes. He that willingly assents to this, if he examines his heart by daylight, his conscience will tell him he is either an Atheist, or an Heretigal, or an Hypocrite, or at best a captive to some lust. Poly-piety is the greatest impiety in the world." With such frank avowals on the part of those who had borne so much in the attempt to make themselves comfortable in their exile to these hard regions, that they might here try to work out their harder problem, it is a great deal too severe a standard for judging their acts which is set up for them in the fancied principle of religious liberty. We wonder that Mr. Arnold withholds from them the benefit of his and their own clear limitation of the principle, — a limitation so severe, as, in fact, to constitute quite another principle. Was it at all strange, then, that they should deal resolutely with Roger Williams, on account of "the firmness with which, upon every occasion, he maintained the doctrine, that the civil power has no control over the religious opinions of men."? (p. 41.) It was for no other purpose than to engage the civil power for a pure religion that they were dwelling in poor huts on these ocean headlands, and sustaining their lives upon muscles gathered on the shore after the receding of the tide.

Dr. Palfrey and Mr. Arnold hold and utter quite opposite judgments about the treatment of Roger Williams by Massachusetts. The latter, having stated more definitely than the former the limited aim of our colonists, which was utterly inconsistent with toleration in religion and with laxity in

civil matters, nevertheless considers the men of Massachusetts unjustifiable in their course toward the founder of Rhode Island. Dr. Palfrey, on weaker grounds than those allowed by Mr. Arnold, thinks their most stringent proceedings perfectly defensible. He regards Mr. Williams as an intruder, whose opinions, behavior, and influence were perilous alike to the civil and the religious peace of the colonists; and he holds the colonists as not chargeable with any breach of the laws of justice or of mercy in sending out of their jurisdiction, into another patch of the same wilderness, a man all whose phenomena were of the most uncomfortable and irritating character. We confess that our reading and thinking identify our judgment on this matter with that of our own historian. There can be no question but that Roger Williams — whether he was thirty-two years old, as Mr. Arnold thinks, or, as Dr. Palfrey judges, in his twenty-fifth year, when he landed here — was, in what we must call his youth, seeing that he lived to an advanced age, a heady and contentious theorizer. Our fathers could not try more than one theory at a time; and the theory they were bent upon testing naturally preceded, in the series of the world's progressive experiments, the more generous, but, at the same time, more dangerous one which he advanced; and their theory had a right to an earlier and a full trial, as lying in the way of a safe advance towards his bolder Utopianism. The mild Bradford and the yet milder Brewster were glad when Plymouth was rid of him. His first manifestation of himself, on his arrival here, requires to be invested with the halo of a later admiration, before it can be made to consist with the heralding of an apostle of the generous principles of toleration and charity in religion. Winthrop had recorded for us his refusal "to join with the congregation at Boston." This had been understood as referring to an unwillingness on the part of Williams to enter into communion with the church. But from a letter of his which has come to light within the year, it seems that he had been invited, previously to the arrival of Cotton, to become teacher of the church. And on account of what constraint of soul-liberty did he decline the office? Because the members of that church "would not make a public declaration of their repentance for having communion with the churches of England, while they lived there"! The good man lived to grow milder and more tolerant of the whims and prejudices and convictions of his fellow-men, through a free indulgence of his own. And, what is more remarkable, he found it necessary to apply, in restraint of others, several of the measures against which he had protested when brought to bear upon himself. He came to discover that there was mischief in "such an infinite liberty of conscience" as was claimed by his own followers. The erratic Gorton was to him precisely what the legislators of Massachusetts had feared that he himself would prove to be to them. He publicly declared himself in favor of "a due and moderate restraint and punishing" of some of the oddities of the Quakers. In less than ten years after he had so frightened Massachusetts by questioning the validity of an English charter to jurisdiction here, he went to England on a successful errand to obtain just such a document

for himself and his friends.

Our two historians, with all the facts before them, honestly stated too, but diversely interpreted, stand in open antagonism of judgment about the proceedings of Massachusetts against the Antinomians. That bitter strife —*Dux foemina facti*— was in continuation of the issue opened by Roger Williams, though it turned upon new elements. Here, again, Mr. Arnold stands stoutly for the partisans of Mrs. Hutchinson, who moved towards the new home in the Narragansett country. He sees in the strife, mainly, a contest of a purely theological character, leading on to a development of democratical ideas, (p. 66.) Dr. Palfrey insists that it would be unjust to allege that the Antinomians were dealt with for holding "distasteful opinions on dark questions of theology," and affirms that they were put down as wild and alarming agents of an "immediate anarchy." (pp. 489, 491.) In this matter, also, our own judgment goes with our own historian. And the very best confirmation that it could have is found in the fact, that the prime movers in the most threatening stage of that dire conflict afterwards made ample confession of their heat, their folly, and their outrages, — approving the stern proceedings under which they had suffered. Wheelwright, especially, in whose advocacy the cause of his sister-in-law first assumed so threatening an aspect, most humbly avowed his sin and penitence.

One more very curious illustration of the divergence of judgment in our two new historians may be instanced. They have both written, as became them, quite brilliantly and vigorously, about the aborigines of the soil. But how marvellously they differ! Dr. Palfrey discredits the romance of Indian character and life. His mind dwells upon the squalor and wretchedness of their existence, the shiftlessness and incapacity of their natural development, their improvidence, their beastliness and forlorn debasement; and he is wholly skeptical about the savage virtues of constancy, magnanimity, and wild-wood dignity. He sighs over them another requiem, toned in the deep sympathy of a true Christian heart; but he does not lament in their sad method of decay the loss of any element of manhood or of the higher ingredients of humanity. But Mr. Arnold pitches his requiem to a different strain. He reproduces and refines the romance which Dr. Palfrey would dispel. He exalts the Indian character; gathers comforts and joys and pleasing fashionings around their life; enlarges the sphere of their being, and asserts in them capacity to fill it. The wigwam of Massasoit is elegantly described by Mr. Arnold as "his seat at Mount Hope," (p. 23,) — and pungently, by Dr. Palfrey, as "his sty," in whose comfortless shelter, Winslow and Hopkins, of Plymouth, on their visit to the chief, had "a distressing experience of the poverty and filth of Indian hospitality." (pp. 183, 184.) Arnold tells us, the Indians "were ignorant of Revelation, yet here was Plato's great problem of the Immortality of the Soul solved in the American wilderness, and believed by all the aborigines of the West." (p. 78.) But Palfrey, knowing nothing of what his contemporary was writing, had already put into print this sentence: — "The New England savage was not the person to have

discovered what the vast reach of thought of Plato and Cicero could not attain." (p. 49.)
Here are strange variances of judgment. But how much more of interest and activity lives in the mind, both of writers and readers, when history is written with such divergent philosophies and comments! Nobly, in both cases before us, have the writers done their work, and heartily do we render our tribute to them.

February: Martin Johnson Heade had completed a move from Providence to 15 10th Street in New-York City, the "Tenth Street Studio Building." During this year his paintings "Mount Hope, Rhode Island"[82] and "Portrait of W.R. Clapp" were on display at the National Academy of Design in New-York and his "Landscape near Bristol Ferry" and "Landscape" (and then "Mount Hope, Rhode Island" also) were on display in the Boston Athenæum.

November 25, Friday: Carl Schurz wrote from Providence, Rhode Island to Charles Wesley Slack, providing the topic for his lecture and describing his travel plans.

November 25. P. M.–Paddle to Baker Farm.
The weeds of water-plants have decayed and fallen long since, and left the water along the sides of the river comparatively clear. In this clear, cold water I see no fishes now, and it is as empty as the air. But for some days, at least, or since colder weather, I have noticed the snow-fleas skipping on the surface next the shore. These are rather a cool-weather phenomenon. I see them to-day skipping by thousands in the wet clamshells left by the muskrats. [Probably washed out by rise of river.]
Landing at the ash tree above the railroad, I thought I heard the peculiar note of grackles toward the willow-row across the field, and made a memorandum of it, never doubting; but soon after I saw some farmers at work there, and found that it was the squeaking of the wheel that rolled before their plow. It perfectly resembled the grackle's note, and I never should have suspected it if I had not seen the plowers. It is fit that the creaking of the farmer's plow who is working by the riverside should resemble the note of the blackbirds which frequent those fields.
There is a thin ice for half a rod in width along the shore, which shivers and breaks in the undulations of my

82. This was presumably what is now referred to as "Rhode Island Shore," an oil on canvas of unknown size which is presently unlocated (we do know what it looked like).

boat. Those bayonet rushes still standing are much curved.

See but few ducks, – two of them, – and generally few in the fall compared with the spring.
A large whitish-breasted bird is perched on an oak under Lee's Cliff, for half an hour at least. I think it must be a fish hawk (?).
We hear the clattering sound of two ducks – which rise and fly low at first – before we can see them though quite far off by the side of the pond. Our hands and feet are quite cold, and the water freezes on the paddles, but about sundown it grows sensibly warmer and a little misty. Is not this common at this season?

December 7, Wednesday: A citizen of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations reported that there was considerable "Copperhead" sympathy in that northern state for the plight of the maligned Southern white slavemaster: "I, who have been in Rhode Island, know that the south has many friends there."

1860

Senator Stephen A. Douglas spoke from the east porch of the City Hotel in downtown Providence, Rhode Island.

In Providence, Rhode Island, Prospect Terrace was built. It would later be enlarged, and the statue of the Reverend Roger Williams would be added in 1939.

READ EDWARD FIELD TEXT

The census record provides evidence that at this point Kady Southwell was living with the family of Peleg Rodman in Rhode Island while working as a weaver at his textile mill. It was being said that the family of Duncan and Alice McKenzie (whoever they may have been) had brought the orphan infant with them from Africa to Providence. There is no record of an adoption and it would seem that the name "McKenzie" was never used, but then there is also no record of any official immigration through a port, or of citizenship. At about this point she had learned to read and write, and was having an affair with Robert S. Brownell, a mechanic six years her senior, with Brownell's wife[83] filing for divorce on grounds of adultery. Kady would use the Brownell name as her own.

In this year eleven young scholars were graduated from the Quaker Yearly Meeting School in Providence, Rhode Island.[84] The "Smiley Administration" began at that school. According to Friend Eric Kristensen's "An Outline of Moses Brown School's History," prepared for the Ad Hoc Subcommittee of the Permanent Board on Financing Moses Brown School Renovations, this is what the "Smiley Administration" amounted to:

83. Robert had gotten married with Agnes Hutchinson, a Scottish immigrant, in 1853, and their union had produced three young children, Eugene Brownell, Josephine Brownell, and Maybel Brownell.
84. Of the first 23 graduates, 19 were female.

