

THE AMBIENCE OF CHICAGO

What do you get from three-sevenths of a chicken,
two-thirds of a cat, and half a goat?

1673

At Maastricht, in the midst of the war then in progress between the French and the Spanish, [Père Louis Hennepin](#) reported that: “During the eight months I administered the sacraments to over eight thousand wounded men. In which occupation I ventured many dangers among the sick people, being taken ill both of a spotted fever and of a dysenterie which brought me very low and near unto death; but God at length restored me my former health by the care and help of a very skillful Dutch physician.”

Fathers Jacques Marquette, S.J. (1636-May 19, 1675) and Louis Joliet (baptized September 21, 1645-1700) became the 1st people of European descent, which is to say, the 1st people we are interested to know anything about, to traverse the northern parts of the Mississippi valley, including the area now known as [Chicago](#).¹

Father Marquette noticed, among the Nadouessi and the [Illinois](#), cross-dressers.

1674

Father Louis Joliet speculated about the feasibility of a water link between Lake Michigan and the [Illinois](#) River.

CANALS

1. From the most numerous Indian tribe in the Southwest, the Choctaw, the name “Mississippi” was derived for the largest river of the North American continent. In that language, simple adjectives such as Missah and Sippah were used when describing the most familiar things; but those two words—though they are employed thus familiarly when separated—when compounded form the most characteristic name of that river: *missah*, literally, indicating “old big,” and *sippah*, “strong.”

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1680

The empire of the Iroquois nations reached its maximum. The original homeland of the Iroquois had been in upstate New York. At this point, through conquest and migration, the *Ongwi Honwi*, superior people, of these upstate villages between the Adirondack Mountains and Niagara Falls had ascendancy from the north shore of Chesapeake Bay through Kentucky to the junction of the Ohio and Mississippi Rivers; then north following the [Illinois](#) River to the south end of Lake Michigan where [Chicago](#) is now; east across all of lower Michigan, southern Ontario and adjacent parts of southwestern Québec; and south through northern New England west of the Connecticut River through the Hudson and upper Delaware Valleys across Pennsylvania to the Chesapeake. (Only in two cases would these people ever reside elsewhere than in upstate New York: the Mingo would move into the upper Ohio Valley and the Caughnawaga would move into the upper St. Lawrence Valley.) The Seneca were the largest tribe of the League with the number of their warriors equal to number of warriors of the other four tribes combined.



1682

En route to the mouth of the Mississippi River, René Robert Cavalier, Sieur de la Salle passed through the area now known as [Chicago](#).

1683

French Jesuits established “Fort de [Chicago](#),” the area’s first true European settlement. Father Joliet suggested it would be a good idea to dig a [canal](#) from the Chicago River to the Illinois River, connecting Lake Michigan with the Mississippi watershed.



1696

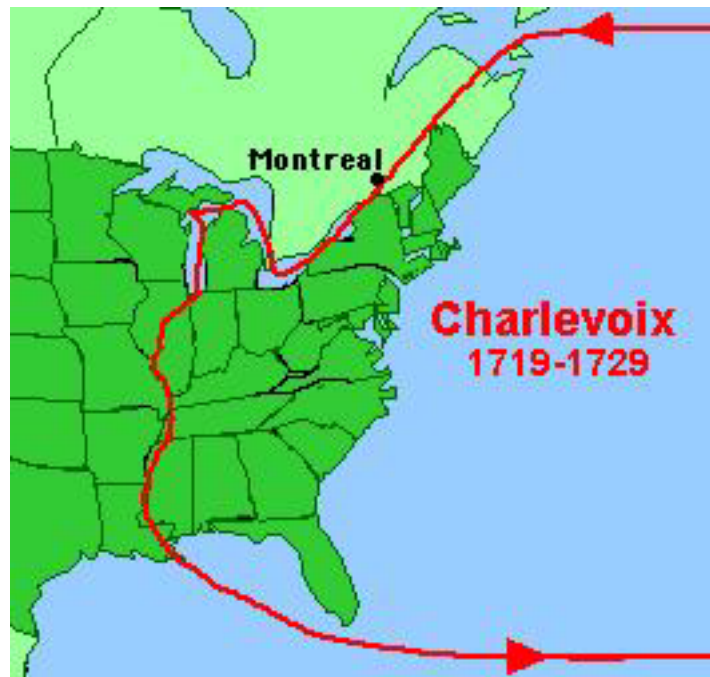
Father François Pinet, a Jesuit missionary, established the Mission of the Guardian Angel in the area now known as [Chicago](#).

1705

After conflicts developed between French traders and the Fox tribe of native Americans, “Fort de [Chicago](#)” was abandoned and the Mission of the Guardian Angel abandoned.

1721

Père [Pierre-François-Xavier de Charlevoix](#), S.J. (October 29, 1682-February 1, 1761) recorded effeminacy and widespread homosexuality and lesbianism among the tribes in what is now Louisiana. The most prominent tribes in the area at the time were the Iroquois and [Illinois](#).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1774

The [Québec](#) Act nullified all colonial rights west of the Ohio River, by enlarging the boundaries of the Province of Québec from Labrador to Lake Superior and southward into what is now Michigan, Ohio, [Illinois](#), Minnesota and Wisconsin.



1778



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: From his headquarters in Brunswick, New Jersey, General George Washington directed his army to put “green boughs” in their hats, issued them a double allowance of rum, and ordered an artillery salute; at Princeton, New Jersey, a cannon taken from Burgoyne’s army fired the artillery salute; in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, guns were fired and there were “sky rockets” but, as candles were scarce, there couldn’t be much indoor partying; at Passy in France, John Adams and Benjamin Franklin hosted a dinner for “the American Gentlemen and ladies, in and about Paris”; the first Independence Day oration was delivered by David Ramsay in Charleston, South Carolina before “a Publick Assembly of the Inhabitants”; on Kaskaskia Island in [Illinois](#), which had been under British rule, George Rogers Clark rang a liberty bell as he and his Revolutionary troops took over without firing a shot; near Plymouth in England, in the Mill Prison, Charles Herbert of Newburyport, Massachusetts and other captured Americans celebrated their nation’s freedom by attaching prison-made American flags to their hats.

Loyalists and Indians destroyed Wyoming, Pennsylvania, killing 360 militiamen.

American forces captured Kaskaskia in the Illinois territory.

In Paris, at 2:00AM, Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart wrote to Abbé Bullinger, a family friend in Salzburg, informing him that Frau Mozart had died probably of [typhoid fever](#).

1779

Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, a mulatto from Haiti, and his wife Catherine, a Potawatomi, established the first permanent settlement near the mouth of the [Chicago](#) River, just east of the present Michigan Avenue Bridge on the north bank.



Julius Scott observed on pages 85-86 of his dissertation *THE COMMON WIND: CURRENTS OF AFRO-AMERICAN COMMUNICATION IN THE ERA OF THE HAITIAN REVOLUTION* (Duke University, 1986) that:

[S]everal hundred blacks and mulattoes from Saint-Domingue participated directly in the war for North American independence, and they took back with them experiences in fighting for liberty which they may have applied to their later struggles. As a result of a 1778 commercial treaty between the United States and the French West Indies, French forces joined the Americans in military engagement against the British in the West Indies. In 1779, however, French admiral D'Estaing sailed from Saint-Domingue to Savannah with several battalions of black and mulatto troops in an effort to break up the British siege. Though the poorly coordinated attack failed to dislodge the British, observers credited one of these detachments from Saint-Domingue with covering the retreat of the American forces, thereby averting a major defeat. The lasting impact of this engagement on the minds of the black and brown soldiers proved of great importance than their heroism in 1779. Considering that these troops, numbering at least six hundred and perhaps twice that many, included among their ranks Henry Christophe, Andre Rigaud, Marial Besse, and other leaders of Saint-Domingue's fight for freedom, a nineteenth-century student of their role at Savannah has argued persuasively that "this legion ... formed the connecting link between the siege of Savannah and the wide development of republican liberty" in the new world.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

According to J.C. Dorsainvil's *HISTOIRE D'HAITI* (Henri Deschamps Editors, 1942), Henri Christophe, age 12, served in the war of the American Revolution on the side of the colonists:

The Count of Estaing, former Governor [presumably of the colony], who had become an Admiral, came to enroll men at Saint-Domingue. 1500 "affranchis" (freed slaves) went with him and fought valiantly at Savannah. Among them were Christophe, Rigaud, Beauvais etc.

Christophe evidently was wounded, but not badly.

1787

July 17: The Northwest Ordinance was completed in order to provide for government of a still-unorganized national domain. The [Reverend Manasseh Cutler](#), a botanist, and Nathan Dane, an Ohio Company land speculator, had been responsible for the bulk of the work of the creation of this Northwest Ordinance, including its prohibition of [slavery](#):

Article VI:

There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in said territory, otherwise than in punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted.²

In claiming the area now known as Minnesota, Wisconsin, Michigan, [Illinois](#), Indiana, and [Ohio](#), the United States of America pledged that:

The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians.

Further,

Their lands and property shall neer [*sic*] be taken from them

2. Territorial Governor Arthur St. Clair would create a "grandfathering" ruling to the effect that, since this prohibition could not be an *ex post facto* one, any slaves already held in the territory could be held in continuing slavery. The ordinance did not [emancipate](#) them. Also, white settlers coming into the territory subsequently could easily evade the ordinance by converting their slaves on paper into their perpetual "apprentices."

ILLINOIS

Armes du Roy telle
qu'elles sont gravées
sur l'écorce d'un
Chêne à l'endroit
marqué A

Chongaskabé ou
Nation des Forts

Missions des
Recollects

Nadouewans

Lac
Buade

Oua de Battons ou gens de Riviere

Tinthonha ou
gens des Prairies

Issati

Sault de St.
Antoine de Padoit

Lac des Pleurs

R. des Ouicominis

Portage Bay de Puari

Lac des Illinois

Fort de
Creuecœur

Mission des Recollects

Fort de
Frontenac

Lac de Corty ou
Eric

Virginie

FLORIDE

At that Convention, Elbridge Gerry was one of the most vocal delegates, presiding as chair of the committee that produced the Great Compromise but himself disliking this compromise. Ultimately he would refuse to sign [the Constitution](#) because it lacked a bill of rights and because it seemed a threat to republicanism, leading a drive against ratification in Massachusetts and denouncing the document as “full of vices” such as inadequate

9



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

representation of the people, dangerously ambiguous legislative powers, the blending of the executive and the legislative, and the prospects for an oppressive judiciary. Gerry did consider that such flaws might be remedied through a gradual process of amendment.

One concession that had been made to the slave power was that the new Constitution explicitly stipulated, that no matter how the new federal congress wanted to vote to regulate the international slave trade, it would lack the authority to do anything whatever to regulate this [international slave trade](#), until at least the year 1808. Note that there is no promise, and no implication, that as of 1808 the international slave trade was to be anathema. Not at all!



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1794

General “Mad Anthony” Wayne defeated Blue Jacket and Little Turtle at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, ending

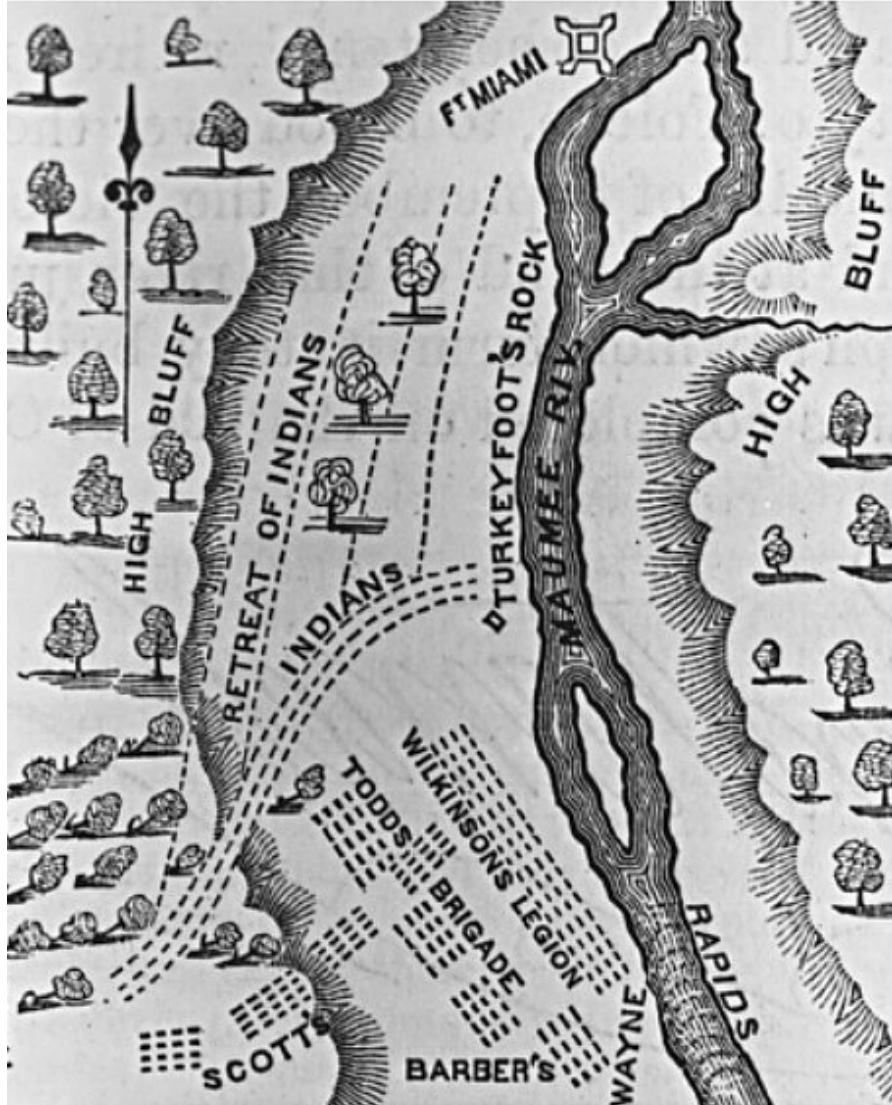


most of the Indian resistance to settlement. Soon Wayne would impose a treaty upon all the tribes ceding all

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

claims to the lands upon which the present day Detroit, Toledo, [Chicago](#), and Peoria were to be founded.



1795

General “Mad Anthony” Wayne having in the previous year defeated Blue Jacket and Little Turtle at the Battle of Fallen Timbers, ending most of the Indian resistance to settlement, he followed up in this year by imposing a treaty on all the tribes of the region. By this treaty all Indian title to the lands upon which the present day Detroit, Toledo, [Chicago](#), and Peoria would be founded was irrevocably ceded. The treaty fixed a firm boundary line between Indian territories and the US. The treaty, a seven by three foot document, was at Wayne’s insistence be signed by 1,100 chiefs. Almost immediately the US government would, it goes without saying, be ignoring and violating this treaty, it being based of course upon nothing more substantial than our word of honor.

The Treaty of Greenville, between the federal government of the United States of America and the local native tribal headmen, granted “one piece of land six miles square, at the mouth of the [Chicago](#) River” to the United States.

1796

Catherine, the Potawatomi wife of Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, delivered Eulalia Pointe du Sable, the 1st recorded birth in the area now known as [Chicago](#).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



1800



May 7: The “Father of [Chicago](#),” Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, sold out for \$1,200 and relocated to St. Charles, Missouri.



Vito Niccolo Marcello Antonio Giacomo Piccinni died in Passy near Paris at the age of 72 (he had gone to Passy in an attempt to recover his health; his remains would be interred there).

After agreement had been reached in a conference committee, the Northwest Territory Ordinance was signed into law by President John Adams:

“An ACT to divide the territory of the United States north-west of the [Ohio](#), into two separate governments.

- Sec. 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, That from and after the fourth day of July next, all that part of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, which lies to the westward of a line beginning at the Ohio, opposite to the mouth of Kentucky river, and running thence to fort Recovery, and thence north until it shall intersect the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall, for the purposes of temporary government, constitute a separate territory, and be called the Indiana Territory.
- Sec. 2. And be it further enacted, That there shall be established within the said territory a government in all respects similar to that provided by the ordinance of Congress, passed on the thirteenth day of July one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio; and the inhabitants thereof shall be entitled to, and enjoy all and singular the rights, privileges and advantages granted and secured to the people by the said ordinance.
- Sec. 3. And be it further enacted, That the officers for the said territory, who by virtue of this act shall be appointed by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall respectively exercise the same powers, perform the same duties, and receive for their services the same compensations as by the ordinance aforesaid and the laws of the United States,



have been provided and established for similar officers in the territory of the United States north-west of the river Ohio: And the duties and emoluments of Superintendant of Indian Affairs shall be united with those of governor: Provided, That the President of the United States shall have full power, in the recess of Congress, to appoint and commission all officers herein authorized; and their commissions shall continue in force until the end of the next session of Congress.

- Sec. 4. And be it further enacted, That so much of the ordinance for the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, as relates to the organization of a General Assembly therein, and prescribes the powers thereof, shall be in force and operate in the Indiana territory, whenever satisfactory evidence shall be given to the governor thereof, that such is the wish of a majority of the free-holders, notwithstanding there may not be therein five thousand free male inhabitants of the age of twenty-one years and upwards: Provided, That until there shall be five thousand free male inhabitants of twenty-one years and upwards in said territory, the whole number of representatives to the General Assembly shall not be less than seven, nor more than nine, to be apportioned by the governor to the several counties in the said territory, agreeably to the number of free males of the age of twenty-one years and upwards which they may respectively contain.
- Sec. 5. And be it further enacted, That nothing in this act contained shall be construed so as in any manner to affect the government now in force in the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river, further than to prohibit the exercise thereof within the Indiana territory, from and after the aforesaid fourth day of July next: Provided, That whenever that part of the territory of the United States which lies to the eastward of a line beginning at the mouth of the Great Miami river, and running thence due north to the territorial line between the United States and Canada, shall be erected into an independent state and admitted into the Union on an equal footing with the original states, thenceforth said line shall become and remain permanently the boundary line between such state and the Indiana territory; any thing in this act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.
- Sec. 6. And be it further enacted, That until it shall be otherwise ordered by the legislatures of the said territories respectively, Chilicothe, on Scioto river, shall be the seat of the government of the territory of the United States north-west of the Ohio river; and that Saint Vincennes, on the Wabash river, shall be the seat of the government for the Indiana territory.


THEODORE SEDGWICK, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

TH: JEFFERSON, Vice-President of the United States, and President of the Senate.

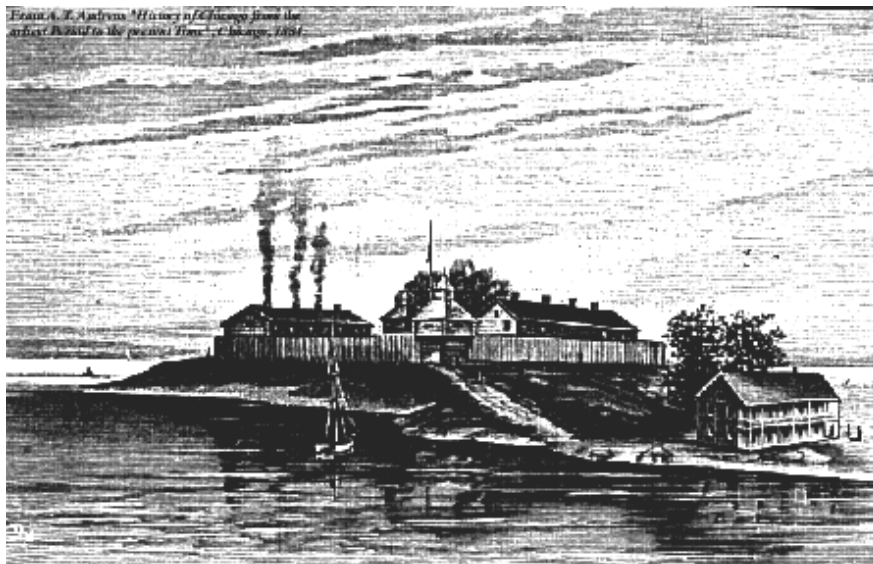
Approved — May 7th, A.D. 1800

JOHN ADAMS, President of the United States”


1803

 August 17: Publication of the Piano Trio op.12 by [Johann Nepomuk Hummel](#) was advertised in the *Wiener Zeitung*.


The US Department of War began construction of Fort Dearborn at the mouth of the [Chicago](#) River. This would take a year.




1811

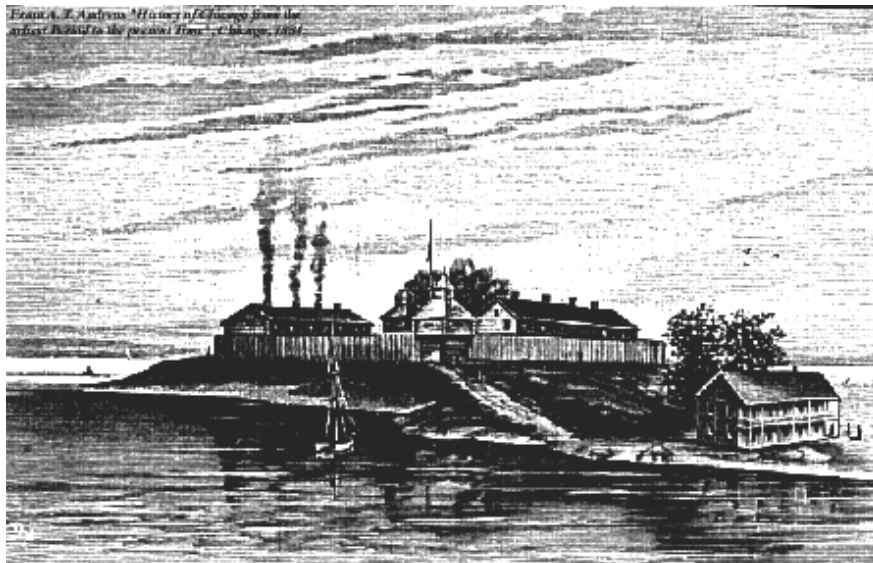
 A national road project was begun, approximately following present-day US 40 (this project would be abandoned after it had been constructed all the way to [Illinois](#), when railroad interests would be able to convince the public and the federal government that such a form of transportation would soon be obsolete).

1813

 In [Illinois](#) in this year it was determined that if any black Americans were to seek to establish residency — they were to be subjected to repeated public lashings until this brought about the desired change in their persuasion.



 August 15: Fort Dearborn, at what was to become [Chicago](#), had been surrendered to the British. The evacuees were massacred by the Native American allies of the British.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1814

➡ President James Madison asked the US Congress for authorization to dig a ship [canal](#) from the [Chicago](#) River to Des Plaines and the Illinois River.

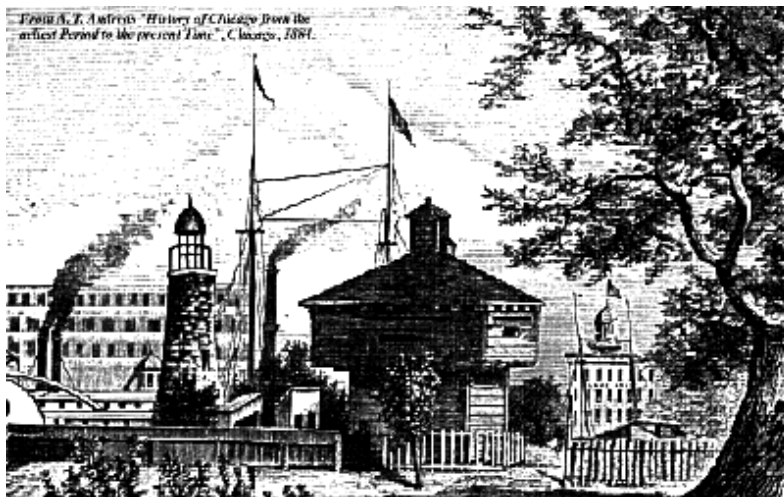
➡ During this year and the next, the [Illinois Intelligencer](#) was starting up at Kaskaskia, as the 1st newspaper in [Illinois](#).

1815

➡ At about this point the use of the small plough, for the cultivation of corn, was introduced among the French settlers in [Illinois](#). Mr. Charles L. Flint says their ploughs, “from the time of their occupation, in 1682, down to the [War of 1812](#), were made of wood, with a small point of iron fastened upon the wood by strips of raw-hide. The beams rested upon an axle and small wooden wheels. They were drawn by oxen yoked by the horns, the yokes being straight and fastened to the horns by raw-leather straps, a pole extending back from the yoke the axle. These ploughs were large and clumsy.... They used carts that had not a particle of iron about them.”

1816

➡ In [Chicago](#), Fort Dearborn was rebuilt. This is what it would look like as in 1856 it was being demolished:





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1818



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

7th day 17 of 1 M / My H set the eveng at Aunt Earls I joined her about & spent an hour very plreasantly

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[Friend Morris Birkbeck](#) (1764-1825), who had been the first farmer in England to raise merino sheep, wrote back to England from the prairie south of Olney, [Illinois](#) (the town in which if you run over a squirrel you now need to pay a fine of \$500, but only if the squirrel was white):

*MY DEAR SIR,
Jan. 17, 1818.*

I WROTE to you early in September, since which I hope you have received a copy of my journal. Thus having made you of our party on the journey, and introduced you to some acquaintance with our Princeton affairs, I am now going to take you to the prairies, to shew you the very beginning of our settlement. Having fixed on the north-western portion of our prairie for our future residence and farm, the first act was building a cabin, about two hundred yards from the spot where the house is to stand. This cabin is built of round straight logs, about a foot in diameter, lying upon each other, and notched in at the corners, forming a room eighteen feet long by sixteen; the intervals between the logs "chuncked," that is, filled in with slips of wood; and "mudded," that is, daubed with a plaister of mud: a spacious chimney, built also of logs, stands like a bastion at one end: the roof is well covered with four hundred "clap boards" of cleft oak, very much like the pales used in England for fencing parks. A hole is cut through the side, called, very properly, the "door, (the through,)" for which there is a "shutter," made also of cleft oak, and hung on wooden hinges. All this has been executed by contract, and well executed, for twenty dollars. I have since added ten dollars to the cost, for the luxury of a floor and ceiling of sawn boards, and it is now a comfortable habitation.

To this cabin you must accompany me, a young English friend, and my boy Gillard, whom you may recollect at Wanborough. We arrived in the evening, our horses heavily laden with our guns, and provisions, and cooking utensils, and blankets, not forgetting the all-important axe. This was immediately put in requisition, and we soon kindled a famous fire, before which we spread our pallets, and, after a hearty supper, soon forgot that besides ourselves, our horses and our dogs, the wild animals of the forest were the only inhabitants of our wide domain. Our cabin stands at the edge of the prairie, just within the wood, so as to be concealed from the view until you are at the very door. Thirty paces to the east the prospect opens from a commanding eminence over the prairie, which extends four miles to the south and south-east, and over the woods beyond to a great distance; whilst the high timber behind, and on each side, to the west, north, and east, forms a sheltered cove about five hundred yards



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

in width. It is about the middle of this cove, two hundred and fifty yards from the wood each way, but open to the south, that we propose building our house.

Well, having thus established myself as a resident proprietor, in the morning my boy and I (our friend having left us) sallied forth in quest of neighbours, having heard of two new settlements at no great distance. Our first visit was to Mr. Emberson, who had just established himself in a cabin similar to our own, at the edge of a small prairie two miles north-west of us. We found him a respectable young man, more farmer than hunter, surrounded by a numerous family, and making the most of a rainy day by mending the shoes of his household. We then proceeded to Mr. Woodland's, about the same distance southwest: he is an inhabitant of longer standing, for he arrived in April, Mr. E. in August. He has since built for us a second cabin, connected with the first by a covered roof or porch, which is very convenient, forming together a commodious dwelling.

In our walk we saw no game but partridges, and a squirrel. We found plenty of grapes, which I thought delicious. The soil seemed to improve in fertility on closer inspection, and the country appeared more pleasant: in fact, my mind was at ease, and this spreads a charm over external objects. Our township is a square of six miles each side, or thirty-six square miles; and what may properly be called our neighbourhood, extends about six miles round this township in every direction. Six miles to the north is the boundary of surveyed lands. Six miles to the east is the Bonpas, a stream which joins the Big Wabash about six miles south of us, where the latter river makes a bold bend to the west, approaching within six miles of the Little Wabash: this river forms our western boundary, at about the same distance up to the northern line of survey above-mentioned. The centre of this tract is our prairie, containing about 4,000 acres.

There are many other prairies, or natural meadows, of various dimensions and qualities, scattered over this surface, which consists of about two hundred square miles, containing perhaps twelve human habitations, all erected, I believe, within one year of our first visit -- most of them within three months. At or near the mouth of the Bonpas, where it falls into the Big Wabash, we project a shipping port: a ridge of high land, without any intervening creek, will afford an easy communication with the river at that place.

The Wabash, as you know, is a noble stream, navigable several hundred miles from its junction with the Ohio, and receiving other navigable rivers in its course: White River in particular, opening a communication with the most fertile region of Indiana, will at a future day hold a distinguished rank among rivers. The country above, both on the Wabash and White River, is peopling rapidly; and there is, through the Ohio, a great natural channel of intercourse between this vast country and the ocean. Steamboats already navigate the Wabash: a vessel of that description has this winter made its way up from New Orleans to within a few miles of our settlement. They are about building one at Harmony, twenty miles below, as a regular trader, to carry off the surplus produce, and bring back coffee, sugar, and other groceries, as



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

well as European manufactures.

There are no very good mill-seats on the streams in our neighbourhood, but our prairie affords a most eligible site for a windmill; we are therefore going to erect one immediately: the materials are in great forwardness, and we hope to have it in order to grind the fruits of the ensuing harvest.

Two brothers, and the wife of one of them, started from the village of Puttenham, close to our old Wanborough, and have made their way out to us: they are carpenters, and are now very usefully employed in preparing the scantlings for the mill, and other purposes. You may suppose how cordially we received these good people. They landed at Philadelphia, not knowing where on this vast continent they should find us: from thence they were directed to Pittsburg, a wearisome journey over the mountains of more than 300 miles; at Pittsburgh they bought a little boat for six or seven dollars, and came gently down the Ohio, 1,200 miles, to Shawnee-town; from thence they proceeded on foot till they found us. On their way they had many flattering offers; but true to their purpose, though uninvited and unlooked for, they held out to the end, and I believe they are well satisfied with their reception and prospects.

By the first of March I hope to have two ploughs at work, and may possibly put in 100 acres of corn this spring. Early in May, I think, we shall be all settled in a convenient temporary dwelling, formed of a range of cabins of ten rooms, until we can accomplish our purpose of building a more substantial house. My young folks desire to be most kindly remembered to you: they are full of life and spirits; not one of them, I believe, having felt a symptom of repentance from the commencement of our undertaking.

*I remain, dear Sir,
ever yours.⁴*

4. NOTES ON A JOURNEY IN AMERICA, FROM THE COAST OF VIRGINIA TO THE TERRITORY OF ILLINOIS [IN 1817] (London: Severn & Co., 1818). This region of Illinois now boasts more pig farms per square mile than anywhere else in the United States of America.

 August 28, Friday: The “Father of [Chicago](#),” Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, died in poverty in St. Charles, Missouri.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



December 3, Thursday: Karl van Beethoven, young nephew and ward of [Ludwig van Beethoven](#), ran away from his uncle and back to his mother. When the composer went to his sister-in-law's house, she asked to keep him until that evening so Ludwig, being Ludwig, summoned the police and had them extract Karl by force. He then returned the lad to the Del Rio boarding school he had pulled him out of on the previous January 24th.

Giaocchino Rossini's drama Ricciardo e Zoraide to words of Berio di Salsa after Forteguerra was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro San Carlo of Naples. It was very successful.

A southern portion of the Illinois Territory was admitted to our federal union as its 21st state, with the balance of this territory being joined into the Michigan Territory to extend it to the west of the Mississippi River divide. (The capital of the new state of [Illinois](#) was declared to be Kaskaskia on the Mississippi River. This capital would be transferred to Vandalia as of 1820.)



Like Ohio, Indiana, and Oregon, the new state would incorporate a [racist](#) anti-immigration clause into its state constitution. Nobody of color, like the recently deceased "Father of [Chicago](#)," Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable, was ever again to be permitted to come here.



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

5th day 3d of 12th M 1818 / Our Meeting was very crowded with people of various denominations from two causes the first was Osborn Mowry & Eliza Ann Southwick were Married & the second one it is what is denominated Thanksgiving Day which afforded many a lesure opportunity to attend - considering the mixed multitude present it was very solid & quiet David Buffum was largely engaged in testimony to good satisfaction & Anne Dennis appeared



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

in a few words. -

5th day 6th [sic] of 12th M / Last 5th day & today I took my seat in Meeting among the Elders - seemed[?] much like being made a spectacle of Men & Angels, tho' under indifferent circumstances from Paul, for he fought with beasts at Ephesus & overcame, but I, tho' a spectacle & brought into a conspicuous standing in society have yet to overcome many spiritual enemies that are comparable to beasts, & may my spirit be made willing to endure the conflict & become worthy of my station. - Meetings were low seasons to me tho' attended with favor, for I consider, to be able to feel low & dependant is a signal in itself of favor. I could but reflect how inferior my state of mind was to the four & twenty Elders we read of. Oh the washing the burning & purification of every kind that I must undergo before I shall be able to cry as they did, "Worthy is the Lord." - In the forenoon father Rodman delivered a short lively testimony - Afternoon Silent.

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1821



August 29, day: In [Chicago](#), a treaty document was created by [Lewis Cass](#) and Solomon Sibley, Commissioners of the United States, and endorsed by headmen of the Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie nations:

ARTICLE 1. The Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pottawatamie, Nations of Indians cede to the United States all the Land comprehended within the following boundaries: Beginning at a point on the south bank of the river St. Joseph of Lake Michigan, near the Parc aux Vaches, due north from Rum's Village, and running thence south to a line drawn due east from the southern extreme of Lake Michigan, thence with the said line east to the Tract ceded by the Pottawatamies to the United States by the Treaty of Fort Meigs in 1817, if the said line should strike the said Tract, but if the said line should pass north of the said Tract, then such line shall be continued until it strikes the western boundary of the Tract ceded to the United States by the Treaty of Detroit in 1807, and from the termination of the said line, following the boundaries of former cessions, to the main branch of the Grand River of Lake Michigan, should any of the said lines cross the said River, but if none of the said lines should cross the said River, then to a point due east of the source of the said main branch of the said river, and from such point due west to the source of the said principal branch, and from the crossing of the said River, or from the source thereof, as the case may be, down the said River, on the north bank thereof, to the mouth; thence following the shore of Lake Michigan to the south bank of the said river St. Joseph, at the mouth thereof, ad thence with the said south bank to the place of beginning.

ART. 2. From the cession aforesaid, there shall be reserved, for



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

the use of the Indians, the following Tracts:

One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be Village, on the river Peble, of six miles square.

One tract at Mick-ke-saw-be, of six miles square.

One tract at the village of Na-to-wa-se-pe, of four miles square.

One tract at the village of Prairie Ronde, of three miles square.

One tract at the village the Match-be-barh-she-wish, at the head of the Kekalamazoo river.

ART. 3. There shall be granted by the United States to each of the Grants to persons following persons, being all Indians by descent, and to their heirs, the following Tracts of Land:

To John Burnet, two sections of land.

To James Burnet, Abraham Burnet, Rebecca Burnett and Nancy Burnet, each one section of land; which said John, James, Abraham, Rebecca, and Nancy, are children of Kaw-kee-me, sister of Top-ni-be, principal chief of the Potawatamie nation.

The land granted to the persons immediately preceding, shall begin on the north bank of the river St. Joseph, about two miles from the mouth, and shall extend up and back from the said river for quantity.

To John B. La Lime, son of Noke-no-quā, one-half of a section of land, adjoining the tract before granted, and on the upper side thereof.

To Jean B. Chandonai, son of Chip-pe-wa-quā, two sections of land, on the river St. Joseph, above and adjoining the tract granted to J. B. La Line.

To Joseph Daze, son of Chip-pe-wa-quā, one section of land above and adjoining the tract granted to Jean B. Chandonai.

To Monguago, one-half of a section of land, at Mish-she-wa-ko-kink.

To Pierre Moran or Peeresh, a Potawatamie Chief, one section of land, and to his children two sections of land, at the mouth of the Elkheart river.

To Pierre Le Clerc, son of Moi-quā, one section of land on the Elkheart river, above and adjoining the tract granted to Mora and his children.

The section of land granted by the Treaty of St. Mary's, in 1818, to Peeresh or Perig, shall be granted to Jean B. Cicot, son of Pe-say-quot, sister of the said Peeresh, it having been so intended at the execution of the said Treaty.

To O-she-ak-ke-be or Benac, one-half of a section of land on the north side of the Elk-heart river, where the road from Chicago to Fort Wayne first crosses the said river.

To Me-naw-che, a Potawatamie woman, one-half of a section of land on the eastern bank of the St. Joseph, where the road from Detroit to Chicano first crosses the said river.

To Theresa Chandler or To-e-ak-qui, a Potawatamie woman, and to her daughter Betsey Fisher, one section of land on the south side of the Grand River, opposite to the Spruce Swamp.

To Charles Beaubien and Medart Beaubien, sons of Man-na-ben-aquā, each one-half of a section of land near the village of Ke-wi-go-shkeem, on the Washtenaw river.

To Antoine Roland, son of I-gat-pat-a-wat-a-mie-quā, one-half



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Pierre Moran.

To William Knaggs or Was-es-kuk-son, son of Ches-quaa, one-half of a section of land adjoining and below the tract granted to Antoine Roland.

To Madeline Bertrand, wife of Joseph Bertrand, a Potawatamie woman, one section of land at the Pare aux Vaches, on the north side of the river St. Joseph.

To Joseph Bertrand, junior, Benjamin Bertrand, Laurent Bertrand, Theresa Bertrand, and Amable Bertrand, children of the said Madeline Bertrand, each one half of a section of land at the portage of the Kankakee river.

To John Riley, son of Me-naw-cum-a-go-quoi, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said River.

To Peter Riley, the son of Me-naw-cum-e-go-quaa, one section of land, at the mouth of the river Au Foin, on the Grand River, and extending down the said river.

To Jean B. Le Clerc, son of Moi-quaa, one half of a section of land, above and adjoining the tract granted to Pierre Le Clerc.

To Joseph La Framboise, son of Shaw-we-no-quaa, one section of land upon the south side of the river St. Joseph, and adjoining on the upper side the land ceded to the United States, which said section is also ceded to the United States.

The Tracts of Land herein stipulated to be granted, shall never be leased or conveyed by the grantees or their heirs to any persons whatever, without the permission of the President of the United States. And such tracts shall be located after the said cession is surveyed, and in conformity with such surveys as near as may be, and in such manner as the President may direct.

ART. 4. In consideration of the cession aforesaid, the United States engage to pay to the Ottawa nation, one thousand dollars in specie annually forever, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of ten years, the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith, of a Teacher, and of a person to instruct the Ottawas in agriculture and in the purchase of cattle and farming utensils. And the United States also engage to pay to the Potawatamie nation five thousand dollars in specie, annually, for the term of twenty years, and also to appropriate annually, for the term of fifteen years, the sum of one thousand dollars, to be expended as the President may direct, in the support of a Blacksmith and a Teacher. And one mile square shall be selected, under the direction of the President, on the north side of the Grand River, and one mile square on the south side of the St. Joseph, and within the Indian lands not ceded, upon which the blacksmiths and teachers employed for the said tribes, respectively, shall reside.

ART. 5. The stipulation contained in the treaty of Greenville, relative to the right of the Indians to hunt upon the land ceded while it continues the property of the United States, shall apply to this treaty.

ART. 6. The United States shall have the privilege of making and



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

using a road through the Indian country, from Detroit and Fort Wayne, respectively, to Chicago.

ART. 7. This Treaty shall take effect and be obligatory on the contracting parties, so soon as the same shall be ratified by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate thereof.

In testimony whereof, the said Lewis Cass and Solomon Sibley, commissioners as aforesaid, and the chiefs and warriors of the said Ottawa, Chippewa, and Pattiwatima nations, have hereunto set their hands, at Chicago aforesaid, this 29th day of August, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-one.

[signatures]

The tract reserved at the village of Match-e-be-nash-she-wish, at the head of the Ke-kal-i-ma-zoo river, was by agreement to be three miles square. The extent of the reservation was accidentally omitted.

1822



America's first mineral rush, to a region in [Illinois](#) which would be named Galena (the mineral was lead).

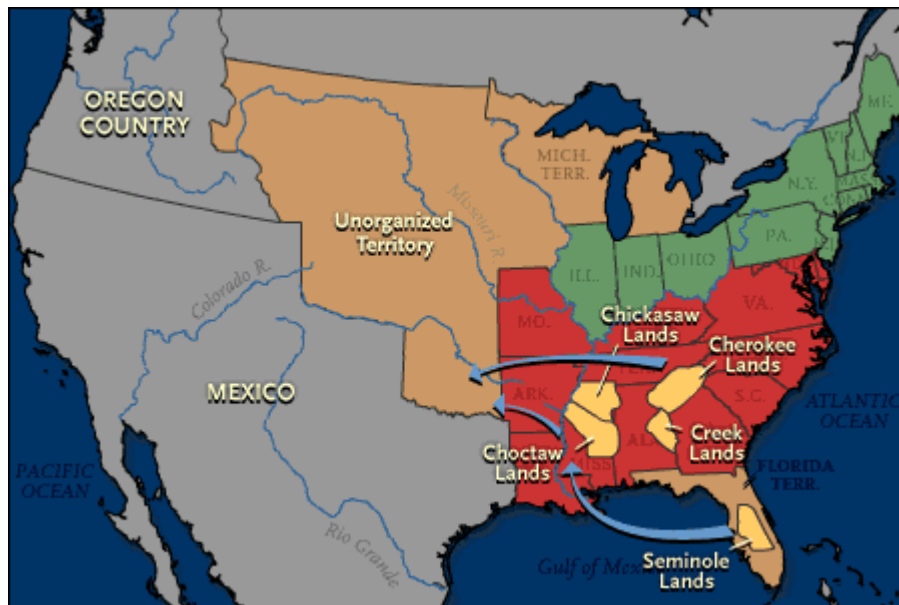
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



According to Mary Helen Dunlop's *SIXTY MILES FROM CONTENTMENT: TRAVELING THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICAN INTERIOR* (NY: HarperCollins BasicBooks, 1995, page 97), the actual native American was at this point being replaced in non-native American experience, through poverty of experience, by the idea of the primitive and by the artistic representation of the Indian (emphasis added):

In 1822, after a residence of one year in Illinois, John Woods wrote, "I have not seen one Indian." Passage of the Indian Removal Act in 1830 further decreased the likelihood that a traveler in the interior would encounter any Indian: by 1838 only 26,700 Indians remained resident east of the Mississippi. Travelers who entered the interior after 1830 had seen more Indians immobilized in murals and marble in the United States Capitol than they would see in the flesh on the landscape of the interior, and they had read more ornate metaphors spoken by Indians on the pages of James Fenimore Cooper's novels than they would hear syllables uttered by Indians. Fully aware, however, that their worldwide reading audience expected descriptions of so famous a North American fact as its Indian population, travelers wrote in answer to that expectation – and if they were writing as much about Horatio Greenough's sculpted Indians as about any real persons, they could nonetheless cling to the peculiar confidence that arises from presuming that their subjects were unlikely ever to hear of what travelers said or wrote about them.



1823



The US Army defeated the Sac and Fox headman Black Hawk who had created an alliance with the Ho-Chunk (Winnebago), Pottawatomie, and Kickapoo to resist white incursions into the Illinois country, freeing white farmers of corn to enter this region.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1829

➡ The [Illinois](#) Legislature appointed a commission to dig a canal connecting [Chicago](#) with the Mississippi River by way of the DesPlaines and Illinois rivers and to lay out towns, to sell lots, and to apply the proceeds to the construction of the canal. The canal commissioners employed James Thompson, a civil engineer, to lay out the original town.

1830

➡ James Bucklin began surveys for [canal](#) and railroad routes between Lake Michigan and the [Illinois](#) River.

➡ By this point, since the Indiana Supreme Court had decided in 1820 that the 1816 state convention had banned [slavery](#), only three slaves were known still to be present within that State. Because the [Illinois](#) constitution of 1818 had, however, allowed for evasive “apprenticeships,” there were still at this point (where, in Macon County, Abraham Lincoln was currently constructing a log cabin) quite a few slaves there — and that would continue to be the situation until 1845.⁵



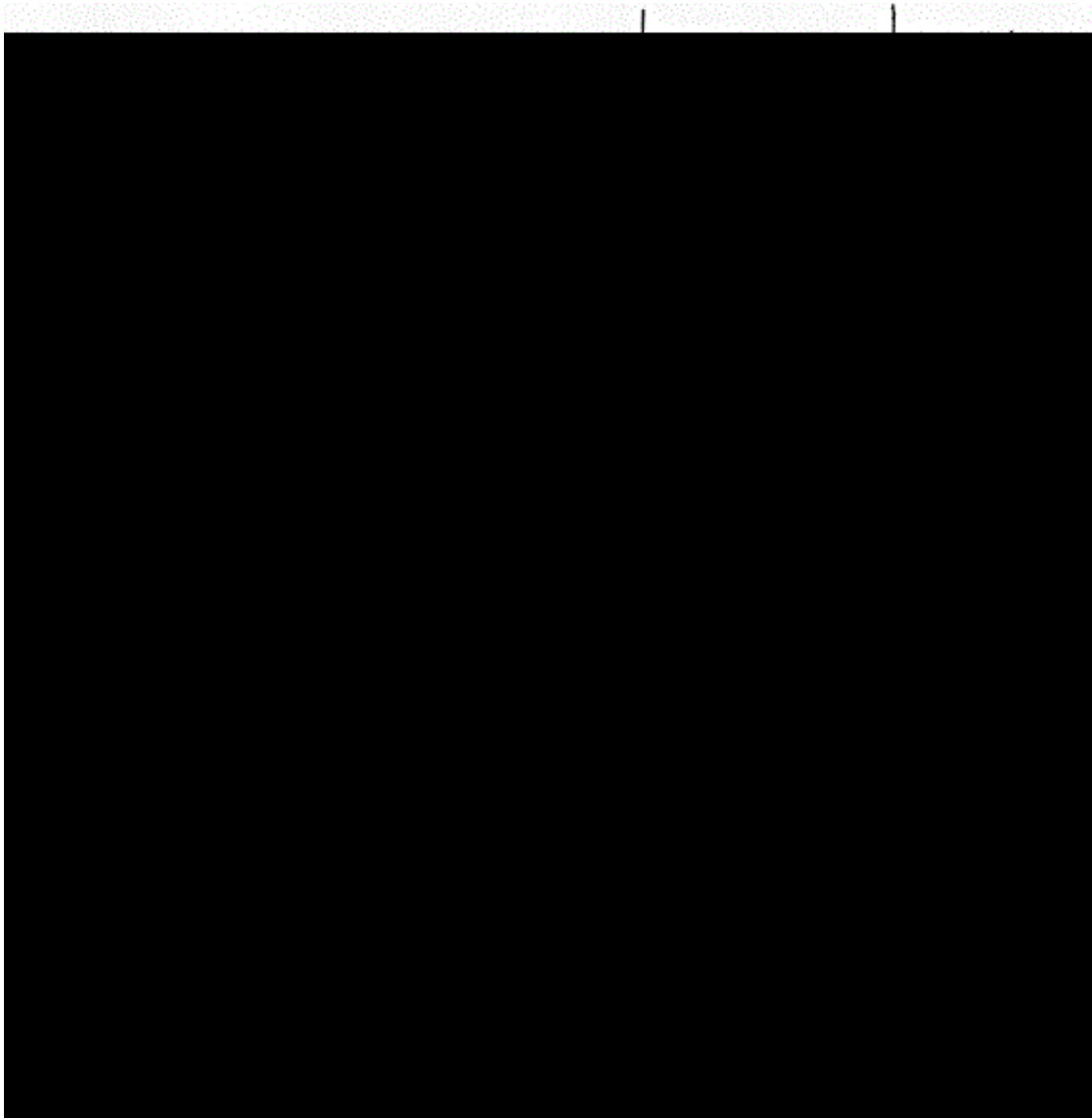
➡ January: Instruction began at [Illinois](#) College.