1860-1879: Smiley administration. Albert K. (from Oak Grove in Vassalboro) was principal, his twin brother Alfred H. was Associate Principal for much of this time. A sister, Rebecca H. was head of the girls' department from 1863-1879. The strict regulations of the early days were further relaxed; attendance increased, the debt decreased, and a number of new buildings were built. After the Civil War, attendance often reached 200; in 1875 a record 222 students enrolled. The averages for the period were 103 boys and 69 girls for a total of 172. The contract system remained from the Cartland days, whereby the Principal received a salary; after his and all other salaries and operating expenses were paid he received one half of the annual profit. This allowed the Principal to realize a considerable amount in some years, and the School Committee was assured of sound business practices which eliminated accumulated debt, reduced the deficit and provided a balance for improving the school plant. The School was commonly called the "Quaker Jail" by students of this period. After Moses Brown, the brothers opened the famous Mohonk Mountain House outside of New Palz NY. (page 6)[85]

85. This matter referred to above, the re-engagement of the school's principals on "a contract system" in 1855, deserves some comment. As a historian, to do a good job, I should be able to establish the crossover point, at which the school transited from being a religious school, a school offering a religious education to young members of a religion — to being the sort of hoighty-toighty Ivy League preparatory academy for all and sundry families of the Providence rising classes which as we are all profoundly aware, it has by now become. For the first five years or so of my investigation of the records of this school, I had been presuming that probably I was going to discover this crossover point at which Quakerism became mere lip service to Quakerism to have been reached just prior to the middle of the 20th Century, as this institution made its transition from being a boarding school attracting Quaker youth from all over New England, into being a day school catering to the middleclass families of Providence's toney East Side (plus, incidentally, whatever few Quaker youth happened to reside within daily commuting distance who could afford the high fees or could secure a scholarship). When I discovered, in the records of the school, however, these records of incentive compensation for its headmasters, this caused me to recognize that the crossover into disingenuity may have already been well in the past, by that late point at which the boarding-school aspect of the school's function had disintegrated beyond repair. Incentive compensation is utterly incompatible with charter — one simply cannot allow a person to run an institution and divert half its annual surplus into his own pocket, and anticipate that that person will behave in any manner other than to maximize the income flowing into his own pocket. This is the sort of situation which is described, in economics, and described quite properly, as "moral hazard." At this point, the school's charter to provide an environment guarded from the lay world in which a Quaker education might best be conveyed to Quaker youth, was inevitably abandoned — abandoned because the headmaster's incentive compensation was henceforth to be based not upon fulfilling that charge, but instead upon implementing a contrary agenda of puffing up the school's enrollment and the school's charges and the school's cash flow, while holding down expenditures, in such manner as to maximize a flow into his own pocket. Under such a "contract system" the eventual result, that after a period of evolutionary adjustment and accommodation this Quaker school would be effectively a lay school, and that this Quaker endowment would no longer be being used for Quaker education, should have been anticipatable. For it has always been well understood that:

> [24] No man can serve two masters: for either he will hate the one, and love the other; or else he will hold to the one, and despise the other. Ye cannot serve God and mammon.
>
> — MATTHEW 6:24 MATTHEW 6:24

After due consideration, the Orthodox Friends of Philadelphia issued their advice to black Christians, as to how they should conduct themselves while subjected to slavery. **They should act exactly as white Quakers would act should they be unjustly subjected to such a condition of slavery**. Which is to say, they should

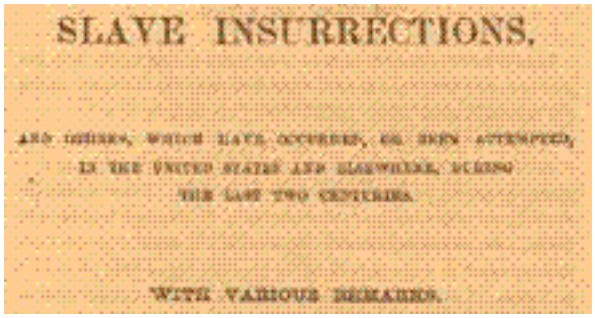
> endeavor to serve with patience and fidelity while in bondage, to fulfill their Christian duties with propriety, and to commit their cause into the hands of a merciful and omnipotent Father in Heaven.

One of the people who disagreed with these Orthodox Quakers of Philadelphia, Frederick Douglass, informed of the death of his daughter Annie, age 10, returned to the United States from England, risking possible arrest and execution for treasonous complicity in the raid on Harpers Ferry for having neglected to betray a white friend to the federal authorities.

AN ACCOUNT OF SOME OF THE PRINCIPAL SLAVE INSURRECTIONS, AND OTHERS, WHICH HAVE OCCURRED, OR BEEN ATTEMPTED, IN THE UNITED STATES AND ELSEWHERE, DURING THE LAST TWO CENTURIES. WITH VARIOUS REMARKS. COLLECTED FROM VARIOUS SOURCES BY JOSHUA COFFIN (NY: The American Anti-slavery Society).

READ THE FULL TEXT

The author of this tract argued that the existence of slavery in the United States of America constituted a real threat to public peace and security. Joshua Coffin described slave resistance through servile insurrections of large and of small scale in the North and South, including work slowdowns, poisonings, arsons, and murders. He discussed many mutinies, including one on a Rhode Island slaver in which captives near Cape Coast Castle (in what is now Ghana) rose and "murdered the captain and all the crew except the two mates, who swam ashore."



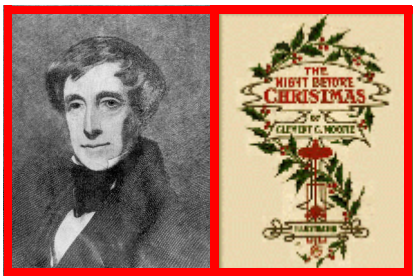
"I and the public know
What all schoolchildren learn,
Those to whom evil is done
Do evil in return."
— W.H. Auden, September 1, 1939

At the annual meeting of the American Academy for the Advancement of Science, in Newport, Rhode Island, Charles Darwin's newly published ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES was the cause of not so much as a ripple of concern.

ON THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES

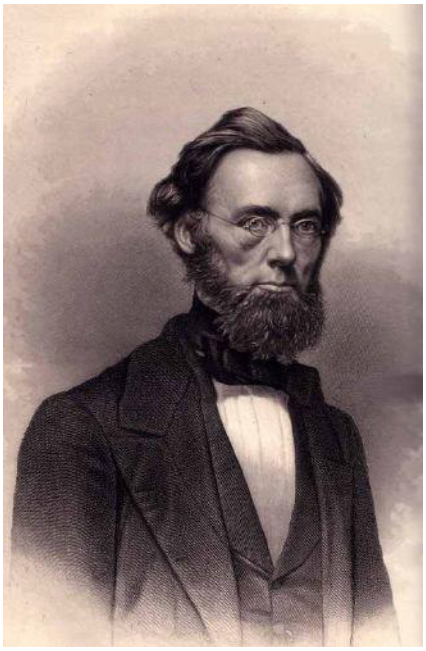
The USS *Constitution* would serve as the school ship for midshipmen at Annapolis, Maryland (and, during the civil war, at Newport, Rhode Island), until 1871.

In residence in Newport, Rhode Island during this period was an elderly religious scholar, the Reverend Clement Clarke Moore, the gent who most belatedly and probably falsely in 1844 had staked a claim to have been the author of the anonymous immortal-because-unforgettable piece of doggerel "The Night Before Christmas."[86]



86. Everyone had believed him when he had made this unsubstantiated claim, of course, despite the fact that he had never been able to produce any piece of doggerel anywhere near this memorable. –But now we know that he had carefully checked as to the state of the evidence, to reassure himself that he was not going to be found out, prior to publicly asserting the claim.

F.A.P. Barnard accepted an invitation from Alexander Dallas Bache to accompany a total eclipse expedition to Labrador. Upon his return, while in Newport, Rhode Island, he would find that he had been elected president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.



By this point in time, the Great Stone Face had become one of the best-known images of New England as well as one of the primary tourist attractions of our nation. The Franconia Notch had become a mere setting for this cameo. When tourists made their pilgrimage, they paid for rooms at the Profile House, and rowed in Profile Lake, and climbed Profile Mountain. However, the American elite, fickle, had taken their business elsewhere — specifically to Newport, Rhode Island:

> Newport by the 1860s was the most socially exclusive and fashionable American resort. Its rise to prominence mirrored that of the White Mountains in almost every detail, from the "discovery" of its scenery in the 1840s to its "discovery" by the wealthiest New Yorkers in the 1860s. Its social and financial requirements were becoming more rigorous than those of any of the other resorts of New England. Although it was not yet exclusively the home of millionaires that it was to become by the 1880s and 1890s, its name was already synonymous with money and high society. And for many of those living in the nearby towns of southern New England, the name Newport was also synonymous with the vice and idleness of the rich.

CAPE COD: The time must come when this coast will be a place of resort for those New-Englanders who really wish to visit the sea-side. At present it is wholly unknown to the fashionable world, and probably it will never be agreeable to them. If it is merely a ten-pin alley, or a circular railway, or an ocean of mint-julep, that the visitor is in search of, –if he thinks more of the wine than the brine, as I suspect some do at Newport,– I trust that for a long time he will be disappointed here. But this shore will never be more attractive than it is now. Such beaches as are fashionable are here made and unmade in a day, I may almost say, by the sea shifting its sands. Lynn and Nantasket! this bare and bended arm it is that makes the bay in which they lie so snugly. What are springs and waterfalls? Here is the spring of springs, the waterfall of waterfalls. A storm in the fall or winter is the tide to visit it; a light-house or a fisherman's hut the true hotel. A man may stand there and put all America behind him.

NEWPORT

The 8th national census. The slave states that would remain within the federal union had come to enslave only 13.5% of their population, while the slave states that would form the new confederacy were at this point enslaving 38.7% of their population. The %age of slaves in the border slave states had been gradually declining, while this had been meanwhile very slowly rising farther south:

% of Americans Enslaved

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830	1840	1850	1860
Union Slave States	27.5	24.5	22.9	22.5	21.9	19.3	16.5	13.5
States of Confederacy	35.3	35.3	37.1	37.7	38.1	38.4	38.6	38.7

Another difference, and one that has been given insufficient attention, is that free blacks were a much more significant percentage of the population in Union slave states in 1860 (4.0%) than in the Confederacy (1.5%). In some states the free black percentages were substantial enough that serious resistance by free blacks could have made a difference. Delaware, for example, in 1860 while it was still a slave state, had 17.7% of its black population as free.[87]

The US census showed 174, 620 people in Rhode Island. A few years earlier, in 1845, the French Canadian population of the state had been about 400. Between 1860 and 1910 at least 32, 000 French Canadians would enter the state. Central Falls would boast 18,000 French Canadians in 1895. By 1930, of Woonsocket's 50,000

87. Cramer, Clayton E. BLACK DEMOGRAPHIC DATA, 1790-1860: A SOURCEBOOK, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1997.

people at least 35,000 would be of French Canadian descent.

By 1910 the population of Germans in the state would grow to around 13,000.

When the Rhode Island Republican Party nominated an abolitionist, Seth Padelford, for governor, the party split. Supporters of other Republican aspirants and Republican moderates of the Lincoln variety joined with soft-on-slavery Democrats to elect a fusion "Conservative" candidate. They chose the heir to a vast cotton textile empire and a colonel in the Providence, Rhode Island, Marine Corps of Artillery, 29-year-old William Sprague of Cranston. When Sprague outpolled Padelford 12,278 to 10,740, the city of Savannah, Georgia fired off a one-hundred-gun salute in celebration of this grand victory for human enslavement.

Young Governor Sprague, when going from his office on Benefit Street to his home on the top of College Hill, rather than dismount at the steps on Meeting Street below Congdon Street, would urge his white horse up these steps full tilt.

RHODE ISLAND

ROGUE ISLAND

As of 1790 the center of the human population of the USA had been a little town just about a day's travel inland from Baltimore. By this period the center of population had relocated.

(Nowadays, of course, we've all been coming from one or another center in Missouri.)

We know from Stanley Lebergott's MANPOWER IN ECONOMIC GROWTH (NY: McGraw-Hill, 1964) what monthly farm wages typically amounted to in Massachusetts during this period, over and above of course one's room and board:

1818	$13.50
1826	$13.50
1830	$12.00
1850	$13.55
1860	$15.34

Incidentally, although such wages were ordinarily significantly higher in Massachusetts than elsewhere, during this period the wage was higher in Rhode Island.

Martin Johnson Heade was still maintaining his studios in New-York City, at the Tenth Street Studio Building. His "Sunset on the Meadows" and "Approaching Thunder Storm" were on exhibit at the National Academy of Design in New-York. During this year he would visit Burlington, Vermont and the Thousand Islands of the St. Lawrence River, and then reside at 25 Waterman Street in Providence, Rhode Island. It was during this year, or possibly the next, that he prepared his intriguing oil on canvas, "Two Owls at Sunset," with its exceedingly Thoreauvian perspective of the two tiny owls silhouetted against the sky above the barren dark landscape: "Nature ... invites us to lay our eye level with the smallest leaf, and take an insect view of its plain."[88]

88. It has been suggested that this painting might be the perfect illustration to accompany Walden's "I rejoice that there are owls. Let them do the idiotic and maniacal hooting for men. It is a sound admirably suited to swamps and twilight woods which no day illustrates, suggesting a vast and undeveloped nature which men have not recognized. They represent the stark twilight and unsatisfied thoughts which all have."

Within the Providence city limits were the Providence Steam Mill that had been established by Samuel Slater and others in 1827, the Oriental Mills at the corner of Admiral and Whipple Streets, the Elmwood Cotton Mills on Mawney Street, the factories of B.B. & R. Knight at Carpenter Street and Broad Street, and the factories of the Fletcher Manufacturing Company on Charles Street. In addition, 77 cotton-mills located outside the city had their business offices there.

Witnessing a torchlit parade in the political canvass of this year, Thomas Allen Jenckes remarked that it would

"not take much to turn those men into soldiers."

By this point the rising price of cotton had utterly revolutionized the American South. Cotton had become king — and this king was demanding field slaves.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: The history of slavery and the slave-trade after 1820 must be read in the light of the industrial revolution through which the civilized world passed in the first

half of the nineteenth century. Between the years 1775 and 1825 occurred economic events and changes of the highest importance and widest influence. Though all branches of industry felt the impulse of this new industrial life, yet, "if we consider single industries, cotton manufacture has, during the nineteenth century, made the most magnificent and gigantic advances."[89] This fact is easily explained by the remarkable series of inventions that revolutionized this industry between 1738 and 1830, including Arkwright's, Watt's, Compton's, and Cartwright's epoch-making contrivances.[90] The effect which these inventions had on the manufacture of cotton goods is best illustrated by the fact that in England, the chief cotton market of the world, the consumption of raw cotton rose steadily from 13,000 bales in 1781, to 572,000 in 1820, to 871,000 in 1830, and to 3,366,000 in 1860.[91] Very early, therefore, came the query whence the supply of raw cotton was to come. Tentative experiments on the rich, broad fields of the Southern United States, together with the indispensable invention of Whitney's cotton-gin, soon answered this question: a new economic future was opened up to this land, and immediately the whole South began to extend its cotton culture, and more and more to throw its whole energy into this one staple.

Here it was that the fatal mistake of compromising with slavery in the beginning, and of the policy of *laissez-faire* pursued thereafter, became painfully manifest; for, instead now of a healthy, normal, economic development along proper industrial lines, we have the abnormal and fatal rise of a slave-labor large farming system, which, before it was realized, had so intertwined itself with and braced itself upon the economic forces of an industrial age, that a vast and terrible civil war was necessary to displace it. The tendencies to a patriarchal serfdom, recognizable in the age of Washington and Jefferson, began slowly but surely to disappear; and in the second quarter of the century Southern slavery was irresistibly changing from a family institution to an industrial system.

The development of Southern slavery has heretofore been viewed so exclusively from the ethical and social standpoint that we are apt to forget its close and indissoluble connection with the world's cotton market. Beginning with 1820, a little after the close of the Napoleonic wars, when the industry of cotton

89. Beer, *GESCHICHTE DES WELTHANDELS IM 19TEN JAHRHUNDERT*, II. 67.
90. A list of these inventions most graphically illustrates this advance: —
1738, John Jay, fly-shuttle. John Wyatt, spinning by rollers.
1748, Lewis Paul, carding-machine.
1760, Robert Kay, drop-box.
1769, Richard Arkwright, water-frame and throstle. James Watt, steam-engine.
1772, James Lees, improvements on carding-machine.
1775, Richard Arkwright, series of combinations.
1779, Samuel Compton, mule.
1785, Edmund Cartwright, power-loom.
1803-4, Radcliffe and Johnson, dressing-machine.
1817, Roberts, fly-frame.
1818, William Eaton, self-acting frame.
1825-30, Roberts, improvements on mule.
Cf. Baines, HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE, pages 116-231; *ENCYCLOPÆDIA BRITANNICA*, 9th ed., article "Cotton."
91. Baines, HISTORY OF THE COTTON MANUFACTURE, page 215. A bale weighed from 375 lbs. to 400 lbs.

manufacture had begun its modern development and the South had definitely assumed her position as chief producer of raw cotton, we find the average price of cotton per pound, 8½*d.* From this time until 1845 the price steadily fell, until in the latter year it reached 4*d.*; the only exception to this fall was in the years 1832-1839, when, among other things, a strong increase in the English demand, together with an attempt of the young slave power to "corner" the market, sent the price up as high as 11*d.* The demand for cotton goods soon outran a crop which McCullough had pronounced "prodigious," and after 1845 the price started on a steady rise, which, except for the checks suffered during the continental revolutions and the Crimean War, continued until 1860.[92] The steady increase in the production of cotton explains the fall in price down to 1845. In 1822 the crop was a half-million bales; in 1831, a million; in 1838, a million and a half; and in 1840-1843, two million. By this time the world's consumption of cotton goods began to increase so rapidly that, in spite of the increase in Southern crops, the price kept rising. Three million bales were gathered in 1852, three and a half million in 1856, and the remarkable crop of five million bales in 1860.[93]

Here we have data to explain largely the economic development of the South. By 1822 the large-plantation slave system had gained footing; in 1838-1839 it was able to show its power in the cotton "corner;" by the end of the next decade it had not only gained a solid economic foundation, but it had built a closed oligarchy with a political policy. The changes in price during the next few years drove out of competition many survivors of the small-farming free-labor system, and put the slave *régime* in position to dictate the policy of the nation. The zenith of the system and the first inevitable signs of decay came in the years 1850-1860, when the rising price of cotton threw the whole economic energy of the South into its cultivation, leading to a terrible consumption of soil and slaves, to a great increase in the size of plantations, and to increasing power and effrontery on the part of the slave barons. Finally, when a rising moral crusade conjoined with threatened economic disaster, the oligarchy, encouraged by the state of the cotton market, risked all on a political *coup-d'état*, which failed in the war of 1861-1865.[94]

January 20, Friday: A Rhode Island "Copperhead" sympathizer with the Southern slavemasters wrote to a politician who had made a pro-south speech: "I know of no better way of preventing the spread of abolitionism than the very course which you adopted, viz by shewing the public of Rhode Island ... that their ancestors were engaged in the same 'horrible crime' of slave holding, and slave dealing, without any body doubting their claims to christianity or humanity."

William Cooper Nell was appointed to a committee that was to sponsor the striking of the word "white" out of all statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

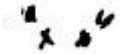
92. The prices cited are from Newmarch and Tooke, and refer to the London market. The average price in 1855-60 was about 7*d.*
93. From United States census reports.
94. Cf. United States census reports; and Olmsted, THE COTTON KINGDOM.

Jan. 20. 2 P. M.—39°. Up Assabet.

The snow and ice under the hemlocks is strewn with cones and seeds and tracked with birds and squirrels. What a bountiful supply of winter food is here provided for them! No sooner has fresh snow fallen and covered up the old crop than down comes a new supply all the more distinct on the spotless snow. Here comes a little flock of chickadees, attracted by me as usual, and perching close by boldly; then, descending to the snow and ice, I see them pick up the hemlock seed which lies all around them. Occasionally they take one to a twig and hammer at it there under their claws, perhaps to separate it from the wing, or even the shell. The snowy ice and the snow on shore have been blackened with these fallen cones several times over this winter. The snow along the sides of the river is also all dusted over with birch and alder seed, and I see where little birds have picked up the alder seed.

At R.W.E.'s red oak I see a gray squirrel, which has been looking after acorns there, run across the river. The half-inch snow of yesterday morning shows its tracks plainly. They are much larger and more like a rabbit's than I expected.

The squirrel runs in an undulating manner, though it is a succession of low leaps of from two and a half to three feet. Each four tracks occupy a space some six or seven inches long. Each foot-track is very distinct, showing the toes and protuberances of the foot, and is from an inch and a half to an inch and three quarters long. The clear interval between the hind and fore feet is four to five inches. The fore feet are from one and a half to three inches apart in the clear; the hind, one to two inches apart. I see that what is probably the track of the same squirrel near by is sometimes in the horseshoe form, *i.e.*, when its feet are all brought close together:



the open side still forward. I must have often mistaken this for a rabbit. But is not the bottom of the rabbit's foot so hairy that I should never see these distinct marks or protuberances?