5. Shortly after his assassination in April 1865, his admirer Phineas Taylor Barnum would order constructed a replica of this in his American Museum in New-York, for display along with “a playbill of Ford’s Theater picked up in President Lincoln’s box on April 14th.”




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ILLINOIS




CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

 March 1, Monday: The Argyll Rooms having been destroyed by fire, the Philharmonic Society gave their initial concert in their new temporary home, the King's Theater (they would perform at the King's Theater for the following 38 years).


In Indiana, Thomas Lincoln's family, including Abraham Lincoln, just turned 21, begin a 200-mile journey to re-settle on uncleared land along the Sangamon River, near Decatur in central [Illinois](#) (Abe would make his 1st political speech in order to further the project of general improving of navigation on this river).


 August 4, Wednesday: James Thompson, a civil engineer hired by the [Illinois](#) Legislature, filed a survey and plat of the town of [Chicago](#) in Section 9, Township 39, Range 14, and the municipality received its first legal description — although the town would not incorporate for another three years.

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


4th day Attended the Select Quarterly Meeting & After Meeting rode into [Newport](#) & lodged at our Own home. - Visited many of our friends & relations in the course of the evening. -

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 Early December: Early during this month, Edward Beecher arrived at Illinois College in Jacksonville, [Illinois](#), where he would serve as president.

 December 16, Thursday: Abraham Lincoln, age 21, helped set the value of a stray mare.

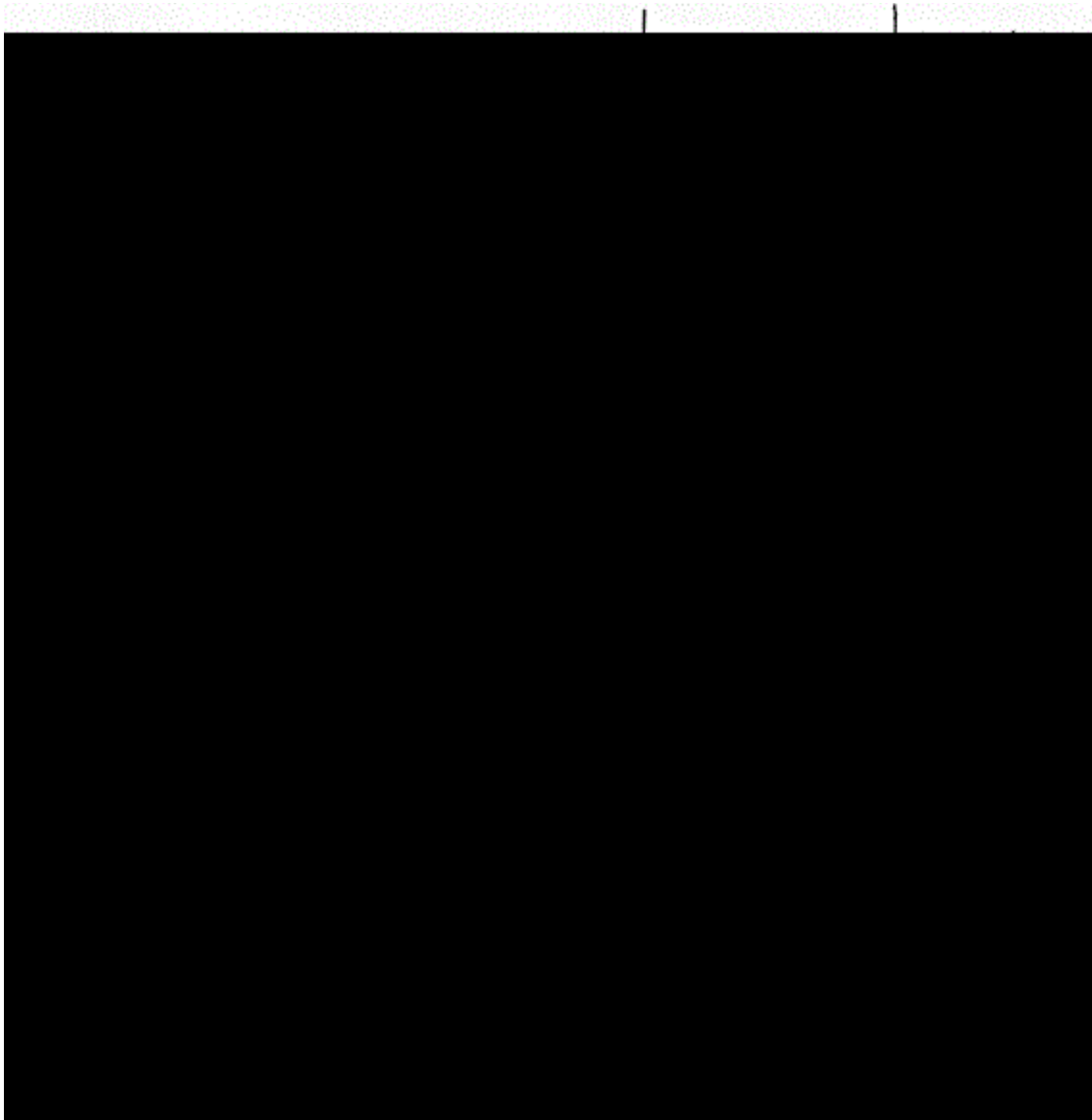
1831

 Abraham Lincoln made a second flatboat trip to New Orleans. His father moved again but Abe didn't go along with the family this time. Instead he settled in New Salem, [Illinois](#), where he would work as a clerk in the village store and sleep in the back. He was learning basic math, reading [William Shakespeare](#) and Robert Burns, and participating in a local debating society. In this year he wrestled a man named Jack Armstrong to a draw.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



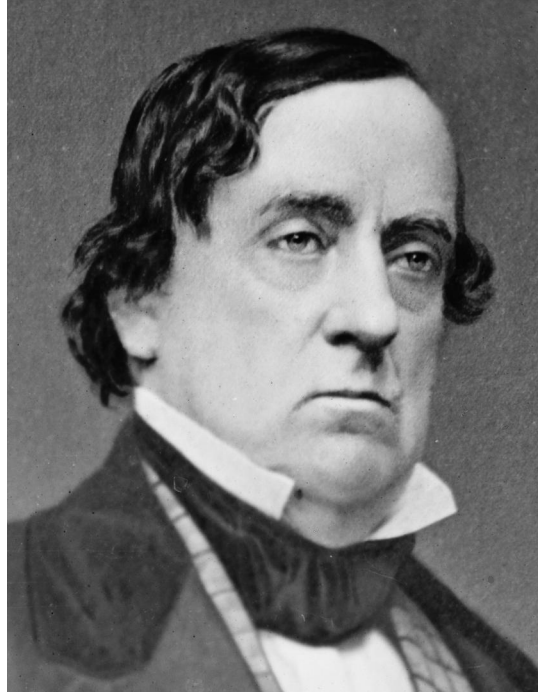
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



August 1, Monday: The entire capitalization of New York's Mohawk and Hudson Rail-Road was paid.

[Lewis Cass](#) resigned as governor of the Michigan Territory in order to serve as Secretary of War under President Andrew Jackson. He would be a central figure of the Jackson administration's Indian removal policy.



Approximate date of Abraham Lincoln's arrival in New Salem, [Illinois](#), where he would work as a clerk in Denton Offut's village store, sleeping in the back.

[John Amy Bird Bell](#), 14 years of age, was [hanged](#) at half-past eleven o'clock for having offed Richard F. Taylor, 13 years of age, the son of a poor tallow-chandler, in a wood by the road, for the sake of nine shillings he was carrying (the equivalent of an unskilled laborer's weekly wage). At his sentencing, when the judge with the black cloth atop his judicial wig directed that his corpse was to be given over to the surgeons of Rochester for practice in dissection, this young culprit had exhibited some dismay.

On March 4th, the victim lad had been sent to Aylesford to collect his father's weekly parish allowance.

On May 11th, his body was found in a ditch and a white horn-handled knife led the authorities to a nearby poorhouse and the Bell family, a father with two sons. The younger of the two brothers, James Bell, required by the constable to search through the pockets of the clothes upon the decayed corpse, confessed that his older brother, John Bell, had waylaid the victim in the wood, and that meanwhile he had kept watch. He said he had received a shilling sixpence as his share of the nine shillings. The older brother then pointed out to the constable the pond at which he had washed the blood off his hands on his way home. He also pointed and said: "That's where I killed the poor boy," and added "He is better off than I am now: do not you think he is, sir?" (Thoreau would write, in "Civil Disobedience," "... If a man who has no property refuses but once to earn nine shillings for the State, he is put in prison for a period unlimited by any law that I know, and...." That would not have been a reference to this Newgate case since it is in a context of honest earning rather than in a context of dishonest theft, although it may have been a reference to the "[Tolpuddle Martyrs](#)" who had held out in 1834-1836 for a week's wage of ten shillings.)



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



November 22, Tuesday: Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont, after spending a few more days in Philadelphia, set out for Pittsburgh, and the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. On the steamboat *The Fourth of July*, they would converse with “a great landholder from the State of [Illinois](#).”

A notice regarding Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont was printed in Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser.

In Lyon, France, manufacturing had been so depressed that artisans were able to earn only eightpence by working an 18-hour day. Desperate, they began an insurrection, and after a hard day’s fighting, had driven the military out of the town (on December 3d Marshal Soult would march an army of 40,000 with 100 cannon into town to restore order and submission — a gesture that would prove more than adequate).

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

3rd day 22 of 11th M 1831 / A much longer time has elapsed than for a longtime before, since I have written in my journal. – There has been but little different from the usual course in the time & sometimes I have almost felt discouraged, about making so many similar records in this way, but on the whole I do not feel so well satisfied to wholly omit it. – It is three Years this day since we came to [Providence](#) to live I will remember the day & time. – where we shall be at the end of another three years, we know not. – nor do I at this moment feel as if I cared, so that we are in the right place, & have as much to be thankful for as we have for the last three years of our life – for tho’ some bitter cups have been our portion – we have been favoured with strength to endure them, & have recd many favours for which I trust we are thankful to the Giver of All Good

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

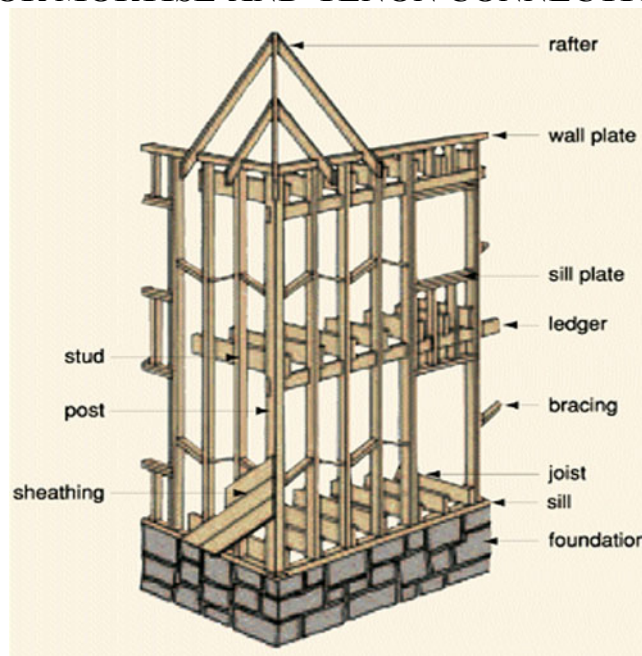
1832



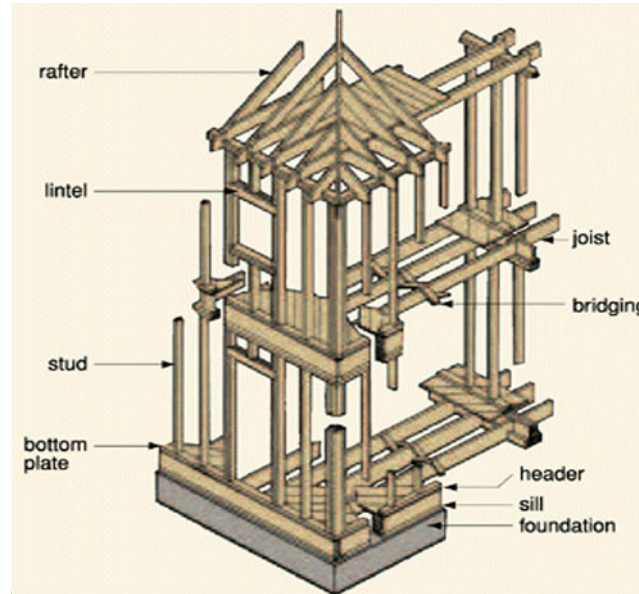
In [Chicago](#), balloon framing was developed by George Washington Snow. Mass-manufactured metal nails were becoming standard and could be relied on to hold a house structure together, without diagonal braces and without the mortise-and-tenon connections which had been making it necessary to employ thicker corner beams and do laborious hand cutting and joining and fitting at a house site.



“BRACED” OR “EASTERN” FRAMING, WITH THICK MEMBERS FOR MORTISE-AND-TENON CONNECTION



“BALLOON” OR “CHICAGO” FRAMING USING LONG, EXPENSIVE 2X4S



“PLATFORM” OR “WESTERN” FRAMING USING CHEAPER SHORT 2X4S

Although this was the year in which Claude-François-Dorothée, marquis de Jouffroy d’Abbans was dying bitter and quite forgotten in Paris, it also happens to have been the 1st year in which one would have been able to view a steamboat plying the waters of Lake Michigan off [Chicago](#).





A few facts will exhibit as well as a volume the wonderful growth of Western trade and commerce. Previous to the year 1800, some eight or ten keel-boats, of twenty or twenty-five tons each, performed all the carrying trade between [Cincinnati](#) and Pittsburg. In 1802 the first government vessel appeared on Lake Erie. In 1811 the first steamboat (the Orleans) was launched at Pittsburg. In 1826 the waters of Michigan were first ploughed by the keel of a steamboat, a pleasure trip to Green Bay being planned and executed in the summer of this year. In 1832 a steamboat first appeared at [Chicago](#). At the present time the entire number of steamboats running on the Mississippi and Ohio and their tributaries is more probably over than under six hundred, the aggregate tonnage of which is not short of one hundred and forty thousand; a larger number of steamboats than England can claim, and a greater steam commercial marine than that employed by Great Britain and her dependencies.




CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

 April: Headman Black Hawk was leading his Sac warriors back into [Illinois](#), precipitating a 4-month “Black Hawk War.” At this point, Abraham Lincoln, who had in March become a candidate for the [Illinois](#) General Assembly, enlisted in the militia to help fight Sauk and Fox tribesmen and was elected to serve as the Captain of his rifle company. When his company was disbanded, he would re-enlist as a private. His total service would be three months, and he would not participate in a battle. After heavy losses in Wisconsin, the Sac and Fox would agree to remain west of the Mississippi.

 April 5, Thursday: Prime Minister Casimir Perier of France fell ill with the cholera. One day before the 2d concert given by [Nicolò Paganini](#) on this trip to Paris, patrons terrified by the epidemic of cholera stormed the box office demanding their money back.

In defiance of an 1830 treaty (to which he had not been a party), Headman Black Hawk of the Sac and Fox tribes brought 2,000 of his tribespeople across the Mississippi River into the territory of [Illinois](#). This grouping was known as the “British Band.” Sak headman Keokuk, who opposed headman Black Hawk, alerted the white settlers to this movement.

 August 6, Monday: In the election for the General Assembly in [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln failed to win a seat. Soon, the village store in which he was working would go out of business, and he and a partner, William Berry, would purchase another village store in New Salem.

In [Providence, Rhode Island](#), the “Tockwotten house” was offered as a [cholera](#) hospital by its owner Moses B. Ives, and conversion of the facility was begun and physicians began to congregate there — but as yet there was no identified local patient who could be there isolated, since those who had been displaying symptoms had already all died.

The last gibbets in England were erected near South Shields for a hanging that took place on this day and at Leicester for a hanging that would take place on the 11th (although the gibbet near South Shields would be removed promptly, the one at Leicester would continue to stand until 1856).

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

2nd day 6th of 8 M / Enoch Breed our Superintendent left the Institution this Mornng - on a visit to his relations & friends at Weare, Lydia his wife having gone Several days previous, & Pliny Earl & Saml Gumere on a Tour to the White Mountains which make the house very lonesom & gives it an additional appearance of disertion. - We are however, who remain preserved in the quiet & do not give way to distrust, or a repining disposition

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

1833

The failure of the village store in New Salem, [Illinois](#) which had been ventured by Abraham Lincoln and a business partner left the partners badly in debt. Lincoln was appointed as Postmaster of New Salem.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



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



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



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

I WAS sent home, and was glad enough to leave the service of one who was tearing the husband from the wife, the child from the mother, and the sister from the brother – but a trial more severe and heart-rending than any which I had yet met with awaited me. My dear sister had been sold to a man who was going to Natchez, and was lying in jail awaiting the hour of his departure. She had expressed her determination to die, rather than go to the far south, and she was put in jail for safekeeping. I went to the jail the same day that I arrived, but as the jailer was not in I could not see her.

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



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

said,

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

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

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

"Why?" said he.

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

"Do you not call me a good master?"

"If you were you would not sell me."

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

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

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

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

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

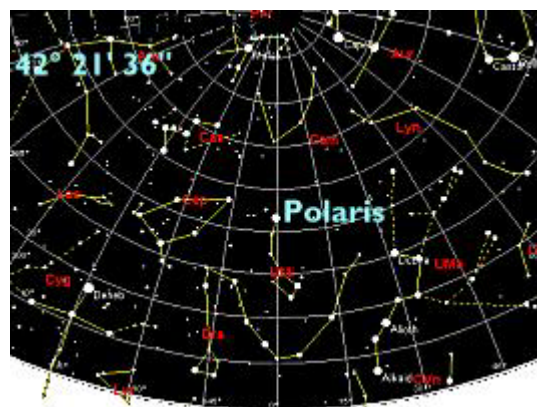
a prospect of being able to get away from them. After much persuasion I succeeded in inducing her to make the attempt to get away.

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

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

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

We remained in the woods during the day, and as soon as darkness overshadowed the earth, we started again on our gloomy way, having no guide but the North Star. We continued to travel by



night, and secrete ourselves in the woods by day; and every night, before emerging from our hiding-place, we would anxiously



look for our friend and leader – the North Star. And in the language of Pierpont we might have exclaimed,

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

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

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

On the eighth day of our journey, we had a very heavy rain, and in a few hours after it commenced we had not a dry thread upon our bodies. This made our journey still more unpleasant. On the tenth day, we found ourselves entirely destitute of provisions, and how to obtain any we could not tell. We finally resolved to stop at some farm-house, and try to get something to eat. We had no sooner determined to do this, than we went to a house, and asked them for some food. We were treated with great kindness, and they not only gave us something to eat, but gave us provisions to carry with us. They advised us to travel by day and lie by at night. Finding ourselves about one hundred and fifty miles from St. Louis, we concluded that it would be safe to travel by daylight, and did not leave the house until the next morning. We travelled on that day through a thickly settled country, and through one small village. Though we were fleeing from a land of oppression, our hearts were still there. My dear sister and two beloved brothers were behind us, and the idea of giving them up, and leaving them forever, made us feel sad. But with all this depression of heart, the thought that I should one day be free, and call my body my own, buoyed me up, and made my heart leap for joy. I had just been telling my mother how I should try to get employment as soon as we reached Canada, and how I intended to purchase us a little farm, and how I would earn money enough to buy sister and brothers, and how happy we



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

would be in our own FREE HOME – when three men came up on horseback, and ordered us to stop.

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

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

The next morning a blacksmith came in, and put a pair of handcuffs⁶ on me, and we started on our journey back to the land of whips, chains and Bibles. Mother was not tied, but was closely watched at night. We were carried back in a wagon, and after four days' travel, we came in sight of St. Louis. I cannot describe my feelings upon approaching the city.

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

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

I had been in jail but a few hours when three negro-traders, learning that I was secured thus for running away, came to my prison-house and looked at me, expecting that I would be offered for sale. Mr. Mansfield, the man who owned mother, came into the jail as soon as Mr. Jones, the man who arrested us, informed him that he had brought her back. He told her that he would not whip her, but would sell her to a negro-trader, or take her to New Orleans himself. After being in jail about one week, master sent a man to take me out of jail, and send me home. I was taken out

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



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

and carried home, and the old man was well enough to sit up. He had me brought into the room where he was, and as I entered, he asked me where I had been? I told him I had acted according to his orders. He had told me to look for a master, and I had been to look for one. He answered that he did not tell me to go to Canada to look for a master. I told him that as I had served him faithfully, and had been the means of putting a number of hundreds of dollars into his pocket, I thought I had a right to my liberty. He said he had promised my father that I should not be sold to supply the New Orleans market, or he would sell me to a negro-trader.

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

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

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

I had been several times to the jail, but could obtain no interview with her. I ascertained, however, the time the boat in which she was to embark would sail, and as I had not seen mother since her being thrown into prison, I felt anxious for the hour of sailing to come. At last, the day arrived when I was to see her for the first time after our painful separation, and, for aught that I knew, for the last time in this world!

At about ten o'clock in the morning I went on board of the boat, and found her there in company with fifty or sixty other slaves. She was chained to another woman. On seeing me, she immediately dropped her head upon her heaving bosom. She moved not, neither did she weep. Her emotions were too deep for tears. I approached, threw my arms around her neck, kissed her, and fell upon my knees, begging her forgiveness, for I thought myself to blame



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

for her sad condition; for if I had not persuaded her to accompany me, she would not then have been in chains.

She finally raised her head, looked me in the face, (and such a look none but an angel can give!) and said, "My dear son, you are not to blame for my being here. You have done nothing more nor less than your duty. Do not, I pray you, weep for me. I cannot last long upon a cotton plantation. I feel that my heavenly Master will soon call me home, and then I shall be out of the hands of the slave-holders!"

I could bear no more – my heart struggled to free itself from the human form. In a moment she saw Mr. Mansfield coming toward that part of the boat, and she whispered into my ear, "My child, we must soon part to meet no more this side of the grave. You have ever said that you would not die a slave; that you would be a freeman. Now try to get your liberty! You will soon have no one to look after but yourself!" and just as she whispered the last sentence into my ear, Mansfield came up to me, and with an oath, said, "Leave here this instant; you have been the means of my losing one hundred dollars to get this wench back" – at the same time kicking me with a heavy pair of boots. As I left her, she gave one shriek, saying, "God be with you!" It was the last time that I saw her, and the last word I heard her utter. I walked on shore. The bell was tolling. The boat was about to start. I stood with a heavy heart, waiting to see her leave the wharf. As I thought of my mother, I could but feel that I had lost

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

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

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

After the boat was out of sight I returned home; but my thoughts were so absorbed in what I had witnessed, that I knew not what I was about half of the time. Night came, but it brought no sleep to my eyes. In a few days, the boat upon which I was to work being ready, I went on board to commence. This employment suited me better than living in the city, and I remained until the close of navigation; though it proved anything but pleasant. The captain was a drunken, profligate, hard-hearted creature, not knowing how to treat himself, or any other person.

The boat, on its second trip, brought down Mr. Walker, the man of whom I have spoken in a previous chapter, as hiring my time. He had between one and two hundred slaves, chained and manacled. Among them was a man that formerly belonged to my old master's brother, Aaron Young. His name was Solomon. He was a preacher, and belonged to the same church with his master. I was glad to see the old man. He wept like a child when he told me how he had been sold from his wife and children.

The boat carried down, while I remained on board, four or five



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

gangs of slaves. Missouri, though a comparatively new state, is very much engaged in raising slaves to supply the southern market. In a former chapter, I have mentioned that I was once in the employ of a slave-trader, or driver, as he is called at the south. For fear that some may think that I have misrepresented a slave-driver, I will here give an extract from a paper published in a slave-holding state, Tennessee, called the "Millennial Trumpeter."

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

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

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

It was not uncommon in St. Louis to pass by an auction-stand, and behold a woman upon the auction-block, and hear the seller crying out, "How much is offered for this woman? She is a good cook, good washer, a good, obedient servant. She has got religion!" Why should this man tell the purchasers that she has religion? I answer, because in Missouri, and as far as I have any knowledge of slavery in the other states, the religious teaching consists in teaching the slave that he must never strike a white man; that God made him for a slave; and that, when whipped, he must not find fault – for the Bible says, "He that knoweth his master's will and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes!" And slave-holders find such religion very profitable to them.

After leaving the steamer Otto, I resided at home, in Mr. Willi's family, and again began to lay plans for making my escape from slavery. The anxiety to be a freeman would not let me rest day or night. I would think of the northern cities that had heard



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

so much about; – of Canada, where so many of my acquaintances had found a refuge. I would dream at night that I was in Canada, a freeman, and on waking in the morning, weep to find myself so sadly mistaken.

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

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

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

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

Before making the attempt, however, she deemed it best to talk to me a little upon the subject of love, courtship, and marriage. Accordingly, one afternoon she called me into her room – telling me to take a chair and sit down. I did so, thinking it rather strange, for servants are not very often asked thus to sit down in the same room with the master or mistress. She said that she had found out that I did not care enough about Maria to marry her. I told her that was true. She then asked me if there was not a girl in the city that I loved. Well, now, this was coming into too close quarters with me! People, generally, don’t like to tell their love stories to everybody that may think fit to ask about them, and it was so with me. But, after blushing a while and recovering myself, I told her that I did not want a wife. She then asked me if I did not think something of Eliza. I told her that I did. She then said that if I wished to marry



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Eliza, she would purchase her if she could.
I gave but little encouragement to this proposition, as I was determined to make another trial to get my liberty, and I knew that if I should have a wife, I should not be willing to leave her behind; and if I should attempt to bring her with me, the chances would be difficult for success. However, Eliza was purchased, and brought into the family.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



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

In a field in Maryland, during this period, Frederick Douglass was being overcome by the heat:

On one of the hottest days of the month of August, 1833, Bill Smith, William Hughes, a slave named Eli, and myself, were engaged in fanning wheat. Hughes was clearing the fanned wheat from before the fan. Eli was turning, Smith was feeding, and I was carrying wheat to the fan. The work was simple, requiring strength rather than intellect; yet, to one entirely unused to such work, it came very hard. About three o'clock of that day, I broke down; my strength failed me; I was seized with a violent aching of the head, attended with extreme dizziness; I trembled in every limb. Finding what was coming, I nerved myself up, feeling it would never do to stop work. I stood as long as I could stagger to the hopper with grain. When I could stand no longer, I fell, and felt as if held down by an immense weight.

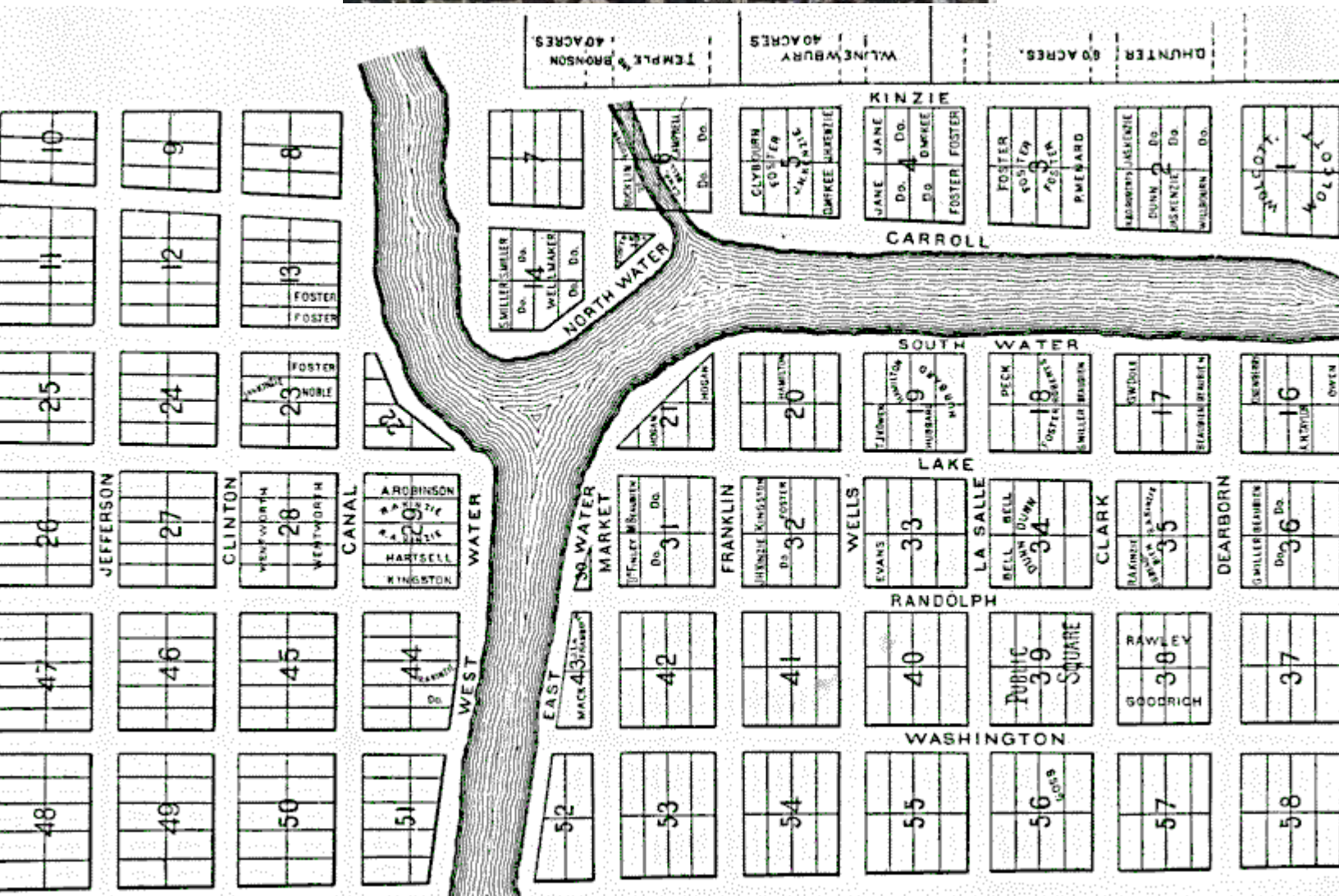


On the southern end of Lake Michigan, a small settlement of white people held a vote and decided to incorporate itself as a village. Out of a potential of some 300-350 voters, 28 ballots were cast. This settlement would refer to itself as "Chicago." The settlement's initial boundaries have since become DesPlaines Street,

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Kinzie Street, Madison Street, and State Street and nowadays look considerably different:



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

➡ Fall: The failed storekeeper Abraham Lincoln, deeply in debt, was appointed as a Deputy County Surveyor for New Salem, [Illinois](#).

➡ November 6: The limits of the town of [Chicago](#) were extended to an area of seven-eighths of a mile. Are you impressed yet?

➡ December: The owner of Dred Scott, Dr. John Emerson, was assigned to military service at Fort Armstrong in what is now [Illinois](#) about 200 miles north of St. Louis. He would serve as the assistant to the surgeon there –and his manservant would serve him there– until mid-1836.⁷



1834

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

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

7. At the time Dr. John Emerson was suffering from a “syphiloid disease” which he had contracted during a visit to Philadelphia. It may plausibly be inferred that this infection, and the inadequate treatments available during this time, is what produced his many symptoms through life, and what eventually would kill him.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



July 11, Friday: Fresh from absolutist defeat in Portugal, Don Carlos Maria Isidro de Bourbon arrived in Elizondo to join partisans who had already proclaimed him King Carlos V of Spain. He was supported by the Roman Catholic Church, conservatives, and Basques while his niece, Queen Isabella II, was supported by Spanish liberals, Great Britain, and France (the conflict would continue for 5 years).

[James Abbott \(McNeill\) Whistler](#) was born in Lowell, Massachusetts, the initial child of the engineer George Washington Whistler with his new wife Anna Matilda McNeill Whistler of Wilmington, [North Carolina](#).



Ceci n'est pas Whistler's mere.

In a week of race rioting in New-York since Independence Day, 60 homes and 6 churches of the black population had been torn down by white mobs.

[Chicago](#)'s harbor being complete, Captain Augustus Pickering's schooner *Illinois*, out of Sackets Harbor, New York, was the 1st large ship to enter this new facility.



August 4, Monday: Abraham Lincoln, age 24, was elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly as a member of the Whig party. He would begin to study law.

Barthelemy Theodore, chevalier de Theux de Meylandt replaced Jean Louis Joseph Lebeau as head of government for Belgium.

[John Venn](#) was born at Hull in Yorkshire.




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

CHICAGO


ILLINOIS

2nd day 4 of 8th M 1834 / Joseph Bowne returned from his religious visit to the eastern Quarterly Meeting & attended the Afternoon Meeting in Town yesterday – today he called here at the Institution & sat less than an hour & then returned homeward taking the SteamBoat for NewYork.
 This Afternoon took a pleasant & interesting walk to Moses Browns Bridge with the little girls –

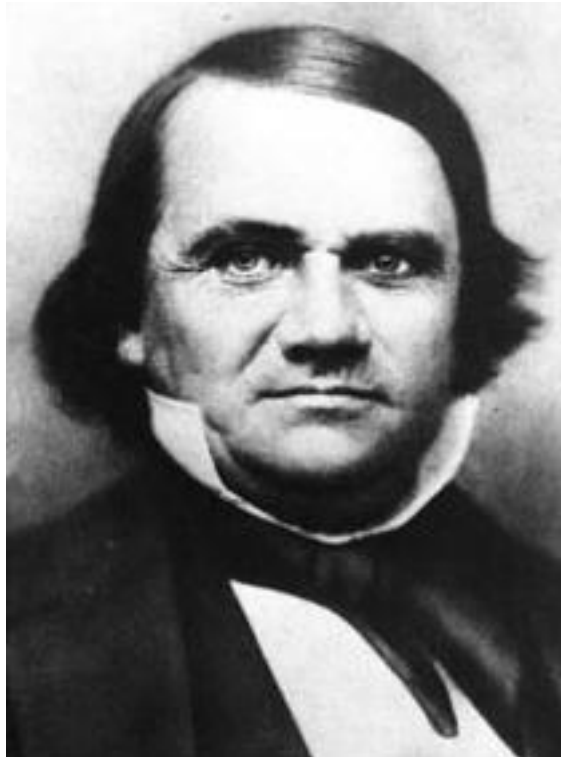
RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 September: Harriet Martineau arrived in the US determined to write the condition of American morals and its effect on our institutions, comparing and contrasting “the existing state of society in America with the principles on which it is professedly founded; thus testing Institutions, Morals, and Manners by an indisputable, instead of an arbitrary standard.” She would spend the next two years touring in New York, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Washington, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, Tennessee, Kentucky, Ohio, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Vermont, Michigan, and Illinois, and would return to England in August 1836.



 Later in September: The Baptist Reverend Calvin Philieo and his bride Mrs. Prudence Crandall Philieo, who had fled from the unrest in Canterbury, Connecticut first to Providence, Rhode Island, and then to New York state, during this month relocated to Illinois (they would wind up in Kansas).

➡ December: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln, age 24, for the first time encountered a very short (and very white) man named Stephen A. Douglass, age 21, a Democrat.



1835

➡ [Illinois](#) appointed a new canal commission with the power to raise funds and began construction.

➡ January: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln's former store partner William Berry died, effectively increasing his debt obligation to \$1,000 (that sort of money would have been adequate to purchase outright a couple of nice homes in nice neighborhoods).

➡ February 11, Wednesday: A special act of the [Illinois](#) legislature extended the area of the Town of [Chicago](#) to approximately two and two-fifths square miles. The municipality at the time had a population of 3,265. (Are you impressed yet?)



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



August 25, Tuesday: Benjamin Day's New-York Sun announced that Sir John Herschel, using a remarkable new English telescope seven times more powerful than anything previously devised, had been able to look at the surface of the moon as if he were viewing with the unaided eye from a distance of only one hundred yards. Over the following three days the Sun would be presenting a series of articles, allegedly reprinted from the Edinburgh Journal of Science (a reputable journal which had some time before suspended publication), detailing Sir John's alleged sightings, up to and including moon creatures who appeared to be shaped like terrestrial beavers, who were walking upright, carrying their young in their arms, heating their dwellings by fire, etc., etc. In fact Sir John Herschel, eminent British astronomer, indeed had in January 1834 gone to Cape Town on the Cape of Good Hope to try out a new type of powerful telescope. On this day the newspaper was able to print and vend an unprecedented 15,000 copies.

In Illinois, Ann Rutledge, Abraham Lincoln's love interest, died from fever at the age of 22.

1836



Work began on the Illinois and Michigan Canal, to connect Chicago with the Illinois River. The 1st grain shipment from Chicago reached Buffalo, New York, to be shipped down the Erie Canal.

New Jersey's Morris Canal was extended to the Hudson River.

An Erie Canal boat arrived in Rochester, New York carrying the 1st locomotive for the Tonawanda Railroad.

36,000 tons of goods were transhipped via the Erie Canal at Buffalo.

When speculators promoting a canal, between the Erie Canal at Lyons and Lake Ontario, took land belonging to the Shakers at Sodus Bay's Alasa Farms, the 125-member community moved by sled and wagon to the Williamsburgh (Groveland) area and for their new settlement used the native American name for that site — Sonyea.

Thomas S. Woodcock's NEW YORK TO NIAGARA described his journey on the Erie Canal.

Construction began on a new Erie Canal aqueduct over the Genesee River.

The Chenango Canal joined the Erie Canal. Other improvements on the Erie Canal were begun, for instance to enlarge that canal's channel to 7'X70' and its locks to 18'X110'.

A company was formed to dig a canal at 106th Street in northern Manhattan for a marble quarry (the project would be abandoned when this marble was found inferior).



At the midpoint of the year the owner of Dred Scott, Dr. John Emerson, was reassigned from assistant surgeon at Fort Armstrong in [Illinois](#) to surgeon at Fort Snelling on the Mississippi River just south of St. Paul.

Upon his arrival at Fort Snelling, the doctor promptly began to quarrel with the surgeon he was replacing.

Emerson of course quite openly drew an allowance from the federal government for the maintenance of his manservant, equal to the pay and provisions for an Army soldier. While at Fort Snelling in the Minnesota Territory where slavery was nominally illegal, in 1836 or 1837, Harriet Robinson, a woman who was perhaps half Scott's age who was a slave of the Indian Agent at that fort, Major Lawrence Taliaferro, would be "given" to Scott – "given" was the word which in fact was used– and the major, although entirely lacking in religious credentials, since it was he who was the white man who supposedly owned this woman, would officiate at their wedding-of-sorts.

*his
Dred Scott
mark*

In this travesty, Major Taliaferro then and there, an officer of the US government in a US government facility, would sell Harriet to Surgeon Emerson, another officer of the US government. The Scotts were to go on to have two sons who would die in infancy and two surviving daughters, Lizzie and Eliza. Later, Harriet Robinson Scott, and then Dred Scott as well, would attempt to sue for ten dollars in damages and then for their freedom on the basis of this illegal servitude in a United States government facility in a region where slavery was illegal, arguing that at that time and in that place they should had become free human beings.



8. Typically, since the proceedings in the case of Harriet v. Emerson track in every detail the proceedings in the case of Scott v. Emerson, and since our historians tend to regard women as insignificant auxiliaries of their men, our history books entirely ignore Harriet and her case. But of course the United States Supreme Court finally, on March 6, 1857, would see through this family's transparent little ploy, irregardless of whether what the nine white men in black had seen through would become proclaimed as their iniquitous "Harriet Scott decision" or their iniquitous "Dred Scott decision."

MAKERS OF MINNESOTA

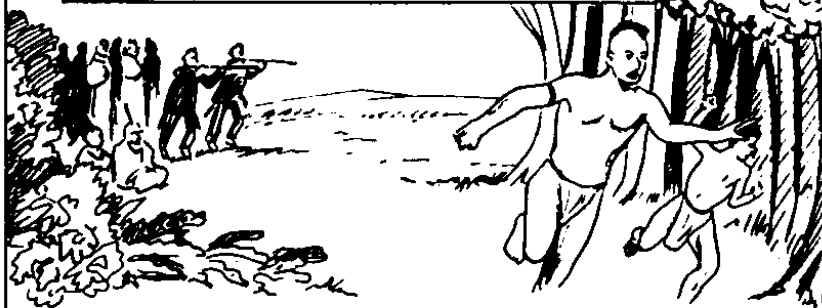
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Major Lawrence Taliaferro

FROM 1819 TO 1840 THE MOST IMPORTANT AND INFLUENTIAL CIVIL OFFICE ON THE UPPER MISSISSIPPI WAS HELD BY MAJOR TALIAFERRO, WHO CAME TO FORT SNELLING AS UNITED STATES INDIAN AGENT.



HE CAME TO THE DARK AND BLOODY GROUND OF THE SIOUX-CHIPPEWA WARS. HIS JOB WAS TO KEEP PEACE BETWEEN THESE AGE-OLD ENEMIES. THIS FEUD CONTINUED FOR MANY YEARS. AS LATE AS 1853 A PARTY OF CHIPPEWA AMBUSHED SOME SIOUX INDIANS IN DOWNTOWN ST. PAUL.



A GROUP OF SIOUX KILLED A NUMBER OF CHIPPEWA WHO HAD BEEN THEIR HOSTS A MOMENT BEFORE. TALIAFERRO LET THE CHIPPEWA IMPOSE THEIR OWN SENTENCE. THE SIOUX HAD TO RUN THE GAUNTLET. EACH WAS GIVEN A START OF 30 FT. BEFORE THE CHIPPEWA FIRED. THE SIOUX WHO REACHED THE WOODS AT THE EDGE OF THE PRAIRIE ESCAPED. SUCH WAS INDIAN JUSTICE ON THE MINNESOTA FRONTIER IN 1827.

1849 Minnesota Territorial Centennial 1949



TALIAFERRO PERFORMED THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY OF HIS HOUSE SERVANT, HARRIET ROBINSON, TO THE NEGRO - DRED SCOTT OF THE FAMOUS DRED SCOTT CASE!

© K. Pederson

-KERO-

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

This cartoon was drawn by Kern Pederson for the 1849-1949 Minnesota Territorial Centennial and appears in Kern Pederson's cartoon book *MAKERS OF MINNESOTA: AN ILLUSTRATED STORY OF THE BUILDERS OF OUR STATE* (Published by Kern Pederson, 2066 Case Avenue, St. Paul 6, MN, 1949). We can see several things wrong here besides spelling. First, Taliaferro was a major in the army of the United States of America, not a minister, nor a chaplain, and as such had no power to "preform" anything but a mockery. Second, the lawsuit in question was initiated equally by Harriet Robinson Scott and, since her case was the stronger one, she having been sold and purchased while present on a federal reservation in a free territory, deserves to be denominated the famous Harriet Scott lawsuit. Finally, in attending to the ineptitude of the language here, we may wonder why one white man's black woman is entitled to be known as "his house servant" while the other white man's black man was entitled only to the sobriquet "the negro."



TALIAFERRO PREFORMED
THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY
OF HIS HOUSE SERVANT,
HARRIET ROBINSON, TO
THE NEGRO- DRED SCOTT
OF THE FAMOUS DRED
SCOTT CASE!

...the marriage agreement was made in the Major's presence, and was duly certified by him as a justice of the peace.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



August 1, Monday: Abraham Lincoln was re-elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly (by this point he had made himself a leader in the Whig party).

The case of the two allegedly enslaved women seized in the port of [Boston](#) on the previous Saturday morning had been delayed by the fact that Chief Justice [Lemuel Shaw](#), who had signed the writ of *habeas corpus*, was absent from his upstairs courtroom over the weekend. At this point, however, the legal proceedings could not be further deferred. When the attorney A.H. Fiske asked for a further postponement while evidence was being brought from [Baltimore](#) to the effect that the two women were still enslaved, the opposition attorney Samuel Eliot Sewall argued that since all human beings were born free, the presumption of the court must be that the women were free and, unless and until demonstrated otherwise, must be allowed to exit the courthouse upon their own responsibility. The Chief Justice, however, saw a narrower issue: “Has the captain of the brig *Chickasaw* a right [under the Fugitive Slave Act of 1793] to convert his vessel into a prison?” Since he had done nothing to bring himself within the provisions of that act, “the prisoners must therefore be discharged from all further detention.” At that point Mr. Turner, the alleged agent for Mr. Morris, arose and implied to the court that he would make a fresh arrest under the provisions of said act, and inquired whether a warrant would be necessary for such purpose. A constable was dispatched to lock the only door leading downstairs. Someone cried out “Take them!” The spectators in the courtroom began a chant of “Go! Go!” and stormed forward while Justice Shaw stood at the bench shouting “Stop! Stop!” The Justice made a dash for the courtroom door and attempted to himself hold the door against the excited crowd. The only officer in the room, a man named Huggerford, was seized and choked. The crowd bore the two women away through the private passageway normally used by the judiciary, shoved them into a carriage, and drove them out of the city. As the carriage passed over the Mill Dam, the horses were held at a full gallop while the toll money was thrown at the attendant. According to one [Boston](#) merchant paper, this was action threatening “the very existence of the state.” According to another paper, however, the [Daily Evening Transcript](#), “The Judge stated that they (the women) must be brought back to be regularly discharged in open court.”