This squirrel ran up a maple till he got to where the stem was but little bigger than his body, and then, getting behind the gray-barked stem, which was almost exactly the color of its body, it clasped it with its fore feet and there hung motionless with the end of its tail blowing in the wind. As I moved, it steadily edged round so as to keep the maples always between me and it, and I only saw its tail, the sides of its body projecting, and its little paws clasping the tree. It remained otherwise perfectly still as long as I was thereabouts, or five or ten minutes. There was a leafy nest in the tree.

March 8, Thursday: Presidential candidate Abraham Lincoln delivered, in Woonsocket, Rhode Island, the standard

stump speech about American slavery being contrary to the spirit of our Declaration of Independence that he had already delivered on March 6th in New Haven and on March 7th in Meriden, Connecticut and would go on to deliver without significant changes on March 9th in Norwich and on March 10th in Bridgeport CT. According to the New Haven Daily Palladium for March 7th, this was the gist of it:

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF **[INSERT TOWN HERE]**:
If the Republican party of this nation shall ever have the national house entrusted to its keeping, it will be the duty of that party to attend to all the affairs of national house-keeping. Whatever matters of importance may come up, whatever difficulties may arise in the way of its administration of the government, that party will then have to attend to. It will then be compelled to attend to other questions, besides this question which now assumes an overwhelming importance — the question of Slavery. It is true that in the organization of the Republican party this question of Slavery was more important than any other; indeed, so much more important has it become that no other national question can even get a hearing just at present. The old question of tariff — a matter that will remain one of the chief affairs of national housekeeping to all time — the question of the management of financial affairs; the question of the disposition of the public domain — how shall it be managed for the purpose of getting it well settled, and of making there the homes of a free and happy people — these will remain open and require attention for a great while yet, and these questions will have to be attended to by whatever party has the control of the government. Yet, just now, they cannot even obtain a hearing, and I do not purpose to detain you upon these topics, or what sort of hearing they should have when opportunity shall come.
For, whether we will or not, the question of Slavery is the question, the all absorbing topic of the day. It is true that all of us — and by that I mean, not the Republican party alone, but the whole American people, here and elsewhere — all of us wish this question settled — wish it out of the way. It stands in the way, and prevents the adjustment, and the giving of necessary attention to other questions of national house-keeping. The people of the whole nation agree that this question ought to be settled, and yet it is not settled. And the reason is that they are not yet agreed how it shall be settled. All wish it done, but some wish one way and some another, and some a third, or fourth, or fifth; different bodies are pulling in different directions, and none of them having a decided majority, are able to accomplish the common object.

In the beginning of the year 1854 a new policy was inaugurated with the avowed object and confident promise that it would entirely and forever put an end to the Slavery agitation. It was again and again declared that under this policy, when once successfully established, the country would be forever rid of this whole question. Yet under the operation of that policy this agitation has not only not ceased, but it has been constantly augmented. And this too, although, from the day of its introduction, its friends, who promised that it would wholly end all agitation, constantly insisted, down to the time that the Lecompton bill was introduced, that it was working admirably, and that its inevitable tendency was to remove the question forever from the politics of the country. Can you call to mind any Democratic speech, made after the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, down to the time of the Lecompton bill, in which it was not predicted that the Slavery agitation was just at an end; that "the abolition excitement was played out," "the Kansas question was dead," "they have made the most they can out of this question and it is now forever settled." But since the Lecompton bill no Democrat, within my experience, has ever pretended that he could see the end. That cry has been dropped. They themselves do not pretend, now, that the agitation of this subject has come to an end yet. [Applause.]

The truth is, that this question is one of national importance, and we cannot help dealing with it: we must do something about it, whether we will or not. We cannot avoid it; the subject is one we cannot avoid considering; we can no more avoid it than a man can live without eating. It is upon us; it attaches to the body politic as much and as closely as the natural wants attach to our natural bodies. Now I think it important that this matter should be taken up in earnest, and really settled. And one way to bring about a true settlement of the question is to understand its true magnitude.

There have been many efforts to settle it. Again and again it has been fondly hoped that it was settled, but every time it breaks out afresh, and more violently than ever. It was settled, our fathers hoped, by the Missouri Compromise, but it did not stay settled. Then the compromises of 1850 were declared to be a full and final settlement of the question. The two great parties, each in National Convention, adopted resolutions declaring that the settlement made by the Compromise of 1850 was a finality — that it would last forever. Yet how long before it was unsettled again! It broke out again in 1854, and blazed higher and raged more furiously than ever before, and the agitation has not rested since.

These repeated settlements must have some fault about them. There must be some inadequacy in their very nature to the purpose for which they were designed. We can only speculate as to where that fault — that inadequacy, is, but we may perhaps profit by past experience.

I think that one of the causes of these repeated failures is that our best and greatest men have greatly underestimated the size of this question. They have constantly brought forward small cures for great sores — plasters too small to cover the wound. That is one reason that all settlements have proved so temporary — so evanescent. [Applause.]

Look at the magnitude of this subject! One sixth of our population, in round numbers — not quite one sixth, and yet more than a seventh, — about one sixth of the whole population of the United States are slaves! The owners of these slaves consider them property. The effect upon the minds of the owners is that of property, and nothing else — it induces them to insist upon all that will favorably affect its value as property, to demand laws and institutions and a public policy that shall increase and secure its value, and make it durable, lasting and universal. The effect on the minds of the owners is to persuade them that there is no wrong in it. The slaveholder does not like to be considered a mean fellow, for holding that species of property, and hence he has to struggle within himself and sets about arguing himself into the belief that Slavery is right. The property influences his mind. The dissenting minister, who argued some theological point with one of the established church, was always met by the reply, "I

can't see it so." He opened the Bible, and pointed him to a passage, but the orthodox minister replied, "I can't see it so." Then he showed him a single word — "Can you see that?" "Yes, I see it," was the reply. The dissenter laid a guinea over the word and asked, "Do you see it now?" [Great laughter.] So here. Whether the owners of this species of property do really see it as it is, it is not for me to say, but if they do, they see it as it is through 2,000,000,000 of dollars, and that is a pretty thick coating. [Laughter.] Certain it is, that they do not see it as we see it. Certain it is, that this two thousand million of dollars, invested in this species of property, all so concentrated that the mind can grasp it at once — this immense pecuniary interest, has its influence upon their minds.

But here in Connecticut and at the North Slavery does not exist, and we see it through no such medium. To us it appears natural to think that slaves are human beings; men, not property; that some of the things, at least, stated about men in the Declaration of Independence apply to them as well as to us. [Applause.] I say, we think, most of us, that this Charter of Freedom applies to the slave as well as to ourselves, that the class of arguments put forward to batter down that idea, are also calculated to break down the very idea of a free government, even for white men, and to undermine the very foundations of free society. [Continued applause.] We think Slavery a great moral wrong, and while we do not claim the right to touch it where it exists, we wish to treat it as a wrong in the Territories, where our votes will reach it. We think that a respect for ourselves, a regard for future generations and for the God that made us, require that we put down this wrong where our votes will properly reach it. We think that species of labor an injury to free white men — in short, we think Slavery a great moral, social and political evil, tolerable only because, and so far as its actual existence makes it necessary to tolerate it, and that beyond that, it ought to be treated as a wrong.

Now these two ideas, the property idea that Slavery is right, and the idea that it is wrong, come into collision, and do actually produce that irrepressible conflict which Mr. Seward has been so roundly abused for mentioning. The two ideas conflict, and must conflict.

Again, in its political aspect, does anything in any way endanger the perpetuity of this Union but that single thing, Slavery? Many of our adversaries are anxious to claim that they are specially devoted to the Union, and take pains to charge upon us hostility to the Union. Now we claim that we are the only true Union men, and we put to them this one proposition: What ever endangered this Union, save and except Slavery? Did any other thing ever cause a moment's fear? All men must agree that this thing alone has ever endangered the perpetuity of the Union. But if it was threatened by any other influence, would not all men say that the best thing that could be done, if we could not or ought not to destroy it, would be at least to keep it from growing any larger? Can any man believe that the way to save the Union is to extend and increase the only thing that threatens the Union, and to suffer it to grow bigger and bigger? [Great applause.]

Whenever this question shall be settled, it must be settled on some philosophical basis. No policy that does not rest upon some philosophical public opinion can be permanently maintained. And hence, there are but two policies in regard to Slavery that can be at all maintained. The first, based on the property view that Slavery is right, conforms to that idea throughout, and demands that we shall do everything for it that we ought to do if it were right. We must sweep away all opposition, for opposition to the right is wrong; we must agree that Slavery is right, and we must adopt the idea that property has persuaded the owner to believe — that Slavery is morally right and socially elevating. This gives a philosophical basis for a permanent policy of encouragement.

The other policy is one that squares with the idea that Slavery is wrong, and it consists in doing everything that we ought to do if it is wrong. Now, I don't wish to be misunderstood, nor to leave a gap down to be misrepresented, even. I don't mean that we ought to attack it where it exists. To me it seems that if we were to form a

government anew, in view of the actual presence of Slavery we should find it necessary to frame just such a government as our fathers did; giving to the slaveholder the entire control where the system was established, while we possessed the power to restrain it from going outside those limits. [Applause.] From the necessities of the case we should be compelled to form just such a government as our blessed fathers gave us; and, surely, if they have so made it, that adds another reason why we should let Slavery alone where it exists.

If I saw a venomous snake crawling in the road, any man would say I might seize the nearest stick and kill it; but if I found that snake in bed with my children, that would be another question. [Laughter.] I might hurt the children more than the snake, and it might bite them. [Applause.] Much more, if I found it in bed with my neighbor's children, and I had bound myself by a solemn compact not to meddle with his children under any circumstances, it would become me to let that particular mode of getting rid of the gentleman alone. [Great laughter.] But if there was a bed newly made up, to which the children were to be taken, and it was proposed to take a batch of young snakes and put them there with them, I take it no man would say there was any question how I ought to decide! [Prolonged applause and cheers.]

That is just the case! The new Territories are the newly made bed to which our children are to go, and it lies with the nation to say whether they shall have snakes mixed up with them or not. It does not seem as if there could be much hesitation what our policy should be! [Applause.]

Now I have spoken of a policy based on the idea that Slavery is wrong, and a policy based upon the idea that it is right. But an effort has been made for a policy that shall treat it as neither right or wrong. It is based upon utter indifference. Its leading advocate has said "I don't care whether it be voted up or down." [Laughter.] "It is merely a matter of dollars and cents." "The Almighty has drawn a line across this continent, on one side of which all soil must forever be cultivated by slave labor, and on the other by free;" "when the struggle is between the white man and the negro, I am for the white man; when it is between the negro and the crocodile, I am for the negro." Its central idea is indifference. It holds that it makes no more difference to us whether the Territories become free or slave States, than whether my neighbor stocks his farm with horned cattle or puts it into tobacco. All recognize this policy, the plausible sugar-coated name of which is "popular sovereignty." [Laughter.]

This policy chiefly stands in the way of a permanent settlement of the question. I believe there is no danger of its becoming the permanent policy of the country, for it is based on a public indifference. There is nobody that "don't care." ALL THE PEOPLE DO CARE! one way or the other. [Great applause.] I do not charge that its author, when he says he "don't care," states his individual opinion; he only expresses his policy for the government. I understand that he has never said, as an individual, whether he thought Slavery right or wrong — and he is the only man in the nation that has not! Now such a policy may have a temporary run; it may spring up as necessary to the political prospects of some gentleman; but it is utterly baseless; the people are not indifferent; and it can therefore have no durability or permanence.

But suppose it could! Then it could be maintained only by a public opinion that shall say "we don't care." There must be a change in public opinion, the public mind must be so far debauched as to square with this policy of caring not at all. The people must come to consider this as "merely a question of dollars and cents," and to believe that in some places the Almighty has made Slavery necessarily eternal. This policy can be brought to prevail if the people can be brought round to say honestly "we don't care;" if not, it can never be maintained. It is for you to say whether that can be done. [Applause.]

You are ready to say it cannot, but be not too fast! Remember what a long stride has been taken since the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! Do you know of any Democrat, of either branch of the party — do you know one who declares that he believes that the Declaration of Independence has any application to the negro?

Judge Taney declares that it has not, and Judge Douglas even vilifies me personally and scolds me roundly for saying that the Declaration applies to all men, and that negroes are men. [Cheers.] Is there a Democrat here who does not deny that the Declaration applies to a negro? Do any of you know of one? Well, I have tried before perhaps fifty audiences, some larger and some smaller than this, to find one such Democrat, and never yet have I found one who said I did not place him right in that. I must assume that Democrats hold that, and now, not one of these Democrats can show that he said that five years ago! [Applause.] I venture to defy the whole party to produce one man that ever uttered the belief that the Declaration did not apply to negroes, before the repeal of the Missouri Compromise! Four or five years ago we all thought negroes were men, and that when "all men" were named, negroes were included. But the whole Democratic party has deliberately taken negroes from the class of men and put them in the class of brutes. [Applause.] Turn it as you will, it is simply the truth! Don't be too hasty then in saying that the people cannot be brought to this new doctrine, but note that long stride. One more as long completes the journey, from where negroes are estimated as men to where they are estimated as mere brutes — as rightful property!

That saying, "in the struggle between the white man and the negro," &c., which I know came from the same source as this policy — that saying marks another step. There is a falsehood wrapped up in that statement. "In the struggle between the white man and the negro" assumes that there is a struggle, in which either the white man must enslave the negro or the negro must enslave the white. There is no such struggle! It is merely an ingenious falsehood, to degrade and brutalize the negro. Let each let the other alone, and there is no struggle about it. If it was like two wrecked seamen on a narrow plank, when each must push the other off or drown himself, I would push the negro off or a white man either, but it is not; the plank is large enough for both. [Applause.] This good earth is plenty broad enough for white man and negro both, and there is no need of either pushing the other off. [Continued applause.]

So that saying, "in the struggle between the negro and the crocodile," &c., is made up from the idea that down where the crocodile inhabits a white man can't labor; it must be nothing else but crocodile inhabits a white man can't labor; it must be nothing else but crocodile or negro; if the negro does not the crocodile must possess the earth; [laughter;] in that case he declares for the negro. The meaning of the whole is just this: As a white man is to a negro, so is a negro to a crocodile; and as the negro may rightfully treat the crocodile, so may the white man rightfully treat the negro. This very dear phrase coined by its author, and so dear that he deliberately repeats it in many speeches, has a tendency to still further brutalize the negro, and to bring public opinion to the point of utter indifference whether men so brutalized are enslaved or not. When that time shall come, if ever, I think that policy to which I refer may prevail. But I hope the good freemen of this country will never allow it to come, and until then the policy can never be maintained.

Now consider the effect of this policy. We in the States are not to care whether Freedom or Slavery gets the better, but the people in the Territories may care. They are to decide, and they may think what they please; it is a matter of dollars and cents! But are not the people of the Territories detailed from the States? If this feeling of indifference — this absence of moral sense about the question — prevails in the States, will it not be carried into the Territories? Will not every man say, "I don't care, it is nothing to me?" If any one comes that wants Slavery, must they not say, "I don't care whether Freedom or Slavery be voted up or voted down?" It results at last in naturalizing [the word Lincoln spoke was more likely to have been "nationalizing"] the institution of Slavery. Even if fairly carried out, that policy is just as certain to naturalize [again, "nationalize"] Slavery as the doctrine of Jeff Davis himself. These are only two roads to the same goal, and "popular sovereignty" is just as sure and almost as short as the other. [Applause.]

What we want, and all we want, is to have with us the men who think slavery wrong. But those who say they hate slavery, and are opposed to it, but yet act with the Democratic party — where are they? Let us apply a few tests. You say that you think slavery is wrong, but you denounce all attempts to restrain it. Is there anything else that you think wrong, that you are not willing to deal with as a wrong? Why are you so careful, so tender of this one wrong and no other? [Laughter.] You will not let us do a single thing as if it was wrong; where is no place where you will allow it to be even called wrong! We must not call it wrong in the Free States, because it is not there, and we must not call it wrong in the Slave States because it is there; we must not call it wrong in politics because that is bringing morality into politics, and we must not call it wrong in the pulpit because that is bringing politics into religion; we must not bring it into the Tract Society or the other societies, because those are such unsuitable places, and there is no single place, according to you, where this wrong thing can properly be called wrong! [Continued laughter and applause.]

Perhaps you will plead that if the people of Slave States should themselves set on foot an effort for emancipation, you would wish them success, and bid them God-speed. Let us test that! In 1858, the emancipation party of Missouri, with Frank Blair at their head, tried to get up a movement for that purpose, and having started a party contested the State. Blair was beaten, apparently if not truly, and when the news came to Connecticut, you, who knew that Frank Blair was taking hold of this thing by the right end, and doing the only thing that you say can properly be done to remove this wrong — did you bow your heads in sorrow because of that defeat? Do you, any of you, know one single Democrat that showed sorrow over that result? Not one! On the contrary every man threw up his hat, and hallooed at the top of his lungs, "hooray for Democracy!" [Great laughter and applause.]

Now, gentlemen, the Republicans desire to place this great question of slavery on the very basis on which our fathers placed it, and no other. [Applause.] It is easy to demonstrate that "our Fathers, who framed this government under which we live," looked on Slavery as wrong, and so framed it and everything about it as to square with the idea that it was wrong, so far as the necessities arising from its existence permitted. In forming the Constitution they found the slave trade existing; capital invested in it; fields depending upon it for labor, and the whole system resting upon the importation of slave-labor. They therefore did not prohibit the slave trade at once, but they gave the power to prohibit it after twenty years. Why was this? What other foreign trade did they treat in that way? Would they have done this if they had not thought slavery wrong?

Another thing was done by some of the same men who framed the Constitution, and afterwards adopted as their own act by the first Congress held under that Constitution, of which many of the framers were members; they prohibited the spread of Slavery into Territories. Thus the same men, the framers of the Constitution, cut off the supply and prohibited the spread of Slavery, and both acts show conclusively that they considered that the thing was wrong.

If additional proof is wanting it can be found in the phraseology of the Constitution. When men are framing a supreme law and chart of government, to secure blessings and prosperity to untold generations yet to come, they use language as short and direct and plain as can be found, to express their meaning. In all matters but this of Slavery the framers of the Constitution used the very clearest, shortest, and most direct language. But the Constitution alludes to Slavery three times without mentioning it once! The language used becomes ambiguous, roundabout, and mystical. They speak of the "immigration of persons," and mean the importation of slaves, but do not say so. In establishing a basis of representation they say "all other persons," when they mean to say slaves — why did they not use the shortest phrase? In providing for the return of fugitives they say "persons held to service or labor." If they had said slaves it would have been plainer, and less liable to misconstruction. Why didn't they do it? We cannot

doubt that it was done on purpose. Only one reason is possible, and that is supplied us by one of the framers of the Constitution — and it is not possible for man to conceive of any other — they expected and desired that the system would come to an end, and meant that when it did, the Constitution should not show that there ever had been a slave in this good free country of ours! [Great applause.]

I will dwell on that no longer. I see the signs of the approaching triumph of the Republicans in the bearing of their political adversaries. A great deal of their war with us now-a-days is mere bushwhacking. [Laughter.] At the battle of Waterloo, when Napoleon's cavalry had charged again and again upon the unbroken squares of British infantry, at last they were giving up the attempt, and going off in disorder, when some of the officers in mere vexation and complete despair fired their pistols at those solid squares. The Democrats are in that sort of extreme desperation; it is nothing else. [Laughter.] I will take up a few of these arguments.

There is "THE IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT." [Applause.] How they rail at Seward for that saying! They repeat it constantly; and although the proof has been thrust under their noses again and again, that almost every good man since the formation of our government has uttered that same sentiment, from Gen. Washington, who "trusted that we should yet have a confederacy of Free States," with Jefferson, Jay, Monroe, down to the latest days, yet they refuse to notice that at all, and persist in railing at Seward for saying it. Even Roger A. Pryor, editor of the Richmond Enquirer, uttered the same sentiment in almost the same language, and yet so little offence did it give the Democrats that he was sent for to Washington to edit the States — the Douglas organ there, while Douglas goes into hydrophobia and spasms of rage because Seward dared to repeat it. [Great applause.] This is what I call bushwhacking, a sort of argument that they must know any child can see through.

Another is JOHN BROWN! [Great laughter.] You stir up insurrections, you invade the South! John Brown! Harper's Ferry! Why, John Brown was not a Republican! You have never implicated a single Republican in that Harper's Ferry enterprise. We tell you that if any member of the Republican party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable not to designate man and prove the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable to assert it, and especially to persist in the assertion after you have tried and failed to make the proof. You need not be told that persisting in a charge which one does not know to be true is simply malicious slander. Some of you admit that no Republican designedly aided or encouraged the Harper's Ferry affair; but still insist that our doctrines and declarations necessarily lead to such results. We do not believe it. We know we hold to no doctrines, and make no declarations, which were not held to and made by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live, and we cannot see how declarations that were patriotic when they made them are villainous when we make them. You never dealt fairly by us in relation to that affair — and I will say frankly that I know of nothing in your character that should lead us to suppose that you would. You had just been soundly thrashed in elections in several States, and others were soon to come. You rejoiced at the occasion, and only were troubled that there were not three times as many killed in the affair. You were in evident glee — there was no sorrow for the killed nor for the peace of Virginia disturbed — you were rejoicing that by charging Republicans with this thing you might get an advantage of us in New York, and the other States. You pulled that string as tightly as you could, but your very generous and worthy expectations were not quite fulfilled. [Laughter.] Each Republican knew that the charge was a slander as to himself at least, and was not inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. It was mere bushwhacking, because you had nothing else to do. You are still on that track, and I say, go on! If you think you can slander a woman into loving you or a man into voting for you, try it till you are satisfied! [Tremendous applause.]