In the South Atlantic, the HMS *Beagle* and [Charles Darwin](#) returned to Bahia, Brazil.



September 9, Friday: Abraham Lincoln received his [Illinois](#) law license.

[Waldo Emerson](#)'s [NATURE](#) was self-published in [Boston](#), 1,000 copies that cost him a little over \$100.⁰⁰, or 10¢ the copy. The first advertisements for this small volume appeared.



This 1st edition contained not the pseudoevolutionionistic epigraph on the worm aspiring to be man with which we are now so familiar, but in its place a quote from [Plotinus](#):

Nature is but an image or imitation of wisdom, the last thing of the soul; Nature being a thing which doth only do, but not know.

[Jones Very](#), having completed his undergraduate education at [Harvard College](#), preparing for his entry into the [Harvard Divinity School](#) (where he was planning to make quite a splash on account of his principled repudiation of all deliberation and “taking thought” in favor of what he was terming “conversing with Heaven,” in a state of artlessness and immediacy and spontaneity), would purchase this little volume on nature and naturalness and heavily mark it up. Courtesy of Parkman D. Howe of Needham, we know how he marked it up. We can note that almost half his markings, including all but two of his marginal comments, were confined to the chapter on “Idealism.” We can also know that he responded quite idiosyncratically to Emerson’s trope on infancy, “Infancy is the perpetual Messiah, which come into the arms of fallen men, and pleads with them to return to paradise,” in a manner which prefigured his later mental collapse.

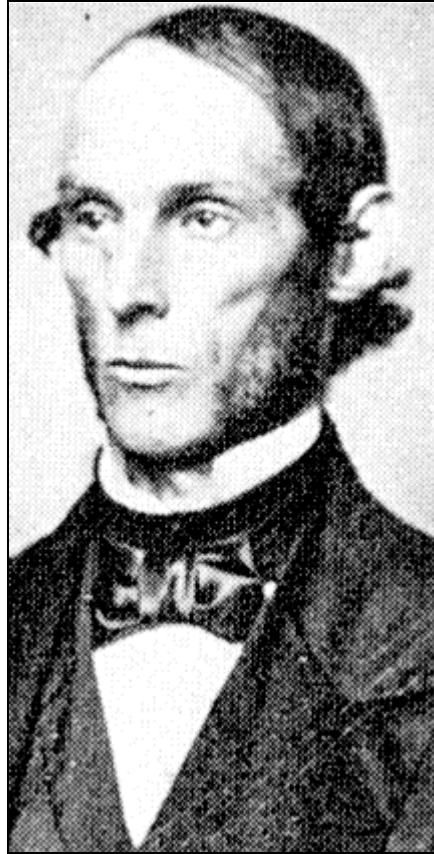


The most comprehensive explanation, however is to be found in his personal copy of a small blue book with covers decorated by tree-like vines. Mr. Tutor Very purchased it in September 1836, only a few days after it was published. The timing of its acquisition at once suggests that he was already familiar with the latest modes of nonconformity, and perhaps was even anticipating the book's publication. At the end of August, in his Commencement Address, had he not expressed his confidence in the power of "new principles of action" to resist the "mechanical spirit" of the times, which he felt was suppressing the more heroic and precious forms of individuality? Now the opportunity arose for him to study the detailed grounds of another man's affirmations and dissents, a man somewhat older than he, and more knowing in the ways of spiritual heroism, about which the Divinity School evidently could teach him nothing. He may have first learned of Ralph Waldo Emerson during the winter of 1835-1836, when the latter delivered a series of ten lectures on English literature, from [Geoffrey Chaucer](#) to [William Shakespeare](#), to Byron and Coleridge, at Boston's Masonic Temple. Or, as was perhaps more likely, when Very visited Boston that winter to listen to sermons (as he must have done, following his **change of heart** and recent choice of a ministerial career), he may have heard Emerson in one of his church appearances, since he preached usually twice a week during the run of his lecture course. Or, between January and May 1836, after walking the seventeen miles of turnpike linking Cambridge with his home, he may have attended one of the approximately fifteen lectures on biography and English literature Emerson delivered at the Salem Lyceum in two series. (In view of the attitudes Very was cultivating at the time, the [Martin Luther](#), [John Milton](#), and [George Fox](#) lectures might well have tempted him.) But whatever the way he discovered Emerson -and there were sufficient opportunities for him to have at least heard about him as early as 1835- it is certain he read [NATURE](#) eagerly in 1836, with pencil in hand, scoring margins, underlining sentences, and making written comments.

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CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



[CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS SCREEN]

Most striking about Very's markings and marginalia is that they indicate he was not at all surprised by Emerson's aerial prose poem; instead, he apparently found what he expected – and this neither confounded nor offended him, as it did most readers. Several times he questioned what he read, but never did he challenge Emerson: his mood seemed respectful throughout. It was as if his reading confirmed suspicions that the author was a thoughtful man whose reflections repaid close scrutiny. (Though a minor aspect of Very's use of NATURE it is indicative of his attitude toward it that he treated it incidentally as a source book for the compatible ideas of others, of Coleridge for example, and of William Shakespeare, Michaelangelo, George Herbert, and even of the unnamed "orphanic poet.") He read NATURE then as a literal rather than figurative testament about the nature of God, and about the relationship between God and man. He read it as if it were a conduct-book filled with supernal imperatives. While certainly not a usual approach to the book, it still was a valid one, given the disposition of the reader in September 1836. He was looking for certain information, and believed it might be found here rather than in the Divinity School. Very was particularly curious about the effects of nature upon Emerson, about his emotional and artistic responses to the natural world. Moreover, Very seemed interested in external nature as the basis for communion with God, and this accorded well with the viewpoint Emerson developed. (The professors would have shouted Very down had he suggested such an idea in the classroom.) He was concerned too with the relationship between personal morals and the morality of art, and specifically of literary art. But he seemed not so interested as Emerson in attempting to explore the philosophical middle ground between idealism and materialism. Several of the statements recalled to him verses from the Book of Revelation, and several others reminded him of the corrosive powers of sin. Emerson's book therefore generally served to stimulate his own distinctive thoughts in an original way, one which at times was inconsistent with Emerson's intentions; that is, from the marginalia in his copy, Very's NATURE seems not quite the book that Emerson wrote. But this does not mean that his comments and markings conformed to any viewpoint even remotely acceptable to the provincial orthodoxy maintained by Andrews Norton and his colleagues.

Since many scholars have assumed that this manifesto [NATURE](#) must have influenced [Henry David Thoreau](#) in one way or another, and since such an assumption has always seemed to me to be presumptuous, I will insert here the short synopsis Catherine Albanese used to introduce the work in her THE SPIRITUALITY OF THE AMERICAN [TRANSCENDENTALISTS](#):



When Emerson published his slim volume [NATURE](#) in 1836, he had produced a manifesto for the emerging transcendental movement. Seen in juxtaposition to his farewell sermon at the Second Church, [NATURE](#) offers Emerson's spiritual alternative to the inherited forms of the church. Throughout the work he stands in the [Platonic](#) lineage and, especially, that lineage as read through a revived metaphysical tradition in the West. Hence, in [NATURE](#) the world of the "not-me" that Emerson celebrates is seen ultimately as a reflection of the one Mind or Spirit present in the human soul and in the realm of the Ideas. Refracted through the Neoplatonic teaching of the One (the Soul) and the Many (Nature), Emerson articulates a Swedenborgian doctrine of correspondence, expresses enthusiasm for magic and miracle, and speaks prophetically of human powers that seem, indeed, god-like. The while he employs the Kantian-Coleridgean distinction between the Reason and the Understanding (as he understands it) to contrast true and deceptive visions of the world. He sees in a hieroglyphic of symbols the means for the Reason to discern the secret message of Spirit encoded in matter. The metaphysical tradition that Emerson embraces in [NATURE](#) would enjoy a considerable following in the nineteenth century. Even as Emerson owed a debt to Emmanuel Swedenborg and the Swedenborgian Church of the New Jerusalem, others –like the followers of Mary Baker Eddy (1821-1910) in Christian Science and followers of forms of mind cure in New Thought– would owe a debt to Emerson. In the twentieth century the "positive thinking" of Norman Vincent Peale (b. 1898) and others also had its roots in Emerson's teaching. Beyond that, in [NATURE](#) Emerson gives voice to a characteristic American millennialism, a sense that a new age with new powers and energies has dawned or is about to dawn. Despite his idealism, he exalts a landscape that will form the earthly paradise for a later wilderness preservation movement. He speaks with a largeness of vision and a confidence in human capacity that, in a host of different ways, finds expression in the culture of the era. Situated in a new space, Emerson and other Americans concluded that they were also living in a new time and that, as Gods, they should stretch their spirits to the demands of the age.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

(This, it seems to me, is a *reductio ad absurdum*, for no-one but a fool would attempt to send Henry Thoreau sailing away in the same tub with a threesome such as Emmanuel Swedenborg, Mary Baker Eddy, and Norman Vincent Peale.)

At the Krontal spa north of Frankfurt, Felix Mendelssohn proposed to Cecile Jeanrenaud. She accepted.

In Dresden, [Frédéric François Chopin](#) may have proposed to Maria Wodzinska, sister of his boyhood friends, and he may have been offered some grounds for hope (on the other hand it is possible that nothing like this actually happened).

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

6th day 9th of 9th M 1836 / Rose early this Morning & got in readiness for the boat which arrived at the Long Wharf at 6 OC & I was there in season to get on board - we arrived in season for me to get to the House of my late dear friend [Moses Brown](#) nearly an hour & an half before the time appointed for his funeral to Meet at the House which was 10 OClock, & 11 O C at the Meeting House - I had a good opportunity for reflection & feel that it was the last time I should ever see his remains in his own house & in the parlour where I have spent so many & so pleasant & interesting hours with him - His corpse was singularly natural, he lay in his coffin with the same solid reverent & retired countenance as I have often seen upon him, when sitting in religious opportunities & his Mind gathering up to say something - very Many came into the room to view his remains for the last time, & after a few moments quiet Rowland Greene called the attention of the Audience to the solemnity of the occasion & the very great loss we had sustained in the removal of this our Ancient Father in the Church who had walked so long & so pleasantly affectionately & usefully among us. - The funeral then proceeded to the Meeting House - The Governor of the State [John Brown Francis] - ex- Gov Fenner Some of the Senators & Representatives of the Assembly, the Secretary of our State - Judges of our State Courts & the Judge of the United States Court - The President of Brown University & the Officers of it - President of the R I Historical Society & many of the Officers of it, together with many people of the first Standing in [Providence](#) were present - but none of these were as intersting to me as to see the teachers & Schollars of the YMB School walk in, in a solid manner, & go into the galery - as I saw them come in the Muscles of my face were affected, my eyes filled with tears & my whole frame so affected that it was with great difficulty that I could refrain from loud weeping - when it rushed on my mind that they had been the objects of his peculiar care & regard for many years, & that this was the last office to be performed - my mind has seldom been so much affected. - Rowland Greene was first engaged in testimony to the valuable life of the deceased & the accordancy of it with the christian principles which he professed - Then Thos Anthony to the same effect - then Mary B Allen in supplication - then John Wilbur - then Anna A Jenkins in Supplication - the Meeting closed & we proceeded to the place of internment which was in the burying



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

*ground which he gave to friends
The pause at the grave after the remains was laid over it was
unusually long, not far from 15 minutes in which Rowland Greene
was engaged in supplication, the the remains was lowered down &
covered up to be Seen of Men no more. –
I went the the School House & dined & after dinner rode into
Town & attended to a little buisness I had there & returned to
the School House & Lodged.*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



September 28, Wednesday: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln began his courtship of Mary Owens.

The French metric system became official in Greece.

We do not know the date of birth but do know that it was on this day that the infant named Thomas Crapper was baptized. Although this person would serve as sanitary engineer for some of England's royalty he was not himself of the nobility and did not ever get knighted; thus the "Sir" often tacked onto his name is a piece of fakelore. Also (see the following screen), where the word "crap," meaning excrement, is derived from his family name "Crapper," this is by the linguistic process know as back formation.



December: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln had an episode of severe depression.

1837

Abraham Lincoln helped to get the [Illinois](#) state capital moved from Vandalia to Springfield, and then moved in with another bachelor, Joshua Fry Speed. These two dudes would sleep together until Joshua would relocate to Kentucky in 1841.⁹

9. Am I suggesting that our favorite martyred President should be counted as a "homosexual" or "bisexual"? –Yes indeed. Is such an accusation of any significance? –Well, no, not actually, but it does depend upon who you are — if, for instance, you happen to be both a member of the Republican Party and homophobic, then this probability should be taken to be an indication that you should change your attitude, or your affiliation.

CHICAGO

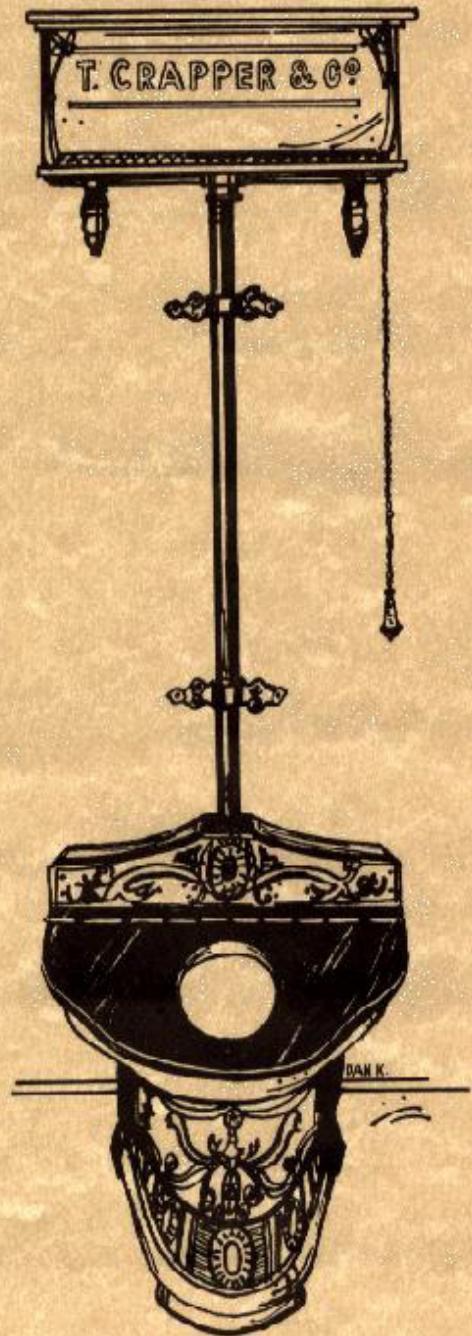
ILLINOIS

Thomas Crapper ~ Unsung Hero
1837 - 1910

by Dave Kneeshaw

Thomas Crapper, the plumbers mentor
and his valveless water waste preventer;
Boom to mankind, past and present;
has made our living, far more pleasant.
Born in eighteen thirty-seven;
apprentice plumber at age eleven.
Blessings on his birthplace, Thorne,
in merry England, where he was borne.
An unsung hero, alas! forsooth!
He perfected the flusher, and that's the truth.
So, why these humble lines of verse?
Without him, life would be much worse.
Truly an artist in every sense;
his contribution was most immense.
By his merger of china, and pipe, and grout,
the wonderful biffy was brought about.
More than a throne of humble duty;
Crapper made it a thing of beauty.
Enscenced with design of various hue;
a truly remarkable thing to view.
No more trips to the shed, outside;
housed indoors with pomp and pride.
No more clatter beneath the bed;
enshrined in its own little room instead.
No longer a vessel of vast disdain;
a marvelous chamber of china and chain.
My friends, we've come a long, long way;
the outdoor privy is gone to stay.
But, alas! poor Crapper has long since died.
So, shed a tear, and flush with pride.

Seattle



CHICAGO

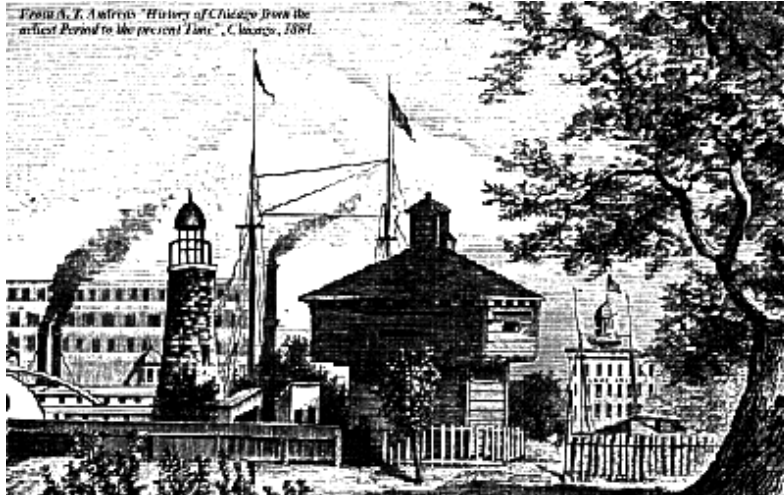
ILLINOIS



The general financial panic halted work on the [Sandy and Beaver Canal](#) and slowed work on the [Illinois and Michigan Canal](#).

C.D. Peacock Jewelers was founded, the oldest [Chicago](#) business still in existence.

The second Fort Dearborn was abandoned. This is what it would look like in 1856 as it was being demolished:



January 23: A charter was approved that would incorporate [Chicago](#) as a city.

Austin Stewart and his family arrived back in Rochester, New York, penniless.

On the twenty-third of January, 1837, I finally re-entered the city penniless; but as I soon found, not so friendless as my fears would have it. Among, the first to welcome me back to my old home, was that friend of "blessed memory," Everard Peck, who had been apprised of some of the losses I had met and the trials I had passed through. This gentleman was also one of the first to propose to be one of five men, who should loan me one hundred dollars each, for five years. Through the disinterested kindness of this worthy gentleman, I was in a few days after my arrival, well established in a store of provisions and groceries. The five kind gentlemen, to whom I was so deeply indebted for the loan, were: Everard Peck, George A. Avery, Samuel D. Porter, Levi W. Sibley, and Griffith, Brother & Co.

This noble act of generosity and kindness, on the part of my friends, to furnish me with the means to commence business, especially when their prospect was anything but flattering, regarding my ever being able to refund their well-timed and gracious liberality, — affected me more deeply than all the censure and persecution I had elsewhere received. Their frown and displeasure, I was better prepared to meet than this considerate act of Christian sympathy, which I am not ashamed to say melted me to tears, and I resolved to show my appreciation of their kindness by an industry and diligence in business hitherto unsurpassed.

E. Bardwell, then a merchant on Exchange Street, next laid me under a lasting obligation by offering to sell me goods on



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

credit; others proffered assistance by promising their continual patronage, which was to me the same as cash, – and soon the store I had opened on Main Street, was doing an extensive business. My profits were small to be sure, and I had a heavy rent to pay for my store and dwelling, yet I was making a comfortable living for my family, and laying by something to reimburse the kind friends who had helped me in the time of need.... My business continued to prosper, and I concluded to buy a small variety store, containing some three or four hundred dollars worth of goods on the corner of Main and North Streets, formerly owned by Mr. Snow, but, having two stores on my hands, I did not make much by the trade.... My store on the corner of Main and North Streets, was at the head of the market, and I was enabled to supply both of my stores with country produce on the best possible terms. I kept two clerks at each store, and all seemed prosperous for a time, when from some cause, which I could never understand, my business began to fail. My family had ever lived prudently, and I knew that was not the cause. I thought to better my circumstances by taking a store in the Rochester House, but that proved to be a bad stand for my business, and after one year, I removed to Buffalo Street, opposite the Court House. I ought to say, that as soon as I found that my income was getting less than my expenses, I went to the gentlemen who had loaned me the five hundred dollars, and showed them the true state of my affairs, and they kindly agreed to take fifty per cent., which I paid them.

After locating on Buffalo Street, I took in a partner, named John Lee, a young man, active and industrious, who paid into the firm three hundred dollars, with which we bought goods. With what I had on hand, this raised the joint stock to about a thousand dollars, on which we were making frequent additions, and on which we had an insurance of six hundred dollars. Our business was now more prosperous than at any previous time, and we began to look up with hope and confidence in our final success. One night I returned to my home as usual, leaving Lee in the store. About twelve o'clock, Mr. Morris awoke me with a few loud raps, and the announcement that my store was on fire and a part of my goods in the street! I hastened to the place, where I found, as he had said, what was saved from the fire piled up in the street and the fire extinguished. The building was greatly damaged and the goods they rescued were nearly ruined. Now we were thrown out of business, and the firm was dissolved. With the assistance of W.S. Bishop, a lawyer, we made out the amount of damage, which was readily paid by the agent for the insurance company.





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

March 4: The incorporation of [Chicago](#) was approved and it became a city of 4,170 people. Are you impressed yet?

Martin Van Buren rode down the avenue to the White House in a beautiful phaeton built from wood obtained from the frigate *Constitution* and was sworn in as president and the Jeffersonian era was finally over. He delivered his inaugural address. His four sons, aged 20, 25, 27, and 30, would be coming with him to reside at the White House. He would serve until March 3, 1841, and would then, from his residence in Kinderhook NY, aging well, known affectionately to the nation as “Old Kinderhook” the Grandfather of the Nation, shake hands with eight subsequent presidents. (We should all be so lucky.)

In his Inaugural Address the President denounced the attempt to free the slaves of the District of Columbia: “Fellow-Citizens: I then declared that if the desire of those of my countrymen who were favorable to my election was gratified. I must go into the Presidential chair the inflexible and uncompromising opponent of every attempt on the part of Congress to abolish [slavery](#) in the District of Columbia against the wishes of the slaveholding States, and also with a determination equally decided to resist the slightest interference with it in the States where it exists. I submitted also to my fellow-citizens, with fullness and frankness, the reasons which led me to this determination.”



April 15: Abraham Lincoln left New Salem and settled in Springfield, [Illinois](#), becoming a law partner of John T. Stuart.



May 2, Tuesday: From George Templeton Strong’s New-York diary:



*Workmen thrown out of employ by the hundred daily.
Business at a stand; the coal mines in Pennsylvania
stopped and no fuel in prospect for next winter –
delightful prospects, these.*

Henry Martyn Robert, who would author “Robert’s Rules of Order,” was born.

William B. Ogden, brother-in-law of New York investor Charles Butler, was elected Mayor of [Chicago](#). Isaac N. Arnold became the clerk, and Hiram Pearsons the treasurer.

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

*3rd day 2nd of 5th M 1837 / In the Afternoon took the Boat to
Wickford & from thence by Chaise went to [Greenwich](#) & arrived at
my friend Thos Howland in about three hours & a half & lodged
there*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Summer: Abraham Lincoln proposed marriage to Mary Owens and was turned down. The courtship ended and he moved in with the bachelor Joshua Fry Speed of Springfield, [Illinois](#). The two men would sleep together until Speed would relocate to Kentucky in 1841.¹⁰



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS


November 3: The price of beef rose to 3 cents a pound in [Illinois](#).

10. Am I suggesting that our beloved President Lincoln should be counted as a “homosexual” or “bisexual”? –Yes indeed. Is such an accusation of any significance? –Well, no, not actually, but it does depend upon who you are — if, for instance, you happen to be both a Republican and a homophobe, then this probability should help you re-examine your politics, or your homophobia, or both.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

 November 7: In a speech, [Waldo Emerson](#) demonstrated that he was not yet ready for the slavery issue.¹¹

Horace Mann, Sr. accepted the offer of the hospitality of the Emerson family to reside with them while in Concord to attend a school convention.

The abolitionist publisher Reverend [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#) was killed in Alton, Illinois with a gun in his hand,

11. Gougeon, Len. "Abolition, The Emersons, and 1837." *New England Quarterly* 54 (1981): 345-64

"A Review From Professor Ross's Seminar"

Gougeon details [Emerson](#)'s involvement (or lack thereof) with the abolition movement in the years preceding his first antislavery speech delivered in November 1837. Gougeon initially focuses on the interest of Emerson's own family in promoting freedom for the blacks: Emerson's sister Mary and his stepfather the honored Reverend Ezra Ripley were actively "involved in the antislavery agitation of the 1830s and 1840s," the latter consistently supporting the movement until his death in 1841. But the strongest proponent in Emerson's family was his younger brother Charles, with whom Emerson maintained a close relationship. As early as April 1835 Charles publicly declared his opposition to slavery, delivering in Concord a speech, "Lecture on Slavery." It was Emerson's wife, however, who exerted the greatest influence on her husband, for she was "one of [the] most active members from the outset" of the Women's Anti-Slavery Society.

Secondly, in contrast to Boston, "[t]he environment of Concord in the 1830s ... was quite favorable to the abolition cause," acting as a "depot of the underground railroad" and a junction for well-known abolitionists. These frequent antislavery lecturers stirred the community with their ideas, and the many newspaper articles and library acquisitions opposing slavery provided the community with current information.

Although his family and his neighbors participated actively in the abolitionist cause, Emerson remained "largely disengaged from the antislavery agitation" being aware of the issue but unwilling to take a public stand. His reluctance to join the cause was due in part to his adherence to the commonly held belief that the blacks were inferior by nature to the Caucasians and thus, that they would always be subservient. The other factor that confused the issue for Emerson was his emphasis on "individuality, especially individual moral responsibility": Emerson felt that both the "slaves and slave owners are responsible for the unpardonable outrage of slavery, and only they themselves, as individuals, can correct the situation." Reform must come from within – not forcefully from without. Even the gradual abolitionist involvement of his highly respected teacher and friend, the Reverend [William Ellery Channing](#), did not spur Emerson to make a public statement.

But Emerson finally felt compelled to speak out when, on November 7, 1837, an angry mob brutally murdered an abolitionist publisher in Alton, [Illinois](#). In the resultant speech, however, Emerson placed more emphasis on "the need to allow and encourage a free discussion of the question than upon the problem of slavery itself." Instead of taking a strong stand with the abolitionists, he stressed the importance of "individual moral judgment regarding the question of slavery," individual expression of ideas, and an individual need for reform. Hence, neither the abolitionists, his friends, nor Emerson himself was pleased with the speech that was "[t]epid and philosophical to a fault." Emerson, restricted by his own views, was not yet ready to take a strong public stance on an issue he clearly opposed. [Janet B. Ergino (Sommers), May 1989]

attempting to defend his final printing press from a white mob.¹²



During a memorial prayer meeting in Hudson, Ohio, John Brown would stand in the back and suddenly at the age of 37 publicly consecrate his life to the destruction of human enslavement, by any means necessary (he raised his right hand as if taking a vow and spoke a single sentence: “Here before God, in the presence of these witnesses, I consecrate my life to the destruction of slavery”). According to a historian, [Waldo Emerson](#) was also much impressed, although of course Waldo would not offer to do anything more dangerous than talk

12. [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#) was no amateur at this. He had had four prior presses destroyed by white mobs.

up the idea that other people might feel compelled to do something!

In the midst of a placid lecture on heroism, he suddenly burst out before a Bostonian assembly:

Lovejoy has given his breast to the bullet for his part and had died when it was better not to live. He is absolved [...] I sternly rejoice that one was found to die for humanity and the rights of free speech and opinion.

It is said that a shudder ran through his cultured audience.



[Abby Kelley](#), however, would have held Mr. Lovejoy to a somewhat higher standard:

He had better have died as did our Savior, saying "Father forgive them, they know not what they do."



As would the Reverend Samuel Joseph May:



Although May incorrectly assumed that the convention shared his views, he had placed his finger upon the central dilemma of the antislavery movement: the problem of violent means. May failed to gain general acceptance of his opinions, but he proved the more consistent thinker. Without a complete rejection of force, abolitionists had left the door open to acceptance of violence. Self-defense in war naturally paralleled self-defence against the slave owner. The controversy over violent means, which divided the American Peace Society in 1838 and contributed to the demise of the AASS in 1840, began when an angry Alton, [Illinois](#), mob murdered the abolitionist [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#)....

Except for May, few abolitionists rejected Lovejoy's course. Henry I. Bowditch, a nonresistance advocate, believed that Lovejoy was "the last being on earth an abolitionist ought to think of, if he would be true to the cause he espouses." Both Grimké sisters disapproved of Lovejoy's methods. "There is no such thing as trusting in God and pistols at the same time," Angelina Grimké maintained. May was the only abolitionist to publicly condemn the "martyrdom" of Lovejoy and charge the AASS with duplicity.

William Lloyd Garrison had declared early on that his quest was for martyrdom:

My trust is in God, my aim is to walk in the footsteps of his son, my rejoicing to be crucified to the world, and the world to me.

Nevertheless, martyrdom was a boon which this benefactor never would be granted:

William Lloyd Garrison, along with Wendell Phillips, [Theodore Dwight Weld](#), Frederick Douglass, and many other prominent leaders of the Anti-Slavery Society never really experienced "the altar." Despite their willingness to be sacrificed to the cause, most of the well-known leaders of the movement did not meet a tragic death. They continued to live valuable and meaningful lives long after slavery had been abolished and they died from natural causes in their seventies and eighties. Other abolitionists, less familiar to the general public, suffered attacks, injuries, and even persecution in their struggle against slavery. These persecuted members were necessary to the antislavery movement, since they provided the connection of blood that bound all committed abolitionists in sacrificial ties. Yet most of these persecuted abolitionists did not reach national prominence. The first and only effective martyr to the abolition movement was [Elijah Parish Lovejoy](#)....

. He was killed by a mob in Dalton, [Illinois](#), on November 17, 1837, and his personal destruction came to be regarded as a forecast of the fate that all human liberty must suffer if slavery were perpetuated. He won the martyr's crown because he died and lost, not because he triumphed. His death also affected for a short time members outside of the abolitionists' ranks. For a decade after Lovejoy's death, lust for martyrdom permeated abolitionism, and many individuals demonstrated in life what he had demonstrated in death. But without the death ritual their suffering had only a

Here is the matter as it was reported in the Alton [Observer](#):

Night had come to the town of Alton, [Illinois](#) and a crowd began



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

to gather in the darkness.
Some of the men stooped to gather stones. Others fingered the triggers of the guns they carried as they made their way to a warehouse on the banks of the Mississippi River.
As they approached, they eyed the windows of the three-story building, searching for some sign of movement from inside. Suddenly, William S. Gilman, one of the owners of the building, appeared in an upper window.
"What do you want here?" he asked the crowd.
"The press!" came the shouted reply.
Inside the warehouse was Elijah Parish Lovejoy..., a Presbyterian minister and editor of the Alton Observer. He and 20 of his supporters were standing guard over a newly arrived printing press from the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society.
This was the fourth press that Lovejoy had received for his paper. Three others already had been destroyed by people who opposed the antislavery views he expressed in the Observer. But Lovejoy would not give up.
This time, in an attempt to hide the arrival of the new press, secret arrangements were made. A steamboat delivered the press at 3 o'clock in the morning on November 7, 1837, and some of Lovejoy's friends were there to meet it.
Moving quickly, they carried the press to the third floor of Gilman's warehouse, but not before they were spotted by members of the mob.
Word of the arrival of the press spread throughout the town all that day. As nightfall approached, mob leaders were joined by men from the taverns, and now the crowd stood below, demanding this fourth press.
Gilman called out: "We have no ill feelings toward, any of you and should much regret to do any injury; but we are authorized by the Mayor to. defend our property and shall do so with our lives." The mob began to throw stones, breaking out all the windows in the warehouse.
Shots were fired by members of the mob, and rifle balls whizzed through the windows of the warehouse, narrowly missing the defenders inside. Lovejoy and his men, returned the fire. Several people in the crowd were hit, and one was killed.
"Burn them out!", someone shouted.
Leaders of the mob called for a ladder, which was put up on the side of the building. A boy with a torch was sent up to set fire to the wooden roof. Lovejoy and one of his supporters, Royal Weller, volunteered to stop the boy. The two men crept outside, hiding in the shadows of the building. Surprising the mob, they rushed to the ladder, pushed it over and quickly retreated inside.
Once again a ladder was put in place. As Lovejoy and Weller made another brave attempt to overturn the ladder, they were spotted. Lovejoy was shot five times, and Weller was also wounded. Lovejoy staggered inside the warehouse, making his way to the second floor before he finally fell.
"My God. I am shot," he cried. He died almost immediately. By this time the warehouse roof had begun to burn. The men remaining inside knew they had no choice but to surrender the press.
The mob rushed into the vacant building.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The press Lovejoy died defending was carried to a window and thrown out onto the river bank. It was broken into pieces that were scattered in the Mississippi River.

Fearing more violence, Lovejoy's friends, did not remove his body from the building until the next morning.

Members of the crowd from the night before, feeling no shame at what they had done, laughed and jeered as the funeral wagon moved slowly down the street toward Lovejoy's home. Lovejoy was buried on November 9, 1837, his 35th birthday.

1838

During this year in a celebrated case Abraham Lincoln was helping to defend Henry Truett, charged with murder. The client would be found not guilty.

2,000 men were employed on the [Illinois](#) and Michigan [Canal](#).

A national road had been begun in 1811 (which is now approximately followed by the existing US 40). At this point this national road had reached all the way to [Illinois](#) (the project would be abandoned because railroad interests were able to convince the public, and the federal government, that such a form of transportation was soon to be obsolete).

March 8:



ANGELINA EMILY GRIMKÉ
SARAH MOORE GRIMKÉ

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, New York, March 8, 1838
 Hon. F.H. ELMORE,
 Member of Congress from S. Carolina:

SIR, — I take pleasure in furnishing the information you have



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

so politely asked for, in your letter of the 16th ult., in relation to the American Anti-Slavery Society; – and trust, that this correspondence, by presenting in a sober light, the objects and measures of the society, may contribute to dispel, not only from your own mind, but – if it be diffused throughout the South – from the minds of our fellow-citizens there generally, a great deal of undeserved prejudice and groundless alarm. I cannot hesitate to believe, that such as enter on the examination of its claims to public favour, without bias, will find that it aims intelligently, not only at the promotion of the interests of the slave, but of the master, – not only at the re-animation of the Republican principles of our Constitution, but at the establishment of the Union on an enduring basis.

I shall proceed to state the several questions submitted in your letter, and answer them, in the order in which they are proposed. You ask, –

"1. How many societies, affiliated with that of which you are corresponding secretary, are there in the United States? And how many members belong to them IN THE AGGREGATE?"

ANSWER.— Our anniversary is held on the Tuesday immediately preceding the second Thursday in May. Returns of societies are made only a short time before. In May, 1835, there were 225 auxiliaries reported. In May, 1836, 527. In May, 1837, 1006. Returns for the anniversary in May next have not come in yet. It may, however, be safely said, that the increase, since last May, is not less than 400.¹³ Of late, the multiplication of societies has not kept pace with the progress of our principles. Where these are well received, our agents are not so careful to organize societies as in former times, when our numbers were few; *societies*, now, being not deemed so necessary for the advancement of our cause. The auxiliaries average not less than 80 members each; making an aggregate of 112,480. Others estimate the auxiliaries at 1500, and the average of members at 100. I give you, what I believe to be the lowest numbers.

"2. Are there any other societies similar to yours, and not affiliated with it in the United States? And how many, and what is the aggregate of their members?"

ANSWER.— Several societies have been formed in the Methodist connection within the last two years, – although most of the Methodists who are abolitionists, are members of societies auxiliary to the American. These societies have been originated by Ministers, and others of weight and influence, who think that their brethren can be more easily persuaded, as a religious body, to aid in the anti-slavery movement by this twofold action. None of the large religious denominations bid fairer soon to be on the side of emancipation than the Methodist. Of the number of the Methodist societies that are not auxiliary, I am not informed. – The ILLINOIS SOCIETY comes under the same class. The REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, the corresponding secretary, was slain by a mob, a few days after its organization. It has not held a meeting since; and I have no data for stating the number of its members. It is supposed not to be large. – Neither

13. The number reported for May was three hundred and forty, making, in the aggregate, 1346. — *Report for May*, 1838.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

is the DELAWARE SOCIETY, organized, a few weeks ago, at Wilmington, auxiliary to the American. I have no information as to its numbers. — The MANUMISSION SOCIETY in this city, formed in 1785, with JOHN JAY its first, and ALEXANDER HAMILTON its second president, might, from its name, be supposed to be affiliated with the American. Originally, its object, so far as regarded the slaves, and those illegally held in bondage *in this state*, was, in a great measure, similar. Slavery being extinguished in New-York in 1827, as a state system, the efforts of the Manumission Society are limited now to the rescue, from kidnappers and others, of such persons as are really free by the laws, but who have been reduced to slavery. Of the old Abolition societies, organized in the time, and under the influence of Franklin and Rush and Jay, and the most active of their coadjutors, but few remain. Their declension may be ascribed to this defect, — they did not inflexibly ask for *immediate* emancipation. — The PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY, formed in 1789, with DR. FRANKLIN, president, and DR. RUSH, secretary, is still in existence — but unconnected with the American Society. Some of the most active and benevolent members of both the associations last named, are members of the American Society. Besides the societies already mentioned, there may be in the country a few others of anti-slavery name; but they are of small note and efficiency, and are unconnected with this.

"3. Have you affiliation, intercourse, or connection with any similar societies out of the United States, and in what countries?"

ANSWER.— A few societies have spontaneously sprung up in Canada. Two have declared themselves auxiliary to the American. We have an agent — a native of the United States — in Upper Canada; not with a view to the organization of societies, but to the moral and intellectual elevation of the Ten thousand colored people there; most of whom have escaped from slavery in this Republic, to enjoy freedom under the protection of a Monarchy. In Great Britain there are numerous Anti-slavery Societies, whose particular object, of late, has been, to bring about the abolition of the Apprentice-system, as established by the emancipation act in her slaveholding colonies. In England, there is a society whose professed object is, to abolish slavery *throughout the world*. Of the existence of the British societies, you are, doubtless, fully aware; as also of the fact, that, in Britain, the great mass of the people are opposed to slavery as it existed, a little while ago, in their own colonies, and as it exists now in the United States. — In France, the "FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY" was founded in 1834. I shall have the pleasure of transmitting to you two pamphlets, containing an account of some of its proceedings; from which you will learn, that, the DUC DE BROGLIE is its presiding officer, and many of the most distinguished and influential of the public men of that country are members. — In Hayti, also, "The HAYTIAN ABOLITION SOCIETY" was formed in May, 1836. These are all the foreign societies of which I have knowledge. They are connected with the American by no formal affiliation. The only intercourse between them and it, is, that which springs



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

up spontaneously among those of every land who sympathize with Humanity in her conflicts with Slavery.

"4. *Do your or similar societies exist in the Colleges and other Literary institutions of the non-slaveholding states, and to what extent?*"

ANSWER.— Strenuous efforts have been made, and they are still being made, by those who have the direction of most of the literary and theological institutions in the free states, to bar out our principles and doctrines, and prevent the formation of societies among the students. To this course they have been prompted by various, and possibly, in their view, good motives. One of them, I think it not uncharitable to say, is, to conciliate the wealthy of the south, that they may send their sons to the north, to swell the college catalogues. Neither do I think it uncharitable to say, that in this we have a manifestation of that Aristocratic pride, which, feeling itself honored by having entrusted to its charge the sons of distant, opulent, and distinguished planters, fails not to dull everything like sympathy for those whose unpaid toil supplies the means so lavishly expended in educating southern youth at northern colleges. These efforts at suppression or restraint, on the part of Faculties and Boards of Trustees, have heretofore succeeded to a considerable extent. Anti-Slavery Societies, notwithstanding, have been formed in a few of our most distinguished colleges and theological seminaries. Public opinion is beginning to call for a relaxation of restraints and impositions; they are yielding to its demands; and now, for the most part, sympathy for the slave may be manifested by our generous college youth, in the institution of Anti-Slavery Societies, without any downright prohibition by their more politic teachers. College societies will probably increase more rapidly hereafter; as, in addition to the removal or relaxation of former restraints, just referred to, the murder of Mr. Lovejoy, the assaults on the Freedom of speech and of the press, the prostration of the Right of petition in Congress, &c, &c, all believed to have been perpetrated to secure slavery from the scrutiny that the intelligent world is demanding, have greatly augmented the number of college abolitionists. They are, for the most part, the diligent, the intellectual, the religious of the students. United in societies, their influence is generally extensively felt in the surrounding region; *dispersed*, it seems scarcely less effective. An instance of the latter deserves particular notice.

The Trustees and Faculty of one of our theological and literary institutions united for the suppression of anti-slavery action among the students. The latter refused to cease pleading for the slave, as he could not plead for himself. They left the institution; were providentially dispersed over various parts of the country, and made useful, in a remarkable manner, in advancing the cause of humanity and liberty. One of these dismissed students, the son of a slaveholder, brought up in the midst of slavery, and well acquainted with its peculiarities, succeeded in persuading a pious father to emancipate his fourteen slaves. After lecturing a long time with signal success



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

— having contracted a disease of the throat, which prevented him from further prosecuting his labors in this way — he visited the West Indies, eighteen months ago, in company with another gentleman of the most ample qualifications, to note the operation of the British emancipation act. Together, they collected a mass of facts — now in a course of publication — that will astonish, as it ought to delight, the whole south; for it shows, conclusively, that IMMEDIATE emancipation is the best, the safest, the most profitable, as it is the most just and honorable, of all emancipations.¹⁴

Another of these dismissed students is one of the secretaries of this society. He has, for a long time, discharged its arduous and responsible duties with singular ability. To his qualifications as secretary, he adds those of an able and successful lecturer. He was heard, several times, before the joint committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, a year ago, prior to the report of that committee, and to the adoption, by the Senate and House of Representatives, of their memorable resolutions in favor of the Power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the Right of petition.

"5. What do you estimate the number of those who co-operate in the matter at? What proportion do they bear in the population of the northern states, and what in the middle non-slaveholding states? Are they increasing, and at what rate?"

ANSWER.— Those who stand ready to join our societies on the first suitable occasion, may be set down as equal in number to those who are now *actually members*. Those who are ready *fully to co-operate with us* in supporting the freedom of speech and the press, the right of petition, &c, may be estimated at *double*, if not *treble*, the joint numbers of those who *already are members*, and those who are *ready to become members*. The Recording secretary of the MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY stated, a few weeks ago, that the abolitionists in the various minor societies in that state were one in thirty of the whole population. The proportion of abolitionists to the whole population is greater in Massachusetts than in any other of the free states, except VERMONT, — where the spirit of liberty has almost entirely escaped the corruptions which slavery has infused into it in most of her sister states, by means of commercial and other intercourse with them.

In MAINE, not much of systematic effort has, as yet, been put forth to enlighten her population as to our principles and proceedings. I attended the anniversary of the State Society on the 31st of January, at Augusta, the seat of government. The Ministers of the large religious denominations were beginning, as I was told, to unite with us — and Politicians, to descry the ultimate prevalence of our principles. The impression I received was, that much could, and that much would, speedily be done.

In NEW HAMPSHIRE, more labor has been expended, and a greater effect produced. Public functionaries, who have been pleased to speak in contemptuous terms of the progress of abolitionism, both in Maine and New Hampshire, will, it is thought, soon be made to see, through a medium not at all deceptive, the grossness

14. See Appendix, A.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of their error.

In Rhode Island, our principles are fast pervading the great body of the people. This, it is thought, is the only one of the free states, in which the subject of abolition has been fully introduced, which has not been disgraced by a mob, triumphant, for the time being, over the right of the people to discuss any, and every, matter in which they feel interested. A short time previous to the last election of members of Congress, questions, embodying our views as to certain political measures were propounded to the several candidates. Respectful answers and, in the main, conformable with our views, were returned. I shall transmit you a newspaper containing both the questions and the answers.¹⁵

In CONNECTICUT, there has not been, as yet, a great expenditure of abolition effort. Although the moral tone of this state, so far as slavery is concerned, has been a good deal weakened by the influence of her multiform connexions with the south, yet the energies that have been put forth to reanimate her ancient and lofty feelings, so far from proving fruitless, have been followed by the most encouraging results. Evidence of this is found in the faithful administration of the laws by judges and juries. In May last, a slave, who had been brought from Georgia to Hartford, successfully asserted her freedom under the laws of Connecticut. The cause was elaborately argued before the Supreme court. The most eminent counsel were employed on both sides. And it is but a few days, since two anti-abolition rioters (the only ones on trial) were convicted before the Superior court in New Haven, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty dollars each, and to be imprisoned six months, the longest term authorized by the law. A convention, for the organization of a State Society, was held in the city of Hartford on the last day of February. It was continued three days. The call for it (which I send you) was signed by nearly EIGHTEEN HUNDRED of the citizens of that state. SEVENTEEN HUNDRED, as I was informed, are legal voters. The proceedings of the convention were of the most harmonious and animating character.¹⁶

In NEW YORK, our cause is evidently advancing. The state is rapidly coming up to the high ground of principle, so far as universal liberty is concerned, on which the abolitionists would place her. Several large Anti-Slavery conventions have lately been held in the western counties. Their reports are of the most encouraging character. Nor is the change more remarkable in the state than in this city. Less than five years ago, a few of the citizens advertised a meeting, to be held in Clinton Hall, to form a City Anti-Slavery Society. A mob prevented their assembling at the place appointed. They repaired, privately, to one of the churches. To this they were pursued by the mob, and routed from it, though not before they had completed, in a hasty manner, the form of organization. In the summer of 1834, some of the leading political and commercial journals of the city were enabled to stir up the mob against the persons and property

15. Since the above was written, at the last election in this state for governor and lieutenant governor, the abolitionists *interrogated* the gentlemen who stood candidates for these offices. Two of them answered respectfully, and conformably to the views of the abolitionists. Their opponents neglected to answer at all. The first were elected. — See Appendix, B.

16. See Appendix, C.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of the abolitionists, and several of the most prominent were compelled to leave the city for safety; their houses were attacked, broken into, and, in one instance, the furniture publicly burnt in the street. Now, things are much changed. Many of the merchants and mechanics are favorable to our cause; gentlemen of the bar, especially the younger and more growing ones, are directing their attention to it; twenty-one of our city ministers are professed abolitionists; the churches are beginning to be more accessible to us; our meetings are held in them openly, attract large numbers, are unmolested; and the abolitionists sometimes hear themselves commended in other assemblies, not only for their honest *intentions*, but for their *respectability* and *intelligence*.