Another specimen of this bushwhacking, that "shoe strike." [Laughter.] Now be it

understood that I do not pretend to know all about the matter. I am merely going to speculate a little about some of its phases. And at the outset, I am glad to see that a system of labor prevails in New England under which laborers CAN strike when they want to [Cheers,] where they are not obliged to work under all circumstances, and are not tied down and obliged to labor whether you pay them or not! [Cheers.] I like the system which lets a man quit when he wants to, and wish it might prevail everywhere. [Tremendous applause.] One of the reasons why I am opposed to Slavery is just here. What is the true condition of the laborer? I take it that it is best for all to leave each man free to acquire property as fast as he can. Some will get wealthy. I don't believe in a law to prevent a man from getting rich; it would do more harm than good. So while we do not propose any war upon capital, we do wish to allow the humblest man an equal chance to get rich with everybody else. [Applause.] When one starts poor, as most do in the race of life, free society is such that he knows he can better his condition; he knows that there is no fixed condition of labor, for his whole life. I am not ashamed to confess that twenty five years ago I was a hired laborer, mauling rails, at work on a flat-boat — just what might happen to any poor man's son! [Applause.] I want every man to have the chance — and I believe a black man is entitled to it — in which he can better his condition — when he may look forward and hope to be a hired laborer this year and the next, work for himself afterward, and finally to hire men to work for him! That is the true system. Up here in New England, you have a soil that scarcely sprouts black-eyed beans, and yet where will you find wealthy men so wealthy, and poverty so rarely in extremity? There is not another such place on earth! [Cheers.] I desire that if you get too thick here, and find it hard to better your condition on this soil, you may have a chance to strike and go somewhere else, where you may not be degraded, nor have your family corrupted by forced rivalry with negro slaves. I want you to have a clean bed, and no snakes in it! [Cheers.] Then you can better your condition, and so it may go on and on in one ceaseless round so long as man exists on the face of the earth! [Prolonged applause.]

Now, to come back to this shoe strike, — if, as the Senator from Illinois asserts, this is caused by withdrawal of Southern votes, consider briefly how you will meet the difficulty. You have done nothing, and have protested that you have done nothing, to injure the South. And yet, to get back the shoe trade, you must leave off doing something that you are now doing. What is it? You must stop thinking slavery wrong! Let your institutions be wholly changed; let your State Constitutions be subverted, glorify slavery, and so you will get back the shoe trade — for what? You have brought owned labor with it to compete with your own labor, to under work you, and to degrade you! Are you ready to get back the trade on those terms?

But the statement is not correct. You have not lost that trade; orders were never better than now! Senator Mason, a Democrat, comes into the Senate in homespun, a proof that the dissolution of the Union has actually begun! but orders are the same. Your factories have not struck work, neither those where they make anything for coats, nor for pants, nor for shirts, nor for ladies' dresses. Mr. Mason has not reached the manufacturers who ought to have made him a coat and pants! To make his proof good for anything he should have come into the Senate barefoot! (Great laughter.)

Another bushwhacking contrivance; simply that, nothing else! I find a good many people who are very much concerned about the loss of Southern trade. Now either these people are sincere or they are not. (Laughter.) I will speculate a little about that. If they are sincere, and are moved by any real danger of the loss of Southern trade, they will simply get their names on the white list,[95] and then, instead of persuading Republicans to do likewise, they will be glad to keep you away! Don't you see

95. Abraham Lincoln was referring to a movement on the part of certain business interests to help along the Southern boycott of antislavery New England manufactures by preparing a list of "white" (which is to say, proslavery Democrats, whom it would be politically correct to patronize) rather than "black" (which is to say, opposed to human slavery, firms which would be politically incorrect to patronize) New England manufacturing concerns.

they thus shut off competition? They would not be whispering around to Republicans to come in and share the profits with them. But if they are not sincere, and are merely trying to fool Republicans out of their votes, they will grow very anxious about your pecuniary prospects; they are afraid you are going to get broken up and ruined; they did not care about Democratic votes — Oh no, no, no! You must judge which class those belong to whom you meet; I leave it to you to determine from the facts.

Let us notice some more of the stale charges against Republicans. You say we are sectional. We deny it. That makes an issue; and the burden of proof is upon you. You produce your proof; and what is it? Why, that our party has no existence in your section — gets no votes in your section. The fact is substantially true; but does it prove the issue? If it does, then in case we should, without change of principle, begin to get votes in your section, we should thereby cease to be sectional. You cannot escape this conclusion; and yet, are you willing to abide by it? If you are, you will probably soon find that we have ceased to be sectional, for we shall get votes in your section this very year. [Applause.] The fact that we get no votes in your section is a fact of your making, and not of ours. And if there be fault in that fact, that fault is primarily yours, and remains so until you show that we repel you by some wrong principle or practice. If we do repel you by any wrong principle or practice, the fault is ours; but this brings you to where you ought to have started — to a discussion of the right or wrong of our principle. If our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section for the benefit of ours, or for any other object, then our principle, and we with it, are sectional, and are justly opposed and denounced as such. Meet us, then, on the question of whether our principle, put in practice, would wrong your section; and so meet it as if it were possible that something may be said on our side. Do you accept the challenge? No? Then you really believe that the principle which our fathers who framed the Government under which we live thought so clearly right as to adopt it, and indorse it again and again, upon their official oaths, is, in fact, so clearly wrong as to demand your condemnation without a moment's consideration.

Some of you delight to flaunt in our faces the warning against sectional parties given by Washington in his Farewell address. Less than eight years before Washington gave that warning, he had, as President of the United States, approved and signed an act of Congress, enforcing the prohibition of Slavery in the northwestern Territory, which act embodied the policy of Government upon that subject, up to and at the very moment he penned that warning; and about one year after he penned it he wrote LaFayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should some time have a confederacy of Free States.

Bearing this in mind, and seeing that sectionalism has since arisen upon this same subject, is that warning a weapon in your hands against us, or in our hands against you? Could Washington himself speak, would he cast the blame of that sectionalism upon us, who sustain his policy, or upon you who repudiate it? We respect that warning of Washington, and we commend it to you, together with his example pointing to the right application of it. [Applause.]

But you say you are conservative — eminently conservative — while we are revolutionary, destructive, or something of the sort. What is conservatism? Is it not adherence to the old and tried, against the new and untried? We stick to, contend for, the identical old policy on the point in controversy which was adopted by our fathers who framed the Government under which we live; while you with one accord reject, and scout, and spit upon that old policy, and insist upon substituting something new. True, you disagree among yourselves as to what that substitute shall be. You have considerable variety of new propositions and plans, but you are unanimous in rejecting and denouncing the old policy of the fathers. Some of you are for reviving the foreign slave-trade; some for a Congressional Slave-Code for the Territories; some for Congress forbidding the Territories to prohibit Slavery within their limits; some for maintaining Slavery in the Territories through the Judiciary; some for the "gur-reat

pur-rin-ciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "Popular Sovereignty;" [great laughter,] but never a man among you in favor of Federal prohibition of Slavery in Federal Territories, according to the practice of our fathers who framed the Government under which we live. Not one of all your various plans can show a precedent or an advocate in the century within which our Government originated. And yet you draw yourselves up and say "We are eminently conservative!" [Great laughter.]

It is exceedingly desirable that all parts of this great Confederacy shall be at peace, and in harmony, one with another. Let us Republicans do our part to have it so. Even though much provoked, let us do nothing through passion and ill temper. Even though the Southern people will not so much as listen to us, let us calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can. Judging by all they say and do, and by the subject and nature of their controversy with us, let us determine, if we can, what will satisfy them?

Will they be satisfied if the Territories be unconditionally surrendered to them? We know they will not. In all their present complaints against us, the Territories are scarcely mentioned. Invasions and insurrections are the rage now. Will it satisfy them if, in the future, we have nothing to do with invasions and insurrections? We know it will not. We so know because we know we never had anything to do with invasions and insurrections; and yet this total abstaining does not exempt us from the charge and the denunciation.

The question recurs, what will satisfy them? Simply this: we must not only let them alone, but we must, somehow, convince them that we do let them alone. [Applause.] This, we know by experience, is no easy task. We have been so trying to convince them, from the very beginning of our organization, but with no success. In all our platforms and speeches, we have constantly protested our purpose to let them alone; but this has had no tendency to convince them. Alike unavailing to convince them is the fact that they have never detected a man of us in any attempt to disturb them.

These natural and apparently adequate means all failing, what will convince them? This, and this only; cease to call slavery wrong, and join them in calling it right. And this must be done thoroughly — done in acts as well as in words. Silence will not be tolerated — we must place ourselves avowedly with them. Douglas's new sedition law must be enacted and enforced, suppressing all declarations that Slavery is wrong, whether made in politics, in presses, in pulpits, or in private. We must arrest and return their fugitive slaves with greedy pleasure. We must pull down our Free State Constitutions. The whole atmosphere must be disinfected of all taint of opposition to Slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us. So long as we call Slavery wrong, whenever a slave runs away they will overlook the obvious fact that he ran because he was oppressed, and declare he was stolen off. Whenever a master cuts his slaves with the lash, and they cry out under it, he will overlook the obvious fact that the negroes cry out because they are hurt, and insist that they were put up to it by some rascally abolitionist. [Great laughter.]

I am quite aware that they do not state their case precisely in this way. Most of them would probably say to us, "Let us alone, do nothing to us, and say what you please about Slavery." But we do let them alone — have never disturbed them — so that, after all, it is what we say, which dissatisfies them. They will continue to accuse us of doing, until we cease saying.