NEW JERSEY has, as yet, no State Society, and the number of avowed abolitionists is small. In some of the most populous and influential parts of the state, great solicitude exists on the subject; and the call for lecturers is beginning to be earnest, if not importunate.

PENNSYLVANIA has advanced to our principles just in proportion to the labor that has been bestowed, by means of lectures and publications in enlightening her population as to our objects, and the evils and dangers impending over the whole country, from southern slavery. The act of her late Convention, in depriving a large number of their own constituents (the colored people) of the elective franchise, heretofore possessed by them without any allegation of its abuse on their part, would seem to prove an unpropitious state of public sentiment. We would neither deny, nor elude, the force of such evidence. But when this measure of the convention is brought out and unfolded in its true light – shown to be a party measure to bring succor from the south – a mere following in the wake of North Carolina and Tennessee, who led the way, in their new constitutions, to this violation of the rights of their colored citizens, that they might the more firmly compact the wrongs of the enslaved – a pernicious, a profitless violation of great principles – a vulgar defiance of the advancing spirit of humanity and justice – a relapse into the by-gone darkness of a barbarous age – we apprehend from it no serious detriment to our cause.

OHIO has been well advanced. In a short time, she will be found among the most prominent of the states on the right side in the contest now going on between the spirit of liberty embodied in the free institutions of the north, and the spirit of slavery pervading the south. Her Constitution publishes the most honorable reprobation of slavery of any other in the Union. In providing for its own revision or amendment, it declares, that *no alteration of it shall ever take place, so as to introduce slavery or involuntary servitude into the state*. Her Supreme court is intelligent and firm. It has lately decided, virtually, against the constitutionality of an act of the Legislature, made, in effect, to favor southern slavery by the persecution of the colored people within her bounds. She has, already, abolitionists enough to turn the scale in her elections, and an abundance of excellent material for augmenting the number.

In INDIANA but little has been done, except by the diffusion of our publications. But even with these appliances, several



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

auxiliary societies have been organized.¹⁷

In MICHIGAN, the leaven of abolitionists pervades the whole population. The cause is well sustained by a high order of talent; and we trust soon to see the influence of it in all her public acts.

In ILLINOIS, the murder of Mr. Lovejoy has multiplied and confirmed abolitionists, and led to the formation of many societies, which, in all probability, would not have been formed so soon, had not that event taken place.

I am not possessed of sufficient data for stating, with precision, what proportion the abolitionists bear in the population of the Northern and Middle non-slaveholding states respectively. Within the last ten months, I have travelled extensively in both these geographical divisions. I have had whatever advantage this, assisted by a strong interest in the general cause, and abundant conversations with the best informed abolitionists, could give, for making a fair estimate of their numbers. In the Northern states I should say, *they are one in ten* – in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, *one in twenty* – of the whole adult population. That the abolitionists have multiplied, and that they are still multiplying rapidly, no one acquainted with the smallness of their numbers at their first organization a few years ago, and who has kept his eyes about him since, need ask. That they have not, thus far, been more successful, is owing to the vastness of the undertaking, and the difficulties with which they have had to contend, from comparatively limited means, for presenting their measures and objects, with the proper developments and explanations, to the great mass of the popular mind. The progress of their principles, under the same amount of intelligence in presenting them, and where no peculiar causes of prejudice exist in the minds of the hearers, is generally proportioned to the degree of religious and intellectual worth prevailing in the different sections of the country where the subject is introduced. I know no instance, in which any one notoriously profane or intemperate, or licentious, or of openly irreligious *practice*, has professed, cordially to have received our principles.

"6. What is the object your associations aim at? Does it extend to abolition of slavery only in the District of Columbia, or in the whole slave country?"

ANSWER.— This question is fully answered in the second Article of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which is in these words:—

"The object of this society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state, in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned

17. The first Legislative movement against the annexation of Texas to the Union, was made, it is believed, in Indiana. So early as December, 1836, a joint resolution passed its second reading in one or both branches of the Legislature. How it was ultimately disposed of, is not known.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia; and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may hereafter be admitted to the Union."

Other objects, accompanied by a pledge of peace, are stated in the third article of the Constitution, —

"This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, — that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

"7. By what means and by what power do you propose to carry your views into effect?"

ANSWER.— Our "means" are the Truth, — the "Power" under whose guidance we propose to carry our views into effect, is, the Almighty. Confiding in these means, when directed by the spirit and wisdom of Him, who has so made them as to act on the hearts of men, and so constituted the hearts of then as to be affected by them, we expect, 1. To bring the CHURCH of this country to repentance for the sin of OPPRESSION. Not only the Southern portion of it that has been the oppressor — but the Northern, that has stood by, consenting, for half a century, to the wrong. 2. To bring our countrymen to see, that for a nation to persist in injustice is, but to rush on its own ruin; that to do justice is the highest expediency — to love mercy its noblest ornament. In other countries, slavery has sometimes yielded to fortuitous circumstances, or been extinguished by physical force. *We* strive to win for truth the victory over error, and on the broken fragments of slavery to rear for her a temple, that shall reach to the heavens, and toward which all nations shall worship. It has been said, that the slaveholders of the South will not yield, nor hearken to the influence of the truth on this subject. We believe it not — nor give we entertainment to the slander that such an unworthy defence of them implies. We believe them *men*, — that they have understandings that arguments will convince — consciences to which the appeals of justice and mercy will not be made in vain. If our principles be true — our arguments right — if slaveholders be men — and God have not delivered over our guilty country to the retributions of the oppressor, not only of the STRANGER but of the NATIVE — our success is certain.

"8. What has been for three years past, the annual income of your societies? And how has it been raised?"

ANSWER.— The annual income of the societies at large, it would be impossible to ascertain. The total receipts of this society, for the year ending 9th of May, 1835 — leaving out odd numbers — was \$10,000; for the year ending 9th of May, 1837, \$25,000;



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

and for the year ending 11th of May, 1836, \$38,000. From the last date, up to this – not quite ten months – there has been paid into the treasury the sum of \$36,000.¹⁸ These sums are independent of what is raised by state and auxiliary societies, for expenditure within their own particular bounds, and for their own particular exigencies. Also, of the sums paid in subscriptions for the support of newspapers, and for the printing (by auxiliaries,) of periodicals, pamphlets, and essays, either for sale at low prices, or for gratuitous distribution. The moneys contributed in these various modes would make an aggregate greater, perhaps, than is paid into the treasury of any one of the Benevolent societies of the country. Most of the wealthy contributors of former years suffered so severely in the money-pressure of this, that they have been unable to contribute much to our funds. This has made it necessary to call for aid on the great body of abolitionists – persons, generally, in moderate circumstances. They have well responded to the call, considering the hardness of the times. To show you the extremes that meet at our treasury, – General Sewall, of Maine, a revolutionary officer, eighty-five years old – William Philbrick, a little boy near Boston, not four years old – and a colored woman, who makes her subsistence by selling apples in the streets in this city, lately sent in their respective sums to assist in promoting the emancipation of the “poor slave.”

All contributions of whatever kind are *voluntary*.

“9. In what way, and to what purposes do you apply these funds!”

ANSWER.— They are used in sustaining the society’s office in this city – in paying lecturers and agents of various kinds – in upholding the press – in printing books, pamphlets, tracts, &c, containing expositions of our principles – accounts of our progress – refutations of objections – and disquisitions on points, scriptural, constitutional, political, legal, economical, as they chance to arise and become important. In this office three secretaries are employed in different departments of duty; one editor; one publishing agent, with an assistant, and two or three young men and boys, for folding, directing, and despatching papers, executing errands, &c. The business of the society has increased so much of late, as to make it necessary, in order to ensure the proper despatch of it, to employ additional clerks for the particular exigency. Last year, the society had in its service about sixty “permanent agents.” This year, the number is considerably diminished. The deficiency has been more than made up by creating a large number of “Local” agents – so called, from the fact, that being generally Professional men, lawyers or physicians in good practice, or Ministers with congregations, they are confined, for the most part, to their respective neighborhoods. Some of the best minds in our country are thus engaged. Their labors have not only been eminently successful, but have been rendered at but small charge to the society; they receiving only their travelling expenses, whilst employed in lecturing and forming societies. In the case of a minister, there is the additional

18. The report for May states the sum received during the previous year at \$44,000.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

expense of supplying his pulpit while absent on the business of his agency, However, in many instances, these agents, being in easy circumstances, make no charge, even for their expenses. In making appointments, the executive committee have no regard to party discrimination. This will be fully understood, when it is stated, that on a late occasion, two of our local agents were the candidates of their respective political parties for the office of Secretary of State for the state of Vermont.

It ought to be stated here, that two of the most effective advocates of the anti-slavery cause are females – the Misses Grimke – natives of South Carolina – brought up in the midst of the usages of slavery – most intelligently acquainted with the merits of the system, and qualified, in an eminent degree, to communicate their views to others in public addresses. They are not only the advocates of the slave at their own charge, but they actually contribute to the funds of the societies. So successfully have they recommended the cause of emancipation to the crowds that attended their lectures during the last year, that they were permitted on three several occasions publicly to address the joint committee (on slavery) of the Massachusetts Legislature, now in session, on the interesting matters that occupy their attention.

"10. *How many printing presses and periodical publications have you?"*

ANSWER.— We own no press. Our publications are all printed by contract. The EMANCIPATOR and HUMAN RIGHTS are the organs of the Executive Committee. The first (which you have seen,) is a large sheet, is published weekly, and employs almost exclusively the time of the gentleman who edits it. Human Rights is a monthly sheet of smaller size, and is edited by one of the secretaries. The increasing interest that is fast manifesting itself in the cause of emancipation and its kindred subjects will, in all probability, before long, call for the more frequent publication of one or both of these papers. – The ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE, a quarterly, was commenced in October, 1835, and continued through two years. It has been intermitted, only to make the necessary arrangements for issuing it on a more extended scale. – It is proposed to give it size enough to admit the amplest discussions that we or our opponents may desire, and to give *them* a full share of its room – in fine, to make it, in form and merit, what the importance of the subject calls for. I send you a copy of the Prospectus for the new series. – The ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, published for three years as a monthly, has been discontinued *as such*, and it will be issued hereafter, only as occasion may require:– THE SLAVE'S FRIEND, a small monthly tract, of neat appearance, intended principally for children and young persons, has been issued for several years. It is replete with facts relating to slavery, and with accounts of the hair-breadth escapes of slaves from their masters and pursuers that rarely fail to impart the most thrilling interest to its little readers. – Besides these, there is the ANTI-SLAVERY EXAMINER, in which are published, as the times call for them, our larger essays partaking of a controversial character, such as Smith's reply to the Rev. Mr. Smylie – Grimke's letter and "Wythe." By



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

turning to page 32 of our Fourth Report (included in your order for books, &c,) you will find, that in the year ending 11th May, the issues from the press were – bound volumes, 7,877 – Tracts and Pamphlets, 47,250 – Circulars, &c, 4,100 – Prints, 10,490 – Anti-Slavery Magazine, 9000 – Slave's Friend, 131,050 – Human Rights, 189,400 – Emancipator, 217,000. These are the issues of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from their office in this city. Other publications of similar character are issued by State Societies or individuals – the LIBERATOR, in Boston; HERALD OF FREEDOM, in Concord, N.H.; ZION'S WATCHMAN and the COLORED AMERICAN in this city. The latter is conducted in the editorial, and other departments, by colored citizens. You can judge of its character, by a few numbers that I send to you. Then, there is the FRIEND of MAN, in Utica, in this state. The NATIONAL ENQUIRER, in Philadelphia;¹⁹ the CHRISTIAN WITNESS, in Pittsburgh; the PHILANTHROPIST, in Cincinnati. – All these are sustained by the friends, and devoted almost exclusively to the cause, of emancipation. Many of the Religious journals that do not make emancipation their main object have adopted the sentiments of abolitionists, and aid in promoting them. The Alton Observer, edited by the late Mr. Lovejoy, was one of these. From the data I have, I set down the newspapers, as classed above, at upwards of one hundred. Here it may also be stated, that the presses which print the abolition journals above named, throw off besides, a great variety of other anti-slavery matter, in the form of books, pamphlets, single sheets, &c, &c, and that, at many of the principal commercial points throughout the free states, DEPOSITORIES are established, at which our publications of every sort are kept for sale. A large and fast increasing number of the Political journals of the country have become, within the last two years, if not the avowed supporters of our cause, well inclined to it. Formerly, it was a common thing for most of the leading party-papers, especially in the large cities, to speak of the abolitionists in terms signally disrespectful and offensive. Except in rare instances, and these, it is thought, only where they are largely subsidized by southern patronage, it is not so now. The desertions that are taking place from their ranks will, in a short time, render their position undesirable for any, who aspire to gain, or influence, or reputation in the North.

"11. *To what class of persons do you address your publications – and are they addressed to the judgment, the imagination, or the feelings?*"

ANSWER.— They are intended for the great mass of intelligent mind, both in the free and in the slave states. They partake, of course, of the intellectual peculiarities of the different authors. Jay's "INQUIRY" and Mrs. Child's "APPEAL" abound in facts – are dispassionate, ingenious, argumentative. The "BIBLE AGAINST SLAVERY," by the most careful and laborious research, has struck from slavery the prop, which careless Annotators, (writing, unconscious of the influence, the prevailing system of slavery throughout the Christian world exercised on their own

19. The NATIONAL ENQUIRER, edited by Benjamin Lundy, has been converted into the PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN, edited by John G. Whittier. Mr. Lundy proposes to issue the GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, in [Illinois](#).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

minds,) have admitted was furnished for it in the Scriptures. "Wythe" by a pains-taking and lucid adjustment of facts in the history of the Government, both before and after the adoption of the Constitution, and with a rigor of logic, that cannot, it is thought, be successfully encountered, has put to flight forever with unbiased minds, every doubt as to the "Power of Congress over the District of Columbia."

There are among the abolitionists, Poets, and by the acknowledgment of their opponents, poets of no mean name too – who, as the use of poets is, do address themselves often – as John G. Whittier does *always* – powerfully to the imagination and feelings of their readers.

Our publications cannot be classed according to any particular style or quality of composition. They may be characterized generally, as well suited to affect the public mind – to rouse into healthful activity the conscience of this nation, stupified, torpid, almost dead, in relation to HUMAN RIGHTS, the high theme of which they treat!

It has often been alleged, that our writings appeal to the worst passions of the slaves, and that they are placed in their hands with a view to stir them to revolt. Neither charge has any foundation in truth to rest upon. The first finds no support in the tenor of the writings themselves; the last ought forever to be abandoned, in the absence of any single well authenticated instance of their having been conveyed by abolitionists to slaves, or of their having been even found in their possession. To instigate the slaves to revolt, as the means of obtaining their liberty, would prove a lack of wisdom and honesty that none would impute to abolitionists, except such as are unacquainted with their character. Revolt would be followed by the sure destruction, not only of all the slaves who might be concerned in it, but of multitudes of the innocent. Moreover, the abolitionists, as a class, are religious – they favor peace, and stand pledged in their constitution, before the country and heaven, to abide in peace, so far as a forcible vindication of the right of the slaves to their freedom is concerned. Further still, no small number of them deny the right of defence, either to individuals or nations, even when forcibly and wrongfully attacked. This disagreement among ourselves on this single point – of which our adversaries are by no means ignorant, as they often throw it reproachfully in our teeth – would forever prevent concert in any scheme that looked to instigating servile revolt. If there be, in all our ranks, one, who – personal danger out of the question – would excite the slaves to insurrection and massacre, or who would not be swift to repeat the earliest attempt to concoct such an iniquity – I say, on my obligations as a man, he is unknown to me.

Yet it ought not to be matter of surprise to abolitionists, that the South should consider them "fanatics," "incendiaries," "cut-throats," and call them so too. The South has had their character reported to them by the North, by those who are their neighbors, who, it was supposed, knew, and would speak the truth, and the truth only, concerning them. It would, I apprehend, be unavailing for abolitionists now to enter on any formal vindication of their character from charges that can be so



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

easily repeated after every refutation. False and fraudulent as they knew them to be, they must be content to live under them till the consummation of the work of Freedom shall prove to the master that they have been *his* friends, as well as the friends of the slave. The mischief of these charges has fallen on the South – the malice is to be placed to the credit of the North.

"12. Do you propagate your doctrines by any other means than oral and written discussions – for instance, by prints and pictures in manufactures – say of pocket-handkerchiefs, calicoes, &c? Pray, state the various modes?"

ANSWER.— Two or three years ago, an abolitionist of this city procured to be manufactured, at his own charge, a small lot of children's pocket-handkerchiefs, impressed with anti-slavery pictures and mottoes. I have no recollection of having seen any of them but once. None such, I believe, are now to be found, or I would send you a sample. If any manufactures of the kinds mentioned, or others similar to theta, are in existence, they have been produced independently of the agency of this society. It is thought that none such exist, unless the following should be supposed to fall within the terms of the inquiry. Female abolitionists often unite in sewing societies. They meet together, usually once a week or fortnight, and labor through the afternoon, with their own hands, to furnish means for advancing the cause of the slave. One of the company reads passages from the BIBLE, or some religious book, whilst the others are engaged at their work. The articles they prepare, especially if they be of the "fancy" kind, are often ornamented with handsomely executed emblems, underwritten with appropriate mottoes. The picture of a slave kneeling (such as you will see impressed on one of the sheets of this letter) and supplicating in the words, "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER," is an example. The mottoes or sentences are, however, most generally selected from the Scriptures; either appealing to human sympathy in behalf of human suffering, or breathing forth God's tender compassion for the oppressed, or proclaiming, in thunder tones, his avenging justice on the oppressor. A few quotations will show their general character:—

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor."

"Defend the poor and fatherless; do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and the needy; rid him out of the hand of the wicked."

"Open thy mouth for the dumb, plead the cause of the poor and needy."

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

"First, be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Again:—



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper."

"The Lord looseth the prisoners; the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down; the Lord preserveth the strangers."

"He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised."

"For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him."

Again:—

"The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed."

"Rob not the poor because he is poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

"And I will come near to you to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages, the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts."

"Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

Fairs, for the sale of articles fabricated by the hands of female abolitionists, and recommended by such pictures and sentences as those quoted above, are held in many of our cities and large towns. Crowds frequent them to purchase; hundreds of dollars are thus realized, to be appropriated to the anti-slavery cause; and, from the cheap rate at which the articles are sold, vast numbers of them are scattered far and wide over the country. Besides these, if we except various drawings or pictures on paper, (samples of which were put up in the packages you ordered a few days ago,) such as the Slave-market in the District of Columbia, with Members of congress attending it — views of slavery in the South — a Lynch court in the slave-states — the scourging of Mr. Dresser by a vigilance committee in the public square of Nashville — the plundering of the post-office in Charleston, S.C., and the conflagration of part of its contents, &c, &c, I am apprised of no other means of propagating our doctrines than by oral and written discussions.

"13. Are your hopes and expectations of success increased or lessened by the events of the last year, and especially by the action of this Congress? And will your exertions be relaxed or increased?"

ANSWER.— The events of the last year, including the action of the present Congress, are of the same character with the events of the eighteen months which immediately preceded it. In the question before us, they may be regarded as one series. I would say, answering your interrogatory generally, that none of them, however unpropitious to the cause of the abolitionists they may



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

appear, to those who look at the subject from an opposite point to the one *they* occupy, seem, thus far, in any degree to have lessened their hopes and expectations. The events alluded to have not come altogether unexpected. They are regarded as the legitimate manifestations of slavery – necessary, perhaps, in the present dull and unapprehensive state of the public mind as to human rights, to be brought out and spread before the people, before they will sufficiently revolt against slavery itself.

1. They are seen in the CHURCH, and in the practice of its individual members. The southern portion of the American church may now be regarded as having admitted the dogma, that *slavery is a Divine institution*. She has been forced by the anti-slavery discussion into this position – either to cease from slaveholding, or formally to adopt the only alternative, that slaveholding is right. She has chosen the alternative – reluctantly, to be sure, but substantially, and, within the last year, almost unequivocally. In defending what was dear to her, she has been forced to cast away her garments, and thus to reveal a deformity, of which she herself, before, was scarcely aware, and the existence of which others did not credit. So much for the action of the southern church as a body. – On the part of her MEMBERS, the revelation of a time-serving spirit, that not only yielded to the ferocity of the multitude, but fell in with it, may be reckoned among the events of the last three years. Instances of this may be found in the attendance of the “clergy of all denominations,” at a tumultuous meeting of the citizens of Charleston, S.C., held in August, 1835, for the purpose of reducing to *system* their unlawful surveillance and control of the post-office and mail; and in the alacrity with which they obeyed the popular call to dissolve the Sunday-schools for the instruction of the colored people. Also in the fact, that, throughout the whole South, church members are not only found on the Vigilance Committees, (tribunals organized in opposition to the laws of the states where they exist,) but uniting with the merciless and the profligate in passing sentence consigning to infamous and excruciating, if not extreme punishment, persons, by their own acknowledgment, innocent of any unlawful act. Out of sixty persons that composed the vigilance committee which condemned Mr. Dresser to be scourged in the public square of Nashville, TWENTY-SEVEN were members of churches, and one of them a professed Teachers of Christianity. A member of the committee stated afterward, in a newspaper of which he was the editor, that Mr. D. *had not laid himself liable to any punishment known to the laws*. Another instance is to be found in the conduct of the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, of Virginia. Having been absent from Richmond, when the ministers of the gospel assembled together formally to testify their abhorrence of the abolitionists, he addressed the chairman of the committee of correspondence a note, in which he uses this language:– “If abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first warming at the fire.” – “Let them understand, that they will be caught, if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way.” Mr. P. has no doubtful standing in the Presbyterian church with which he is connected.



He has been regarded as one of its brightest ornaments.²⁰ To drive the slaveholding church and its members from the equivocal, the neutral position, from which they had so long successfully defended slavery – to compel them to elevate their practice to an even height with their avowed principles, or to degrade their principles to the level of their known practice, was a preliminary, necessary in the view of abolitionists, either for bringing that part of the church into the common action against slavery, or as a ground for treating it as confederate with oppressors. So far, then, as the action of the church, or of its individual members, is to be reckoned among the events of the last two or three years, the abolitionists find in it nothing to lessen their hopes or expectations.

2. The abolitionists believed, from the beginning, that the slaves of the South were (as slaves are everywhere) unhappy, *because of their condition*. Their adversaries denied it, averring that, as a class, they were “contented and happy.” The abolitionists thought that the argument against slavery could be made good, so far as this point was concerned, by either *admitting* or *denying* the assertion.

Admitting it, they insisted, that, nothing could demonstrate the turpitude of any system more surely than the fact, that MAN – made in the image of God – but a little lower than the angels – crowned with glory and honor, and set over the works of God’s hands – his mind sweeping in an instant from planet to planet, from the sun of one system to the sun of another, even to the great centre sun of them all – contemplating the machinery of the universe “wheeling unshaken” in the awful and mysterious grandeur of its movements “through the void immense” – with a spirit delighting in upward aspiration – bounding from earth to heaven – that seats itself fast by the throne of God, to drink in the instructions of Infinite Wisdom, or flies to execute the commands of Infinite Goodness; – that such a being could be made “contented and happy” with “enough to eat, and drink, and wear,” and shelter from the weather – with the base provision that satisfies the brutes, is (say the abolitionists) enough to render superfluous all other arguments for the *instant* abandonment of a system whose appropriate work is such infinite wrong.

Denying that “the slaves are contented and happy,” the abolitionists have argued, that, from the structure of his moral nature – the laws of his mind – man cannot be happy in the fact, that he is *enslaved*. True, he may be happy in slavery, but it is not slavery that makes him so – it is virtue and faith, elevating him above the afflictions of his lot. The slave has a will, leading him to seek those things which the Author of his nature has made conducive to its happiness. In these things, the will of the master comes in collision with his will. The slave desires to receive the rewards of his own labor; the power of the master wrests them from him. The slave desires to possess his wife, to whom God has joined him, in affection, to have the superintendence, and enjoy the services, of the children whom God has confided to him as a parent to train them, by the habits

20. In the division of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, that has just taken place, Mr. Plumer has been elected Moderator of the “Old School” portion.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of the filial relation, for the yet higher relation that they may sustain to him as their heavenly Father. But here he is met by the opposing will of the master, pressing *his* claims with irresistible power. The ties that heaven has sanctioned and blessed – of husband and wife, of parent and child – are all sundered in a moment by the master, at the prompting of avarice or luxury or lust; and there is none that can stay his ruthless hand, or say unto him, "What doest thou?" The slave thirsts for the pleasures of refined and elevated intellect – the master denies to him the humblest literary acquisition. The slave pants to know something of that still higher nature that he feels burning within him – of his present state, his future destiny, of the Being who made him, to whose judgment-seat he is going. The master's interests cry, "No!" "Such knowledge is too wonderful for you; it is high, you cannot attain unto it." To predicate *happiness* of a class of beings, placed in circumstances where their will is everlastingly defeated by an irresistible power – the abolitionists say, is to prove them destitute of the sympathies of our nature – not *human*. It is to declare with the Atheist, that man is independent of the goodness of his Creator for his enjoyments – that human happiness calls not for any of the appliances of his bounty – that God's throne is a nullity, himself a superfluity. But, independently of any abstract reasoning drawn from the nature of moral and intelligent beings, FACTS have been elicited in the discussion of the point before us, proving slavery everywhere (especially Southern slavery, maintained by enlightened Protestants of the nineteenth century) replete with torments and horrors – the direst form of oppression that upheaves itself before the sun. These facts have been so successfully impressed on a large portion of the intelligent mind of the country, that the slaves of the South are beginning to be considered as those whom God emphatically regards as the "poor," the "needy," the "afflicted," the "oppressed," the "bowed down;" and for whose consolation he has said, "Now will I arise – I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." This state of the public mind has been brought about within the last two or three years; and it is an event which, so far from lessening, greatly animates, the hopes and expectations of abolitionists.

3. The abolitionists believed from the first, that the tendency of slavery is to produce, on the part of the whites, looseness of morals, disdain of the wholesome restraints of law, and a ferocity of temper, found, only in solitary instances, in those countries where slavery is unknown. They were not ignorant of the fact, that this was disputed; nor that the "CHIVALRY OF THE SOUTH" had become a cant phrase, including, all that is high-minded and honorable among men; nor, that it had been formally asserted in our National legislature, that slavery, as it exists in the South, "produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth." Nor were the abolitionists unaware, that these pretensions, proving anything else but their own solidity, had been echoed and re-echoed so long by the unthinking and the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

interested of the North, that the character of the South had been injuriously affected by them – till she began boldly to attribute her *peculiar* superiority to her *peculiar* institution, and thus to strengthen it. All this the abolitionists saw and knew. But few others saw and understood it as they did. The revelations of the last three years are fast dissipating the old notion, and bringing multitudes in the North to see the subject as the abolitionists see it. When "Southern Chivalry" and the *purity* of southern society are spoken of now, it is at once replied, that a large number of the slaves show, by their *color*, their indisputable claim to white paternity; and that, notwithstanding their near consanguineous relation to the whites, they are still held and treated, in all respects, as *slaves*. Nor is it forgotten now, when the claims of the South to "hospitality" are pressed, to object, because they are grounded on the unpaid wages of the laborer – on the robbery of the poor. When "Southern generosity" is mentioned, the old adage, "be just before you are generous," furnishes the reply. It is no proof of generosity (say the objectors) to take the bread of the laborer, to lavish it in banquetings on the rich. When "Southern Chivalry" is the theme of its admirers, the hard-handed, but intelligent, working man of the North asks, if the espionage of southern hotels, and of ships and steamboats on their arrival at southern ports; if the prowling, by day and by night, for the solitary stranger suspected of sympathizing with the enslaved, that he may be delivered over to the mercies of a vigilance committee, furnishes the proof of its existence; if the unlawful importation of slaves from Africa²¹ furnishes the proof; if the abuse, the scourging, the hanging on suspicion, without law, of friendless strangers, furnish the proof; if the summary execution of slaves and of colored freemen, almost by the score, without legal trial, furnishes the proof; if the cruelties and tortures to which *citizens* have been exposed, and the burning to death of slaves by slow fires,²² furnish the proof. All these things, says he, furnish any thing but proof of *true* hospitality, or generosity, or gallantry, or purity, or chivalry.

Certain it is, that the time when southern slavery derived countenance at the North, from its supposed connection with "chivalry," is rapidly passing away. "Southern Chivalry" will soon be regarded as one of the by-gone fooleries of a less intelligent and less virtuous age. It will soon be cast out – giving place to the more reasonable idea, that the denial of wages to the laborer, the selling of men and women, the whipping of husbands and wives in each others presence, to compel them to unrequited toil, the deliberate attempt to extinguish mind,

21. Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, some years ago, asserted in Congress, that "CARGOES" of African slaves were smuggled into the southern states to a deplorable extent. Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, declared it to be his belief, that THIRTEEN THOUSAND Africans were annually smuggled into the southern states. Mr. Wright, of Maryland, estimated the number at FIFTEEN THOUSAND. Miss Martineau was told in 1835, by a wealthy slaveholder of Louisiana, (who probably spoke of that state alone,) that the annual importation of native Africans was from THIRTEEN THOUSAND to FIFTEEN THOUSAND. The President of the United States, in his last Annual Message, speaking of the Navy, says, "The large force under Commodore Dallas [on the West India station] has been most actively and efficiently employed in protecting our commerce, IN PREVENTING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, &c."

22. Within the last few years, four slaves, and one citizen of color, have been put to death in this manner, in Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, and Arkansas.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

and, consequently, to destroy the soul – is among the highest offences against God and man – unspeakably mean and ungentlemanly.

The impression made on the minds of the people as to this matter, is one of the events of the last two or three years that does not contribute to lessen the hopes or expectations of abolitionists.

4. The ascendancy that Slavery has acquired, and exercises, in the administration of the government, and the apprehension now prevailing among the sober and intelligent, irrespective of party, that it will soon overmaster the Constitution itself, may be ranked among the events of the last two or three years that affect the course of abolitionists. The abolitionists regard the Constitution with unabated affection. They hold in no common veneration the memory of those who made it. They would be the last to brand Franklin and King and Morris and Wilson and Sherman and Hamilton with the ineffaceable infamy of attempting to ingraft on the Constitution, and therefore to *perpetuate*, a system of oppression in absolute antagonism to its high and professed objects, one which their own practice condemned, – and this, too, when they had scarcely wiped away the dust and sweat of the Revolution from their brows! Whilst abolitionists feel and speak thus of our Constitutional fathers, they do not justify the dereliction of principle into which they were betrayed, when they imparted to the work of their hands any power to contribute to the continuance of such a system. They can only palliate it, by supposing, that they thought, slavery was already a waning institution, destined soon to pass away. In their time, (1787) slaves were comparatively of little value – there being then no great slave-labor staple (as cotton is now) to make them profitable to their holders.²³ Had the circumstances of the country remained as they then were, slave-labor, always and every where the most expensive – would have disappeared before the competition of free labour. They had seen, too, the principle of universal liberty, on which the Revolution was justified, recognised and embodied in most of the State Constitutions; they had seen slavery utterly forbidden in that of Vermont – instantaneously abolished in that of Massachusetts – and laws enacted in the New-England States and in Pennsylvania, for its gradual abolition. Well might they have anticipated, that Justice and Humanity, now starting forth with fresh vigor, would, in their march, sweep away the whole system; more especially, as freedom of speech and of the press – the legitimate abolisher not only of the acknowledged vice of slavery, but of every other that time should reveal in our institutions or practices – had been fully secured to the people. Again; power was conferred on Congress to put a stop to the African slave-trade, without which it was thought, at that time, to be impossible to maintain slavery, as a system, on this continent, – so great was the havoc it committed on human life. Authority was also granted to Congress to prevent the transfer of slaves, as articles of commerce, from one State to another; and the introduction of slavery into the territories. All this

23. The cultivation of cotton was almost unknown in the United States before 1787. It was not till two years afterward that it began to be raised or exported. (See Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Feb. 29, 1836.) — See Appendix, D.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

was crowned by the power of refusing admission into the Union, to any new state, whose form of government was repugnant to the principles of liberty set forth in that of the United States. The faithful execution, by Congress, of these powers, it was reasonably enough supposed, would, at least, prevent the growth of slavery, if it did not entirely remove it. Congress did, at the set time, execute one of them – deemed, then, the most effectual of the whole; but, as it has turned out, the least so. The effect of the interdiction of the African slave-trade was, not to diminish the trade itself, or greatly to mitigate its horrors; it only changed its name from African to American – transferred the seat of commerce from Africa to America – its profits from African princes to American farmers. Indeed, it is almost certain, if the African slave-trade had been left unrestrained, that slavery would not have covered so large a portion of our country as it does now. The cheap rate at which slaves might have been imported by the planters of the south, would have prevented the rearing of them for sale, by the farmers of Maryland, Virginia, and the other slave-selling states. If these states could be restrained from the *commerce* in slaves, slavery could not be supported by them for any length of time, or to any considerable extent. They could not maintain it, as an economical system, under the competition of free labor. It is owing to the *non-user* by Congress, or rather to their unfaithful application of their power to the other points, on which it was expected to act for the limitation or extermination of slavery, that the hopes of our fathers have not been realized; and that slavery has, at length, become so audacious, as openly to challenge the principles of 1776 – to trample on the most precious rights secured to the citizen – to menace the integrity of the Union and the very existence of the government itself. Slavery has advanced to its present position by steps that were, at first, gradual, and, for a long time, almost unnoticed; afterward, it made its way by intimidating or corrupting those who ought to have been forward to resist its pretensions. Up to the time of the "Missouri Compromise," by which the nation was wheedled out of its honor, slavery was looked on as an evil that was finally to yield to the expanding and ripening influences of our Constitutional principles and regulations. Why it has not yielded, we may easily see, by even a slight glance at some of the incidents in our history.

It has already been said, that we have been brought into our present condition by the unfaithfulness of Congress, in not *exerting* the power vested in it, to stop the domestic slave-trade, and in the *abuse* of the power of admitting "new states" into the Union. Kentucky made application in 1792, with a slave-holding Constitution in her hand. – With what a mere *technicality* Congress suffered itself to be drugged into torpor:– *She was part of one of the "Original States" – and therefore entitled to all their privileges.*

One precedent established, it was easy to make another. Tennessee was admitted in 1796, without scruple, on the same ground.

The next triumph of slavery was in 1803, in the purchase of Louisiana, acknowledged afterward, even by Mr. Jefferson who



made it, to be unauthorized by the Constitution – and in the establishment of slavery throughout its vast limits, actually and substantially under the auspices of that instrument which declares its only objects to be – “to form a more perfect union, establish JUSTICE, insure DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity.”²⁴

In this case, the violation of the Constitution was suffered to pass with but little opposition, except from Massachusetts, because we were content to receive in exchange, multiplied commercial benefits and enlarged territorial limits.

The next stride that slavery made over the Constitution was in the admission of the State of Louisiana into the Union. *She* could claim no favor as part of an “Original State.” At this point, it might have been supposed, the friends of Freedom and of the Constitution according to its original intent, would have made a stand. But no: with the exception of Massachusetts, they hesitated and were persuaded to acquiesce, because the country was just about entering into a war with England, and the crisis was unpropitious for discussing questions that would create divisions between different sections of the Union. We must wait till the country was at peace. Thus it was that Louisiana was admitted without a controversy.

Next followed, in 1817 and 1820, Mississippi and Alabama – admitted after the example of Kentucky and Tennessee, without any contest.

Meantime, Florida had given some uneasiness to the slaveholders of the neighboring states; and for their accommodation chiefly, a negotiation was set on foot by the government to purchase it. Missouri was next in order in 1821. *She* could plead no privilege, on the score of being part of one of the original states; the country too, was relieved from the pressure of her late conflict with England; it was prosperous and quiet; every thing seemed propitious to a calm and dispassionate consideration of the claims of slaveholders to add props to their system, by admitting indefinitely, new slave states to the Union. Up to this time, the “EVIL” of slavery had been almost universally acknowledged and deplored by the South, and its termination (apparently) sincerely hoped for.²⁵ By this management its friends succeeded in blinding the confiding people of the North. They thought for the most part, that the slaveholders were acting in good faith. It is not intended by this remark, to make the impression, that the South had all along pressed the admission of new slave states, simply with a view to the increase of its own relative power. By no means: slavery had insinuated

24. It may be replied, The colored people were held as *property* by the laws of Louisiana previously to the cession, and that Congress had no right to divest the newly acquired citizens of their property. This statement is evasive. It does not include, nor touch the question, which is this:— Had Congress, or the treaty-making power, a right to recognise, and, by recognising, to establish, in a territory that had no claim of privilege, on the ground of being part of one of the “Original States,” a condition of things that it could not establish *directly*, because there was no grant in the constitution of power, direct or incidental, to do so — and because, *to do so*, was in downright oppugnancy to the principles of the Constitution itself? The question may be easily answered by stating the following case:— Suppose a law had existed in Louisiana, previous to the cession, by which the children — male and female — of all such parents as were not owners of real estate of the yearly value of \$500, had been — no matter how long — held in slavery by their more wealthy land-holding neighbors:— would Congress, under the Constitution, have a right (by recognising) to establish, for ever, such a relation as one white person, under such a law, might hold to another? Surely not. And yet no substantial difference between the two cases can be pointed out.



itself into favor because of its being mixed up with (other) supposed benefits – and because its ultimate influence on the government was neither suspected nor dreaded. But, on the Missouri question, there was a fair trial of strength between the friends of Slavery and the friends of the Constitution. The former triumphed, and by the prime agency of one whose raiment, the remainder of his days, ought to be sackcloth and ashes, – because of the disgrace he has continued on the name of his country, and the consequent injury that he has inflicted on the cause of Freedom throughout the world. Although all the different Administrations, from the first organization of the government, had, in the indirect manner already mentioned, favored slavery, – there had not been on any previous occasion, a direct struggle between its pretensions and the principles of liberty ingrafted on the Constitution. The friends of the latter were induced to believe, whenever they should be arrayed against each other, that *theirs* would be the triumph. Tremendous error! Mistake almost fatal! The battle was fought. Slavery emerged from it unhurt – her hands made gory – her bloody plume still floating in the air – exultingly brandishing her dripping sword over her prostrate and vanquished enemy. She had won all for which she fought. Her victory was complete – THE SANCTION OF THE NATION WAS GIVEN TO SLAVERY!²⁶

Immediately after this achievement, the slaveholding interest was still more strongly fortified by the acquisition of Florida, and the establishment of slavery there, as it had already been in the territory of Louisiana. The Missouri triumph, however, seems to have extinguished every thing like a systematic or spirited opposition, on the part of the free states, to the pretensions of the slaveholding South.

Arkansas was admitted but the other day, with nothing that deserves to be called an effort to prevent it – although her Constitution attempts to *perpetuate* slavery, by forbidding the master to emancipate his bondmen without the consent of the Legislature, and the Legislature without the consent of the master. Emboldened, but not satisfied, with their success in every political contest with the people of the free states, the slaveholders are beginning now to throw off their disguise – to brand their former notions about the “evil, political and moral” of slavery, as “folly and delusion,”²⁷ – and as if to “make

25. Mr. Clay, in conducting the Missouri compromise, found it necessary to argue, that the admission of Missouri, as a slaveholding state, would aid in bringing about the termination of slavery. His argument is thus stated by Mr. Sergeant, who replied to him:— “In this long view of remote and distant consequences, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) thinks he sees how slavery, when thus spread, is at last to find its end. It is to be brought about by the combined operation of the laws which regulate the price of labor, and the laws which govern population. When the country shall be filled with inhabitants, and the price of labor shall have reached a minimum, (a comparative minimum I suppose is meant,) free labor will be found cheaper than slave labor. Slaves will then be without employment, and, of course, without the means of comfortable subsistence, which will reduce their numbers, and finally extirpate them. This is the argument as I understand it,” says Mr. Sergeant; and, certainly, one more chimerical or more inhuman could not have been urged.

26. See Appendix, E.

27. Mr. Calhoun is reported, in the National Intelligencer, as having used these words in a speech delivered in the Senate, the 10th day of January:—

“Many in the South once believed that it [slavery] was a moral and political evil; that folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world.”



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

assurance double sure," and defend themselves forever, by territorial power, against the progress of Free principles and the renovation of the Constitution, they now demand openly – scorning to conceal that their object is, to *advance and establish their political power in the country*, – that Texas, a foreign state, five or six times as large as all New England, with a Constitution dyed as deep in slavery, as that of Arkansas, shall be added to the Union.

Mr. Hammond, formerly a Representative in Congress from South Carolina, delivered a speech (Feb. 1, 1836) on the question of receiving petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In answering those who objected to a slaveholding country, that it was "assimilated to an aristocracy," he says – "In this they are right. I accept the terms. *It is a government of the best*. Combining all the advantages, and possessing but few of the disadvantages, of the aristocracy of the old world – without fostering, to an unwarrantable extent, the pride, the exclusiveness, the selfishness, the thirst for sway, the contempt for the rights of others, which distinguish the nobility of Europe – it gives us their education, their polish, their munificence, their high honor, their undaunted spirit. Slavery does indeed create an aristocracy – an aristocracy of talents, of virtue, of generosity, of courage. In a slave country, every freeman is an aristocrat. Be he rich or poor, if he does not possess a single slave, he has been born to all the natural advantages of the society in which he is placed; and all its honors lie open before him, inviting his genius and industry. Sir, I do firmly believe, that domestic slavery, regulated as ours is, produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society, that has ever existed on the face of the earth."

That this *retraxit* of former *follies and delusions* is not confined to the mere politician, we have the following proofs:–

The CHARLESTON (S.C.) UNION PRESBYTERY – "Resolved. That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word; that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts, of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the good of the servants whom God has committed to our charge." – Within the last few months, as we learn from a late No. of the Charleston Courier, the late Synod of the Presbyterian Church, in Augusta, (Ga.) passed resolutions declaring "That slavery is a CIVIL INSTITUTION, with which the General Assembly [the highest ecclesiastical tribunal] has NOTHING TO DO."

Again:– The CHARLESTON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, in a memorial to the Legislature of South Carolina, say – "The undersigned would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the FACT of slavery a question of morals at all." And further, – "The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves, has been distinctly recognised by the Creator of all things."



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Again:- The EDGEFIELD (S.C.) ASSOCIATION - "Resolved, That the practical question of slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the Scriptures by Jesus Christ and his apostles." "Resolved, That these uniformly recognised the relation of master and slave, and enjoined on both their respective duties, under a system of servitude more degrading and absolute than that which obtains in our country."

Again we find, in a late No. of the Charleston Courier, the following:-

"THE SOUTHERN CHURCH.- The Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a recent meeting in Athens, passed resolutions, declaring that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil, and is a civil and domestic institution, with which Christian ministers have nothing to do, further than to meliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven."]

The abolitionists feel a deep regard for the integrity and union of the government, *on the principles of the Constitution*. Therefore it is, that they look with earnest concern on the attempt now making by the South, to do, what, in the view of multitudes of our citizens, would amount to good cause for the separation of the free from the slave states. Their concern is not mingled with any feelings of despair. The alarm they sounded on the "annexation" question has penetrated the free states; it will, in all probability, be favorably responded to by every one of them; thus giving encouragement to our faith, that the admission of Texas will be successfully resisted, - that this additional stain will not be impressed on our national escutcheon, nor this additional peril brought upon the South.²⁸ This, the present condition of the country, induced by a long train of usurpations on the part of the South, and by unworthy concessions to it by the North, may justly be regarded as one of the events of the last few years affecting in some way, the measures of the abolitionists. It has certainly done so. And whilst it is not to be denied, that many abolitionists feel painful apprehensions for the result, it has only roused them up to make more strenuous efforts for the preservation of the country.

It may be replied - if the abolitionists are such firm friends of the Union, why do they persist in what must end in its rupture and dissolution? The abolitionists, let it be repeated are friends of *the* Union that was intended by the Constitution; but not of a Union from which is eviscerated, to be trodden under foot, the right to SPEAK, - to PRINT - to PETITION, - the rights of CONSCIENCE; not of a Union whose ligaments are whips, where the interest of the oppressor is the *great* interest, the right to oppress the *paramount* right. It is against the distortion of the glorious Union our fathers left us into one bound with despotic bands that the abolitionists are contending. In the political aspect of the question, they have nothing to ask,

28. See Appendix, F.



except what the Constitution authorizes – no change to desire, but that the Constitution may be restored to its pristine republican purity.

But they have well considered the “dissolution of the Union.” There is no just ground for apprehending that such a measure will ever be resorted to by the *South*. It is by no means intended by this, to affirm, that the South, like a spoiled child, for the first time denied some favourite object, may not fall into sudden frenzy and do herself some great harm. But knowing as I do, the intelligence and forecast of the leading men of the South – and believing that they will, if ever such a crisis should come, be judiciously influenced by the *existing* state of the case, and by the *consequences* that would inevitably flow from an act of dissolution – they would not, I am sure, deem it desirable or politic. They would be brought, in their calmer moments, to coincide with one who has facetiously, but not the less truly remarked, that it would be as indiscreet in the slave South to separate from the free North, as for the poor, to separate from the parish that supported them. In support of this opinion, I would say:

First – A dissolution of the Union by the South would, in no manner, secure to her the object she has in view. – The *leaders* at the South, both in the church and in the state, must, by this time, be too well informed as to the nature of the anti-slavery movement, and the character of those engaged in it, to entertain fears that, violence of any kind will be resorted to, directly or indirectly.²⁹ The whole complaint of the South is neither more nor less than this – THE NORTH TALKS ABOUT SLAVERY. Now, of all the means or appliances that could be devised, to give greater life and publicity to the discussion of slavery, none could be half so effectual as the dissolution of the Union *because of the discussion*. It would astonish the civilized world – they would inquire into the cause of such a remarkable event in its history; – the result would be not only enlarged *discussion* of the whole subject, but it would bring such a measure of contempt on the guilty movers of the deed, that even with all the advantages of “their education, their polish, their munificence, their high honor, their undaunted spirit,” so eloquently set forth by the Hon. Mr. Hammond, they would find it hard to withstand its influence. It is difficult for men in a *good* cause, to maintain their steadfastness in opposition to an extensively corrupt public sentiment; in a *bad* one, against public sentiment purified and enlightened, next to impossible, if not quite so. Another result would follow the dissolution:– Now, the abolitionists find it difficult, by reason of the odium which the principal slaveholders and their friends have succeeded in attaching to their *name*, to introduce a knowledge of their principles and measures into the great mass of southern mind. There are multitudes at the South who would co-operate with us, if they could be informed of our aim.³⁰ Now, we cannot reach them

29. “It is not,” says Mr. Calhoun, “that we expect the abolitionists will resort to arms — will commence a crusade to deliver our slaves by force.” — “Let me tell our friends of the South, who differ from us, that the war which the abolitionists wage against us is of a very different character, and *far more effective*. It is waged, not against our lives, but our character.” More correctly, Mr. C. might have said against a *system*, with which the slaveholders have chosen to involve their characters, and which they have determined to defend, at the hazard of losing them.



— then, it would be otherwise. The united power of the large slaveholders would not be able longer to keep them in ignorance. If the Union were dissolved, they *would* know the cause, and discuss it, and condemn it.

This, also, from the North Carolina Watchman:—

“It (the abolition party) is the growing party at the North. We are inclined to believe that there is even more of it at the South than prudence will permit to be openly avowed.”

“It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that there is a LARGE, RESPECTABLE and INTELLIGENT PARTY in Kentucky, who will exert every nerve and spare no efforts to dislodge the subsisting rights to our Slave population, or alter in some manner, and to some extent, at least, the tenure by which that species of property is held.” — *Speech of the Hon. James T. Morehead in the Kentucky Legislature, last winter.*]

A second reason why the South will not dissolve the Union is, that she would be exposed to the visitation of *real* incendiaries, exciting her slaves to revolt. Now, it would cover any one with infamy, who would stir them up to vindicate their rights by the massacre of their masters. Dissolve the Union, and the candidates for “GLORY” would find in the plains of Carolina and Louisiana as inviting a theatre for their enterprise, as their prototypes, the Houstons, the Van Rennsselaers, and the Sutherlands did, in the prairies of Texas or the forests of Canada.

A third reason why the South will not dissolve is, that the slaves would leave their masters and take refuge in the free states. The South would not be able to establish a *cordon* along her wide frontier sufficiently strong to prevent it. Then, the slaves could not be reclaimed, as they now are, under the Constitution. Some may say, the free states would not permit them to come in and dwell among them. — Believe it not. The fact of separation on the ground supposed, would abolitionize the whole North. Beside this, in an economical point of view, the *demand for labor* in the Western States would make their presence welcome. At all events, a passage through the Northern States to Canada would not be denied them.

A fourth reason why the South will not dissolve is, that a large number of her most steady and effective population would emigrate to the free states. In the slave-selling states especially, there has always been a class who have consented to remain there with their families, only in the hope that slavery would, in some way or other, be terminated. I do not say they are abolitionists, for many of them are slaveholders. It may be, too, that such would expect compensation for their slaves, should they be emancipated, and also that they should be sent out of the country. The particular mode of emancipation, however crude it may be, that has occupied their minds, has nothing to do with the point before us. *They look for emancipation — in*

30. There is abundant evidence of this. Our limits confine us to the following, from the first No. of the Southern Literary Journal, (Charleston, S.C.):— “There are *many good men even among us*, who have begun to grow *timid*. They think, that what the virtuous and high-minded men of the North look upon as a crime and a plague-spot, cannot be perfectly innocent or quite harmless in a slaveholding community.”



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

this hope they have remained, and now remain, where they are. Take away this hope, by making slavery the distinctive bond of union of a new government, and you drive them to the North. These persons are not among the rich, the voluptuous, the effeminate; nor are they the despised, the indigent, the thriftless – they are men of moderate property, of intelligence, of conscience – in every way the “bone and sinew” of the South.

A fifth reason why the South will not dissolve, is her *weakness*. It is a remarkable fact, that in modern times, and in the Christian world, all slaveholding countries have been united with countries that are free. Thus, the West Indian and Mexican and South American slaveholding colonies were united to England, France, Spain, Portugal, and other states of Europe. If England (before her Emancipation Act) and the others had at any time withdrawn the protection of their *power* from their colonies, slavery would have been extinguished almost simultaneously with the knowledge of the fact. In the West Indies there could have been no doubt of this, from the disparity in numbers between the whites and the slaves, from the multiplied attempts made from time to time by the latter to vindicate their rights by insurrection, and from the fact, that all their insurrections had to be suppressed by the *force* of the mother country. As soon as Mexico and the South American colonies dissolved their connexion with Spain, slavery was abolished in every one of them. This may, I know, be attributed to the necessity imposed on these states, by the wars in which they engaged to establish their independence. However this may be – the *fact* still remains. The free states of this Union are to the slave, so far as the maintenance of slavery is concerned, substantially, in the relation of the European states to their slaveholding colonies. Slavery, in all probability, could not be maintained by the South disjoined from the North, a single year. So far from there existing any reason for making the South an exception, in this particular, to other slave countries, there are circumstances in her condition that seem to make her dependence more complete. Two of them are, the superior intelligence of her slaves on the subject of human rights, and the geographical connexion of the slave region in the United States. In the West Indies, in Mexico and South America the great body of the slaves were far below the slaves of this country in their intellectual and moral condition – and, in the former, their power to act in concert was weakened by the insular fragments into which they were divided.

Again, the depopulation of the South of large numbers of its white inhabitants, from the cause mentioned under the fourth head, would, it is apprehended, bring the two classes to something like a numerical equality. Now, consider the present state of the moral sentiment of the Christianized and commercial world in relation to slavery; add to it the impulse that this sentiment, acknowledged by the South already to be wholly opposed to her, would naturally acquire by an act of separation on her part, with a single view to the perpetuation of slavery; bring this sentiment in all its accumulation and intensity to act upon a nation where one half are enslavers, the other the



enslaved – and what must be the effect? From the nature of mind; from the laws of moral influence, (which are as sure in their operation, if not so well understood, as the laws of physical influence,) the party “whose conscience with injustice is oppressed,” must become dispirited, weakened in courage, and in the end unnerved and contemptible. On the other hand, the sympathy that would be felt for the oppressed – the comfort they would receive – the encouragement that would be given them to assert their rights, would make it an impossibility, to keep them in slavish peace and submission.

This state of things would be greatly aggravated by the peculiarly morbid sensitiveness of the South to every thing that is supposed to touch her *character*. Her highest distinction would then become her most troublesome one. How, for instance, could her chivalrous sons bear to be taunted, wherever they went, on business or for pleasure, out of their own limits, with the cry “the knights of the lash!” “Go home and pay your laborers!” “Cease from the scourging of husbands and wives in each others presence – from attending the shambles, to sell or buy as slaves those whom God has made of the same blood with yourselves – your brethren – your sisters! Cease, high minded sons of the ‘ANCIENT DOMINION,’ from estimating your revenue by the number of children you rear, to sell in the flesh market!” “Go home and pay your laborers!” “Go home and pay your laborers!” This would be a trial to which “southern chivalry” could not patiently submit. Their “high honor,” their “undaunted spirit” would impel them to the field – only to prove that the “last resort” requires something more substantial than mere “honor” and “spirit” to maintain it. Suppose there should be a disagreement – as in all likelihood there soon would, leading to war between the North and the South? The North would scarcely have occasion to march a squadron to the field. She would have an army that could be raised up by the million, at the fireside of her enemy. It has been said, that during the late war with England, it was proposed to her cabinet, by some enterprising officers, to land five thousand men on the coast of South Carolina and proclaim liberty to the slates. The success of the scheme was well thought of. But then the example! England herself held nearly a million of slaves at no greater distance from the scene of action than the West Indies. Now, a restraint of this kind on such a scheme does not exist.

It seems plain beyond the power of argument to make it plainer, that a slaveholding nation – one under the circumstances in which the South separated from the North would be placed – must be at the mercy of every free people having neither power to vindicate a right nor avenge a wrong.³¹

A sixth reason why the South will not dissolve the Union, is found in the difficulty of bringing about an *actual* separation. Preparatory to such a movement, it would seem indispensable,

31. Governor Hayne, of South Carolina, spoke in high terms, a few years ago, of the ability that the South would possess, in a military point of view, because her great wealth would enable her, at all times, to command the services of mercenary troops. Without stopping to dispute with him, as to her comparative wealth, I would remark, that he seemed entirely to have overlooked this truth — that whenever a government is under the necessity of calling in foreign troops, to keep in subjection one half of the people, the power of the government has already passed into the hands of the *Protectors*. They can and will, of course, act with whichever party will best subserve their purpose.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

that *Union* among the seceding states themselves should be secured. A General Convention would be necessary to adjust its terms. This would, of course, be preceded by *particular* conventions in the several states. To this procedure the same objection applies, that has been made, for the last two or three years, to holding an anti-abolition convention in the South:— It would give to the *question* such notoriety, that the object of holding the convention could not be concealed from the slaves. The more sagacious in the South have been opposed to a convention; nor have they been influenced solely by the consideration just mentioned — which, in my view, is but of little moment — but by the apprehension, that the diversity of sentiment which exists among the slave states, themselves, in relation to the *system*, would be disclosed to the country; and that the slaveholding interest would be found deficient in that harmony which, from its perfectness heretofore, has made the slaveholders so successful in their action on the North. The slaveholding region may be divided into the *farming* and the *planting* — or the slave-selling and the slave-buying districts. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and East Tennessee constitute the first. West Tennessee is somewhat equivocal. All the states south of Tennessee belong to the slave-buying district. The first, with but few exceptions, have from the earliest times, felt slavery a reproach to their good name — an encumbrance on their advancement — at some period, to be cast off. This sentiment, had it been at all encouraged by the action of the General Government, in accordance with the views of the convention that formed the Constitution, would, in all probability, by this time, have brought slavery in Maryland and Virginia to an end. Notwithstanding the easy admission of slave states into the Union, and the *yielding* of the free states whenever they were brought in collision with the South, have had a strong tendency to persuade the *farming* slave states to continue their system, yet the sentiment in favor of emancipation in some form, still exists among them. Proof, encouraging proof of this, is found in the present attitude of Kentucky. Her legislature has just passed a law, proposing to the people, to hold a convention to alter the constitution. In the discussion of the bill, slavery as connected with some form of emancipation, seems to have constituted the most important element. The public journals too, that are *opposed* to touching the subject at all, declare that the main object for recommending a convention was, to act on slavery in some way. Now, it would be in vain for the *planting* South to expect, that Kentucky or any other of the *farming* slave states would unite with her, in making slavery the *perpetual bond* of a new political organization. If they feel the inconveniences of slavery *in their present condition*, they could not be expected to enter on another, where these inconveniences would be inconceivably multiplied and aggravated, and, by the very terms of their new contract, *perpetuated*.

This letter is already so protracted, that I cannot stop here to develop more at large this part of the subject. To one acquainted with the state of public sentiment, in what I have



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

called, the *farming* district, it needs no further development. There is not one of these states embraced in it, that would not, when brought to the test, prefer the privileges of the Union to the privilege of perpetual slaveholding. And if there should turn out to be a single *desertion* in this matter, the whole project of secession must come to nought.

But laying aside all the obstacles to union among the seceding states, how is it possible to take the first step to *actual* separation! The separation, at the worst, can only be *political*. There will be no chasm – no rent made in the earth between the two sections. The natural and ideal boundaries will remain unaltered. Mason and Dixon's line will not become a wall of adamant that can neither be undermined nor surmounted. The Ohio river will not be converted into flame, or into another Styx, denying a passage to every living thing.

Besides this stability of natural things, the multiform interests of the two sections would, in the main, continue as they are. The complicate ties of commerce could not be suddenly unloosed. The breadstuffs, the beef, the pork, the turkeys, the chickens, the woollen and cotton fabrics, the hats, the shoes, the socks, the "*horn flints and bark nutmegs*,"³² the machinery, the sugar-kettles, the cotton-gins, the axes, the hoes, the drawing-chains of the North, would be as much needed by the South, the day after the separation as the day before. The newspapers of the North – its Magazines, its Quarterlies, its Monthlies, would be more sought after by the readers of the South than they now are; and the Southern journals would become doubly interesting to us. There would be the same lust for our northern summers and your southern winters, with all their health-giving influences; and last, though not least, the same desire of marrying and of being given in marriage that now exists between the North and South. Really it is difficult to say *where* this long threatened separation is to *begin*; and if the place of beginning could be found, it would seem like a poor exchange for the South, to give up all these pleasant and profitable relations and connections for the privilege of enslaving an equal number of their fellow-creatures.

Thus much for the menace, that the "UNION WILL BE DISSOLVED" unless the discussion of the slavery question be stopped.

But you may reply, "Do you think the South is not in earnest in her threat of dissolving the Union?" I rejoin, by no means; – yet she pursues a perfectly reasonable course (leaving out of view the justice or morality of it) – just such a course as I should expect she would pursue, emboldened as she must be by her multiplied triumphs over the North by the use of the same weapon. "We'll dissolve the Union!" was the cry, "unless Missouri be admitted!!" The North were frightened, and Missouri was admitted with SLAVERY engraved on her forehead. "We'll dissolve the Union!" unless the Indians be driven out of the South!! The North forgot her treaties, parted with humanity, and it is done – the defenceless Indians are forced to "consent" to be driven out, or they are left, undefended, to the mercies of southern land-jobbers and gold-hunters. "We'll dissolve the Union! If the Tariff" [established at her own suggestion] "be not repealed or

32. Senator Preston's Railroad Speech, delivered at Colombia, S.C., in 1836.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

modified so that our slave-labor may compete with your free-labor." The Tariff is accordingly modified to suit the South. "We'll dissolve the Union!" unless the freedom of speech and the press be put down in the North!! – With the promptness of commission-merchants, the alternative is adopted. Public assemblies met for deliberation are assailed and broken up at the North; her citizens are stoned and beaten and dragged through the streets of her cities; her presses are attacked by mobs, instigated and led on by men of influence and character; whilst those concerned in conducting them are compelled to fly from their homes, pursued as if they were noxious wild beasts; or, if they remain to defend, they are sacrificed to appease the southern divinity. "We'll dissolve the Union" if slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia! The North, frightened from her propriety, declares that slavery ought not to be abolished there NOW. – "We'll dissolve the Union!" if you read petitions from your constituents for its abolition, or for stopping the slave-trade at the Capital, or between the states. FIFTY NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES respond to the cry, "down, then, with the RIGHT OF PETITION!!" All these assaults have succeeded because the North has been frightened by the war-cry, "WE'LL DISSOLVE THE UNION!"

After achieving so much by a process so simple, why should not the South persist in it when striving for further conquests? No other course ought to be expected from her, till this has failed. And it is not at all improbable, that she will persist, till she almost persuades herself that she is serious in her menace to dissolve the Union. She may in her eagerness, even approach so near the verge of dissolution, that the earth may give way under her feet and she be dashed in ruins in the gulf below.

Nothing will more surely arrest her fury, than the firm array of the North, setting up anew the almost forgotten principles of our fathers, and saying to the "dark spirit of slavery," – "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." This is the best – the only – means of saving the South from the fruits of her own folly – folly that has been so long, and so strangely encouraged by the North, that it has grown into intolerable arrogance – down right presumption.

There are many other "events" of the last two or three years which have, doubtless, had their influence on the course of the abolitionists – and which might properly be dwelt upon at considerable length, were it not that this communication is already greatly protracted beyond its intended limits. I shall, therefore, in mentioning the remaining topics, do little more than enumerate them.

The Legislature of Vermont has taken a decided stand in favor of anti-slavery principles and action. In the Autumn of 1836, the following resolutions were passed by an almost unanimous vote in both houses:–

"Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, That neither Congress nor the State Governments have any constitutional right to abridge the free expressions of opinions, or the transmission of them through the medium of the public mails."



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"Resolved, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."

"Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

At the session held in November last, the following joint resolutions, preceded by a decisive memorial against the admission of Texas, were passed by both branches – with the exception of the *fifth* which was passed only by the House of Representatives:–

1. Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the Union.

2. Resolved, That, representing, as we do, the people of Vermont, we do hereby, in their name, SOLEMNLY PROTEST against such annexation in any form.

3. Resolved, That, as the Representatives of the people of Vermont, we do solemnly protest against the admission, into this Union, of any state whose constitution tolerates domestic slavery.

4. Resolved, That Congress have full power, by the Constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and in the territories of the United States.

[5. Resolved, That Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave-trade between the several states of this Union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prohibit such trade.]

6. Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to present the foregoing Report and Resolutions to their respective Houses in Congress, and use their influence to carry the same speedily into effect.

7. Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Report and Resolutions to the President of the United States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The influence of anti-slavery principles in Massachusetts has become decisive, if we are to judge from the change of sentiment in the legislative body. The governor of that commonwealth saw fit to introduce into his inaugural speech, delivered in January, 1836, a severe censure of the abolitionists, and to intimate that they were guilty of an offence punishable at common law. This part of the speech was referred to a joint committee of five, of which a member of the senate was chairman. To the same committee were also referred communications which had been received by the governor from several of the legislatures of the slaveholding states, requesting the Legislature of Massachusetts to enact laws, making it PENAL for citizens of that state to form societies for the abolition of



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

slavery, or to speak or publish sentiments such as had been uttered in anti-slavery meetings and published in anti-slavery tracts and papers. The managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in a note addressed to the chairman of the committee, requested permission, as a party whose rights were drawn in question, to appear before it. This was granted. The gentlemen selected by them to appear on their behalf were of unimpeachable character, and distinguished for professional merit and general literary and scientific intelligence. Such was *then* the unpopularity of abolitionism, that notwithstanding the personal influence of these gentlemen, they were ill – not to say rudely – treated, especially by the chairman of the committee; so much so, that respect for themselves, and the cause they were deputed to defend, persuaded them to desist before they had completed their remarks. A Report, including Resolutions unfavorable to the abolitionists was made, of which the following is a copy:–

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was referred so much of the governor's message as related to the abolition of slavery, together with certain documents upon the same subject, communicated to the Executive by the several Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, transmitted by his Excellency to the Legislature, and hereunto annexed, have considered the same, and ask leave, respectfully, to submit the following:–

Resolved, That this Legislature distinctly disavow any right whatever in itself, or in the citizens of this commonwealth, to interfere in the institution of domestic slavery in the southern states: it having existed therein before the establishment of the Constitution; it having been recognised by that instrument; and it being strictly within their own keeping.

Resolved, That this Legislature, regarding the agitation of the question of domestic slavery as having already interrupted the friendly relations which ought to exist between the several states of this Union, and as tending permanently to injure, if not altogether to subvert, the principles of the Union itself; and believing that the good effected by those who excite its discussion in the non-slaveholding states is, under the circumstances of the case, altogether visionary, while the immediate and future evil is great and certain; does hereby express its entire disapprobation of the doctrine upon this subject avowed, and the general measures pursued by such as agitate the question; and does earnestly recommend to them carefully to abstain from all such discussion, and all such measures, as may tend to disturb and irritate the public mind.

The report was laid on the table, whence it was not taken up during the session – its friends being afraid of a lean majority on its passage; for the *alarm* had already been taken by many of the members who otherwise would have favored it. From this time till the election in the succeeding autumn, the subject was much agitated in Massachusetts. The abolitionists again petitioned the Legislature at its session begun in January, 1837; especially, that it should remonstrate against the resolution



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of Mr. Hawes, adopted by the House of Representatives in Congress, by which all memorials, &c, in relation to slavery were laid, and to be laid, on the table, without further action on them. The abolitionists were again heard, in behalf of their petitions, before the proper committee.³³ The result was, the passage of the following resolutions with only 16 dissenting voices to 378, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate with not more than one or two dissentients on any one of them:—

"Whereas, The House of Representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual denial of the right itself; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule in the present House of Representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this commonwealth, praying for the removal of a great social, moral, and political evil, have been slighted and contemned: therefore, —

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends, essentially, to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a state.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery in said district, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good."

That you may yourself, judge what influence the abolition question exercised in the elections in Massachusetts last autumn, I send you three numbers of the Liberator containing copies of letters addressed to many of the candidates, and their respective answers.

The Legislature have passed, *unanimously*, at its present session, resolutions (preceded by a report of great ability) protesting "*earnestly and solemnly against the annexation of*

33. The gentleman who had been chairman of the committee the preceding year, was supposed, in consequence of the change in public opinion in relation to abolitionists, to have injured his political standing too much, even to be nominated as a candidate for re-election.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Texas to this Union;" and declaring that, "no act done, or compact made, for such purpose, by the government of the United States, will be binding on the states or the people."

Two years ago, Governor Marcy, of this state, showed himself willing, at the dictation of the South, to aid in passing laws for restraining and punishing the abolitionists, whenever the extremity of the case might call for it. Two weeks ago, at the request of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Albany, the Assembly-chamber, by a vote of the House (only two dissentient) was granted to Alvan Stewart, Esq., a distinguished lawyer, to lecture on the subject of abolition.

Kentucky is assuming an attitude of great interest to the friends of Liberty and the Constitution. The blessings of "them that are ready to perish" throughout the land, the applause of the good throughout the world will be hers, if she should show moral energy enough to break every yoke that she has hitherto imposed on the "poor," and by which her own prosperity and true power have been hindered.

In view of the late action in the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress – adverse as they may seem, to those who think more highly of the branches of the Legislature than of the SOURCE of their power – the abolitionists see nothing that is cause for discouragement. They find the PEOPLE sound; they know that they still cherish, as their fathers did, the right of petition – the freedom of the press – the freedom of speech – the rights of conscience; that they love the liberty of the North more than they love the slavery of the South. What care they for *Resolutions* in the House, or *Resolutions* in the Senate, when the House and the Senate are but their ministers, their servants, and they know that they can discharge them at their pleasure? It may be, that Congress has yet to learn, that the people have but slight regard for their restraining resolutions. They ought to have known this from the history of such resolutions for the last two years. THIRTY-SEVEN THOUSAND petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia had their petitions laid on the table by the resolution of the House of Representatives in May, 1836. At the succeeding session, they had increased to ONE HUNDRED AND TEN THOUSAND. – The resolution of Jan. 18, 1837, laid all *their* petitions in the same way on the table. At the *called*, and at the present session, these 110,000 had multiplied to FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND.³⁴ Soon, Senators and Representatives will be sent from the free states who will need no petitions – they will know the prayer of their constituents *before they leave their homes*.

In concluding this, my answer to your 13th interrogatory, I will say that I know of no event, that has transpired, either in or out of Congress, for the last two or three years, that has had any other influence on the efforts of abolitionists than to increase and stimulate them. Indeed, every thing that has taken place within that period, ought to excite to their utmost efforts all who are not despairing dastards. The Demon of oppression in this land is tenfold more fierce and rampant and relentless than he was supposed to be before roused from the quiet of his lair. To every thing that is precious the

34. See Appendix, G.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

abolitionists have seen him lay claim. The religion of the Bible must be adulterated – the claims of Humanity must be smothered – the demands of justice must be nullified – a part of our Race must be shut out from the common sympathy of a common nature. Nor is this all: they see their own rights and those of the people; the right to SPEAK – to WRITE – to PRINT – to PUBLISH – to ASSEMBLE TOGETHER – to PETITION THEIR OWN SERVANTS – all brought in peril. They feel that the final conflict between Popular liberty and Aristocratic slavery has come; that one or the other must fall; and they have made up their minds, with the blessing of God on their efforts, that their adversary shall die.

"14. *Have you any permanent fund, and how much?*"

ANSWER.— We have none. The contributions are anticipated. We are always in debt, and always getting out of debt.

I have now, Sir, completed my answers to the questions proposed in your letter of the 16th ult. It gives me pleasure to have had such an auspicious opportunity of doing so. I cannot but hope for good to both the parties concerned, where candor and civility have characterized their representatives.

Part of the answer to your 13th question may seem to wander from the strict terms of the question proposed. Let it be set down to a desire, on my part, to give you all the information I can, at all germane to the inquiry. The "proffer," made in my note to Mr. Calhoun, was not "unguarded;" – nor was it *singular*. The information I have furnished has been always accessible to our adversaries – even though the application for it might not have been clothed in the polite and gentlemanly terms which have so strongly recommended yours to the most respectful consideration of

Your very obedient servant,
JAMES G. BIRNEY.

May 24: The American Anti-Slavery Society put out the 8th issue of its "omnibus" entitled The Anti-Slavery Examiner, containing "Correspondence, between the Hon. F.H. Elmore, one of the South Carolina Delegation in Congress, and James G. Birney, one of the Secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society."

NO 8.

THE ANTI-SLAVERY EXAMINER.

* * * * *

CORRESPONDENCE,

BETWEEN THE

HON. F.H. ELMORE,

ONE OF THE SOUTH CAROLINA DELEGATION IN CONGRESS,

AND

JAMES G. BIRNEY,

ONE OF THE SECRETARIES OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

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NEW-YORK:
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,
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1838.

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Please read and circulate.

REMARKS IN EXPLANATION.

* * * * *

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, *New York, May 24, 1838.*

In January, a tract entitled "WHY WORK FOR THE SLAVE?" was issued from this office by the agent for the *Cent-a-week Societies*. A copy of it was transmitted to the Hon. John C. Calhoun; — to *him*, because he has seemed, from the first, more solicitous than the generality of Southern politicians, to possess himself of accurate information about the Anti-Slavery movement. A note written by me accompanied the tract, informing Mr. Calhoun, why it was sent to him.

Not long afterward, the following letter was received from the Hon. F.H. Elmore, of the House of Representatives in Congress. From this and another of his letters just now received, it seems, that the Slaveholding Representatives in Congress, after conferring together, appointed a committee, of their own number, to obtain authentic information of the intentions and progress of the Anti-Slavery associations, — and that Mr. Elmore was selected, as the *South Carolina* member of the Committee.

Several other communications have passed between Mr. Elmore and me. They relate, chiefly, however, to the transmission and reception of Anti-slavery publications, which he requested to be sent to him, — and to other matters not having any connection with the merits of the main subject. It is, therefore, thought unnecessary to publish them. It may be sufficient to remark of all the communications received from Mr. Elmore — that they are characterized by exemplary courtesy and good temper, and that they bear the impress of an educated, refined, and liberal mind.

It is intended to circulate this correspondence throughout the *whole country*. If the information it communicates be important for southern Representatives in Congress, it is not less so for their Constituents. The Anti-slavery movement has become so important in a National point of view, that no statesman can innocently remain ignorant of its progress and tendencies. The facts stated in my answer may be relied on, in proportion to the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

degree of accuracy to which they lay claim; – the arguments will, of course, be estimated according to their worth.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.

CORRESPONDENCE.

* * * * *

WASHINGTON CITY, FEB. 16, 1838

To Jas. G. Birney, Esq., Cor. Sec. A.A.S. Soc.

Sir:— A letter from you to the Hon. John C. Calhoun, dated 29th January last, has been given to me, by him, in which you say, (in reference to the abolitionists or Anti-Slavery Societies,) "we have nothing to conceal – and should you desire any information as to our procedure, it will be cheerfully communicated on [my] being apprised of your wishes." The frankness of this unsolicited offer indicates a fairness and honesty of purpose, which has caused the present communication, and which demands the same full and frank disclosure of the views with which the subjoined inquiries are proposed.

Your letter was handed to me, in consequence of a duty assigned me by my delegation, and which requires me to procure all the authentic information I can, as to the nature and intentions of yours and similar associations, in order that we may, if we deem it advisable, lay the information before our people, so that they may be prepared to decide understandingly, as to the course it becomes them to pursue on this all important question. If you "have nothing to conceal," and it is not imposing too much on, what may have been, an unguarded proffer, I will esteem your compliance as a courtesy to an opponent, and be pleased to have an opportunity to make a suitable return. And if, on the other hand, you have the least difficulty or objection, I trust you will not hesitate to withhold the information sought for, as I would not have it, unless as freely given, as it will, if deemed expedient, be freely used.

I am, Sir,
Your ob'd't serv't,
F.H. ELMORE, of S.C.

QUESTIONS for J.G. Birney, Esq., Cor. Sec. A.A.S. Society.

1. How many societies, affiliated with that of which you are the Corresponding Secretary, are there in the United States? And how many members belong to them *in the aggregate*?
2. Are there any other societies similar to yours, and not affiliated with it, in the United States? and how many, and what is the aggregate their members?
3. Have you affiliation, intercourse or connection with any similar societies out of the United States, and in what countries?
4. Do your or similar societies exist in the Colleges and other Literary institutions of the non-slaveholding States, and to what extent?



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

5. What do you estimate the numbers of those who co-operate in this matter at? What proportion do they bear in the population of the Northern states, and what in the Middle non-slaveholding states? Are they increasing, and at what rate?
6. What is the object your associations aim at? does it extend to the abolition of slavery only in the District of Columbia, or in the whole slave country?
7. By what means, and under what power, do you propose to carry your views into effect?
8. What has been for three years past, the annual income of your societies? and how is it raised?
9. In what way, and to what purposes, do you apply these funds?
10. How many priming presses and periodical publications have you?
11. To what classes of persons do you address your publications, and are they addressed to the judgment, the imagination, or the feelings?
12. Do you propagate your doctrines by any other means than oral and written discussions, – for instance, by prints and pictures in manufactures – say pocket handkerchiefs, &c. Pray, state the various modes?
13. Are your hopes and expectations increased or lessened by the events of the last year, and, especially, by the action of this Congress? And will your exertions be relaxed or increased?
14. Have you any permanent fund, and how much?

ANTI-SLAVERY OFFICE, *New York, March 8, 1838*

Hon. F.H. ELMORE,

Member of Congress from S. Carolina:

SIR, – I take pleasure in furnishing the information you have so politely asked for, in your letter of the 16th ult., in relation to the American Anti-Slavery Society; – and trust, that this correspondence, by presenting in a sober light, the objects and measures of the society, may contribute to dispel, not only from your own mind, but – if it be diffused throughout the South – from the minds of our fellow-citizens there generally, a great deal of undeserved prejudice and groundless alarm. I cannot hesitate to believe, that such as enter on the examination of its claims to public favour, without bias, will find that it aims intelligently, not only at the promotion of the interests of the slave, but of the master, – not only at the re-animation of the Republican principles of our Constitution, but at the establishment of the Union on an enduring basis.

I shall proceed to state the several questions submitted in your letter, and answer them, in the order in which they are proposed. You ask, –

"1. How many societies, affiliated with that of which you are corresponding secretary, are there in the United States? And how many members belong to them IN THE AGGREGATE?"

ANSWER.— Our anniversary is held on the Tuesday immediately



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

preceding the second Thursday in May. Returns of societies are made only a short time before. In May, 1835, there were 225 auxiliaries reported. In May, 1836, 527. In May, 1837, 1006. Returns for the anniversary in May next have not come in yet. It may, however, be safely said, that the increase, since last May, is not less than 400.³⁵ Of late, the multiplication of societies has not kept pace with the progress of our principles. Where these are well received, our agents are not so careful to organize societies as in former times, when our numbers were few; *societies*, now, being not deemed so necessary for the advancement of our cause. The auxiliaries average not less than 80 members each; making an aggregate of 112,480. Others estimate the auxiliaries at 1500, and the average of members at 100. I give you, what I believe to be the lowest numbers.

"2. *Are there any other societies similar to yours, and not affiliated with it in the United States? And how many, and what is the aggregate of their members?*"

ANSWER.— Several societies have been formed in the Methodist connection within the last two years, — although most of the Methodists who are abolitionists, are members of societies auxiliary to the American. These societies have been originated by Ministers, and others of weight and influence, who think that their brethren can be more easily persuaded, as a religious body, to aid in the anti-slavery movement by this twofold action. None of the large religious denominations bid fairer soon to be on the side of emancipation than the Methodist. Of the number of the Methodist societies that are not auxiliary, I am not informed. — The ILLINOIS SOCIETY comes under the same class. The REV. ELIJAH P. LOVEJOY, the corresponding secretary, was slain by a mob, a few days after its organization. It has not held a meeting since; and I have no data for stating the number of its members. It is supposed not to be large. — Neither is the DELAWARE SOCIETY, organized, a few weeks ago, at Wilmington, auxiliary to the American. I have no information as to its numbers. — The MANUMISSION SOCIETY in this city, formed in 1785, with JOHN JAY its first, and ALEXANDER HAMILTON its second president, might, from its name, be supposed to be affiliated with the American. Originally, its object, so far as regarded the slaves, and those illegally held in bondage *in this state*, was, in a great measure, similar. Slavery being extinguished in New-York in 1827, as a state system, the efforts of the Manumission Society are limited now to the rescue, from kidnappers and others, of such persons as are really free by the laws, but who have been reduced to slavery. Of the old Abolition societies, organized in the time, and under the influence of Franklin and Rush and Jay, and the most active of their coadjutors, but few remain. Their declension may be ascribed to this defect, — they did not inflexibly ask for *immediate* emancipation. — The PENNSYLVANIA ABOLITION SOCIETY, formed in 1789, with DR. FRANKLIN, president, and DR. RUSH, secretary, is still in existence — but unconnected with the American Society. Some of the most active and benevolent members of both the associations last named, are members of the American Society.

35. The number reported for May was three hundred and forty, making, in the aggregate, 1346. — *Report for May*, 1838.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Besides the societies already mentioned, there may be in the country a few others of anti-slavery name; but they are of small note and efficiency, and are unconnected with this.

"3. Have you affiliation, intercourse, or connection with any similar societies out of the United States, and in what countries?"

ANSWER.— A few societies have spontaneously sprung up in Canada. Two have declared themselves auxiliary to the American. We have an agent — a native of the United States — in Upper Canada; not with a view to the organization of societies, but to the moral and intellectual elevation of the Ten thousand colored people there; most of whom have escaped from slavery in this Republic, to enjoy freedom under the protection of a Monarchy. In Great Britain there are numerous Anti-slavery Societies, whose particular object, of late, has been, to bring about the abolition of the Apprentice-system, as established by the emancipation act in her slaveholding colonies. In England, there is a society whose professed object is, to abolish slavery *throughout the world*. Of the existence of the British societies, you are, doubtless, fully aware; as also of the fact, that, in Britain, the great mass of the people are opposed to slavery as it existed, a little while ago, in their own colonies, and as it exists now in the United States. — In France, the "FRENCH SOCIETY FOR THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY" was founded in 1834. I shall have the pleasure of transmitting to you two pamphlets, containing an account of some of its proceedings; from which you will learn, that, the DUC DE BROGLIE is its presiding officer, and many of the most distinguished and influential of the public men of that country are members. — In Hayti, also, "The HAYTIAN ABOLITION SOCIETY" was formed in May, 1836.

These are all the foreign societies of which I have knowledge. They are connected with the American by no formal affiliation. The only intercourse between them and it, is, that which springs up spontaneously among those of every land who sympathize with Humanity in her conflicts with Slavery.

"4. Do your or similar societies exist in the Colleges and other Literary institutions of the non-slaveholding states, and to what extent?"

ANSWER.— Strenuous efforts have been made, and they are still being made, by those who have the direction of most of the literary and theological institutions in the free states, to bar out our principles and doctrines, and prevent the formation of societies among the students. To this course they have been prompted by various, and possibly, in their view, good motives. One of them, I think it not uncharitable to say, is, to conciliate the wealthy of the south, that they may send their sons to the north, to swell the college catalogues. Neither do I think it uncharitable to say, that in this we have a manifestation of that Aristocratic pride, which, feeling itself honored by having entrusted to its charge the sons of distant, opulent, and distinguished planters, fails not to dull everything like sympathy for those whose unpaid toil supplies the means so lavishly expended in educating southern youth at



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

northern colleges. These efforts at suppression or restraint, on the part of Faculties and Boards of Trustees, have heretofore succeeded to a considerable extent. Anti-Slavery Societies, notwithstanding, have been formed in a few of our most distinguished colleges and theological seminaries. Public opinion is beginning to call for a relaxation of restraints and impositions; they are yielding to its demands; and now, for the most part, sympathy for the slave may be manifested by our generous college youth, in the institution of Anti-Slavery Societies, without any downright prohibition by their more politic teachers. College societies will probably increase more rapidly hereafter; as, in addition to the removal or relaxation of former restraints, just referred to, the murder of Mr. Lovejoy, the assaults on the Freedom of speech and of the press, the prostration of the Right of petition in Congress, &c, &c, all believed to have been perpetrated to secure slavery from the scrutiny that the intelligent world is demanding, have greatly augmented the number of college abolitionists. They are, for the most part, the diligent, the intellectual, the religious of the students. United in societies, their influence is generally extensively felt in the surrounding region; *dispersed*, it seems scarcely less effective. An instance of the latter deserves particular notice.

The Trustees and Faculty of one of our theological and literary institutions united for the suppression of anti-slavery action among the students. The latter refused to cease pleading for the slave, as he could not plead for himself. They left the institution; were providentially dispersed over various parts of the country, and made useful, in a remarkable manner, in advancing the cause of humanity and liberty. One of these dismissed students, the son of a slaveholder, brought up in the midst of slavery, and well acquainted with its peculiarities, succeeded in persuading a pious father to emancipate his fourteen slaves. After lecturing a long time with signal success – having contracted a disease of the throat, which prevented him from further prosecuting his labors in this way – he visited the West Indies, eighteen months ago, in company with another gentleman of the most ample qualifications, to note the operation of the British emancipation act. Together, they collected a mass of facts – now in a course of publication – that will astonish, as it ought to delight, the whole south; for it shows, conclusively, that IMMEDIATE emancipation is the best, the safest, the most profitable, as it is the most just and honorable, of all emancipations.³⁶

Another of these dismissed students is one of the secretaries of this society. He has, for a long time, discharged its arduous and responsible duties with singular ability. To his qualifications as secretary, he adds those of an able and successful lecturer. He was heard, several times, before the joint committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, a year ago, prior to the report of that committee, and to the adoption, by the Senate and House of Representatives, of their memorable resolutions in favor of the Power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and of the Right of petition.

36. See Appendix A.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"5. *What do you estimate the number of those who co-operate in the matter at? What proportion do they bear in the population of the northern states, and what in the middle non-slaveholding states? Are they increasing, and at what rate?*"

ANSWER.— Those who stand ready to join our societies on the first suitable occasion, may be set down as equal in number to those who are now *actually members*. Those who are ready *fully to co-operate with us* in supporting the freedom of speech and the press, the right of petition, &c, may be estimated at *double*, if not *treble*, the joint numbers of those who *already are members*, and those who are *ready to become members*. The Recording secretary of the MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY stated, a few weeks ago, that the abolitionists in the various minor societies in that state were one in thirty of the whole population. The proportion of abolitionists to the whole population is greater in Massachusetts than in any other of the free states, except VERMONT, — where the spirit of liberty has almost entirely escaped the corruptions which slavery has infused into it in most of her sister states, by means of commercial and other intercourse with them.

In MAINE, not much of systematic effort has, as yet, been put forth to enlighten her population as to our principles and proceedings. I attended the anniversary of the State Society on the 31st of January, at Augusta, the seat of government. The Ministers of the large religious denominations were beginning, as I was told, to unite with us — and Politicians, to descry the ultimate prevalence of our principles. The impression I received was, that much could, and that much would, speedily be done.

In NEW HAMPSHIRE, more labor has been expended, and a greater effect produced. Public functionaries, who have been pleased to speak in contemptuous terms of the progress of abolitionism, both in Maine and New Hampshire, will, it is thought, soon be made to see, through a medium not at all deceptive, the grossness of their error.

In RHODE ISLAND, our principles are fast pervading the great body of the people. This, it is thought, is the only one of the free states, in which the subject of abolition has been fully introduced, which has not been disgraced by a mob, triumphant, for the time being, over the right of the people to discuss any, and every, matter in which they feel interested. A short time previous to the last election of members of Congress, questions, embodying our views as to certain political measures were propounded to the several candidates. Respectful answers and, in the main, conformable with our views, were returned. I shall transmit you a newspaper containing both the questions and the answers.³⁷

In CONNECTICUT, there has not been, as yet, a great expenditure of abolition effort. Although the moral tone of this state, so far as slavery is concerned, has been a good deal weakened by the influence of her multiform connexions with the south, yet the energies that have been put forth to reanimate her ancient and lofty feelings, so far from proving fruitless, have been

37. Since the above was written, at the last election in this state for governor and lieutenant governor, the abolitionists *interrogated* the gentlemen who stood candidates for these offices. Two of them answered respectfully, and conformably to the views of the abolitionists. Their opponents neglected to answer at all. The first were elected. — See Appendix B.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

followed by the most encouraging results. Evidence of this is found in the faithful administration of the laws by judges and juries. In May last, a slave, who had been brought from Georgia to Hartford, successfully asserted her freedom under the laws of Connecticut. The cause was elaborately argued before the Supreme court. The most eminent counsel were employed on both sides. And it is but a few days, since two anti-abolition rioters (the only ones on trial) were convicted before the Superior court in New Haven, and sentenced to pay a fine of twenty dollars each, and to be imprisoned six months, the longest term authorized by the law. A convention, for the organization of a State Society, was held in the city of Hartford on the last day of February. It was continued three days. The *call* for it (which I send you) was signed by nearly EIGHTEEN HUNDRED of the citizens of that state. SEVENTEEN HUNDRED, as I was informed, are legal voters. The proceedings of the convention were of the most harmonious and animating character.³⁸

In NEW YORK, our cause is evidently advancing. The state is rapidly coming up to the high ground of principle, so far as universal liberty is concerned, on which the abolitionists would place her. Several large Anti-Slavery conventions have lately been held in the western counties. Their reports are of the most encouraging character. Nor is the change more remarkable in the state than in this city. Less than five years ago, a few of the citizens advertised a meeting, to be held in Clinton Hall, to form a City Anti-Slavery Society. A mob prevented their assembling at the place appointed. They repaired, privately, to one of the churches. To this they were pursued by the mob, and routed from it, though not before they had completed, in a hasty manner, the form of organization. In the summer of 1834, some of the leading political and commercial journals of the city were enabled to stir up the mob against the persons and property of the abolitionists, and several of the most prominent were compelled to leave the city for safety; their houses were attacked, broken into, and, in one instance, the furniture publicly burnt in the street. Now, things are much changed. Many of the merchants and mechanics are favorable to our cause; gentlemen of the bar, especially the younger and more growing ones, are directing their attention to it; twenty-one of our city ministers are professed abolitionists; the churches are beginning to be more accessible to us; our meetings are held in them openly, attract large numbers, are unmolested; and the abolitionists sometimes hear themselves commended in other assemblies, not only for their honest *intentions*, but for their *respectability* and *intelligence*.

NEW JERSEY has, as yet, no State Society, and the number of avowed abolitionists is small. In some of the most populous and influential parts of the state, great solicitude exists on the subject; and the call for lecturers is beginning to be earnest, if not importunate.

PENNSYLVANIA has advanced to our principles just in proportion to the labor that has been bestowed, by means of lectures and publications in enlightening her population as to our objects, and the evils and dangers impending over the whole country, from

38. See Appendix C.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

southern slavery. The act of her late Convention, in depriving a large number of their own constituents (the colored people) of the elective franchise, heretofore possessed by them without any allegation of its abuse on their part, would seem to prove an unpropitious state of public sentiment. We would neither deny, nor elude, the force of such evidence. But when this measure of the convention is brought out and unfolded in its true light – shown to be a party measure to bring succor from the south – a mere following in the wake of North Carolina and Tennessee, who led the way, in their *new* constitutions, to this violation of the rights of their colored citizens, that they might the more firmly compact the wrongs of the enslaved – a pernicious, a profitless violation of great principles – a vulgar defiance of the advancing spirit of humanity and justice – a relapse into the by-gone darkness of a barbarous age – we apprehend from it no serious detriment to our cause.

OHIO has been well advanced. In a short time, she will be found among the most prominent of the states on the right side in the contest now going on between the spirit of liberty embodied in the free institutions of the north, and the spirit of slavery pervading the south. Her Constitution publishes the most honorable reprobation of slavery of any other in the Union. In providing for its own revision or amendment, it declares, that *no alteration of it shall ever take place, so as to introduce slavery or involuntary servitude into the state*. Her Supreme court is intelligent and firm. It has lately decided, virtually, against the constitutionality of an act of the Legislature, made, in effect, to favor southern slavery by the persecution of the colored people within her bounds. She has, already, abolitionists enough to turn the scale in her elections, and an abundance of excellent material for augmenting the number.

In INDIANA but little has been done, except by the diffusion of our publications. But even with these appliances, several auxiliary societies have been organized.³⁹

In MICHIGAN, the leaven of abolitionists pervades the whole population. The cause is well sustained by a high order of talent; and we trust soon to see the influence of it in all her public acts.

In ILLINOIS, the murder of Mr. Lovejoy has multiplied and confirmed abolitionists, and led to the formation of many societies, which, in all probability, would not have been formed so soon, had not that event taken place.

I am not possessed of sufficient data for stating, with precision, what proportion the abolitionists bear in the population of the Northern and Middle non-slaveholding states respectively. Within the last ten months, I have travelled extensively in both these geographical divisions. I have had whatever advantage this, assisted by a strong interest in the general cause, and abundant conversations with the best informed abolitionists, could give, for making a fair estimate of their numbers. In the Northern states I should say, *they are one in ten* – in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, *one in twenty*

39. The first Legislative movement against the annexation of Texas to the Union, was made, it is believed, in Indiana. So early as December, 1836, a joint resolution passed its second reading in one or both branches of the Legislature. How it was ultimately disposed of, is not known.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

— of the whole adult population. That the abolitionists have multiplied, and that they are still multiplying rapidly, no one acquainted with the smallness of their numbers at their first organization a few years ago, and who has kept his eyes about him since, need ask. That they have not, thus far, been more successful, is owing to the vastness of the undertaking, and the difficulties with which they have had to contend, from comparatively limited means, for presenting their measures and objects, with the proper developments and explanations, to the great mass of the popular mind. The progress of their principles, under the same amount of intelligence in presenting them, and where no peculiar causes of prejudice exist in the minds of the hearers, is generally proportioned to the degree of religious and intellectual worth prevailing in the different sections of the country where the subject is introduced. I know no instance, in which any one notoriously profane or intemperate, or licentious, or of openly irreligious *practice*, has professed, cordially to have received our principles.

"6. What is the object your associations aim at? Does it extend to abolition of slavery only in the District of Columbia, or in the whole slave country?"

ANSWER.— This question is fully answered in the second Article of the Constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society, which is in these words:—

"The object of this society is the entire abolition of slavery in the United States. While it admits that each state, in which slavery exists, has, by the Constitution of the United States, the exclusive right to *legislate* in regard to its abolition in said state, it shall aim to convince all our fellow-citizens, by arguments addressed to their understandings and consciences, that slaveholding is a heinous crime in the sight of God, and that the duty, safety, and best interests of all concerned require its immediate abandonment, without expatriation. The society will also endeavor, in a constitutional way, to influence Congress to put an end to the domestic slave-trade, and to abolish slavery in all those portions of our common country which come under its control, especially in the District of Columbia; and likewise to prevent the extension of it to any state that may hereafter be admitted to the Union."