I am also aware they have not, as yet, in terms, demanded the overthrow of our Free State Constitutions. Yet those Constitutions declare the wrong of Slavery, with more solemn emphasis than do all other sayings against it; and when all these other sayings shall have been silenced, the overthrow of these Constitutions will be demanded, and nothing be left to resist the demand. It is nothing to the contrary, that they do not demand the whole of this just now. Demanding what they do, and for the reason they do, they can voluntarily stop nowhere short of this consummation. Holding as they do,

that Slavery is morally right, and socially elevating, they cannot cease to demand a full national recognition of it, as a legal right, and a social blessing.
Nor can we justifiably withhold this, on any ground save our conviction that Slavery is wrong. If Slavery is right, all words, acts, laws, and Constitutions against it, are themselves wrong, and should be silenced, and swept away. If it is right, we cannot justly object to its nationality — its universality; if it is wrong, they cannot justly insist upon its extension — its enlargement. All they ask, we could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong. Their thinking it right, and our thinking it wrong, is the precise fact upon which depends the whole controversy. Thinking it right as they do, they are not to blame for desiring its full recognition, as being right; but, thinking it wrong, as we do, can we yield to them? Can we cast our votes with their view, and against our own? In view of our moral, social, and political responsibilities, can we do this?
Wrong as we think Slavery is, we can yet afford to let it alone where it is, because that much is due to the necessity arising from its actual presence in the nation; but can we, while our votes will prevent it, allow it to spread into the National Territories, and to overrun us here in these Free States?
If our sense of duty forbids this, then let us stand by our duty, fearlessly and effectively. Let us be diverted by none of those sophistical contrivances wherewith we are so industriously plied and belabored — contrivances such as groping for some middle ground between the right and the wrong, vain as the search for a man who should be neither a living man nor a dead man — such as a policy of "don't care" on a question about which all true men do care — such as Union appeals beseeching true Union men to yield to Disunionists, reversing the divine rule, and calling, not the sinners, but the righteous to repentance — such as invocations of Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington did.
Neither let us be slandered from our duty by false accusations against us, nor frightened from it by menaces of destruction to the Government, nor of dungeons to ourselves. Let us have faith that right makes might; and in that faith, let us, to the end, dare to do our duty, as we understand it.

 March 8. 2.30 P. M.—50°. To Cliffs and Walden.
See a small flock of grackles on the willow-row above railroad bridge. How they sit and make a business of chattering! for it cannot be called singing, and no improvement from age to age perhaps. Yet, as nature is a becoming, their notes may become melodious at last. At length, on my very near approach, they flit suspiciously away, uttering a few subdued notes as they hurry off.
This is the first flock of blackbirds I have chanced to see, though Channing saw one the 6th. I suspect that I have seen only grackles as yet.
I saw, in Monroe's well by the edge of the river, the other day, a dozen frogs, chiefly shad frogs, which had been dead a good while. It may be that they get into that sort of spring-hole in the fall to hibernate, but for some reason die; or perhaps they are always jumping into it in the summer, but at that season are devoured by some animal before they infest the water.
Now and for some days I see farmers walking about their fields, knocking to pieces and distributing the cow-dung left there in the fall, that so, with the aid of the spring rains, they fertilize a larger surface and more equally.
To say nothing of fungi, lichens, mosses, and other cryptogamous plants, you cannot say that vegetation absolutely ceases at any season in this latitude; for there is grass in some warm exposures and in springy places, always growing more or less, and willow catkins expanding and peeping out a little further every warm day from the very beginning of winter, and the skunk-cabbage buds being developed and actually flowering sometimes in the winter, and the sap flowing [IN] the maples in midwinter in some days, perhaps some cress growing a little (?), certainly some pads, and various naturalized garden weeds steadily growing if not blooming, and apple buds sometimes expanding. Thus much of vegetable life or motion or growth is to be detected every winter. There is something of spring in all seasons. There is a large class which is evergreen in its radical leaves, which make such a show as soon as the snow goes off that many take them to be new growth of the spring.
At the pool on the south side of Hubbard's Grove, I notice that the crowfoot, i. e. buttercup, leaves which are at the bottom of the water stand up and are much more advanced than those two feet off in the air, for there they

receive warmth from the sun, while they are sheltered from cold winds.
Nowadays we separate the warmth of the sun from the cold of the wind and observe that the cold does not pervade all places, but being due to strong northwest winds, if we get into some sunny and sheltered nook where they do not penetrate, we quite forget how cold it is elsewhere.
In some respects our spring, in its beginning, fluctuates a whole month, so far as it respects ice and snow, walking, sleighing, etc., etc.; for some years winter may be said to end about the first of March, and other years it may extend into April.
That willow-clump by railroad at Walden looks really silvery.
I see there that moles have worked for several days. There are several piles on the grass, some quite fresh and some made before the last rain. One is as wide as a bushel-basket and six inches high; contains a peck at least. When I carefully remove this dirt, I cannot see, and can scarcely detect by feeling, any looseness in the sod beneath where the mole came to the surface and discharged all this dirt. I do feel it, to be sure, but it is scarcely perceptible to my fingers. The mole must have filled up this doorway very densely with earth, perhaps for its protection.
Those small green balls in the Pout's-Nest—and in the river, etc.—are evidently the buds by which the Utricularia vulgaris are propagated. I find them attached to the root as well as adrift.
I noticed a very curious phenomenon in this pond. It is melted for two or three rods around the open side, and in many places partly filled with a very slender thread-like spike-rush (apparently Eleocharis tenuis?) which is matted more or less horizontally and floating, and is much bleached, being killed. In this fine matting I noticed perfectly straight or even cuts a rod or more in length, just as if one had severed this mass of fine rush as it lay [?] with some exceeding sharp instrument. However, you could not do it with a scythe, though you might with scissors, if it were ruled. It is as if you were to cover a floor with very fine flaccid grass and tread it to one inch in thickness, and then cut this web straight across. The fact is, this floating matting (it also rests partly on soft mud) was not cut at all, but pulled apart on a straight line, producing the exact appearance of a cut, as if you were to pull a piece of felt apart by a force on each side and yet leave the edge as straight as if it had been cut. It had been frozen in, and when the ice cracked it was in an instant thus pulled apart, without further disturbing the relative position of the fibres. I first conjectured this, and then saw the evidence of it, for, glancing my eye along such a cut, which ran at right angles with the shore, I saw that it exactly corresponded at its termination to an old crack in the ice which was still unmelted and which continued its course exactly. This in the ice had been filled and cemented so as to look like a white seam. Would this account for such a crack being continued into the meadow itself, as I have noticed?
I meet some Indians just camped on Brister's Hill. As usual, they are chiefly concerned to find where black ash grows, for their baskets. This is what they set about to ascertain as soon as they arrive in any strange neighborhood.

Summer: The family of Henry James, Sr., back from Europe, was living on Spring Street in Newport, Rhode Island in a building that now functions as a funeral parlor. Henry James, Jr., while acting as a volunteer fireman, in this year suffered an "obscure hurt" — possibly he injured his back. The older brother, William James, was studying with the painter William Morris Hunt but would soon set this aside in order to enroll at Harvard College's Lawrence Scientific School. Wilkie (the 3d son, Garth Wilkinson James, 15 years of age) and Bob (the 4th son, Robertson James, 14 years of age) would be packed off to Franklin Benjamin Sanborn's private school in Concord.

I buried two of my children yesterday — at Concord, Mass.

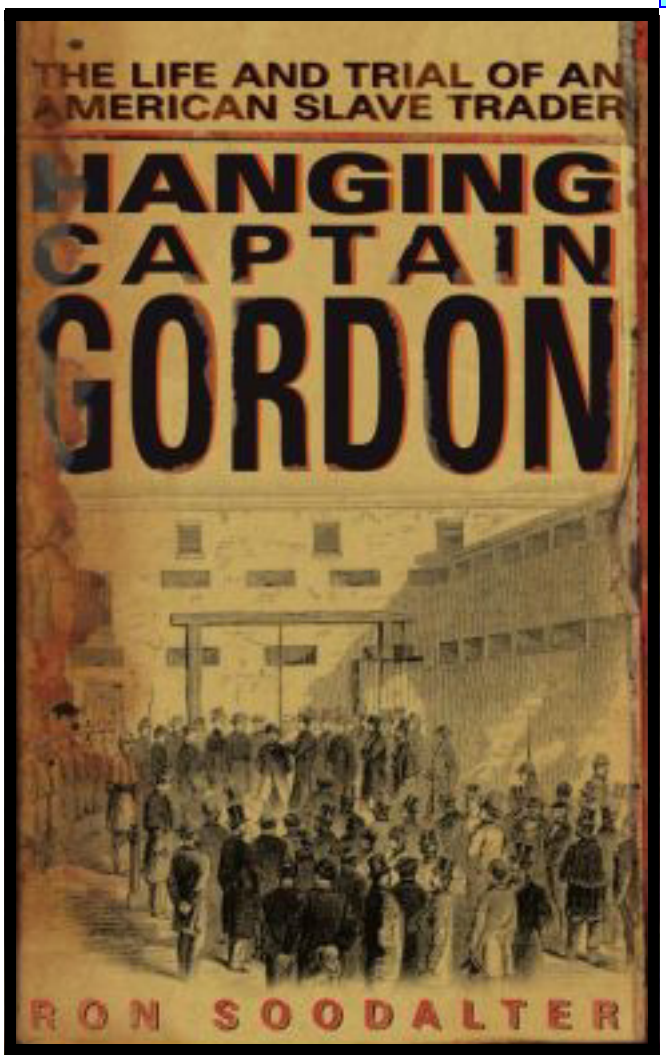
September 30, Sunday: In North Kingstown, Rhode Island, Daniel Browning killed his 69-year-old mother Content Browning. There are comments in the record about insanity in this family of color. In 1836 the father of the family, James Browning, had killed a man named Cato Room — and when this father died, he was still in gaol as a consequence of this killing.

 September 30, Sunday: Frost and ice.

October: A Rhode Island "Copperhead" sympathizer with the Southern slavemasters, critical of the abolitionists, wrote: "I consider that from the first, we are the aggressors — We are everlastingly assaulting them from the time Hoar was first sent to S Carolina."

Captain Nathaniel Gordon, who had been caught redhanded engaging in the international slave trade, was arraigned before a New-York circuit court on this capital charge equivalent to piracy on the high seas.