Other objects, accompanied by a pledge of peace, are stated in the third article of the Constitution, —

"This Society shall aim to elevate the character and condition of the people of color, by encouraging their intellectual, moral, and religious improvement, and by removing public prejudice, — that thus they may, according to their intellectual and moral worth, share an equality with the whites of civil and religious privileges; but this Society will never in any way, countenance the oppressed in vindicating their rights by resorting to physical force."

"7. By what means and by what power do you propose to carry your views into effect?"

ANSWER.— Our "means" are the Truth, — the "Power" under whose



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

guidance we propose to carry our views into effect, is, the Almighty. Confiding in these means, when directed by the spirit and wisdom of Him, who has so made them as to act on the hearts of men, and so constituted the hearts of then as to be affected by them, we expect, 1. To bring the CHURCH of this country to repentance for the sin of OPPRESSION. Not only the Southern portion of it that has been the oppressor – but the Northern, that has stood by, consenting, for half a century, to the wrong. 2. To bring our countrymen to see, that for a nation to persist in injustice is, but to rush on its own ruin; that to do justice is the highest expediency – to love mercy its noblest ornament. In other countries, slavery has sometimes yielded to fortuitous circumstances, or been extinguished by physical force. *We* strive to win for truth the victory over error, and on the broken fragments of slavery to rear for her a temple, that shall reach to the heavens, and toward which all nations shall worship. It has been said, that the slaveholders of the South will not yield, nor hearken to the influence of the truth on this subject. We believe it not – nor give we entertainment to the slander that such an unworthy defence of them implies. We believe them *men*, – that they have understandings that arguments will convince – consciences to which the appeals of justice and mercy will not be made in vain. If our principles be true – our arguments right – if slaveholders be men – and God have not delivered over our guilty country to the retributions of the oppressor, not only of the STRANGER but of the NATIVE – our success is certain.

"8. What has been for three years past, the annual income of your societies? And how has it been raised?"

ANSWER.— The annual income of the societies at large, it would be impossible to ascertain. The total receipts of this society, for the year ending 9th of May, 1835 – leaving out odd numbers – was \$10,000; for the year ending 9th of May, 1837, \$25,000; and for the year ending 11th of May, 1836, \$38,000. From the last date, up to this – not quite ten months – there has been paid into the treasury the sum of \$36,000.⁴⁰ These sums are independent of what is raised by state and auxiliary societies, for expenditure within their own particular bounds, and for their own particular exigencies. Also, of the sums paid in subscriptions for the support of newspapers, and for the printing (by auxiliaries,) of periodicals, pamphlets, and essays, either for sale at low prices, or for gratuitous distribution. The moneys contributed in these various modes would make an aggregate greater, perhaps, than is paid into the treasury of any one of the Benevolent societies of the country. Most of the wealthy contributors of former years suffered so severely in the money-pressure of this, that they have been unable to contribute much to our funds. This has made it necessary to call for aid on the great body of abolitionists – persons, generally, in moderate circumstances. They have well responded to the call, considering the hardness of the times. To show you the extremes that meet at our treasury, – General Sewall, of Maine, a revolutionary officer, eighty-five years old – William Philbrick, a little boy near Boston, not four years

40. The report for May states the sum received during the previous year at \$44,000.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

old – and a colored woman, who makes her subsistence by selling apples in the streets in this city, lately sent in their respective sums to assist in promoting the emancipation of the “poor slave.”

All contributions of whatever kind are *voluntary*.

“9. *In what way, and to what purposes do you apply these funds!*”

ANSWER.— They are used in sustaining the society’s office in this city – in paying lecturers and agents of various kinds – in upholding the press – in printing books, pamphlets, tracts, &c, containing expositions of our principles – accounts of our progress – refutations of objections – and disquisitions on points, scriptural, constitutional, political, legal, economical, as they chance to arise and become important. In this office three secretaries are employed in different departments of duty; one editor; one publishing agent, with an assistant, and two or three young men and boys, for folding, directing, and despatching papers, executing errands, &c. The business of the society has increased so much of late, as to make it necessary, in order to ensure the proper despatch of it, to employ additional clerks for the particular exigency. Last year, the society had in its service about sixty “permanent agents.” This year, the number is considerably diminished. The deficiency has been more than made up by creating a large number of “Local” agents – so called, from the fact, that being generally Professional men, lawyers or physicians in good practice, or Ministers with congregations, they are confined, for the most part, to their respective neighborhoods. Some of the best minds in our country are thus engaged. Their labors have not only been eminently successful, but have been rendered at but small charge to the society; they receiving only their travelling expenses, whilst employed in lecturing and forming societies. In the case of a minister, there is the additional expense of supplying his pulpit while absent on the business of his agency, However, in many instances, these agents, being in easy circumstances, make no charge, even for their expenses.

In making appointments, the executive committee have no regard to party discrimination. This will be fully understood, when it is stated, that on a late occasion, two of our local agents were the candidates of their respective political parties for the office of Secretary of State for the state of Vermont.

It ought to be stated here, that two of the most effective advocates of the anti-slavery cause are females – the Misses Grimké [[Sarah Moore Grimké](#) and [Angelina Emily Grimké](#)] –natives of South Carolina– brought up in the midst of the usages of slavery – most intelligently acquainted with the merits of the system, and qualified, in an eminent degree, to communicate their views to others in public addresses. They are not only the advocates of the slave at their own charge, but they actually contribute to the funds of the societies. So successfully have they recommended the cause of emancipation to the crowds that attended their lectures during the last year, that they were permitted on three several occasions publicly to address the joint committee (on slavery) of the Massachusetts Legislature, now in session, on the interesting matters that occupy their



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

attention.

"10. *How many printing presses and periodical publications have you?*"

ANSWER.— We own no press. Our publications are all printed by contract. The EMANCIPATOR and HUMAN RIGHTS are the organs of the Executive Committee. The first (which you have seen,) is a large sheet, is published weekly, and employs almost exclusively the time of the gentleman who edits it. Human Rights is a monthly sheet of smaller size, and is edited by one of the secretaries. The increasing interest that is fast manifesting itself in the cause of emancipation and its kindred subjects will, in all probability, before long, call for the more frequent publication of one or both of these papers. — The ANTI-SLAVERY MAGAZINE, a quarterly, was commenced in October, 1835, and continued through two years. It has been intermitted, only to make the necessary arrangements for issuing it on a more extended scale. — It is proposed to give it size enough to admit the amplest discussions that we or our opponents may desire, and to give *them* a full share of its room — in fine, to make it, in form and merit, what the importance of the subject calls for. I send you a copy of the Prospectus for the new series. — The ANTI-SLAVERY RECORD, published for three years as a monthly, has been discontinued *as such*, and it will be issued hereafter, only as occasion may require:— THE SLAVE'S FRIEND, a small monthly tract, of neat appearance, intended principally for children and young persons, has been issued for several years. It is replete with facts relating to slavery, and with accounts of the hair-breadth escapes of slaves from their masters and pursuers that rarely fail to impart the most thrilling interest to its little readers. — Besides these, there is the ANTI-SLAVERY EXAMINER, in which are published, as the times call for them, our larger essays partaking of a controversial character, such as Smith's reply to the Rev. Mr. Smylie — Grimke's letter and "Wythe." By turning to page 32 of our Fourth Report (included in your order for books, &c,) you will find, that in the year ending 11th May, the issues from the press were — bound volumes, 7,877 — Tracts and Pamphlets, 47,250 — Circulars, &c, 4,100 — Prints, 10,490 — Anti-Slavery Magazine, 9000 — Slave's Friend, 131,050 — Human Rights, 189,400 — Emancipator, 217,000. These are the issues of the American Anti-Slavery Society, from their office in this city. Other publications of similar character are issued by State Societies or individuals — the LIBERATOR, in Boston; HERALD OF FREEDOM, in Concord, N.H.; ZION'S WATCHMAN and the COLORED AMERICAN in this city. The latter is conducted in the editorial, and other departments, by colored citizens. You can judge of its character, by a few numbers that I send to you. Then, there is the FRIEND of MAN, in Utica, in this state. The NATIONAL ENQUIRER, in Philadelphia;⁴¹ the CHRISTIAN WITNESS, in Pittsburgh; the PHILANTHROPIST, in Cincinnati. — All these are sustained by the friends, and devoted almost exclusively to the cause, of emancipation. Many of the Religious journals that do not make emancipation their main object have adopted the

41. The NATIONAL ENQUIRER, edited by Benjamin Lundy, has been converted into the PENNSYLVANIA FREEMAN, edited by John G. Whittier. Mr. Lundy proposes to issue the GENIUS OF UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, in Illinois.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

sentiments of abolitionists, and aid in promoting them. The Alton Observer, edited by the late Mr. Lovejoy, was one of these. From the data I have, I set down the newspapers, as classed above, at upwards of one hundred. Here it may also be stated, that the presses which print the abolition journals above named, throw off besides, a great variety of other anti-slavery matter, in the form of books, pamphlets, single sheets, &c, &c, and that, at many of the principal commercial points throughout the free states, DEPOSITORIES are established, at which our publications of every sort are kept for sale. A large and fast increasing number of the Political journals of the country have become, within the last two years, if not the avowed supporters of our cause, well inclined to it. Formerly, it was a common thing for most of the leading party-papers, especially in the large cities, to speak of the abolitionists in terms signally disrespectful and offensive. Except in rare instances, and these, it is thought, only where they are largely subsidized by southern patronage, it is not so now. The desertions that are taking place from their ranks will, in a short time, render their position undesirable for any, who aspire to gain, or influence, or reputation in the North.

"11. *To what class of persons do you address your publications – and are they addressed to the judgment, the imagination, or the feelings?*"

ANSWER.— They are intended for the great mass of intelligent mind, both in the free and in the slave states. They partake, of course, of the intellectual peculiarities of the different authors. Jay's "INQUIRY" and Mrs. Child's "APPEAL" abound in facts – are dispassionate, ingenious, argumentative. The "BIBLE AGAINST SLAVERY," by the most careful and laborious research, has struck from slavery the prop, which careless Annotators, (writing, unconscious of the influence, the prevailing system of slavery throughout the Christian world exercised on their own minds,) have admitted was furnished for it in the Scriptures. "Wythe" by a pains-taking and lucid adjustment of facts in the history of the Government, both before and after the adoption of the Constitution, and with a rigor of logic, that cannot, it is thought, be successfully encountered, has put to flight forever with unbiased minds, every doubt as to the "Power of Congress over the District of Columbia."

There are among the abolitionists, Poets, and by the acknowledgment of their opponents, poets of no mean name too – who, as the use of poets is, do address themselves often – as John G. Whittier does *always* – powerfully to the imagination and feelings of their readers.

Our publications cannot be classed according to any particular style or quality of composition. They may be characterized generally, as well suited to affect the public mind – to rouse into healthful activity the conscience of this nation, stupified, torpid, almost dead, in relation to HUMAN RIGHTS, the high theme of which they treat!

It has often been alleged, that our writings appeal to the worst passions of the slaves, and that they are placed in their hands with a view to stir them to revolt. Neither charge has any



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

foundation in truth to rest upon. The first finds no support in the tenor of the writings themselves; the last ought forever to be abandoned, in the absence of any single well authenticated instance of their having been conveyed by abolitionists to slaves, or of their having been even found in their possession. To instigate the slaves to revolt, as the means of obtaining their liberty, would prove a lack of wisdom and honesty that none would impute to abolitionists, except such as are unacquainted with their character. Revolt would be followed by the sure destruction, not only of all the slaves who might be concerned in it, but of multitudes of the innocent. Moreover, the abolitionists, as a class, are religious – they favor peace, and stand pledged in their constitution, before the country and heaven, to abide in peace, so far as a forcible vindication of the right of the slaves to their freedom is concerned. Further still, no small number of them deny the right of defence, either to individuals or nations, even when forcibly and wrongfully attacked. This disagreement among ourselves on this single point – of which our adversaries are by no means ignorant, as they often throw it reproachfully in our teeth – would forever prevent concert in any scheme that looked to instigating servile revolt. If there be, in all our ranks, one, who – personal danger out of the question – would excite the slaves to insurrection and massacre, or who would not be swift to repeat the earliest attempt to concoct such an iniquity – I say, on my obligations as a man, he is unknown to me.

Yet it ought not to be matter of surprise to abolitionists, that the South should consider them “fanatics,” “incendiaries,” “cut-throats,” and call them so too. The South has had their character reported to them by the North, by those who are their neighbors, who, it was supposed, knew, and would speak the truth, and the truth only, concerning them. It would, I apprehend, be unavailing for abolitionists now to enter on any formal vindication of their character from charges that can be so easily repeated after every refutation. False and fraudulent as they knew them to be, they must be content to live under them till the consummation of the work of Freedom shall prove to the master that they have been *his* friends, as well as the friends of the slave. The mischief of these charges has fallen on the South – the malice is to be placed to the credit of the North.

“12. *Do you propagate your doctrines by any other means than oral and written discussions – for instance, by prints and pictures in manufactures – say of pocket-handkerchiefs, calicoes, &c? Pray, state the various modes?*”

ANSWER.— Two or three years ago, an abolitionist of this city procured to be manufactured, at his own charge, a small lot of children’s pocket-handkerchiefs, impressed with anti-slavery pictures and mottoes. I have no recollection of having seen any of them but once. None such, I believe, are now to be found, or I would send you a sample. If any manufactures of the kinds mentioned, or others similar to theta, are in existence, they have been produced independently of the agency of this society. It is thought that none such exist, unless the following should be supposed to fall within the terms of the inquiry. Female



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

abolitionists often unite in sewing societies. They meet together, usually once a week or fortnight, and labor through the afternoon, with their own hands, to furnish means for advancing the cause of the slave. One of the company reads passages from the BIBLE, or some religious book, whilst the others are engaged at their work. The articles they prepare, especially if they be of the "fancy" kind, are often ornamented with handsomely executed emblems, underwritten with appropriate mottoes. The picture of a slave kneeling (such as you will see impressed on one of the sheets of this letter) and supplicating in the words, "AM I NOT A MAN AND A BROTHER," is an example. The mottoes or sentences are, however, most generally selected from the Scriptures; either appealing to human sympathy in behalf of human suffering, or breathing forth God's tender compassion for the oppressed, or proclaiming, in thunder tones, his avenging justice on the oppressor. A few quotations will show their general character:—

"Blessed is he that considereth the poor."

"Defend the poor and fatherless; do justice to the afflicted and needy. Deliver the poor and the needy; rid him out of the hand of the wicked."

"Open thy mouth for the dumb, plead the cause of the poor and needy."

"Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy."

"First, be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

"All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them."

Again:—

"For he shall deliver the needy when he crieth; the poor also, and him that hath no helper."

"The Lord looseth the prisoners; the Lord raiseth them that are bowed down; the Lord preserveth the strangers."

"He hath sent me to heal the broken-hearted, to preach deliverance to the captives, to set at liberty them that are bruised."

"For the oppression of the poor, for the sighing of the needy, now will I arise, saith the Lord; I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him."

Again:—

"The Lord executeth righteousness and judgment for all that are oppressed."

"Rob not the poor because he is poor, neither oppress the afflicted in the gate; for the Lord will plead their cause, and spoil the soul of those that spoiled them."

"And I will come near to you to judgment, and I will be a swift witness against those that oppress the hireling in his wages,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

the widow and the fatherless, and that turn aside the stranger from his right, and fear not me, saith the Lord of hosts."

"Wo unto him that buildeth his house by unrighteousness, and his chambers by wrong; that useth his neighbor's service without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

Fairs, for the sale of articles fabricated by the hands of female abolitionists, and recommended by such pictures and sentences as those quoted above, are held in many of our cities and large towns. Crowds frequent them to purchase; hundreds of dollars are thus realized, to be appropriated to the anti-slavery cause; and, from the cheap rate at which the articles are sold, vast numbers of them are scattered far and wide over the country. Besides these, if we except various drawings or pictures on paper, (samples of which were put up in the packages you ordered a few days ago,) such as the Slave-market in the District of Columbia, with Members of congress attending it – views of slavery in the South – a Lynch court in the slave-states – the scourging of Mr. Dresser by a vigilance committee in the public square of Nashville – the plundering of the post-office in Charleston, S.C., and the conflagration of part of its contents, &c, &c, I am apprised of no other means of propagating our doctrines than by oral and written discussions.

"13. *Are your hopes and expectations of success increased or lessened by the events of the last year, and especially by the action of this Congress? And will your exertions be relaxed or increased?*"

ANSWER.— The events of the last year, including the action of the present Congress, are of the same character with the events of the eighteen months which immediately preceded it. In the question before us, they may be regarded as one series. I would say, answering your interrogatory generally, that none of them, however unpropitious to the cause of the abolitionists they may appear, to those who look at the subject from an opposite point to the one *they* occupy, seem, thus far, in any degree to have lessened their hopes and expectations. The events alluded to have not come altogether unexpected. They are regarded as the legitimate manifestations of slavery – necessary, perhaps, in the present dull and unapprehensive state of the public mind as to human rights, to be brought out and spread before the people, before they will sufficiently revolt against slavery itself.

1. They are seen in the CHURCH, and in the practice of its individual members. The southern portion of the American church may now be regarded as having admitted the dogma, that *slavery is a Divine institution*. She has been forced by the anti-slavery discussion into this position – either to cease from slaveholding, or formally to adopt the only alternative, that slaveholding is right. She has chosen the alternative – reluctantly, to be sure, but substantially, and, within the last year, almost unequivocally. In defending what was dear to her, she has been forced to cast away her garments, and thus to reveal a deformity, of which she herself, before, was scarcely aware, and the existence of which others did not credit. So much for the action of the southern church as a body. – On the part of



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

her MEMBERS, the revelation of a time-serving spirit, that not only yielded to the ferocity of the multitude, but fell in with it, may be reckoned among the events of the last three years. Instances of this may be found in the attendance of the "clergy of all denominations," at a tumultuous meeting of the citizens of Charleston, S.C., held in August, 1835, for the purpose of reducing to *system* their unlawful surveillance and control of the post-office and mail; and in the alacrity with which they obeyed the popular call to dissolve the Sunday-schools for the instruction of the colored people. Also in the fact, that, throughout the whole South, church members are not only found on the Vigilance Committees, (tribunals organized in opposition to the laws of the states where they exist,) but uniting with the merciless and the profligate in passing sentence consigning to infamous and excruciating, if not extreme punishment, persons, by their own acknowledgment, innocent of any unlawful act. Out of sixty persons that composed the vigilance committee which condemned Mr. Dresser to be scourged in the public square of Nashville, TWENTY-SEVEN were members of churches, and one of them a professed Teachers of Christianity. A member of the committee stated afterward, in a newspaper of which he was the editor, that Mr. D. *had not laid himself liable to any punishment known to the laws*. Another instance is to be found in the conduct of the Rev. Wm. S. Plumer, of Virginia. Having been absent from Richmond, when the ministers of the gospel assembled together formally to testify their abhorrence of the abolitionists, he addressed the chairman of the committee of correspondence a note, in which he uses this language:— "If abolitionists will set the country in a blaze, it is but fair that they should have the first warming at the fire." — "Let them understand, that they will be caught, if they come among us, and they will take good heed to keep out of our way." Mr. P. has no doubtful standing in the Presbyterian church with which he is connected. He has been regarded as one of its brightest ornaments.⁴² To drive the slaveholding church and its members from the equivocal, the neutral position, from which they had so long successfully defended slavery — to compel them to elevate their practice to an even height with their avowed principles, or to degrade their principles to the level of their known practice, was a preliminary, necessary in the view of abolitionists, either for bringing that part of the church into the common action against slavery, or as a ground for treating it as confederate with oppressors. So far, then, as the action of the church, or of its individual members, is to be reckoned among the events of the last two or three years, the abolitionists find in it nothing to lessen their hopes or expectations.

2. The abolitionists believed, from the beginning, that the slaves of the South were (as slaves are everywhere) unhappy, *because of their condition*. Their adversaries denied it, averring that, as a class, they were "contented and happy." The abolitionists thought that the argument against slavery could be made good, so far as this point was concerned, by either *admitting* or *denying* the assertion.

42. In the division of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, that has just taken place, Mr. Plumer has been elected Moderator of the "Old School" portion.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Admitting it, they insisted, that, nothing could demonstrate the turpitude of any system more surely than the fact, that MAN – made in the image of God – but a little lower than the angels – crowned with glory and honor, and set over the works of God's hands – his mind sweeping in an instant from planet to planet, from the sun of one system to the sun of another, even to the great centre sun of them all – contemplating the machinery of the universe "wheeling unshaken" in the awful and mysterious grandeur of its movements "through the void immense" – with a spirit delighting in upward aspiration – bounding from earth to heaven – that seats itself fast by the throne of God, to drink in the instructions of Infinite Wisdom, or flies to execute the commands of Infinite Goodness; – that such a being could be made "contented and happy" with "enough to eat, and drink, and wear," and shelter from the weather – with the base provision that satisfies the brutes, is (say the abolitionists) enough to render superfluous all other arguments for the *instant* abandonment of a system whose appropriate work is such infinite wrong.

Denying that "the slaves are contented and happy," the abolitionists have argued, that, from the structure of his moral nature – the laws of his mind – man cannot be happy in the fact, that he is *enslaved*. True, he may be happy in slavery, but it is not slavery that makes him so – it is virtue and faith, elevating him above the afflictions of his lot. The slave has a will, leading him to seek those things which the Author of his nature has made conducive to its happiness. In these things, the will of the master comes in collision with his will. The slave desires to receive the rewards of his own labor; the power of the master wrests them from him. The slave desires to possess his wife, to whom God has joined him, in affection, to have the superintendence, and enjoy the services, of the children whom God has confided to him as a parent to train them, by the habits of the filial relation, for the yet higher relation that they may sustain to him as their heavenly Father. But here he is met by the opposing will of the master, pressing *his* claims with irresistible power. The ties that heaven has sanctioned and blessed – of husband and wife, of parent and child – are all sundered in a moment by the master, at the prompting of avarice or luxury or lust; and there is none that can stay his ruthless hand, or say unto him, "What doest thou?" The slave thirsts for the pleasures of refined and elevated intellect – the master denies to him the humblest literary acquisition. The slave pants to know something of that still higher nature that he feels burning within him – of his present state, his future destiny, of the Being who made him, to whose judgment-seat he is going. The master's interests cry, "No!" "Such knowledge is too wonderful for you; it is high, you cannot attain unto it." To predicate *happiness* of a class of beings, placed in circumstances where their will is everlastingly defeated by an irresistible power – the abolitionists say, is to prove them destitute of the sympathies of *our* nature – not *human*. It is to declare with the Atheist, that man is independent of the goodness of his Creator for his enjoyments – that human happiness calls not for any of the appliances of his bounty –



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

that God's throne is a nullity, himself a superfluity. But, independently of any abstract reasoning drawn from the nature of moral and intelligent beings, FACTS have been elicited in the discussion of the point before us, proving slavery everywhere (especially Southern slavery, maintained by enlightened Protestants of the nineteenth century) replete with torments and horrors – the direst form of oppression that upheaves itself before the sun. These facts have been so successfully impressed on a large portion of the intelligent mind of the country, that the slaves of the South are beginning to be considered as those whom God emphatically regards as the "poor," the "needy," the "afflicted," the "oppressed," the "bowed down;" and for whose consolation he has said, "Now will I arise – I will set him in safety from him that puffeth at him." This state of the public mind has been brought about within the last two or three years; and it is an event which, so far from lessening, greatly animates, the hopes and expectations of abolitionists.

3. The abolitionists believed from the first, that the tendency of slavery is to produce, on the part of the whites, looseness of morals, disdain of the wholesome restraints of law, and a ferocity of temper, found, only in solitary instances, in those countries where slavery is unknown. They were not ignorant of the fact, that this was disputed; nor that the "CHIVALRY OF THE SOUTH" had become a cant phrase, including, all that is high-minded and honorable among men; nor, that it had been formally asserted in our National legislature, that slavery, as it exists in the South, "produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society that has ever existed on the face of the earth." Nor were the abolitionists unaware, that these pretensions, proving anything else but their own solidity, had been echoed and re-echoed so long by the unthinking and the interested of the North, that the character of the South had been injuriously affected by them – till she began boldly to attribute her *peculiar* superiority to her *peculiar* institution, and thus to strengthen it. All this the abolitionists saw and knew. But few others saw and understood it as they did. The revelations of the last three years are fast dissipating the old notion, and bringing multitudes in the North to see the subject as the abolitionists see it. When "Southern Chivalry" and the *purity* of southern society are spoken of now, it is at once replied, that a large number of the slaves show, by their *color*, their indisputable claim to white paternity; and that, notwithstanding their near consanguineous relation to the whites, they are still held and treated, in all respects, as *slaves*. Nor is it forgotten now, when the claims of the South to "hospitality" are pressed, to object, because they are grounded on the unpaid wages of the laborer – on the robbery of the poor. When "Southern generosity" is mentioned, the old adage, "be just before you are generous," furnishes the reply. It is no proof of generosity (say the objectors) to take the bread of the laborer, to lavish it in banquetings on the rich. When "Southern Chivalry" is the theme of its admirers, the hard-handed, but intelligent, working man of the North asks, if the



espionage of southern hotels, and of ships and steamboats on their arrival at southern ports; if the prowl, by day and by night, for the solitary stranger suspected of sympathizing with the enslaved, that he may be delivered over to the mercies of a vigilance committee, furnishes the proof of its existence; if the unlawful importation of slaves from Africa⁴³ furnishes the proof; if the abuse, the scourging, the hanging on suspicion, without law, of friendless strangers, furnish the proof; if the summary execution of slaves and of colored freemen, almost by the score, without legal trial, furnishes the proof; if the cruelties and tortures to which *citizens* have been exposed, and the burning to death of slaves by slow fires,⁴⁴ furnish the proof. All these things, says he, furnish any thing but proof of *true* hospitality, or generosity, or gallantry, or purity, or chivalry.

Certain it is, that the time when southern slavery derived countenance at the North, from its supposed connection with "chivalry," is rapidly passing away. "Southern Chivalry" will soon be regarded as one of the by-gone fooleries of a less intelligent and less virtuous age. It will soon be cast out – giving place to the more reasonable idea, that the denial of wages to the laborer, the selling of men and women, the whipping of husbands and wives in each others presence, to compel them to unrequited toil, the deliberate attempt to extinguish mind, and, consequently, to destroy the soul – is among the highest offences against God and man – unspeakably mean and ungentlemanly.

The impression made on the minds of the people as to this matter, is one of the events of the last two or three years that does not contribute to lessen the hopes or expectations of abolitionists.

4. The ascendancy that Slavery has acquired, and exercises, in the administration of the government, and the apprehension now prevailing among the sober and intelligent, irrespective of party, that it will soon overmaster the Constitution itself, may be ranked among the events of the last two or three years that affect the course of abolitionists. The abolitionists regard the Constitution with unabated affection. They hold in no common veneration the memory of those who made it. They would be the last to brand Franklin and King and Morris and Wilson and Sherman and Hamilton with the ineffaceable infamy of attempting to ingraft on the Constitution, and therefore to *perpetuate*, a system of oppression in absolute antagonism to its high and professed objects, one which their own practice condemned, – and this, too, when they had scarcely wiped away the dust and sweat of the Revolution from their brows! Whilst abolitionists feel

43. Mr. Mercer, of Virginia, some years ago, asserted in Congress, that "CARGOES" of African slaves were smuggled into the southern states to a deplorable extent. Mr. Middleton, of South Carolina, declared it to be his belief, that THIRTEEN THOUSAND Africans were annually smuggled into the southern states. Mr. Wright, of Maryland, estimated the number at FIFTEEN THOUSAND. Miss Martineau was told in 1835, by a wealthy slaveholder of Louisiana, (who probably spoke of that state alone,) that the annual importation of native Africans was from THIRTEEN THOUSAND to FIFTEEN THOUSAND. The President of the United States, in his last Annual Message, speaking of the Navy, says, "The large force under Commodore Dallas [on the West India station] has been most actively and efficiently employed in protecting our commerce, IN PREVENTING THE IMPORTATION OF SLAVES, &c."

44. Within the last few years, four slaves, and one citizen of color, have been put to death in this manner, in Alabama, Mississippi, Missouri, and Arkansas.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

and speak thus of our Constitutional fathers, they do not justify the dereliction of principle into which they were betrayed, when they imparted to the work of their hands *any* power to contribute to the continuance of such a system. They can only palliate it, by supposing, that they thought, slavery was already a waning institution, destined soon to pass away. In their time, (1787) slaves were comparatively of little value – there being then no great slave-labor staple (as cotton is now) to make them profitable to their holders.⁴⁵ Had the circumstances of the country remained as they then were, slave-labor, always and every where the most expensive – would have disappeared before the competition of free labour. They had seen, too, the principle of universal liberty, on which the Revolution was justified, recognised and embodied in most of the State Constitutions; they had seen slavery utterly forbidden in that of Vermont – instantaneously abolished in that of Massachusetts – and laws enacted in the New-England States and in Pennsylvania, for its gradual abolition. Well might they have anticipated, that Justice and Humanity, now starting forth with fresh vigor, would, in their march, sweep away the whole system; more especially, as freedom of speech and of the press – the legitimate abolisher not only of the acknowledged vice of slavery, but of every other that time should reveal in our institutions or practices – had been fully secured to the people. Again; power was conferred on Congress to put a stop to the African slave-trade, without which it was thought, at that time, to be impossible to maintain slavery, as a system, on this continent, – so great was the havoc it committed on human life. Authority was also granted to Congress to prevent the transfer of slaves, as articles of commerce, from one State to another; and the introduction of slavery into the territories. All this was crowned by the power of refusing admission into the Union, to any new state, whose form of government was repugnant to the principles of liberty set forth in that of the United States. The faithful execution, by Congress, of these powers, it was reasonably enough supposed, would, at least, prevent the growth of slavery, if it did not entirely remove it. Congress did, at the set time, execute *one* of them – deemed, then, the most effectual of the whole; but, as it has turned out, the least so. The effect of the interdiction of the African slave-trade was, not to diminish the trade itself, or greatly to mitigate its horrors; it only changed its name from African to American – transferred the seat of commerce from Africa to America – its profits from African princes to American farmers. Indeed, it is almost certain, if the African slave-trade had been left unrestrained, that slavery would not have covered so large a portion of our country as it does now. The cheap rate at which slaves might have been imported by the planters of the south, would have prevented the rearing of them for sale, by the farmers of Maryland, Virginia, and the other slave-selling states. If these states could be restrained from the *commerce* in slaves, slavery could not be supported by them for any length of time, or to any considerable extent. They could not maintain it, as

45. The cultivation of cotton was almost unknown in the United States before 1787. It was not till two years afterward that it began to be raised or exported. (See Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, Feb. 29, 1836.) — See Appendix D.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

an economical system, under the competition of free labor. It is owing to the *non-user* by Congress, or rather to their unfaithful application of their power to the other points, on which it was expected to act for the limitation or extermination of slavery, that the hopes of our fathers have not been realized; and that slavery has, at length, become so audacious, as openly to challenge the principles of 1776 – to trample on the most precious rights secured to the citizen – to menace the integrity of the Union and the very existence of the government itself. Slavery has advanced to its present position by steps that were, at first, gradual, and, for a long time, almost unnoticed; afterward, it made its way by intimidating or corrupting those who ought to have been forward to resist its pretensions. Up to the time of the "Missouri Compromise," by which the nation was wheedled out of its honor, slavery was looked on as an evil that was finally to yield to the expanding and ripening influences of our Constitutional principles and regulations. Why it has not yielded, we may easily see, by even a slight glance at some of the incidents in our history.

It has already been said, that we have been brought into our present condition by the unfaithfulness of Congress, in not *exerting* the power vested in it, to stop the domestic slave-trade, and in the *abuse* of the power of admitting "*new states*" into the Union. Kentucky made application in 1792, with a slave-holding Constitution in her hand. – With what a mere *technicality* Congress suffered itself to be drugged into torpor:– *She was part of one of the "Original States" – and therefore entitled to all their privileges.*

One precedent established, it was easy to make another. Tennessee was admitted in 1796, without scruple, on the same ground.

The next triumph of slavery was in 1803, in the purchase of Louisiana, acknowledged afterward, even by Mr. Jefferson who made it, to be unauthorized by the Constitution – and in the establishment of slavery throughout its vast limits, actually and substantially under the auspices of that instrument which declares its only objects to be – "to form a more perfect union, establish JUSTICE, insure DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of LIBERTY to ourselves and our posterity."⁴⁶

In this case, the violation of the Constitution was suffered to pass with but little opposition, except from Massachusetts, because we were content to receive in exchange, multiplied commercial benefits and enlarged territorial limits.

The next stride that slavery made over the Constitution was in

46. It may be replied, The colored people were held as *property* by the laws of Louisiana previously to the cession, and that Congress had no right to divest the newly acquired citizens of their property. This statement is evasive. It does not include, nor touch the question, which is this:— Had Congress, or the treaty-making power, a right to recognise, and, by recognising, to establish, in a territory that had no claim of privilege, on the ground of being part of one of the "Original States," a condition of things that it could not establish *directly*, because there was no grant in the constitution of power, direct or incidental, to do so — and because, *to do so*, was in downright oppugnancy to the principles of the Constitution itself? The question may be easily answered by stating the following case:— Suppose a law had existed in Louisiana, previous to the cession, by which the children — male and female — of all such parents as were not owners of real estate of the yearly value of \$500, had been — no matter how long — held in slavery by their more wealthy land-holding neighbors:— would Congress, under the Constitution, have a right (by recognising) to establish, for ever, such a relation as one white person, under such a law, might hold to another? Surely not. And yet no substantial difference between the two cases can be pointed out.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

the admission of the State of Louisiana into the Union. *She* could claim no favor as part of an "Original State." At this point, it might have been supposed, the friends of Freedom and of the Constitution according to its original intent, would have made a stand. But no: with the exception of Massachusetts, they hesitated and were persuaded to acquiesce, because the country was just about entering into a war with England, and the crisis was unpropitious for discussing questions that would create divisions between different sections of the Union. We must wait till the country was at peace. Thus it was that Louisiana was admitted without a controversy.

Next followed, in 1817 and 1820, Mississippi and Alabama – admitted after the example of Kentucky and Tennessee, without any contest.

Meantime, Florida had given some uneasiness to the slaveholders of the neighboring states; and for their accommodation chiefly, a negociation was set on foot by the government to purchase it. Missouri was next in order in 1821. *She* could plead no privilege, on the score of being part of one of the original states; the country too, was relieved from the pressure of her late conflict with England; it was prosperous and quiet; every thing seemed propitious to a calm and dispassionate consideration of the claims of slaveholders to add props to their system, by admitting indefinitely, new slave states to the Union. Up to this time, the "EVIL" of slavery had been almost universally acknowledged and deplored by the South, and its termination (apparently) sincerely hoped for.⁴⁷ By this management its friends succeeded in blinding the confiding people of the North. They thought for the most part, that the slaveholders were acting in good faith. It is not intended by this remark, to make the impression, that the South had all along pressed the admission of new slave states, simply with a view to the increase of its own relative power. By no means: slavery had insinuated itself into favor because of its being mixed up with (other) supposed benefits – and because its ultimate influence on the government was neither suspected nor dreaded. But, on the Missouri question, there was a fair trial of strength between the friends of Slavery and the friends of the Constitution. The former triumphed, and by the prime agency of one whose raiment, the remainder of his days, ought to be sackcloth and ashes, – because of the disgrace he has continued on the name of his country, and the consequent injury that he has inflicted on the cause of Freedom throughout the world. Although all the different Administrations, from the first organization of the government, had, in the indirect manner already mentioned, favored slavery, – there had not been on any previous occasion, a direct struggle between its pretensions and the principles of

47. Mr. Clay, in conducting the Missouri compromise, found it necessary to argue, that the admission of Missouri, as a slaveholding state, would aid in bringing about the termination of slavery. His argument is thus stated by Mr. Sergeant, who replied to him:—"In this long view of remote and distant consequences, the gentleman from Kentucky (Mr. Clay) thinks he sees how slavery, when thus spread, is at last to find its end. It is to be brought about by the combined operation of the laws which regulate the price of labor, and the laws which govern population. When the country shall be filled with inhabitants, and the price of labor shall have reached a minimum, (a comparative minimum I suppose is meant,) free labor will be found cheaper than slave labor. Slaves will then be without employment, and, of course, without the means of comfortable subsistence, which will reduce their numbers, and finally extirpate them. This is the argument as I understand it," says Mr. Sergeant; and, certainly, one more chimerical or more inhuman could not have been urged.



liberty ingrafted on the Constitution. The friends of the latter were induced to believe, whenever they should be arrayed against each other, that *theirs* would be the triumph. Tremendous error! Mistake almost fatal! The battle was fought. Slavery emerged from it unhurt – her hands made gory – her bloody plume still floating in the air – exultingly brandishing her dripping sword over her prostrate and vanquished enemy. She had won all for which she fought. Her victory was complete – THE SANCTION OF THE NATION WAS GIVEN TO SLAVERY!⁴⁸

Immediately after this achievement, the slaveholding interest was still more strongly fortified by the acquisition of Florida, and the establishment of slavery there, as it had already been in the territory of Louisiana. The Missouri triumph, however, seems to have extinguished every thing like a systematic or spirited opposition, on the part of the free states, to the pretensions of the slaveholding South.

Arkansas was admitted but the other day, with nothing that deserves to be called an effort to prevent it – although her Constitution attempts to *perpetuate* slavery, by forbidding the master to emancipate his bondmen without the consent of the Legislature, and the Legislature without the consent of the master. Emboldened, but not satisfied, with their success in every political contest with the people of the free states, the slaveholders are beginning now to throw off their disguise – to brand their former notions about the “evil, political and moral” of slavery, as “folly and delusion,”⁴⁹ – and as if to “make assurance double sure,” and defend themselves forever, by territorial power, against the progress of Free principles and the renovation of the Constitution, they now demand openly – scorning to conceal that their object is, to *advance and establish their political power in the country*, – that Texas, a foreign state, five or six times as large as all New England, with a Constitution dyed as deep in slavery, as that of Arkansas, shall be added to the Union.

Mr. Hammond, formerly a Representative in Congress from South Carolina, delivered a speech (Feb. 1, 1836) on the question of receiving petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. In answering those who objected to a slaveholding country, that it was “assimilated to an aristocracy,” he says – “In this they are right. I accept the terms. *It is a government of the best.* Combining all the advantages, and possessing but few of the disadvantages, of the aristocracy of the old world – without fostering, to an unwarrantable extent, the pride, the exclusiveness, the selfishness, the thirst for sway, the contempt for the rights of others, which distinguish the nobility of Europe – it gives us their education, their polish, their munificence, their high honor, their undaunted spirit. Slavery does indeed create an aristocracy – an aristocracy of

48. See Appendix E.

49. Mr. Calhoun is reported, in the National Intelligencer, as having used these words in a speech delivered in the Senate, the 10th day of January:—

“Many in the South once believed that it [slavery] was a moral and political evil; that folly and delusion are gone. We see it now in its true light, and regard it as the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world.”



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

talents, of virtue, of generosity, of courage. In a slave country, every freeman is an aristocrat. Be he rich or poor, if he does not possess a single slave, he has been born to all the natural advantages of the society in which he is placed; and all its honors lie open before him, inviting his genius and industry. Sir, I do firmly believe, that domestic slavery, regulated as ours is, produces the highest toned, the purest, best organization of society, that has ever existed on the face of the earth."

That this *retraxit* of former *follies and delusions* is not confined to the mere politician, we have the following proofs:-

The CHARLESTON (S.C.) UNION PRESBYTERY - "Resolved. That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in his holy word; that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts, of patriarchs, prophets, and apostles; and that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the good of the servants whom God has committed to our charge." - Within the last few months, as we learn from a late No. of the Charleston Courier, the late Synod of the Presbyterian Church, in Augusta, (Ga.) passed resolutions declaring "That slavery is a CIVIL INSTITUTION, with which the General Assembly [the highest ecclesiastical tribunal] has NOTHING TO DO."

Again:- The CHARLESTON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION, in a memorial to the Legislature of South Carolina, say - "The undersigned would further represent, that the said Association does not consider that the Holy Scriptures have made the FACT of slavery a question of morals at all." And further, - "The right of masters to dispose of the time of their slaves, has been distinctly recognised by the Creator of all things."

Again:- The EDGEFIELD (S.C.) ASSOCIATION - "Resolved, That the practical question of slavery, in a country where the system has obtained as a part of its stated policy, is settled in the Scriptures by Jesus Christ and his apostles." "Resolved, That these uniformly recognised the relation of master and slave, and enjoined on both their respective duties, under a system of servitude more degrading and absolute than that which obtains in our country."

Again we find, in a late No. of the Charleston Courier, the following:-

"THE SOUTHERN CHURCH.- The Georgia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, at a recent meeting in Athens, passed resolutions, declaring that slavery, as it exists in the United States, is not a moral evil, and is a civil and domestic institution, with which Christian ministers have nothing to do, further than to meliorate the condition of the slave, by endeavoring to impart to him and his master the benign influence of the religion of Christ, and aiding both on their way to heaven."]

The abolitionists feel a deep regard for the integrity and union of the government, *on the principles of the Constitution.*



Therefore it is, that they look with earnest concern on the attempt now making by the South, to do, what, in the view of multitudes of our citizens, would amount to good cause for the separation of the free from the slave states. Their concern is not mingled with any feelings of despair. The alarm they sounded on the "annexation" question has penetrated the free states; it will, in all probability, be favorably responded to by every one of them; thus giving encouragement to our faith, that the admission of Texas will be successfully resisted, – that this additional stain will not be impressed on our national escutcheon, nor this additional peril brought upon the South.⁵⁰ This, the present condition of the country, induced by a long train of usurpations on the part of the South, and by unworthy concessions to it by the North, may justly be regarded as one of the events of the last few years affecting in some way, the measures of the abolitionists. It has certainly done so. And whilst it is not to be denied, that many abolitionists feel painful apprehensions for the result, it has only roused them up to make more strenuous efforts for the preservation of the country.

It may be replied – if the abolitionists are such firm friends of the Union, why do they persist in what must end in its rupture and dissolution? The abolitionists, let it be repeated are friends of *the* Union that was intended by the Constitution; but not of a Union from which is eviscerated, to be trodden under foot, the right to SPEAK, – to PRINT – to PETITION, – the rights of CONSCIENCE; not of a Union whose ligaments are whips, where the interest of the oppressor is the *great* interest, the right to oppress the *paramount* right. It is against the distortion of the glorious Union our fathers left us into one bound with despotic bands that the abolitionists are contending. In the political aspect of the question, they have nothing to ask, except what the Constitution authorizes – no change to desire, but that the Constitution may be restored to its pristine republican purity.

But they have well considered the "dissolution of the Union." There is no just ground for apprehending that such a measure will ever be resorted to by the *South*. It is by no means intended by this, to affirm, that the South, like a spoiled child, for the first time denied some favourite object, may not fall into sudden frenzy and do herself some great harm. But knowing as I do, the intelligence and forecast of the leading men of the South – and believing that they will, if ever such a crisis should come, be judiciously influenced by the *existing* state of the case, and by the *consequences* that would inevitably flow from an act of dissolution – they would not, I am sure, deem it desirable or politic. They would be brought, in their calmer moments, to coincide with one who has facetiously, but not the less truly remarked, that it would be as indiscreet in the slave South to separate from the free North, as for the poor, to separate from the parish that supported them. In support of this opinion, I would say:

First – A dissolution of the Union by the South would, in no manner, secure to her the object she has in view. – The *leaders*

50. See Appendix F.



at the South, both in the church and in the state, must, by this time, be too well informed as to the nature of the anti-slavery movement, and the character of those engaged in it, to entertain fears that, violence of any kind will be resorted to, directly or indirectly.⁵¹ The whole complaint of the South is neither more nor less than this – THE NORTH TALKS ABOUT SLAVERY. Now, of all the means or appliances that could be devised, to give greater life and publicity to the discussion of slavery, none could be half so effectual as the dissolution of the Union *because of the discussion*. It would astonish the civilized world – they would inquire into the cause of such a remarkable event in its history; – the result would be not only enlarged *discussion* of the whole subject, but it would bring such a measure of contempt on the guilty movers of the deed, that even with all the advantages of “their education, their polish, their munificence, their high honor, their undaunted spirit,” so eloquently set forth by the Hon. Mr. Hammond, they would find it hard to withstand its influence. It is difficult for men in a *good* cause, to maintain their steadfastness in opposition to an extensively corrupt public sentiment; in a *bad* one, against public sentiment purified and enlightened, next to impossible, if not quite so. Another result would follow the dissolution:– Now, the abolitionists find it difficult, by reason of the odium which the principal slaveholders and their friends have succeeded in attaching to their *name*, to introduce a knowledge of their principles and measures into the great mass of southern mind. There are multitudes at the South who would co-operate with us, if they could be informed of our aim.⁵² Now, we cannot reach them – then, it would be otherwise. The united power of the large slaveholders would not be able longer to keep them in ignorance. If the Union were dissolved, they *would* know the cause, and discuss it, and condemn it.

This, also, from the North Carolina Watchman:–

“It (the abolition party) is the growing party at the North. We are inclined to believe that there is even more of it at the South than prudence will permit to be openly avowed.”

“It is well known, Mr. Speaker, that there is a LARGE, RESPECTABLE and INTELLIGENT PARTY in Kentucky, who will exert every nerve and spare no efforts to dislodge the subsisting rights to our Slave population, or alter in some manner, and to some extent, at least, the tenure by which that species of property is held.” – *Speech of the Hon. James T. Morehead in the Kentucky Legislature, last winter.*]

A second reason why the South will not dissolve the Union is, that she would be exposed to the visitation of *real* incendiaries, exciting her slaves to revolt. Now, it would cover

51. “It is not,” says Mr. Calhoun, “that we expect the abolitionists will resort to arms — will commence a crusade to deliver our slaves by force.” — “Let me tell our friends of the South, who differ from us, that the war which the abolitionists wage against us is of a very different character, and *far more effective*. It is waged, not against our lives, but our character.” More correctly, Mr. C. might have said against a *system*, with which the slaveholders have chosen to involve their characters, and which they have determined to defend, at the hazard of losing them.

52. There is abundant evidence of this. Our limits confine us to the following, from the first No. of the Southern Literary Journal, (Charleston, S.C.):— “There are *many good men even among us*, who have begun to grow *timid*. They think, that what the virtuous and high-minded men of the North look upon as a crime and a plague-spot, cannot be perfectly innocent or quite harmless in a slaveholding community.”