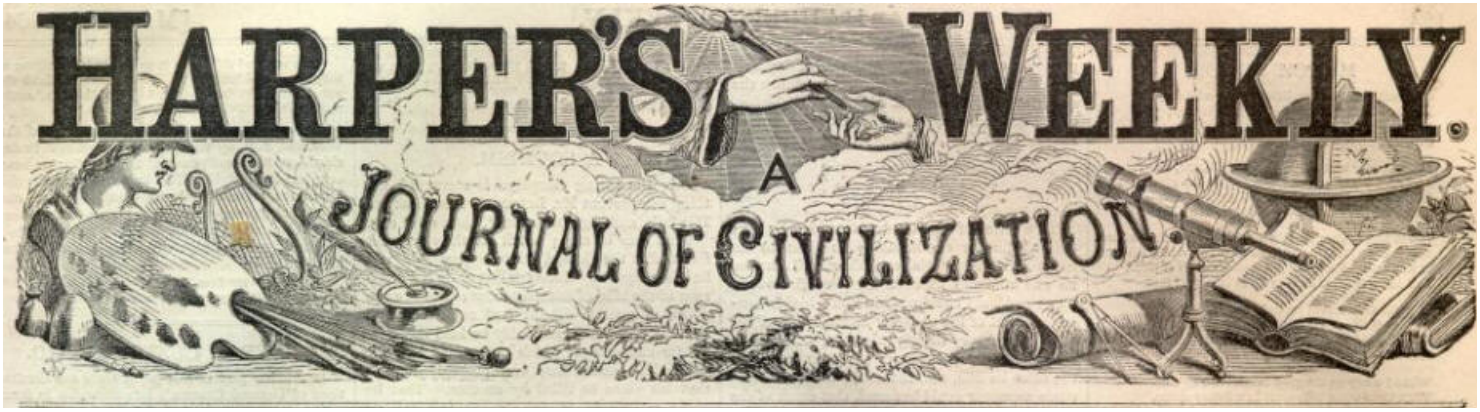
THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



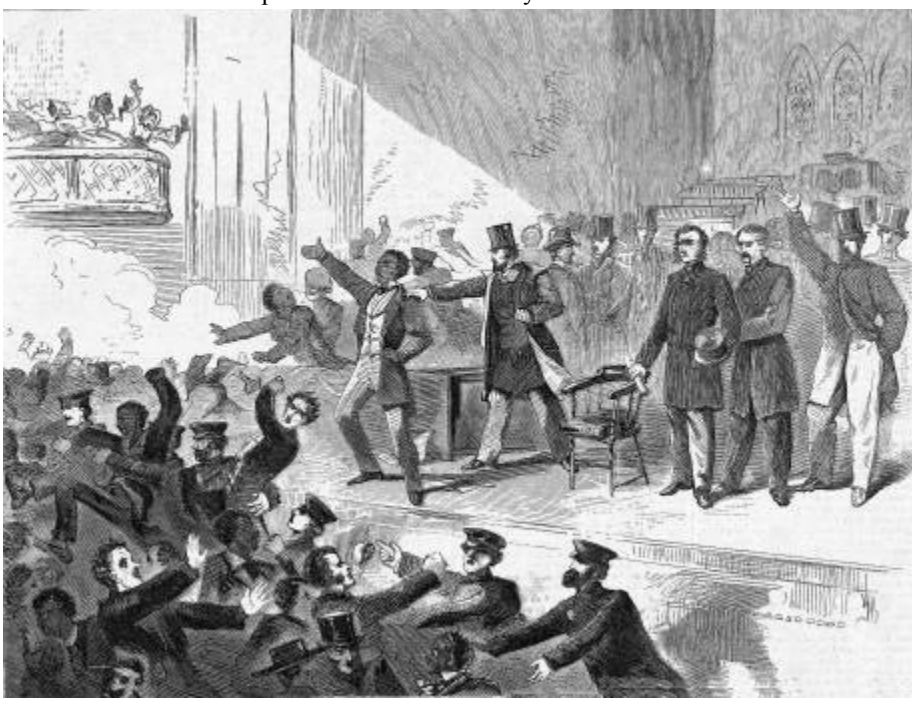
DEAD MAN WALKING

This pompous ass of a sea captain could easily have escaped, since he was paying his jailor $50 per day to let him roam the streets of New-York during the day — but instead he would choose to sit out his trial procedures, since he had complete confidence that nobody would really ever want to burn a white man's ass merely for harming the lives of black people. After all, although what he had done had been a capital crime for two full generations of human life, in fact since January 1, 1812, nobody had **ever ever ever** so much as had their fingers slapped!

December 15, Saturday: George Thomas Downing's luxurious Sea Girt House in Newport, Rhode Island, along with the entire city block bordered by Bellevue Avenue, Liberty Street, and Downing Street, was torched by an arsonist.



There appeared in Harper's Weekly: A Journal of Civilization of New-York in this issue, the famous illustration of the breaking up of the meeting of Boston abolitionists on December 3rd, entitled: "EXPULSION OF NEGROES AND ABOLITIONISTS FROM TREMONT TEMPLE, BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS ON DECEMBER 3, 1860." Frederick Douglass, William Lloyd Garrison and others were attempting to celebrate the first anniversary of the hanging of John Brown for leading his famous raid on Harper's Ferry. After Douglass's speech, a Bostonian mob had expelled the abolitionists by force.



So, you tell me, does the torching of this prominent black businessman's opulent home and productive business establishment in Newport on December the 15th have anything to do with the fact that this inflammatory notice of goings-on in Boston had appeared in the public media? At first blush, there is no indication of a connection — unless one has retained the information, that once upon a time Frederick Douglass had stayed at this home, and that this businessman was a Douglass financial supporter.

Meanwhile, in free Canada, at the Court of Queen's Bench in Toronto, there was a jam of onlookers, some of them black. Could America's neighbor to the north actually be forced to remand an escaped American slave to the tender justice of American slavemasters, who had been publicly pledging that once back in Arkansas he was to be roasted alive over a slow fire? The Canadian police stacked their muskets in front of the hall as a visible warning that no disruption was going to be tolerated. The prisoner in the dock, a stout-built man of a

deep yellow countenance, with a high forehead, could be heard occasionally to sigh. As the clock struck

twelve, the Chief Justice, Robinson, produced his paper and began to read the decision of the three-member court. Two of the members, Chief Justice Robinson and Mr. Justice Burns, had refused the application for John Anderson's discharge. He would need to be extradited, and stand trial for murder in Missouri, a place where no black man had any rights whatever, and then be executed. Mr. Justice McLean had dissented. After the court's majority decision had been read, this lone dissenter read out his dissent:

> Looking, then, at all the testimony taken before the justice of the peace, and rejecting such portion as is unnecessary and inadmissible, there is not a witness who connects the prisoner with the stabbing of Diggs, unless it be Thomas Diggs, in his statement of the death-bed declarations of his father to him, and these only shew that the negro by whom Diggs was stabbed made certain declarations as to himself and his identity, which would be true if made by the prisoner; but rejecting the deposition of the slave Phil there is no testimony which establishes satisfactorily that the prisoner is the person who caused the death of Diggs. On the grounds, therefore, that the prisoner was arrested in the first instance on an insufficient complaint, and that he is now detained in custody on a warrant of commitment until discharged by due course of law for an offence committed in a foreign country; and on the further grounds, that the offence stated in the warrant of commitment is not one for which the prisoner is liable to be detained under the provincial act for carrying out the treaty with the United States for the surrender of certain fugitive criminals, and that the evidence, as given before the justice of the peace, is of too vague a character to establish the offence of murder against the prisoner according to the laws of this province, I am of opinion that the prisoner is now entitled to be discharged from custody.

In other words, were there sufficient evidence to proceed, we would of course need to sell this man down the river, but fortunately, we can construe that there seems not to be this sufficient evidence — which is, by any measure, not a strong peg on which to be forced to hang one's legal hat! Here is the conclusion of Mr. Justice McLean's dissent:

Can it then be a matter of surprise that the prisoner should endeavour to escape from so degrading a position; or rather, would it not be a cause of surprise if the attempt were not made? Diggs — though he could have had no other interest in it but that which binds slaveholders for their common interest to prevent the escape of their slaves — interfered to prevent the prisoner getting beyond the bounds of his bondage, and, with his slaves, pursued and hunted him with a spirit and determination which might well drive him to desperation; and when at length the prisoner appeared within reach of capture, he, with a stick in his hand, crossed over a fence, and advanced to intercept and seize him. The prisoner was anxious to escape, and, in order to do so, made every effort to avoid his pursuers. Diggs, as their leader, on the contrary, was most anxious to overtake and come in contact with the prisoner, for the unholy purpose of rivetting his chains more securely. Could it be expected from any man indulging the desire to be free, which nature has implanted in his breast, that he should quietly submit to be returned to bondage and to stripes, if by any effort of his strength or any means within his reach, he could emancipate himself? Such an expectation, it appears to me, would be most unreasonable; and I must say that, in my judgment, the prisoner was justified in using any necessary degree of force to prevent what, to him, must inevitably have proved a most fearful evil. He was committing no crime in endeavouring to escape and to better his own condition; and the fact of his being a slave cannot, in my humble judgment, make that a crime which would not be so if he were a white man. If in this country any number of persons were to pursue a coloured man with an avowed determination to return him into slavery, it cannot, I think, be doubted that the man pursued would be justified in using, in the same circumstances as the prisoner, the same means of relieving himself from so dreadful a result. Can, then, or must the law of slavery in Missouri be recognized by us to such an extent as to make it murder in Missouri, while it is justifiable in this province to do precisely the same act? I confess that I feel it too repugnant to every sense of religion and every feeling of justice, to recognize a rule, designated as a *law,* passed by the strong for enslaving and tyrannizing over the weak — a law which would not be tolerated a moment, if those who are reduced to the condition of slaves, and deprived of all human rights, were possessed of white instead of black or dark complexions. The Declaration of Independence of the present United States proclaimed to the world, that all men are born equal and possessed of certain inalienable rights, amongst which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; but the first of these is the only one accorded to the unfortunate slaves; the others of these inalienable rights are denied, because the white population have found themselves strong enough to deprive the blacks of them. A love of liberty is inherent in the human breast, whatever may be the complexion of the skin. 'Its taste is grateful, and ever will be so till nature herself shall change.' And in administering the laws of a British province, I never can feel bound to recognize as law any enactment which

> can convert into chattels a very large number of the human race. *I think that, on every ground, the prisoner is entitled to be discharged.*

In other words, there is a higher law, which even a judge may hear and obey!

The order made by the court was therefore:

> That the said John Anderson be recommitted to the custody of the keeper of the gaol of the county of Brant, under which he had been detained, until a warrant should issue, upon the requisition of the proper authorities of the United States of America, or of the state of Missouri, for his surrender; or until discharged according to law.

Only one possibility remained — Canada's Court of Error and Appeal. Could this decision be reversed? When John Anderson's counsel stated that an appeal was intended, counsel for the Crown pledged that it would throw no obstruction in the way of such appeal.

CONTINUE TO READ CHRONOLOGICALLY

"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

– Remark by character "Garin Stevens" in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST

Prepared: September 16, 2013

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, upon someone's request we have pulled it out of the hat of a pirate that has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (depicted above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of data 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 program has obvious deficiencies and so we need to go back into the data modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and do a recompile of the chronology — but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary "writerly" process which 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 your requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>.
Arrgh.