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

any one with infamy, who would stir them up to vindicate their rights by the massacre of their masters. Dissolve the Union, and the candidates for "GLORY" would find in the plains of Carolina and Louisiana as inviting a theatre for their enterprise, as their prototypes, the Houstons, the Van Rennsselaers, and the Sutherlands did, in the prairies of Texas or the forests of Canada.

A third reason why the South will not dissolve is, that the slaves would leave their masters and take refuge in the free states. The South would not be able to establish a *cordon* along her wide frontier sufficiently strong to prevent it. Then, the slaves could not be reclaimed, as they now are, under the Constitution. Some may say, the free states would not permit them to come in and dwell among them. – Believe it not. The fact of separation on the ground supposed, would abolitionize the whole North. Beside this, in an economical point of view, the *demand for labor* in the Western States would make their presence welcome. At all events, a passage through the Northern States to Canada would not be denied them.

A fourth reason why the South will not dissolve is, that a large number of her most steady and effective population would emigrate to the free states. In the slave-selling states especially, there has always been a class who have consented to remain there with their families, only in the hope that slavery would, in some way or other, be terminated. I do not say they are abolitionists, for many of them are slaveholders. It may be, too, that such would expect compensation for their slaves, should they be emancipated, and also that they should be sent out of the country. The particular mode of emancipation, however crude it may be, that has occupied their minds, has nothing to do with the point before us. *They look for emancipation – in this hope they have remained, and now remain, where they are.* Take away this hope, by making slavery the *distinctive bond of union* of a new government, and you drive them to the North. These persons are not among the rich, the voluptuous, the effeminate; nor are they the despised, the indigent, the thriftless – they are men of moderate property, of intelligence, of conscience – in every way the "bone and sinew" of the South.

A fifth reason why the South will not dissolve, is her *weakness*. It is a remarkable fact, that in modern times, and in the Christian world, all slaveholding countries have been united with countries that are free. Thus, the West Indian and Mexican and South American slaveholding colonies were united to England, France, Spain, Portugal, and other states of Europe. If England (before her Emancipation Act) and the others had at any time withdrawn the protection of their *power* from their colonies, slavery would have been extinguished almost simultaneously with the knowledge of the fact. In the West Indies there could have been no doubt of this, from the disparity in numbers between the whites and the slaves, from the multiplied attempts made from time to time by the latter to vindicate their rights by insurrection, and from the fact, that all their insurrections had to be suppressed by the *force* of the mother country. As soon



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

as Mexico and the South American colonies dissolved their connexion with Spain, slavery was abolished in every one of them. This may, I know, be attributed to the necessity imposed on these states, by the wars in which they engaged to establish their independence. However this may be – the *fact* still remains. The free states of this Union are to the slave, so far as the maintenance of slavery is concerned, substantially, in the relation of the European states to their slaveholding colonies. Slavery, in all probability, could not be maintained by the South disjoined from the North, a single year. So far from there existing any reason for making the South an exception, in this particular, to other slave countries, there are circumstances in her condition that seem to make her dependence more complete. Two of them are, the superior intelligence of her slaves on the subject of human rights, and the geographical connexion of the slave region in the United States. In the West Indies, in Mexico and South America the great body of the slaves were far below the slaves of this country in their intellectual and moral condition – and, in the former, their power to act in concert was weakened by the insular fragments into which they were divided.

Again, the depopulation of the South of large numbers of its white inhabitants, from the cause mentioned under the fourth head, would, it is apprehended, bring the two classes to something like a numerical equality. Now, consider the present state of the moral sentiment of the Christianized and commercial world in relation to slavery; add to it the impulse that this sentiment, acknowledged by the South already to be wholly opposed to her, would naturally acquire by an act of separation on her part, with a single view to the perpetuation of slavery; bring this sentiment in all its accumulation and intensity to act upon a nation where one half are enslavers, the other the enslaved – and what must be the effect? From the nature of mind; from the laws of moral influence, (which are as sure in their operation, if not so well understood, as the laws of physical influence,) the party “whose conscience with injustice is oppressed,” must become dispirited, weakened in courage, and in the end unnerved and contemptible. On the other hand, the sympathy that would be felt for the oppressed – the comfort they would receive – the encouragement that would be given them to assert their rights, would make it an impossibility, to keep them in slavish peace and submission.

This state of things would be greatly aggravated by the peculiarly morbid sensitiveness of the South to every thing that is supposed to touch her *character*. Her highest distinction would then become her most troublesome one. How, for instance, could her chivalrous sons bear to be taunted, wherever they went, on business or for pleasure, out of their own limits, with the cry “the knights of the lash!” “Go home and pay your laborers!” “Cease from the scourging of husbands and wives in each others presence – from attending the shambles, to sell or buy as slaves those whom God has made of the same blood with yourselves – your brethren – your sisters! Cease, high minded sons of the ‘ANCIENT DOMINION,’ from estimating your revenue by the number of children you rear, to sell in the flesh market!”



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"Go home and pay your laborers!" "Go home and pay your laborers!" This would be a trial to which "southern chivalry" could not patiently submit. Their "high honor," their "undaunted spirit" would impel them to the field — only to prove that the "last resort" requires something more substantial than mere "honor" and "spirit" to maintain it. Suppose there should be a disagreement — as in all likelihood there soon would, leading to war between the North and the South? The North would scarcely have occasion to march a squadron to the field. She would have an army that could be raised up by the million, at the fireside of her enemy. It has been said, that during the late war with England, it was proposed to her cabinet, by some enterprising officers, to land five thousand men on the coast of South Carolina and proclaim liberty to the slaves. The success of the scheme was well thought of. But then the example! England herself held nearly a million of slaves at no greater distance from the scene of action than the West Indies. *Now*, a restraint of this kind on such a scheme does not exist. It seems plain beyond the power of argument to make it plainer, that a slaveholding nation — one under the circumstances in which the South separated from the North would be placed — must be at the mercy of every free people having neither power to vindicate a right nor avenge a wrong.⁵³

A sixth reason why the South will not dissolve the Union, is found in the difficulty of bringing about an *actual* separation. Preparatory to such a movement, it would seem indispensable, that *Union* among the seceding states themselves should be secured. A General Convention would be necessary to adjust its terms. This would, of course, be preceded by *particular* conventions in the several states. To this procedure the same objection applies, that has been made, for the last two or three years, to holding an anti-abolition convention in the South:— It would give to the *question* such notoriety, that the object of holding the convention could not be concealed from the slaves. The more sagacious in the South have been opposed to a convention; nor have they been influenced solely by the consideration just mentioned — which, in my view, is but of little moment — but by the apprehension, that the diversity of sentiment which exists among the slave states, themselves, in relation to the *system*, would be disclosed to the country; and that the slaveholding interest would be found deficient in that harmony which, from its perfectness heretofore, has made the slaveholders so successful in their action on the North. The slaveholding region may be divided into the *farming* and the *planting* — or the *slave-selling* and the *slave-buying* districts. Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, Missouri and East Tennessee constitute the first. West Tennessee is somewhat equivocal. All the states south of Tennessee belong to the *slave-buying* district. The first, with but few exceptions, have from the

53. Governor Hayne, of South Carolina, spoke in high terms, a few years ago, of the ability that the South would possess, in a military point of view, because her great wealth would enable her, at all times, to command the services of mercenary troops. Without stopping to dispute with him, as to her comparative wealth, I would remark, that he seemed entirely to have overlooked this truth — that whenever a government is under the necessity of calling in foreign troops, to keep in subjection one half of the people, the power of the government has already passed into the hands of the *Protectors*. They can and will, of course, act with whichever party will best subserve their purpose.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

earliest times, felt slavery a reproach to their good name – an encumbrance on their advancement – at some period, to be cast off. This sentiment, had it been at all encouraged by the action of the General Government, in accordance with the views of the convention that formed the Constitution, would, in all probability, by this time, have brought slavery in Maryland and Virginia to an end. Notwithstanding the easy admission of slave states into the Union, and the *yielding* of the free states whenever they were brought in collision with the South, have had a strong tendency to persuade the *farming* slave states to continue their system, yet the sentiment in favor of emancipation in some form, still exists among them. Proof, encouraging proof of this, is found in the present attitude of Kentucky. Her legislature has just passed a law, proposing to the people, to hold a convention to alter the constitution. In the discussion of the bill, slavery as connected with some form of emancipation, seems to have constituted the most important element. The public journals too, that are *opposed* to touching the subject at all, declare that the main object for recommending a convention was, to act on slavery in some way. Now, it would be in vain for the *planting* South to expect, that Kentucky or any other of the *farming* slave states would unite with her, in making slavery the *perpetual bond* of a new political organization. If they feel the inconveniences of slavery *in their present condition*, they could not be expected to enter on another, where these inconveniences would be inconceivably multiplied and aggravated, and, by the very terms of their new contract, *perpetuated*.

This letter is already so protracted, that I cannot stop here to develop more at large this part of the subject. To one acquainted with the state of public sentiment, in what I have called, the *farming* district, it needs no further development. There is not one of these states embraced in it, that would not, when brought to the test, prefer the privileges of the Union to the privilege of perpetual slaveholding. And if there should turn out to be a single *desertion* in this matter, the whole project of secession must come to nought.

But laying aside all the obstacles to union among the seceding states, how is it possible to take the first step to *actual* separation! The separation, at the worst, can only be *political*. There will be no chasm – no rent made in the earth between the two sections. The natural and ideal boundaries will remain unaltered. Mason and Dixon's line will not become a wall of adamant that can neither be undermined nor surmounted. The Ohio river will not be converted into flame, or into another Styx, denying a passage to every living thing.

Besides this stability of natural things, the multiform interests of the two sections would, in the main, continue as they are. The complicate ties of commerce could not be suddenly unloosed. The breadstuffs, the beef, the pork, the turkeys, the chickens, the woollen and cotton fabrics, the hats, the shoes, the socks, the "*horn flints and bark nutmegs*,"⁵⁴ the machinery, the sugar-kettles, the cotton-gins, the axes, the hoes, the drawing-chains of the North, would be as much needed by the

54. Senator Preston's Railroad Speech, delivered at Colombia, S.C., in 1836.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

South, the day after the separation as the day before. The newspapers of the North – its Magazines, its Quarterlies, its Monthlies, would be more sought after by the readers of the South than they now are; and the Southern journals would become doubly interesting to us. There would be the same lust for our northern summers and your southern winters, with all their health-giving influences; and last, though not least, the same desire of marrying and of being given in marriage that now exists between the North and South. Really it is difficult to say *where* this long threatened separation is to *begin*; and if the place of beginning could be found, it would seem like a poor exchange for the South, to give up all these pleasant and profitable relations and connections for the privilege of enslaving an equal number of their fellow-creatures.

Thus much for the menace, that the "UNION WILL BE DISSOLVED" unless the discussion of the slavery question be stopped.

But you may reply, "Do you think the South is not in earnest in her threat of dissolving the Union?" I rejoin, by no means; – yet she pursues a perfectly reasonable course (leaving out of view the justice or morality of it) – just such a course as I should expect she would pursue, emboldened as she must be by her multiplied triumphs over the North by the use of the same weapon.

"We'll dissolve the Union!" was the cry, "unless Missouri be admitted!!" The North were frightened, and Missouri was admitted with SLAVERY engraved on her forehead. "We'll dissolve the Union!" unless the Indians be driven out of the South!! The North forgot her treaties, parted with humanity, and it is done – the defenceless Indians are forced to "consent" to be driven out, or they are left, undefended, to the mercies of southern land-jobbers and gold-hunters. "We'll dissolve the Union! If the Tariff" [established at her own suggestion] "be not repealed or modified so that our slave-labor may compete with your free-labor." The Tariff is accordingly modified to suit the South. "We'll dissolve the Union!" unless the freedom of speech and the press be put down in the North!! – With the promptness of commission-merchants, the alternative is adopted. Public assemblies met for deliberation are assailed and broken up at the North; her citizens are stoned and beaten and dragged through the streets of her cities; her presses are attacked by mobs, instigated and led on by men of influence and character; whilst those concerned in conducting them are compelled to fly from their homes, pursued as if they were noxious wild beasts; or, if they remain to defend, they are sacrificed to appease the southern divinity. "We'll dissolve the Union" if slavery be abolished in the District of Columbia! The North, frightened from her propriety, declares that slavery ought not to be abolished there NOW. – "We'll dissolve the Union!" if you read petitions from your constituents for its abolition, or for stopping the slave-trade at the Capital, or between the states. FIFTY NORTHERN REPRESENTATIVES respond to the cry, "down, then, with the RIGHT OF PETITION!!" All these assaults have succeeded because the North has been frightened by the war-cry, "WE'LL DISSOLVE THE UNION!"

After achieving so much by a process so simple, why should not the South persist in it when striving for further conquests? No



other course ought to be expected from her, till this has failed. And it is not at all improbable, that she will persist, till she almost persuades herself that she is serious in her menace to dissolve the Union. She may in her eagerness, even approach so near the verge of dissolution, that the earth may give way under her feet and she be dashed in ruins in the gulf below. Nothing will more surely arrest her fury, than the firm array of the North, setting up anew the almost forgotten principles of our fathers, and saying to the "dark spirit of slavery," – "thus far shalt thou go, and no farther." This is the best – the only – means of saving the South from the fruits of her own folly – folly that has been so long, and so strangely encouraged by the North, that it has grown into intolerable arrogance – down right presumption.

There are many other "events" of the last two or three years which have, doubtless, had their influence on the course of the abolitionists – and which might properly be dwelt upon at considerable length, were it not that this communication is already greatly protracted beyond its intended limits. I shall, therefore, in mentioning the remaining topics, do little more than enumerate them.

The Legislature of Vermont has taken a decided stand in favor of anti-slavery principles and action. In the Autumn of 1836, the following resolutions were passed by an almost unanimous vote in both houses:–

"Resolved, By the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, That neither Congress nor the State Governments have any constitutional right to abridge the free expressions of opinions, or the transmission of them through the medium of the public mails."

"Resolved, That Congress do possess the power to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia."

"Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to the Executive of each of the States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress."

At the session held in November last, the following joint resolutions, preceded by a decisive memorial against the admission of Texas, were passed by both branches – with the exception of the *fifth* which was passed only by the House of Representatives:–

1. Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the Union.

2. Resolved, That, representing, as we do, the people of Vermont, we do hereby, in their name, SOLEMNLY PROTEST against such annexation in any form.

3. Resolved, That, as the Representatives of the people of Vermont, we do solemnly protest against the admission, into this Union, of any state whose constitution tolerates domestic slavery.



4. Resolved, That Congress have full power, by the Constitution, to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia and in the territories of the United States.

[5. Resolved, That Congress has the constitutional power to prohibit the slave-trade between the several states of this Union, and to make such laws as shall effectually prohibit such trade.]

6. Resolved, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to present the foregoing Report and Resolutions to their respective Houses in Congress, and use their influence to carry the same speedily into effect.

7. Resolved, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing Report and Resolutions to the President of the United States, and to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The influence of anti-slavery principles in Massachusetts has become decisive, if we are to judge from the change of sentiment in the legislative body. The governor of that commonwealth saw fit to introduce into his inaugural speech, delivered in January, 1836, a severe censure of the abolitionists, and to intimate that they were guilty of an offence punishable at common law. This part of the speech was referred to a joint committee of five, of which a member of the senate was chairman. To the same committee were also referred communications which had been received by the governor from several of the legislatures of the slaveholding states, requesting the Legislature of Massachusetts to enact laws, making it PENAL for citizens of that state to form societies for the abolition of slavery, or to speak or publish sentiments such as had been uttered in anti-slavery meetings and published in anti-slavery tracts and papers. The managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, in a note addressed to the chairman of the committee, requested permission, as a party whose rights were drawn in question, to appear before it. This was granted. The gentlemen selected by them to appear on their behalf were of unimpeachable character, and distinguished for professional merit and general literary and scientific intelligence. Such was *then* the unpopularity of abolitionism, that notwithstanding the personal influence of these gentlemen, they were ill – not to say rudely – treated, especially by the chairman of the committee; so much so, that respect for themselves, and the cause they were deputed to defend, persuaded them to desist before they had completed their remarks. A Report, including Resolutions unfavorable to the abolitionists was made, of which the following is a copy:–

The Joint Special Committee, to whom was referred so much of the governor's message as related to the abolition of slavery, together with certain documents upon the same subject, communicated to the Executive by the several Legislatures of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama, transmitted by his Excellency to the Legislature, and hereunto annexed, have considered the same, and ask leave, respectfully, to submit the following:–



Resolved, That this Legislature distinctly disavow any right whatever in itself, or in the citizens of this commonwealth, to interfere in the institution of domestic slavery in the southern states: it having existed therein before the establishment of the Constitution; it having been recognised by that instrument; and it being strictly within their own keeping.

Resolved, That this Legislature, regarding the agitation of the question of domestic slavery as having already interrupted the friendly relations which ought to exist between the several states of this Union, and as tending permanently to injure, if not altogether to subvert, the principles of the Union itself; and believing that the good effected by those who excite its discussion in the non-slaveholding states is, under the circumstances of the case, altogether visionary, while the immediate and future evil is great and certain; does hereby express its entire disapprobation of the doctrine upon this subject avowed, and the general measures pursued by such as agitate the question; and does earnestly recommend to them carefully to abstain from all such discussion, and all such measures, as may tend to disturb and irritate the public mind.

The report was laid on the table, whence it was not taken up during the session – its friends being afraid of a lean majority on its passage; for the alarm had already been taken by many of the members who otherwise would have favored it. From this time till the election in the succeeding autumn, the subject was much agitated in Massachusetts. The abolitionists again petitioned the Legislature at its session begun in January, 1837; especially, that it should remonstrate against the resolution of Mr. Hawes, adopted by the House of Representatives in Congress, by which all memorials, &c, in relation to slavery were laid, and to be laid, on the table, without further action on them. The abolitionists were again heard, in behalf of their petitions, before the proper committee.⁵⁵ The result was, the passage of the following resolutions with only 16 dissenting voices to 378, in the House of Representatives, and in the Senate with not more than one or two dissentients on any one of them:—

"Whereas, The House of Representatives of the United States, in the month of January, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, did adopt a resolution, whereby it was ordered that all petitions, memorials, resolutions, propositions, or papers, relating in any way, or to any extent whatever, to the subject of slavery, or the abolition of slavery, without being either printed or referred, should be laid upon the table, and that no further action whatever should be had thereon; and whereas such a disposition of petitions, then or thereafter to be received, is a virtual denial of the right itself; and whereas, by the resolution aforesaid, which is adopted as a standing rule in the present House of Representatives, the petitions of a large number of the people of this commonwealth, praying for the removal of a great social, moral, and political evil, have been slighted and contemned:

55. The gentleman who had been chairman of the committee the preceding year, was supposed, in consequence of the change in public opinion in relation to abolitionists, to have injured his political standing too much, even to be nominated as a candidate for re-election.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

therefore, –

Resolved, That the resolution above named is an assumption of power and authority at variance with the spirit and intent of the Constitution of the United States, and injurious to the cause of freedom and free institutions; that it does violence to the inherent, absolute, and inalienable rights of man; and that it tends, essentially, to impair those fundamental principles of natural justice and natural law which are antecedent to any written constitutions of government, independent of them all, and essential to the security of freedom in a state.

Resolved, That our Senators and Representatives in Congress, in maintaining and advocating the right of petition, have entitled themselves to the cordial approbation of the people of this commonwealth.

Resolved, That Congress, having exclusive legislation in the District of Columbia, possess the right to abolish slavery in said district, and that its exercise should only be restrained by a regard to the public good."

That you may yourself, judge what influence the abolition question exercised in the elections in Massachusetts last autumn, I send you three numbers of the Liberator containing copies of letters addressed to many of the candidates, and their respective answers.

The Legislature have passed, *unanimously*, at its present session, resolutions (preceded by a report of great ability) protesting "*earnestly and solemnly against the annexation of Texas to this Union;*" and declaring that, "*no act done, or compact made, for such purpose, by the government of the United States, will be binding on the states or the people.*"

Two years ago, Governor Marcy, of this state, showed himself willing, at the dictation of the South, to aid in passing laws for restraining and punishing the abolitionists, whenever the extremity of the case might call for it. Two weeks ago, at the request of the Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society of Albany, the Assembly-chamber, by a vote of the House (only two dissentient) was granted to Alvan Stewart, Esq., a distinguished lawyer, to lecture on the subject of abolition.

Kentucky is assuming an attitude of great interest to the friends of Liberty and the Constitution. The blessings of "them that are ready to perish" throughout the land, the applause of the good throughout the world will be hers, if she should show moral energy enough to break every yoke that she has hitherto imposed on the "poor," and by which her own prosperity and true power have been hindered.

In view of the late action in the Senate and House of Representatives in Congress – adverse as they may seem, to those who think more highly of the branches of the Legislature than of the SOURCE of their power – the abolitionists see nothing that is cause for discouragement. They find the PEOPLE sound; they know that they still cherish, as their fathers did, the right of petition – the freedom of the press – the freedom of speech – the rights of conscience; that they love the liberty



of the North more than they love the slavery of the South. What care they for *Resolutions* in the House, or Resolutions in the Senate, when the House and the Senate are but their ministers, their servants, and they know that they can discharge them at their pleasure? It may be, that Congress has yet to learn, that the people have but slight regard for their restraining resolutions. They ought to have known this from the history of such resolutions for the last two years. THIRTY-SEVEN THOUSAND petitioners for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia had their petitions laid on the table by the resolution of the House of Representatives in May, 1836. At the succeeding session, they had increased to ONE HUNDRED AND TEN THOUSAND. – The resolution of Jan. 18, 1837, laid all *their* petitions in the same way on the table. At the *called*, and at the present session, these 110,000 had multiplied to FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND.⁵⁶ Soon, Senators and Representatives will be sent from the free states who will need no petitions – they will know the prayer of their constituents *before they leave their homes*.

In concluding this, my answer to your 13th interrogatory, I will say that I know of no event, that has transpired, either in or out of Congress, for the last two or three years, that has had any other influence on the efforts of abolitionists than to increase and stimulate them. Indeed, every thing that has taken place within that period, ought to excite to their utmost efforts all who are not despairing dastards. The Demon of oppression in this land is tenfold more fierce and rampant and relentless than he was supposed to be before roused from the quiet of his lair. To every thing that is precious the abolitionists have seen him lay claim. The religion of the Bible must be adulterated – the claims of Humanity must be smothered – the demands of justice must be nullified – a part of our Race must be shut out from the common sympathy of a common nature. Nor is this all: they see their *own* rights and those of the people; the right to SPEAK – to WRITE – to PRINT – to PUBLISH – to ASSEMBLE TOGETHER – to PETITION THEIR OWN SERVANTS – all brought in peril. They feel that the final conflict between Popular liberty and Aristocratic slavery has come; that one or the other must fall; and they have made up their minds, with the blessing of God on their efforts, that their adversary shall die.

"14. *Have you any permanent fund, and how much?*"

ANSWER. – We have none. The contributions are anticipated. We are always in debt, and always getting out of debt.

I have now, Sir, completed my answers to the questions proposed in your letter of the 16th ult. It gives me pleasure to have had such an auspicious opportunity of doing so. I cannot but hope for good to both the parties concerned, where candor and civility have characterized their representatives.

Part of the answer to your 13th question may seem to wander from the strict terms of the question proposed. Let it be set down to a desire, on my part, to give you all the information I can, at all germane to the inquiry. The "proffer," made in my note to Mr. Calhoun, was not "unguarded;" – nor was it *singular*. The

56. See Appendix G.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

information I have furnished has been always accessible to our adversaries – even though the application for it might not have been clothed in the polite and gentlemanly terms which have so strongly recommended yours to the most respectful consideration of

Your very obedient servant,
JAMES G. BIRNEY.

* * * * *

[In the Explanatory Remarks placed at the beginning of this Correspondence, reasons were given, that were deemed sufficient, for not publishing more of the letters that passed between Mr. Elmore and myself than the two above. Since they were in type, I have received from Mr. Elmore a communication, in reply to one from me, informing him that I proposed limiting the publication to the two letters just mentioned. It is dated May 19. The following extract shows that he entertains a different opinion from mine, and thinks that justice to him requires that *another* of his letters should be included in the Correspondence:–

"The order you propose in the publication is proper enough; the omission of business and immaterial letters being perfectly proper, as they can interest nobody. I had supposed my last letter would have formed an exception to the rule, which excluded immaterial papers. It explained, more fully than my first, my reasons for this correspondence, defined the limits to *which I had prescribed myself*, and was a proper accompaniment to a *publication* of what *I* had not written for publication. Allow me, Sir, to say, that it will be but bare justice to me that it should be printed with the other papers. I only suggest this for your own consideration, for – adhering to my former opinions and decision – I ask nothing and complain of nothing."

It is still thought that the publication of the letter alluded to is unnecessary to the purpose of enlightening the public, as to the state, prospects, &c, of the anti-slavery cause. It contains no denial of the facts, nor impeachment of the statements, nor answer to the arguments, presented in my communication. But as Mr. Elmore is personally interested in this matter, and as it is intended to maintain the consistent liberality which has characterized the Executive Committee in all their intercourse with their opponents, the suggestion made by Mr. Elmore is cheerfully complied with. The following is a copy of the letter alluded to. –J.G.B.]

"WASHINGTON, May 5, 1838.
To JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., Cor. Sec. A.A.S.S.

SIR, – I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 1st instant, in which you again refer to the publication of the Correspondence between us, in relation to the measures and designs of the abolitionists. I would have certainly answered yours of the 2d ult., on the same subject, more fully before this, had it not escaped my recollection, in consequence [of] having been more engaged than usual in the business before the House. I hope the delay has been productive of no inconvenience. If I correctly understand your letters above referred to, the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

control of these papers, and the decision as to their publication, have passed into the 'Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society;' and, from their tenor, I infer that their determination is so far made, that nothing I could object would prevent it, if I desired to do so. I was certainly not apprised, when I entered into this Correspondence, that its disposition was to depend on any other will than yours and mine, – but that matters nothing now, – you had the power, and I am not disposed to question the right or propriety of its exercise. I heard of you as a man of intelligence, sincerity, and truth, – who, although laboring in a bad cause, did it with ability, and from a mistaken conviction of its justice. As one of the Representatives of a slave-holding constituency, and one of a committee raised by the Representatives of the slave-holding States, to ascertain the intentions and progress of your associations, I availed myself of the opportunity offered by your character and situation, to propose to you inquiries *as to facts*, which would make those *developments so important to be known by our people*. My inquiries were framed to draw out *full and authentic details* of the organization, numbers, resources, and designs of the abolitionists, of the means they resorted to for the accomplishment of their ends, and the progress made, and making, in their dangerous work, that all such information might be laid before the *four millions and a half of white inhabitants in the slave States, whose lives and property are menaced and endangered* by this ill-considered, misnamed, and disorganizing philanthropy. They should be informed of the full length and breadth and depth of this storm which is gathering over their heads, before it breaks in its desolating fury. Christians and civilized, they are *now* industrious, prosperous, and happy; but should your schemes of abolition prevail, it will bring upon them overwhelming ruin, and misery unutterable. The two races cannot exist together upon terms of equality – the extirpation of one and the ruin of the other *would be inevitable*. This humanity, conceived in wrong and born in civil strife, would be baptized in a people's blood. It was, that our people might know, in time to guard against the mad onset, the full extent of this gigantic conspiracy and crusade against their institutions; and of necessity upon their lives with which they must sustain them; and their fortunes and prosperity, which *exist only while these institutions exist*, that I was induced to enter into a correspondence with you, who by your official station and intelligence were known to be well informed on these points, and from your well established character for candor and fairness, would make no statements of facts which were not known or believed by you to be true. To a great extent, my end has been accomplished by your replies to my inquiries. How far, or whether at all, your answers have run, beyond *the facts inquired for*, into theories, arguments, and dissertations, as erroneous as mischievous, is not a matter of present consideration. We differed no wider than I expected, but that difference has been exhibited courteously, and has nothing to do with the question of publication. Your object, or rather the object of your Committee, is to publish; and I, having no reason to desire it, as you have put me in possession of the facts I wished, and no



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

reason not to desire it, as there is nothing to conceal, will leave yourself and the Committee to take your own course, neither assenting nor dissenting, in what you may finally decide to do.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
F.H. Elmore."

[This letter of Mr. Elmore contains but little more than a reiteration of alarming cries on the part of the slaveholder; – cries that are as old as the earliest attempts of philanthropy to break the fetters of the enslaved, and that have been repeated up to the present day, with a boldness that seems to increase, as instances of emancipation multiply to prove them groundless. Those who utter them seem, in their panic, not only to overlook the most obvious laws of the human mind, and the lights of experience, but to be almost unconscious of the great events connected with slavery, that are now passing around them in the world, and conspiring to bring about its early abrogation among all civilized and commercial nations.

However *Christian, and civilized, industrious, prosperous and happy*, the SLAVEHOLDERS of the South may be, this cannot be said of the SLAVES. A large religious denomination of the state in which Mr. Elmore resides, has deliberately pronounced them to be "HEATHEN." Their "industry" is seen at the end of the lash – of "prosperity" they have none, for they cannot possess any thing that is an element of prosperity – their "happiness" they prove, by running away from their masters, whenever they think they can effect their escape. This is the condition of a large majority of the people in South Carolina, Mississippi and Louisiana.

The "two races" exist in peace in Mexico, – in all the former South American dependencies of Spain, in Antigua, in the Bermudas, in Canada, in Massachusetts, in Vermont, in fine, in every country where they enjoy *legal equality*. It is the *denial* of this that produces discontent. MEN will never be satisfied without it. Let the slaveholders consult the irreversible laws of the human mind – make a full concession of right to those from whom they have withheld it, and they will be blessed with a peace, political, social, moral, beyond their present conceptions; without such concessions they never can possess it. A system that cannot withstand the assaults of truth – that replies to arguments with threats – that cannot be "talked about" – that flourishes in secrecy and darkness, and dies when brought forth into the light and examined, must in this time of inexorable scrutiny and relentless agitation, be a dangerous one. If *justice* be done, all necessity for the extirpation of any part of the people will at once be removed. Baptisms of *blood* are seen only when humanity has failed in her offices, and the suffering discern hope only in the brute efforts of despair.

Mr. Elmore is doubtless well versed in general history. To his vigorous declamation, I reply by asking, if he can produce from the history of our race a single instance, where emancipation, full and immediate, has been followed, as a legitimate consequence, by insurrection or bloodshed. I may go further, and



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

ask him for a well authenticated instance, where an emancipated slave, singly has imbrued his hands in his master's blood. The first record of such an act in modern times, is yet to be made. Mr. Elmore says "the white inhabitants in the slave states should be informed of the full length and breadth and depth of this storm which is gathering over their heads, before it breaks in its desolating fury." In this sentiment there is not a reasonable man in the country, be he abolitionist or not, who will not coincide with him. We rejoice at the evidence we here have, in a gentleman of the influence and intelligence of Mr. Elmore, of the returning sanity of the South. How wildly and mischievously has she been heretofore misled! Whilst the Governors of Virginia, Alabama, Tennessee and Arkansas, have been repelling offers, made in respectful terms, of the fullest and most authentic accounts of our movements; and whilst Governor Butler of South Carolina, has not only followed the example of his gubernatorial brethren just named, but is found corresponding with an obscure culprit in Massachusetts – bribing him with a few dollars, the sum he demanded for his fraudulent promise to aid in thwarting the abolitionists;⁵⁷ whilst too, Mr. Calhoun has been willing to pass laws to shut out from his constituents and the South generally information that concerned them more nearly than all others – we now have it from the highest source, from one selected by a state delegation as its representative in a general committee of the whole slaveholding delegations, that the South ought to be "*informed of the full length and breadth and depth*" of the measures, intentions, &c, of the abolitionists. At this there is not an abolitionist who will not rejoice. We ask for nothing but access to the popular mind of the South. We feel full confidence in the eternal rectitude of our principles, and of their reception at the South, when once they are understood. Let the conflict come, let the truth of liberty fairly enter the lists with the error of slavery, and we have not a doubt of a glorious triumph. May we not, after this, expect the aid of Mr. Elmore and others of equal distinction in the South, in giving to their fellow-citizens the information that we have always believed, and that they now acknowledge, to be so, important to them?

May 24, 1838.

JAMES G. BIRNEY.]

APPENDIX.

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APPENDIX A.

Extract from an article addressed to the editor of the Christian Register and Observer, signed W.E.C. –attributed to the Rev. Dr. Channing.

"Speaking of slavery, I wish to recommend to your readers a book just from the press, entitled 'Emancipation in the West Indies,' and written by J.A. Thome and J.H. Kimball, who had visited those islands to inquire into the great experiment now going on there. I regard it as the most important work which has appeared among

57. Appendix H.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

us for years. No man, without reading it, should undertake to pass judgment on Emancipation. It is something more than a report of the observation and opinions of the writers. It consists, chiefly, of the opinions, conversations, letters, and other documents of the very inhabitants of the islands whose judgments are most trust-worthy; of the governors, special magistrates, police officers, managers, attorneys, physicians, &c; and, in most cases, the names of these individuals are given, so that we have the strongest evidence of the correctness of the work.

The results of this great experiment surpass what the most sanguine could have hoped. It is hardly possible that the trial could have been made under more unfavorable circumstances. The planters on all the islands were opposed to the Act of Emancipation, and, in most, exceedingly and fiercely hostile to it, and utterly indisposed to give it the best chance of success. The disproportion of the colored race to the whites was fearfully great, being that of seven or eight to one; whilst, in our slaveholding states, the whites outnumber the colored people. The slaves of the West Indies were less civilized than ours, and less fit to be trusted with their own support. Another great evil was, that the proprietors, to a considerable extent, were absentees; residing in England, and leaving the care of their estates and slaves to managers and owners; the last people for such a trust, and utterly unfit to carry the wretched victims of their tyranny through the solemn transition from slavery to freedom. To complete the unhappy circumstances under which the experiment began, the Act of Emancipation was passed by a distant government, having no intimate knowledge of the subject; and the consequence was, that a system of 'Apprenticeship,' as it was called, was adopted, so absurd, and betraying such ignorance of the principles of human nature, that, did we not know otherwise, we might suspect its author of intending to produce a failure. It was to witness the results of an experiment promising so little good, that our authors visited three islands, particularly worthy of examination - Antigua, Barbadoes, and Jamaica.

Our authors went first to Antigua, an island which had been wise enough to foresee the mischiefs of the proposed apprenticeship, and had substituted for it immediate and unqualified emancipation. The report given of this island is most cheering. It is, indeed, one of the brightest records in history. The account, beginning page 143, of the transition from slavery to freedom, can hardly be read by a man of ordinary sensibility without a thrill of tender and holy joy. Why is it not published in all our newspapers as among the most interesting events of our age? From the accounts of Antigua, it appears that immediate emancipation has produced only good. Its fruits are, greater security, the removal of the fears which accompany slavery, better and cheaper cultivation of the soil, increased value of real estate, improved morals, more frequent marriages, and fewer crimes. *The people proclaim, with one voice, that emancipation is a blessing, and that nothing would tempt than to revert to slavery.*

Our authors proceeded next to Barbadoes, where the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

apprenticeship system is in operation; and if any proof were needed of the docility and good dispositions of the negroes, it would be found in their acquiescence to so wonderful a degree in this unhappy arrangement. The planters on this island have been more disposed, than could have been anticipated, to make the best of this system, and here, accordingly, the same fruits of the Act of Emancipation are found as in Antigua, though less abundant; and a very general and strong conviction prevails of the happiness of the change.

In Jamaica, apprenticeship manifests its worst tendencies. The planters of this island were, from first to last, furious in their hostility to the act of emancipation; and the effort seems to have been, to make the apprenticeship bear as heavily as possible on the colored people; so that, instead of preparing them for complete emancipation, it has rather unfitted them for this boon. Still, under all these disadvantages, there is strong reason for expecting, that emancipation, when it shall come, will prove a great good. At any rate, it is hardly possible for the slaves to fall into a more deplorable condition, than that in which this interposition of parliament found them.

The degree of success which has attended this experiment in the West Indies, under such unfavorable auspices, makes us sure, that emancipation in this country, accorded by the good will of the masters, would be attended with the happiest effects. One thing is plain, that it would be perfectly safe. Never were the West Indies so peaceful and secure as since emancipation. So far from general massacre and insurrection, not an instance is recorded or intimated of violence of any kind being offered to a white man. Our authors were continually met by assurances of security on the part of the planters, so that, in this respect at least, emancipation has been unspeakable gain. The only obstacle to emancipation is, therefore, removed; for nothing but well grounded fears of violence and crime can authorize a man to encroach one moment on another's freedom.

The subject of this book is of great interest at the present moment. Slavery, in the abstract, has been thoroughly discussed among us. We all agree that it is a great wrong. Not a voice is here lifted up in defence of the system, when viewed in a general light. We only differ when we come to apply our principles to a particular case. The only question is, whether the Southern states can abolish slavery consistently with the public safety, order, and peace? Many, very many well disposed people, both at the North and South, are possessed with vague fears of massacre and universal misrule, as the consequences of emancipation. Such ought to inquire into the ground of their alarm. They are bound to listen to the voice of *facts*, and such are given in this book. None of us have a right to make up our minds without inquiry, or to rest in opinions adopted indolently and without thought. It is a great crime to doom millions of our race to brutal degradation, on the ground of unreasonable fears. The power of public opinion is here irresistible, and to this power every man contributes something; so that every man, by his spirit and language, helps to loosen or rivet the chains of the slave."

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CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The following sentiments are expressed by GOVERNOR EVERETT, of Massachusetts, in a letter to EDMUND QUINCY, Esq., dated

"Boston, April 29, 1838.

DEAR SIR, — I have your favor of the 21st, accompanied with the volume containing the account of the tour of Messrs. Thome and Kimball in the West Indies, for which you will be pleased to accept my thanks. I have perused this highly interesting narrative with the greatest satisfaction. From the moment of the passage of the law, making provision for the immediate or prospective abolition of slavery in the British colonial possessions, I have looked with the deepest solicitude for tidings of its operation. The success of the measure, as it seemed to me, would afford a better hope than had before existed, that a like blessing might be enjoyed by those portions of the United States where slavery prevails. The only ground on which I had been accustomed to hear the continuance of slavery defended at the South, was that of necessity, and the impossibility of abolishing it without producing consequences of the most disastrous character to both parties. The passage of a law providing for the emancipation of nearly a million of slaves in the British colonies, seemed to afford full opportunity of bringing this momentous question to the decisive test of experience. *If the result proved satisfactory, I have never doubted that it would seal the fate of slavery throughout the civilised world.* As far as the observations of Messrs. Thome and Kimball extended, the result is of the most gratifying character. It appears to place beyond a doubt, that the experiment of immediate emancipation, adopted by the colonial Legislature of Antigua, has fully succeeded in that island; and the plan of apprenticeship in other portions of the West Indies, as well as could have been expected from the obvious inherent vices of that measure. *It has given me new views of the practicability of emancipation.* It has been effected in Antigua, as appears from unquestionable authorities contained in the work of Messrs. Thome and Kimball, not merely *without danger* to the master, but without any sacrifice of his *interest*. I cannot but think that the information collected in the volume will have a powerful effect on public opinion, not only in the northern states, but in the slaveholding states."

GOVERNOR ELLSWORTH, of Connecticut, writes thus to A.F. WILLIAMS, Esq., of this city:—

"NEW HAVEN, May 19, 1838.

MY DEAR SIR, — Just before I left home, I received from you the Journal of Thome and Kimball, for which token of friendship I intended to have made you my acknowledgments before this; but I wished first to read the book. As far as time would permit, I have gone over most of its pages; and let me assure you, it is justly calculated to produce great effects, provided you can once get it into the hands of the planters. Convince *them* that their interests, as well as their security, will be advanced by employing free blacks, and emancipation will be accomplished without difficulty or delay.

I have looked with great interest at the startling measure of



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

emancipation in Antigua; but if this book is correct, the question is settled as to that island beyond a doubt, since there is such accumulated testimony from all classes, that the business and real estate of the island have advanced, by reason of the emancipation, one fourth, at least, in value; while personal security, without military force, is felt by the former masters, and contentment, industry, and gratitude, are seen in those who were slaves.

The great moral example of England, in abolishing slavery in the West Indies, will produce a revolution on this subject throughout the world, and put down slavery in every Christian country.

With sentiments of high esteem, &c,
W. W. ELLSWORTH."

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APPENDIX B.

A short time previous to the late election in Rhode Island for governor and lieutenant-governor, a letter was addressed to each of the candidates for those offices by Mr. Johnson, Corresponding Secretary of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, embodying the views of the abolitionists on the several subjects it embraced, in a series of queries. Their purport will appear from the answer of Mr. Sprague, (who was elected governor,) given below. The answer of Mr. Childs (elected lieutenant-governor) is fully as direct as that of governor Sprague.

"WARWICK, *March 28, 1838.*

DEAR SIR, — Your favor of the 19th inst. requesting of me, in conformity to a resolution of the Executive Committee of the Rhode Island Anti-Slavery Society, an expression of my opinions on certain topics, was duly received. I have no motive whatever for withholding my opinions on any subject which is interesting to any portion of my fellow-citizens. I will, therefore, cheerfully proceed to reply to the interrogatories proposed, and in the order in which they are submitted.

1. Among the powers vested by the Constitution in Congress, is the power to exercise exclusive legislation, 'in all cases whatsoever,' over the District of Columbia? 'All cases' must, of course, include the case of slavery and the slave-trade. I am, therefore, clearly of opinion, that the Constitution does confer upon Congress the power to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in that District; and, as they are great moral and political evils, the principles of justice and humanity demand the exercise of that power.

2. The traffic in slaves, whether foreign or domestic, is equally obnoxious to every principle of justice and humanity; and, as Congress has exercised its powers to suppress the slave-trade between this country and foreign nations, it ought, as a matter of consistency and justice, to exercise the same powers to suppress the slave-trade between the states of this Union. The slave-trade within the states is, undoubtedly, beyond the control of Congress; as the 'sovereignty of each state, to



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

legislate exclusively on the subject of slavery, which is tolerated within its limits,' is, I believe, universally conceded. The Constitution unquestionably recognises the sovereign power of each state to legislate on the subject within its limits; but it imposes on us no obligation to add to the evils of the system by countenancing the traffic between the states. That which our laws have solemnly pronounced to be piracy in our foreign intercourse, no sophistry can make honorable or justifiable in a domestic form. For a proof of the feelings which this traffic naturally inspires, we need but refer to the universal execration in which the slave-dealer is held in those portions of the country where the institution of slavery is guarded with the most jealous vigilance.

3. Congress has no power to abridge the right of petition. The right of the people of the non-slaveholding states to petition Congress for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade in the District of Columbia, and the traffic of human beings among the states, is as undoubted as any right guarantied by the Constitution; and I regard the Resolution which was adopted by the House of Representatives on the 21st of December last as a virtual denial of that right, inasmuch as it disposed of all such petitions, as might be presented thereafter, in advance of presentation and reception. If it was right thus to dispose of petitions on one subject, it would be equally right to dispose of them in the same manner on *all* subjects, and thus cut of all communication, by petition between the people and their representatives. Nothing can be more clearly a violation of the spirit of the Constitution, as it rendered utterly nugatory a right which was considered of such vast importance as to be specially guarantied in that sacred instrument. A similar Resolution passed the House of Representatives at the first session of the last Congress, and as I then entertained the same views which I have now expressed, I recorded my vote against it.

4. I fully concur in the sentiment, that 'every principle of justice and humanity requires, that every human being, when personal freedom is at stake, should have the benefit of a jury trial;' and I have no hesitation in saying, that the laws of this state ought to secure that benefit, so far as they can, to persons claimed as fugitives from 'service or labor,' without interfering with the laws of the United States. The course pursued in relation to this subject by the Legislature of Massachusetts meets my approbation.

5. I am opposed to all attempts to abridge or restrain the freedom of speech and the press, or to forbid any portion of the people peaceably to assemble to discuss any subject – moral, political, or religious.

6. I am opposed to the annexation of Texas to the United States.

7. It is undoubtedly inconsistent with the principles of a free state, professing to be governed in its legislation by the principles of freedom, to sanction slavery, in any form, within its jurisdiction. If we have laws in this state which bear this construction, they ought to be repealed. We should extend to our southern brethren, whenever they may have occasion to come among



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

us, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by our own citizens, and all the rights and privileges guarantied to them by the Constitution of the United States; but they cannot expect of us to depart from the fundamental principles of civil liberty for the purpose of obviating any temporal inconvenience which they may experience.

These are my views upon the topics proposed for my consideration. They are the views which I have always entertained, (at least ever since I have been awakened to their vast importance,) and which I have always supported, so far as I could, by my vote in Congress; and if, in any respect, my answers have not been sufficiently explicit, it will afford me pleasure to reply to any other questions which you may think proper to propose.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your friend and fellow citizen,
WILLIAM SPRAGUE."

Oliver Johnson, Esq., Cor. Sec. R.I.A.S. Society.

APPENDIX C.

The abolitionists in Connecticut petitioned the Legislature of that state at its late session on several subjects deemed by them proper for legislative action. In answer to these petitions —

1. The law known as the "Black Act" or the "Canterbury law" — under which Miss Crandall was indicted and tried — was repealed, except a single provision, which is not considered objectionable.
2. The right to *trial by jury* was secured to persons who are claimed as slaves.
3. Resolutions were passed asserting the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and recommending that it be done as soon as it can be, "consistently with the *best good* of the *whole country*." (!)
4. Resolutions were passed protesting against the annexation of Texas to the Union.
5. Resolutions were passed asserting the right of petition as inalienable — condemning Mr. Patton's resolution of Dec. 21, 1837 as an invasion of the rights of the people, and calling on the Connecticut delegation in Congress to use their efforts to have the same rescinded.

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APPENDIX D.

In the year 1793 there were but 5,000,000 pounds of cotton produced in the United States, and but 500,000 exported. Cotton never could have become an article of much commercial importance under the old method of preparing it for market. By hand-picking, or by a process strictly *manual*, a cultivator could not prepare for market, during the year, more than from 200 to 300



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

pounds; being only about one-tenth of what he could cultivate to maturity in the field. In '93 Mr. Whitney invented the Cotton-gin now in use, by which the labor of at least *one thousand* hands under the old system, is performed by *one*, in preparing the crop for market. Seven years after the invention (1800) 35,000,000 pounds were raised, and 17,800,000 exported. In 1834, 460,000,000 were raised – 384,750,000 exported. Such was the effect of Mr. Whitney's invention. It gave, at once, extraordinary value to the *land* in that part of the country where alone cotton could be raised; and to *slaves*, because it was the general, the almost universal, impression that the cultivation of the South could be carried on only by slaves. There being no *free* state in the South, competition between free and slave labor never could exist on a scale sufficiently extensive to prove the superiority of the former in the production of cotton, and in the preparation of it for market.

Thus, it has happened that Mr. Whitney has been the innocent occasion of giving to slavery in this country its present importance – of magnifying it into the great interest to which all others must yield. How he was rewarded by the South – especially by the planters of Georgia – the reader may see by consulting Silliman's Journal for January, 1832, and the Encyclopedia Americana, article, WHITNEY.

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APPENDIX E.

It is impossible, of course, to pronounce with precision, how great would have been the effect in favor of emancipation, if the effort to resist the admission of Missouri as a slaveholding state had been successful. We can only conjecture what it would have been, by the effect its admission has had in fostering slavery up to its present huge growth and pretensions. If the American people had shown, through their National legislature, a *sincere* opposition to slavery by the rejection of Missouri, it is probable at least – late as it was – that the early expiration of the 'system' would, by this time, have been discerned by all men.

When the Constitution was formed, the state of public sentiment even in the South – with the exception of South Carolina and Georgia, was favorable to emancipation. Under the influence of this public sentiment was the Constitution formed. No person at all versed in constitutional or legal interpretation – with his judgment unaffected by interest or any of the prejudices to which the existing controversy has given birth – could, it is thought, construe the Constitution, *in its letter*, as intending to perpetuate slavery. To come to such a conclusion with a full knowledge of what was the mind of this nation in regard to slavery, when that instrument was made, demonstrates a moral or intellectual flaw that makes all reasoning useless.

Although it is a fact beyond controversy in our history, that the power conferred by the Constitution on Congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations" was known to include the power of abolishing the African slave-trade – and that it was expected that Congress, at the end of the period for which the exercise



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of that power on this particular subject was restrained, would use it (as it did) *with a view to the influence that the cutting off of that traffic would have on the "system" in this country* – yet, such has been the influence of the action of Congress on all matters with which slavery has been mingled – more especially on the Missouri question, in which slavery was the sole interest – that an impression has been produced on the popular mind, that the Constitution of the United States *guaranties*, and consequently *perpetuates*, slavery to the South. Most artfully, incessantly, and powerfully, has this lamentable error been harped on by the slaveholders, and by their advocates in the free states. The impression of *constitutional favor* to the slaveholders would, of itself, naturally create for them an undue and disproportionate influence in the control of the government; but when to this is added the arrogance that the possession of irresponsible power almost invariably engenders in its possessors – their overreaching assumptions – the contempt that the slaveholders entertain for the great body of the *people* of the North, it has almost delivered over the government, bound neck and heels, into the hands of slaveholding politicians – to be bound still more rigorously, or unloosed, as may seem well in their discretion.

Who can doubt that, as a nation, we should have been more honorable and influential abroad – more prosperous and united at home – if Kentucky, at the very outset of this matter, had been refused admission to the Union until she had expunged from her Constitution the covenant with oppression? She would not have remained out of the Union a single year on that account. If the worship of Liberty had not been exchanged for that of Power – if her principles had been successfully maintained in this first assault, their triumph in every other would have been easy. We should not have had a state less in the confederacy, and slavery would have been seen, at this time, shrunk up to the most contemptible dimensions, if it had not vanished entirely away. But we have furnished another instance to be added to the long and melancholy list already existing, to prove that, –

"facilis descensus Averni,
Sed revocare gradum
Hoc opus hic labor est,"

if poetry is not *fiction*.

Success in the Missouri struggle – late as it was – would have placed the cause of freedom in our country out of the reach of danger from its inexorable foe. The principles of liberty would have struck deeper root in the free states, and have derived fresh vigor from such a triumph. If these principles had been honored by the government from that period to the present, (as they would have been, had the free states, even then, assumed their just preponderance in its administration,) we should now have, in Missouri herself, a healthful and vigorous ally in the cause of freedom; and, in Arkansas, a free people – *twice* her present numbers – pressing on the confines of slavery, and summoning the keepers of the southern charnel-house to open its doors, that its inmates might walk forth, in a glorious resurrection to liberty and life. Although young, as a people,



we should be, among the nations, venerable for our virtue; and we should exercise an influence on the civilized and commercial world that we most despair of possessing, as long as we remain vulnerable to every shaft that malice, or satire, or philanthropy may find it convenient to hurl against us.⁵⁸

One of our distinguished College-professors, lately on a tour in Europe, had his attention called, while passing along the street of a German city, to the pictorial representation of a WHITE MAN SCOURGING A SUPPLICATING COLORED FEMALE, with this allusion underwritten:— "A SPECIMEN OF EQUALITY — FROM REPUBLICAN AMERICA."

Truly might our countryman have exclaimed in the language, if not with the generous emotions of the Trojan hero, when he beheld the noble deeds of his countrymen pencilled in a strange land —

- "Quis jam locus
- Quae regio in terris nostri non plena laboris?"]

Instead of being thus seated on a "heaven-kissing hill," and seen of all in its pure radiance; instead of enjoying its delightful airs, and imparting to them the healthful savor of justice, truth, mercy, magnanimity, see what a picture we present; — our cannibal burnings of human beings — our Lynch courts — our lawless scourgings and capital executions, not only of slaves, but of freemen — our demoniac mobs raging through the streets of our cities and large towns at midday as well as at midnight, shedding innocent blood, devastating property, and applying the incendiaries' torch to edifices erected and dedicated to FREE DISCUSSION — the known friends of order, of law, of liberty, of the Constitution — citizens, distinguished for their worth at home, and reflecting honor on their country abroad, shut out from more than half our territory, or visiting it at the hazard of their lives, or of the most degrading and painful personal inflictions — freedom of speech and of the press overthrown and hooted at — the right of petition struck down in Congress, where, above all places, it ought to have been maintained to the last — the people mocked at, and attempted to be gagged by their own servants — the time the office-honored veteran, who fearlessly contended for the *right*, publicly menaced for words spoken in his place as a representative of the people, with an indictment by a slaveholding grand jury — in fine, the great principles of government asserted by our fathers in the Declaration of Independence, and embodied in our Constitution, with which they won for us the sympathy, the admiration of the world — all forgotten, dishonoured, despised, trodden under foot! And this for slavery!!

Horrible catalogue! — yet by no means a complete one — for so young a nation, boasting itself, too, to be the freest on earth! It is the ripe fruit of that *chef d'oeuvre* of political skill and patriotic achievement — the MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

Another such compromise — or any compromise now with slavery —

58. A comic piece — the production of one of the most popular of the French writers in his way — had possession of the Paris stage last winter. When one of the personages SEPARATES HUSBAND AND WIFE, he cries out, "BRAVO! THIS IS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED STATES!" ("Bravo! C'est la Declaration d'Independence des Etats Unis.")



and the nation is undone.

APPENDIX F.

The following is believed to be a correct exhibit of the legislative resolutions against the annexation of Texas – of the times at which they were passed, and of the votes by which they were passed:–

1. VERMONT.

"1. *Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence in that body to prevent the annexation of Texas to the Union.*

2. *Resolved, That representing, as we do, the people of Vermont, we do hereby, in their name, SOLEMNLY PROTEST against such annexation in any form."*

[Passed unanimously, Nov. 1, 1837.]

2. RHODE ISLAND.

(In General Assembly, October Session, A. D. 1837.)

"Whereas the compact of the Union between these states was entered into by the people thereof in their respective states, 'in order to form a more perfect Union, establish justice, ensure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity;' and, therefore, a Representative Government was instituted by them, with certain limited powers, clearly specified and defined in the Constitution – all other powers, not therein expressly relinquished, being 'reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.'

And whereas this limited government possesses no power to extend its jurisdiction over any foreign nation, and no foreign nation, country, or people, can be admitted into this Union but by the sovereign will and act of the free people of all and each of these United States, nor without the formation of a new compact of Union – and another frame of government radically different, in objects, principles, and powers, from that which was framed for our own self-government, and deemed to be adequate to all the exigencies of our own free republic:–

Therefore, Resolved, That we have witnessed, with deep concern, the indications of a disposition to bring into this Union, as a constituent member thereof, the foreign province or territory of Texas.

Resolved, That, although we are fully aware of the consequences which must follow the accomplishment of such a project, could it be accomplished – aware that it would lead speedily to the conquest and annexation of Mexico itself, and its fourteen remaining provinces or intendencies – which, together with the revolted province of Texas, would furnish foreign territories and foreign people for at least twenty members of the new Union; that the government of a nation so extended and so constructed



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

would soon become radically [changed] in character, if not in form – would unavoidably become a military government; and, under the plea of necessity, would free itself from the restraints of the Constitution and from its accountability to the people. That the ties of kindred, common origin and common interests, which have so long bound this people together, and would still continue to bind them: these ties, which ought to be held sacred by all true Americans, would be angrily dissolved, and sectional political combinations would be formed with the newly admitted foreign states, unnatural and adverse to the peace and prosperity of the country. The civil government, with all the arbitrary powers it might assume, would be unable to control the storm. The usurper would find himself in his proper element; and, after acting the patriot and the hero for a due season, as the only means of rescuing the country from the ruin which he had chiefly contributed to bring upon it, would reluctantly and modestly allow himself to be declared 'Protector of the Commonwealth.'

We are now fully aware of the deep degradation into which the republic would sink itself in the eyes of the whole world, should it annex to its own vast territories other and foreign territories of immense though unknown extent, for the purpose of encouraging the propagation of slavery, and giving aid to the raising of slaves within its own bosom, the very bosom of freedom, to be esported and sold in those unhallowed regions. Although we are fully aware of these fearful evils, and numberless others which would come in their train, yet we do not here dwell upon them; because we are here firmly convinced that the free people of most, and we trust of all these states, will never suffer the admission of the foreign territory of Texas into this Union as a constituent member thereof – will never suffer the integrity of this Republic to be violated, either by the introduction and addition to it of foreign nations or territories, one or many, or by dismemberment of it by the transfer of any one or more of its members to a foreign nation. The people will be aware, that should one foreign state or country be introduced, another and another may be, without end, whether situated in South America, in the West India islands, or in any other part of the world; and that a single foreign state, thus admitted, might have in its power, by holding the balance between contending parties, to wrest their own government from the hands and control of the people, by whom it was established for their own benefit and self-government. We are firmly convinced, that the free people of these states will look upon any attempt to introduce the foreign territory of Texas, or any other foreign territory or nation into this Union, as a constituent member or members thereof, as manifesting a willingness to prostrate the Constitution and dissolve the Union.

Resolved, That His Excellency, the Governor, be requested to forward a copy of the foregoing resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to each of the Executives of the several states, with a request that the same may be laid before the respective Legislatures of said states."



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

[The Preamble and Resolutions were unanimously adopted, Nov. 3, 1837.]

3. OHIO.

"Resolved, by the General Assembly of the State of Ohio, That in the name, and on behalf of the people of the State of Ohio, we do hereby SOLEMNLY PROTEST against the annexation of Texas to the Union of these United States.

And be it further resolved, That the Governor be requested to transmit to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and to the Governors of each of the States, a copy of the foregoing resolution, with a statement of the votes by which it was passed in each branch of the Legislature."

[Passed by 64 out of 72, the whole number in the House of Representatives – unanomously in the Senate. Feb. 24, 1838.]

4. MASSACHUSETTS.

"Resolves against the annexation of Texas to the United States. Whereas a proposition to admit into the United States as a constituent member thereof, the foreign nation of Texas, has been recommended by the legislative resolutions of several States, and brought before Congress for its approval and sanction; and whereas such a measure would involve great wrong to Mexico, and otherwise be of evil precedent, injurious to the interests and dishonorable to the character of this country; and whereas its avowed objects are doubly fraught with peril to the prosperity and permanence of this Union, as tending to disturb and destroy the conditions of those compromises and concessions, entered into at the formation of the Constitution, by which the relative weights of different sections and interests were adjusted, and to strengthen and extend the evils of a system which is unjust in itself, in striking contrast with the theory of our institutions, and condemned by the moral sentiment of mankind; and whereas the people of these United States have not granted to any or all of the departments of their Government, but have retained in themselves, the only power adequate to the admission of a foreign nation into this confederacy; therefore, Resolved, That we, the Senate and House of Representatives, in General Court assembled, do in the name of the people of Massachusetts, earnestly and solemnly protest against the incorporation of Texas into this Union, and declare, that no act done or compact made, for such purpose by the government of the United States, will be binding on the States or the People.

Resolved, That his Excellency the Governor be requested to forward a copy of these resolutions and the accompanying report to the Executive of the United States, and the Executive of each State and also to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, with a request that they present the resolves to both Houses of Congress."

[Passed MARCH 16, 1838, UNANIMOUSLY, in both Houses.]

* * * * *

5. MICHIGAN.



Whereas, propositions have been made for the annexation of Texas to the United States, with a view to its ultimate incorporation into the Union:

"And whereas, the extension of this General Government over so large a country on the south-west, between which and that of the original states, there is little affinity, and less identity of interest, would tend, in the opinion of this Legislature, greatly to disturb the safe and harmonious operations of the Government of the United States, and put in imminent danger the continuance of this happy Union: Therefore,

Be it resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Michigan, That in behalf, and in the name of the State of Michigan, this Legislature doth hereby dissent from, and solemnly protest against the annexation, for any purpose, to this Union, of Texas, or of any other territory or district of country, heretofore constituting a part of the dominions of Spain in America, lying west or south-west of Louisiana.

And be it further Resolved, by the Authority aforesaid, That the Governor of this State be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolve, under the great seal of this state, to the President of the United States; also, that he transmit one copy thereof, authenticated in manner aforesaid, to the President of the Senate of the United States, with the respectful request of this Legislature, that the same may be laid before the Senate; also, that he transmit one copy thereof to the Speaker of the House of Representatives of the United States, authenticated in like manner, with the respectful request of this Legislature, that the same may be laid before the House of Representatives; and also, that he transmit to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, one copy thereof, together with the Report adopted by this Legislature, and which accompanies said preamble and resolves."

[Passed nearly if not quite unanimously, April 2, 1838].

* * * * *

6. CONNECTICUT.

"*Resolved, That we, the Senate and House of Representatives in General Assembly convened, do, in the name of the people of this State, solemnly protest against the annexation of Texas to this Union.*"

[Passed, it is believed, unanimously in both houses.]

* * * * *

(Those which follow were passed by but one branch of the respective Legislatures in which they were introduced.)

7. PENNSYLVANIA.

Resolutions relative to the admission of Texas into the Union.

"*Whereas the annexation of Texas to the United States has been advocated and strongly urged by many of our fellow-citizens, particularly in the southern part of our country, and the*



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

president of Texas has received authority to open a correspondence with, and appoint, a commissioner to our government to accomplish the object; – *And whereas* such a measure would bring to us a dangerous extension of territory, with a population generally not desirable, and would probably involve us in war; – *And whereas* the subject is now pressed upon and agitated in Congress; therefore,

Resolved, &c, That our Senators in Congress be instructed, and our Representatives requested, to use their influence and vote against the annexation of Texas to the territory of the united States.

Resolved, That the Governor transmit to each of our Senators and Representatives a copy of the foregoing preamble and resolutions."

[Passed the Senate March 9, 1835, by 22 to 6. Postponed indefinitely in the House of Representatives, April 13, by 41 to 39.]

* * * * *

8. MAINE.

"*Resolved,* That the Legislature of the State of Maine, on behalf of the people of said state, do earnestly and solemnly protest against the annexation of the Republic of Texas to these United States; and that our Senators and Representatives in Congress be, and they hereby are, requested to exert their utmost influence to prevent the adoption of a measure at once so clearly unconstitutional, and so directly calculated to disturb our foreign relations, to destroy our domestic peace, and to dismember our blessed Union."

[Passed in the House of Representatives, March 22, 1838, by 85 to 30. Senate (same day) refused to concur by 11 to 10.]

* * * * *

9. NEW-YORK.

"*Resolved,* (if the Senate concur,) That the admission of the Republic of Texas into this Union would be entirely repugnant to the will of the people of this state, and would endanger the union of these United States.

Resolved, (if the Senate concur,) That this Legislature do, in the name of the people of the State of New York, solemnly protest against the admission of the Republic of Texas into this Union.

Resolved, (if the Senate concur.) That his Excellency the Governor be requested to transmit a copy of the foregoing resolutions to each of our Senators and Representatives in Congress, and also to the governors of each of the United States, with a request that the same be laid before their respective Legislatures."

[These resolutions passed the House of Representatives in April, by a large majority – the newspapers say, 83 to 13. They were



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

indefinitely postponed in the Senate, by a vote of 21 to 9.]

* * * * *

APPENDIX G.

The number of petitioners for abolition in the District of Columbia, and on other subjects allied to it, have been ascertained (in the House of Representatives) to be as follows:—

	Men.	Women.	Total.
For abolition in the District,	51,366	78,882	130,248
Against the annexation of Texas,	104,973	77,419	182,392
Rescinding the gag resolution,	21,015	10,821	31,836
Against admitting any new slave state,	11,770	10,391	22,161
For abolition of the slave-trade between the states,	11,864	11,541	23,405
For abolition of slavery in the territories,	9,129	12,083	21,212
At the extra session for rescinding the gag resolution of Jan. 21, 1837,	3,377		3,377

Total, 213,494 201,137 414,631
The number in the Senate, where some difficulty was interposed that prevented its being taken, is estimated to have been about two-thirds as great as that in the House.

* * * * *

APPENDIX H.

[On the 1st of December, one of the secretaries of the American Anti-Slavery Society addressed a note to each of the Governors of the slave states, in which he informed them, in courteous and respectful terms, that he had directed the Publishing Agent of this society, thereafter regularly to transmit to them, free of charge, the periodical publications issued from the office of the society. To this offer the following replies were received:—]

GOVERNOR CAMPBELL'S LETTER.

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Esq., New York

"RICHMOND, Dec. 4, 1837.

SIR, — I received, by yesterday's mail, your letter of the 1st instant, in which you state that you had directed the publishing agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society, hereafter, regularly to transmit, free of charge, by mail, to all the governors of the slave states, the periodical publications issued from that office.

Regarding your society as highly mischievous, I decline receiving any communications from it, and must request that no publications from your office be transmitted to me.

I am, &c,

DAVID CAMPBELL."

* * * * *



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

GOVERNOR BAGBY'S LETTER.

"TUSCALOOSA, *Jan. 6, 1838*

SIR, – I received, by due course of mail, your favor of the 1st of December, informing me that you had directed the publishing agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society to forward to the governors of the slaveholding states the periodicals issued from that office. Taking it for granted, that the only object which the society or yourself could have in view, in adopting this course, is, the dissemination of the opinions and principles of the society – having made up my own opinion, unalterably, in relation to the whole question of slavery, as it exists in a portion of the United States, and feeling confident that, in the correctness of this opinion, I am sustained by the entire free white population of Alabama, as well as the great body of the people of this Union, I must, with the greatest respect for yourself, personally but not for the opinions or principles advocated by the society – positively decline receiving said publications, or any others of a similar character, either personally or officially. Indeed, it is presuming a little too much, to expect that the chief magistrate of a free people, elected by themselves, would hold correspondence or give currency to the publications of an organized society, openly engaged in a scheme fraught with more mischievous consequences to their interest and repose, than any that the wit or folly of mankind has heretofore devised.

I am, very respectfully,

Your ob't servant,

A.P. BAGBY"

JAMES G. BIRNEY, *Esq., New York.*

* * * * *

GOVERNOR CANNON'S LETTER.

[This letter required so many alterations to bring it up to the ordinary standard of epistolary, grammatical, and orthographical accuracy, that it is thought best to give it in word and letter, precisely as it was received at the office.]

"EXECUTIVE DEPT. –

NASHVILLE. *Dec. 12th, 1837.*

Sir

I have rec'd yours of the 1st Inst notifying me, that you had directed, your periodical publications, on the subject of Slavery to be sent to me free of charge &c – and you are correct, if sincere, in your views, in supposing that we widely differ, on this subject, we do indeed widely differ, on it, if the publications said to have emanated from you, are honest and sincere, which, I admit, is possible.

My opinions are fix'd and settled, and I seldom Look into or examine, the, different vague notions of others who write and theorise on that subject. Hence I trust you will not expect me to examine, what you have printed on this subject, or cause to have printed. If you or any other man are influenced by feelings of humanity, and are laboring to relieve the sufferings, of the human race, you may find objects enough immediately around you,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

where you are, in any nonslaveholding State, to engage your, attention, and all your exertions, in that good cause.

But if your aim is to make a flourish on the subject, before the world, and to gain yourself some notoriety, or distinction, without, doing good to any, and evil to many, of the human race, you are, pursuing the course calculated to effect. Such an object, in which no honest man need envy. Your honours, thus gaind, I know there are many such in our country, but would fain hope, you are not one of them. If you have Lived, as you state forty years in a Slave holding State, you know that, that class of its population, are not the most, miserable, degraded, or unhappy, either in their feelings or habits, You know they are generally governd, and provided for by men of information and understanding sufficient to guard them against the most, odious vices, and hibets of the country, from which, you know the slaves are in a far greater degree, exempt than, are other portions of the population. That the slaves are the most happy, moral and contented generally, and free from suffering of any kind, having, each full confidence, in his masters, skill means and disposition to provide well for him, knowing also at the same time that *it is his interest to do it*. Hence in this State of Society more than any other, Superior intelligence has the ascendancy, in governing and provideing, for the wants of those inferior, also in giveing direction to their Labour, and industry, as should be the case, superior intelligence Should govern, when united with Virtue, and interest, that great predominating principle in all human affairs. It is my rule of Life, when I see any man labouring to produce effects, at a distance from him, while neglecting the objects immediately around him, (in doing good) to suspect his sincerity, to suspect him for some selfish, or sinister motive, all is not gold that glitters, and every man is not what he, endeavours to appear to be, is too well known. It is the duty of masters to take care of there slaves and provide for them, and this duty I believe is as generally and as fully complyd with as any other duty enjoind on the human family, for next to their children their own offspring, their slaves stand next foremost in their care and attention, there are indeed very few instances of a contrary character.

You can find around you, I doubt not a large number of persons intemix'd, in your society, who are entirely destitute of that care, and attention, towards them that is enjoyed by our slaves, and who are destitute of that deep feeling of interest, in guarding their morals and habits, and directing them through Life in all things, which is here enjoyd by our slaves, to those let your efforts be directed immediately around you and do not trouble with your vague speculations those who are contented and happy, at a distance from you.

Very respectfully yours,

N. CANNON."

Mr. JAS. G. BIRNEY, *Cor. Sec. &c.*

* * * * *

[The letter of the Secretary to the governor of South Carolina



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

was not *answered*, but was so inverted and folded as to present the *subscribed* name of the secretary, as the *superscription* of the same letter to be returned. The addition of *New York* to the address brought it back to this office.

Whilst governor Butler was thus refusing the information that was proffered to him in the most respectful terms from this office, he was engaged in another affair, having connection with the anti-slavery movement, as indiscreet, as it was unbecoming the dignity of the office he holds. The following account of it is from one of the Boston papers:—]

"*Hoaxing a Governor.*— The National Aegis says, that Hollis Parker, who was sentenced to the state prison at the late term of the criminal court for Worcester county, for endeavoring to extort money from governor Everett, had opened an extensive correspondence, previous to his arrest, with similar intent, with other distinguished men of the country. Besides several individuals in New York, governor Butler, of South Carolina, was honored with his notice. A letter from that gentleman, directed to Parker, was lately received at the post office in a town near Worcester, enclosing a check for fifty dollars. So far as the character of Parker's letter can be inferred from the reply of governor Butler, it would appear, that Parker informed the governor, that the design was entertained by some of our citizens, of transmitting to South Carolina a quantity of 'incendiary publications,' and that with the aid of a little money, he (Parker) would be able to unravel the plot, and furnish full information concerning it to his excellency. The bait took, and the money was forwarded, with earnest appeals to Parker to be vigilant and active in thoroughly investigating the supposed conspiracy against the peace and happiness of the South.

The Aegis has the following very just remarks touching this case:— 'Governor Butler belongs to a state loud in its professions of regard for state rights and state sovereignty. We, also, are sincere advocates of that good old republican doctrine. It strikes us, that it would have comported better with the spirit of that doctrine, the dignity, of his own station and character, the respect and courtesy due to a sovereign and independent state, if governor Butler had made the proper representation, if the subject was deserving of such notice, to the acknowledged head and constituted authorities of that state, instead of holding official correspondence with a citizen of a foreign jurisdiction, and employing a secret agent and informer, whose very offer of such service was proof of the base and irresponsible character of him who made it.'

* * * * *

GOVERNOR CONWAY'S LETTER.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS, *March 1, 1838.*

Sir — A newspaper, headed '*The Emancipator*,' in which you are announced the 'publishing agent,' has, for some weeks past, arrived at the post office in this city, to my address. Not having subscribed, or authorized any individual to give my name as a subscriber, for that or any such paper, it is entirely *gratuitous* on the part of its publishers to send me a copy; and



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

not having a favorable opinion of the *intentions* of the *authors and founders* of the '*American Anti-Slavery Society*;' I have to request a discontinuance of '*The Emancipator*.'
Your ob't servant, "J.S. CONWAY."
R. G. WILLIAMS, Esq., New York.

* * * * *

[NOTE.— The following extract of a letter, from the late Chief Justice Jay to the late venerable Elias Boudinot, dated Nov. 17, 1819, might well have formed part of Appendix E. Its existence, however, was not known till it was too late to insert it in its most appropriate place. It shows the view taken of some of the *constitutional* questions by a distinguished jurist, — one of the purest patriots too, by whom our early history was illustrated.]

"Little can be added to what has been said and written on the subject of slavery. I concur in the opinion, that it ought not to be *introduced, nor permitted* in any of the *new states*; and that it ought to be gradually diminished, and finally, abolished, in all of them.

To me, the *constitutional authority* of the Congress to prohibit the *migration and importation* of slaves into any of the states, does not appear questionable.

The first article of the Constitution specifics the legislative powers committed to Congress. The ninth section of that article has these words:— '*The migration or importation* of such persons as any of the *now existing* states shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year 1808 — but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation not exceeding *ten dollars* for each person.'

I understand the sense and meaning of this clause to be, That the power of the Congress, although *competent to prohibit such migration and importation*, was not to be exercised with respect to the *THEN existing* states, and *them only*, until the year 1808; but that Congress were at liberty to make such prohibition as to any *new state* which might in the *meantime* be established. And further, that from and after *that* period, they were authorized to make such prohibition as to *all the states, whether new or old*.

Slaves were the persons intended. The word slaves was avoided, on account of the existing toleration of slavery, and its discordancy with the principles of the Revolution; and from a consciousness of its being repugnant to those propositions to the Declaration of Independence:— '*We hold these truths to be self-evident — that all men are created equal — that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights — and that, among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.*'"

* * * * *

August 6: Abraham Lincoln was re-elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly, and became the floor leader for the Whigs.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

September: The last of the Potawatomi of Indiana were rounded up and removed by county militiamen called up to state service for that purpose by the Governor and led by a General Tipton: "Many of the Indian men were assembled near the chapel when we arrived, and were not permitted to leave camp or separate until matters were amicably settled and they had agreed to give peaceable possession of the land sold by them." Anything that might be used as a weapon was confiscated. Tipton managed to collect together 859 individuals, disproportionately the very old or very young. A Catholic missionary, Father Petit, describes the final Christian worship service: "At the moment of my departure I assembled all my children to speak to them for the last time. I wept, and my auditors sobbed aloud. It was indeed a heartrending sight, and over our dying mission we prayed for the success of those on their way to the new hunting grounds. We then with one accord say, 'O Virgin, we place our confidence in thee.'" When the march order was given on the early morning of September 4th, the weather was very hot and dry. The native Americans were marched single file on foot to cross Indiana, [Illinois](#), and the Mississippi River. Before reaching the pioneer settlement at Logansport there were many deaths. The whites too were getting sick and many were permitted to return to their homes, astride Indian ponies taken from the detainees. On the way through the Wabash Valley, the suffering increased so much that General Tipton allowed Father Petit to come to the scene: "On Sunday, September 16, I came in sight of my poor Christians, marching in a line, and guarded on both sides by soldiers who hastened their steps. A burning sun poured its beams upon them, and they were enveloped in a thick cloud of dust. After them came the baggage wagons into which were crowded the many sick, the women and children who were too feeble to walk... Almost all the babies, exhausted by the heat, were dead or dying. I baptized several newly-born happy little ones, whose first step was from the land of exile to heaven."

November: Thirteen contingents of the [Cherokee nation](#) crossed Tennessee, Kentucky, and [Illinois](#), and the 1st groups reached the Mississippi River, only to be unable to cross due to ice floes.



TRAIL OF TEARS



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1839

[Edward Everett Hale](#) and [William Francis Channing](#) graduated from [Harvard College](#). Channing would go on to study medicine at the University of Pennsylvania (although his practice as a physician would never extend beyond the administration of quack applications of electricity to the heads and feet of sufferers).

NEW “HARVARD MEN”

After leaving [Harvard](#), [Ellery Channing](#) had spent almost five years living in the home of his father [Dr. Walter Channing](#), withdrawing books from the Boston Athenæum and presumably educating himself in this manner — but otherwise not doing much of anything. In this year he determined that he was going to make something of himself, as a farmer on the frontier! (Meanwhile, in this year, Abraham Lincoln was beginning to travel through nine counties in central and eastern [Illinois](#), as a lawyer on the 8th Judicial Circuit.)

October: [David Lee Child](#) joined [Lydia Maria Child](#) in Boston.

The Seneca River Towing Path of the [New York State Barge Canal](#) connected Mud Lock on the [Oswego Canal](#) to the outlet of Onondaga Lake.

[Ellery Channing](#) departed from Massachusetts on a pilgrimage by [canal boat](#), steamboat, and stagecoach toward the [Illinois](#) region, to take up a life behind the plow.

November 9, day: [Ellery Channing](#) purchased three parcels of farmland and forest in McHenry County, [Illinois](#).

December 3: Abraham Lincoln was admitted to practice before the United States Circuit Court for central and eastern [Illinois](#). (It was in about this timeframe that, at a dance, the tall, young, upwardly mobile attorney was first meeting a handsome 21-year-old, Mary Todd, most definitely eligible and socially of a higher class than himself.)

1840

At this point there were about 17,000 [Mormons](#). The Governor of [Illinois](#) signed a charter for the municipality of Nauvoo, providing it with extensive legal rights.

When Nauvoo Bishop Edward Partridge died during this year, his daughters [Eliza](#) and [Emily](#) “hired out” as maids to the family of [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) (without the knowledge of Joseph’s wife of many years Emma Hale Smith, eventually they would be made two of his plural wives).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

[Herman Melville](#) traveled to [Illinois](#) to try to get work from his Uncle Tom. He passed the ruins of the fort of [Michilimackinac](#), got as far west as the falls of St. Anthony on the Mississippi River near St. Paul in what would eventually be Minnesota, and did part of the journey on a Mississippi steamboat, the trip out and the trip back each requiring about a month.



March: [Waldo Emerson](#) wrote [Margaret Fuller](#) and listed [Ellery Channing](#) among possible contributors to [THE DIAL](#). Having no response to his letter to Channing, he tried to contact the poet with the famous name through their mutual friend Ward, and, Channing having abandoned his fields in [Illinois](#) without raising a crop, Emerson even paid a visit to Channing's father's house in hopes of discovering Channing there. (Channing had gone to visit at [Brook Farm](#)⁵⁹ and had then returned toward the West.)

Thoreau composed the 1st version of what would become his essay on the Roman satirist [Aulus Persius Flaccus](#), "[AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS](#)," "first printed paper of consequence," for July's issue of [THE DIAL](#).

THE DIAL, JULY 1840

This paper turned two tricks of interest. First, [Henry Thoreau](#) espoused an attitude of moving away from creedal closedness, associating creedal closedness with immodesty and openness with modesty rather than vice versa and developing that attitude out of comments such as *Haud cuivis promptum est, murmurque humilesque susurros / Tollere de templis; et aperto vivere voto*:

"[AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS](#)": It is not easy for every one to take murmurs and low Whispers out of the temple -*et aperto vivere voto*- and live with open vow,

Second, Thoreau perversely insisted on translating *ex tempore* in its literal etymological sense "out of time" ignoring what had become the primary sense of the phrase: "haphazard," "improvised." Thoreau mobilized this phrase to summon people to live not in time but in eternity:

ZOROASTER

"[AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS](#)": The life of a wise man is most of all extemporaneous, for he lives out of an eternity that includes all time. He is a child each moment, and reflects wisdom. The far darting thought of the child's mind tarries not for the development of manhood; it lightens itself, and needs not draw down lightning from the clouds. When we bask in a single ray from the mind of Zoroaster, we see how all subsequent time has been an idler, and has no apology for itself. But the cunning mind travels farther back than Zoroaster each instant, and comes quite down to the present with its revelation. All the thrift and industry of thinking give no man any stock in life; his credit with the inner world is no better, his capital no larger. He must try his fortune again to-day as yesterday. All questions rely on the present for their solution. Time measures nothing but itself. The word that is written may be postponed, but not that on the lip. If this is what the occasion says, let the occasion say it. From a real sympathy, all the world is forward to prompt him who gets up to live without his creed in his pocket.

59. [How could that be? Did the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education already exist in 1840, when they did not solicit [Thoreau](#) to join until March 3, 1841?]

60. EARLY ESSAYS AND MISCELLANIES 126.

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS





TIME AND ETERNITY

The force of the essay, then, was to provide [Thoreau](#) an opportunity to preach his own doctrines by satirizing a minor Roman satirist, and he admits as much: “As long as there is satire, the poet is, as it were, *particeps criminis*.” Young Henry is of course that poet, that accessory to the crime.

June: Abraham Lincoln argued his first case before the [Illinois](#) Supreme Court.

August 3, Monday: Abraham Lincoln was re-elected to the [Illinois](#) General Assembly.

Fall: In [Illinois](#), rising attorney and politician Abraham Lincoln proposed marriage to Mary Todd, and was accepted.

December: [Ellery Channing](#) having returned from [Illinois](#) a 2d time, [Waldo Emerson](#) finally met his long-sought poet.

The Richmond-to-Lynchburg section of Virginia’s [James River and Kanawha Canal](#) was inaugurated by President William Henry Harrison.

1841

January: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln’s bosom buddy Joshua Speed found him thrashing around in their habitation: “Lincoln went Crazy. I had to remove razors from his room — take away all Knives and other such dangerous things — it was terrible.” Lincoln was terribly depressed. At the time he was ingesting three mercury tablets a day (a dose typical for a man who had contracted, or feared he had contracted, syphilis), so we can’t really be sure whether this behavior was a psychotic break, or merely the result of heavy-metal poisoning.

January 1, Friday: In [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln broke off his engagement with Mary Todd.



March 1, Monday: *The United States, Appellants, v. Cinque, and Others, Africans, Captured in the schooner Amistad, by Lieut. Gedney* resumed. The Supreme Court's celebrity guest John Quincy Adams chewed his cud for another three full hours.

[READ THE FULL TEXT](#)

[LA AMISTAD](#)

In [Illinois](#) [ILLINOIS](#), Abraham Lincoln formed a new law partnership, with Stephen T. Logan.

August: On a trip by steamboat from [Illinois](#) into Kentucky, Abraham Lincoln glimpsed a coffle of a dozen slaves.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

August 9, day: The Lake Erie steamboat *Erie* departed from Buffalo, New York, heading for [Chicago](#). When it caught on fire off Silver Creek, 215 people perished.

At the Liberty Hall in [New Bedford](#), William C. Coffin heard [Frederick Douglass](#) speak briefly at the annual meeting of the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Society, and invited him to come along to the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society convention that was to take place the next day on [Nantucket Island](#). (Others at this meeting: George Bradburn, John A. Collins, Parker Pillsbury, Edmund Quincy.)



In his journal [Henry Thoreau](#) mused “If I am not I — who will be?” (He would transcribe this in 1842.)



August 9: It is vain to try to write unless you feel strong in the knees. Any book of great authority and genius seems to our imagination to permeate and pervade all space. Its spirit, like a more subtle ether, sweeps along with the prevailing winds of the country. Its influence conveys a new gloss to the meadows and the depths of the wood, and bathes the huckleberries on the hills, as sometimes a new influence in the sky washes in waves over the fields and seems to break on some invisible beach in the air. All things confirm it. It spends the mornings and the evenings.⁶¹ Everywhere the speech of Menu demands the widest apprehension and proceeds from the loftiest plateau of the soul. It is spoken unbendingly to its own level, and does not imply any contemporaneous speaker. I read history as little critically as I consider the landscape, and am more interested in the atmospheric tints and various lights and shades which the intervening spaces create than in its groundwork and composition. It is the morning now turned evening and seen in the west, - the same sun, but a new light and atmosphere. Its beauty is like the sunset; not a fresco painting on a wall, flat and bounded, but atmospheric and roving, or free. But, in reality, history fluctuates as the face of the landscape from morning to evening. What is of moment if it is its hue and color. Time hides no treasures - we want not its *then* - but its *now*. We do not complain that the mountains in the horizon are blue and indistinct — they are the more like the heavens... Of what moments are facts that can be lost. — which need to be commemorated? The monument of death will outlast the memory of the dead. The Pyramids do not tell the tale confided to them. The living fact commemorates itself— Why look in the dark for light— look in the light rather. Strictly speaking, the Societies have not recovered one fact from oblivion, but they themselves are instead of the fact that is lost. The researcher

61. A WEEK, page 157; Riv. 195.

is more memorable than the researched. The crowd stood admiring the mist and the dim outline of the trees seen through it, and when one of their number advanced to explore the phenomenon, with fresh admiration all eyes were turned on his dimly retreating figure. Critical acumen is exerted in vain to uncover the past; the *past* cannot be *presented* – we cannot know what we are not– But one veil hangs over past– present– and future– and it is the province of the historian to find out not what was, but what is. When a battle has been fought you will find nothing but the bones of men and beasts — where a battle is being fought there are hearts beating.⁶² We will sit on a mound and muse, and not try to make these skeletons stand on their legs again. Does nature remember, think you, that they *were* men, or not rather that they *are* bones?

Ancient history has an air of antiquity. It should be more modern. It is written as if the spectator should be thinking of the back side of the picture on the wall, as if the author expected the dead would be his readers, and wished to detail to them their own experience. Men seem anxious to accomplish an orderly retreat through the centuries –earnestly rebuilding the works behind as they are battered down by the incroachments of time– but while they loiter — they and their works both fall a prey to the enemy.

Biography is liable to the same objection — it should be autobiography. Let us not leave ourselves empty that so vexing our bowels — we may go abroad and be somebody else to explain him– If I am not I– who will be?– As if it were to dispense justice to all– But the time has not come for that.⁶³

1842

Abraham Lincoln decided not to seek re-election to the [Illinois](#) legislature.

September 22, Friday: A sword duel was to take place on this day between Abraham Lincoln and Democratic [Illinois](#) state auditor James Shields, because Lincoln had published letters making fun of Shields. What occurred, instead, was an exchange of explanatory letters.

62.The poet W.H. Auden has in 1962 brought forward a snippet from this day’s entry as:

THE VIKING BOOK OF APHORISMS, A PERSONAL SELECTION BY W.H. AUDEN...

Pg	Topic	Aphorism Selected by Auden out of Thoreau
238	History	It is the province of the historian to find out, not what was, but what is. Where a battle has been fought, you will find nothing but the bones of men and beasts; where a battle is being fought, there are hearts beating.

63. A WEEK, pages 161-63; Riv. 200-04.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

October: In [Illinois](#), the white people engaged in the nurturing and forwarding of escapees from Southern bondage began to refer more or less incautiously to their enterprise as the “[Underground Railroad](#).” From the formerly enslaved person’s perspective, because the stakes were higher, more caution might have seemed to have been indicated than, it would appear, these white people were eager to summon. Here is [Frederick Douglass](#)’s comment on this as of his NARRATIVE of 1845:

I have never approved of the very public manner in which some of our western friends have conducted what they call the **underground railroad**, but which I think, by their open declarations, has been made most emphatically the **upperground railroad**. I honor those good men and women for their noble daring, and applaud them for willingly subjecting themselves to bloody persecution, by openly avowing their participation in the escape of slaves. I, however, can see very little good resulting from such a course, either to themselves or the slaves escaping; while, upon the other hand, I see and feel assured that those open declarations are a positive evil to the slaves remaining, who are seeking to escape. They do nothing towards enlightening the slave, whilst they do much towards enlightening the master. They stimulate him to greater watchfulness, and enhance his power to capture his slave. We owe something to the slave south of the line as well as to those north of it; and in aiding the latter on their way to freedom, we should be careful to do nothing which would be likely to hinder the former from escaping from slavery. I would keep the merciless slaveholder profoundly ignorant of the means of flight adopted by the slave. I would leave him to imagine himself surrounded by myriads of invisible tormentors, ever ready to snatch from his infernal grasp his trembling prey. Let him be left to feel his way in the dark; let darkness commensurate with his crime hover over him; and let him feel that at every step he takes, in pursuit of the flying bondman, he is running the frightful risk of having his hot brains dashed out by an invisible agency. Let us render the tyrant no aid; let us not hold the light by which he can trace the footprints of our flying brother.



Such sentimental depictions of the fabled Underground Railroad as the above, done in the warm eye of retrospect as of 1893 by Charles T. Webber, are utterly tendentious. The sad fact is that it hadn't been like that.

[UNDERGROUND RAILROAD](#)

November 4: Abraham Lincoln and Mary Todd staged their society wedding in Springfield, [Illinois](#).
He was so utterly embarrassed by them that no members of the upwardly mobile groom's family were invited.

[Frederick Douglass](#) spoke at a Latimer meeting in the Universalist Society meetinghouse of Lynn MA.



1843

June 20-21: [Frederick Douglass](#) was at the Town Hall in [New Bedford](#) for the Bristol County Anti-Slavery Convention.

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) from Staten Island:

June 20th 1843

My very dear Friend,

*I have only read a page of
your letter, and have come out to the
top of the hill at sunset[,] where I can
see the ocean to prepare to read the rest.
It is fitter that it should hear it than*

*the walls of my chamber. The very crickets
here seem to chirp around me as they did
not before. I feel as if it were a great
daring to go on and read the rest, and
then to live accordingly[—] There are more
than thirty vessels in sight going to sea —
I am almost afraid to look at your letter.
I see that it will [make] my life very steep,
but it may lead to fairer prospects
than this.*

*You seem to me to speak out of a
very clear and high heaven, where any
one may be who stands so high. Your
voice seems not a voice, but comes as
much from the blue heavens, as from
the paper.*

*My dear friend it was very noble in you
to write me so trustful an answer. It will
do as well for another world as for this.
Such a voice is for no particular time
nor person, but it makes him who may*

Page 2

*hear it stand for all that is lofty and
true in humanity. The thought of
you will constantly elevate my life[;] it
will be something always above the horizon
to behold, as when I look up at the eve-
ning star. I think I know your thoughts
without seeing you, and as well here as
in Concord. You are not at all strange
to me.*

*I could hardly believe after the lapse
had of one night that I such a noble letter
^ still at hand to read — that it was not
some [fine] dream. I looked at mid
night to be sure that it was real. I feel
that I am unworthy to know you, and
yet they will not permit it wrongfully.
I, perhaps, am more willing to deceive by appear-
ances than you say you are[.] [It] would not
be worth the while to tell how willing, — but
I have the power perhaps [too much] to forget
my meanness as soon as seen, and not be
incited by permanent sorrow. My actual
life is unspeakably mean, compared with*

*what I know and see that it might
be — Yet the ground from which I see and
say this is some part of it. It ranges
from heaven to earth and is all things in
an hour. [T]he experience of every past moment
but belies the faith of each present. We
never conceive the greatness of our fates.*

Page 3

*Are not these faint flashes of light, which
sometimes obscure the sun, their certain dawn?*

*My friend, I have read your letter as if
I was not reading it. After each pause I
could defer the rest forever. The thought of
you will be a new motive for every right
action. You are another human being
whom I know, and might not our topic
be as broad as the universe. What have
we to do with petty rumbling news? We
have our [own] great [a]ffairs. Sometimes
in Concord I found my actions dictated,
as it were, by your influence, and though
it lead almost to trivial Hindoo obser-
vances, yet it was good and elevating.
To hear that you have sad[]hours is not
sad to me. I rather rejoice at the richness of
your experience. Only think of some sadness away
in Pekin — unseen and unknown there — What
a mine it is. Would it not weigh down
the [who] Celestial empire, with all its
gay Chinese? [O]ur sadness is not [sad,]
but our cheap joys. Let us be sad[]
about all we see and are, for so we
demand and pray for better. It is the
constant prayer[]and whole Christian
religion. I could hope that you
would get well soon, and have a health[y]
body for this world, but I know this can-
not be — and the Fates, after all, are*

Page 4

*the accomplisners of our hopes — Yet I
do hope that you may find it a worthy
struggle, and life seem grand still
through the clouds.
What wealth is it to have such friend[s]*



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

*that we cannot think of them without
elevation. And we can think of them
any time, and any where, and it*
{written perpendicular to text in center of page:

Address: *Mrs. Lidian Emerson*

Concord

Mass.

Postmark: *NEW-YORK*

JUN

25}

*costs nothing but the lofty disposition. I can-
not tell you the joy your letter gives
me — which will not quite cease till the
latest time. Let me accompany your
finest thought.
I send my love to my other friend and
brother, whose nobleness I slowly recognise.*

Henry

[Margaret Fuller](#) would write of the events of the 20th in her SUMMER ON THE LAKES, IN 1843:

[Chicago](#), June 20.

There can be no two places in the world more completely thoroughfares than this place and Buffalo. They are the two correspondent valves that open and shut all the time, as the life-blood rushes from east to west, and back again from west to east.

Since it is their office thus to be the doors, and let in and out, it would be unfair to expect from them much character of their own. To make the best provisions for the transmission of produce is their office, and the people who live there are such as are suited for this, — active, complaisant, inventive, business people. There are no provisions for the student or idler; to know what the place can give, you should be at work with the rest; the mere traveller will not find it profitable to loiter there as I did.

Since circumstances made it necessary for me so to do, I read all the books I could find about the new region, which now began to become real to me. Especially I read all the books about the Indians, — a paltry collection truly, yet which furnished material for many thoughts. The most narrow-minded and awkward recital still bears some lineaments of the great features of



this nature, and the races of men that illustrated them. Catlin's book is far the best. I was afterwards assured by those acquainted with the regions he describes, that he is not to be depended on for the accuracy of his facts, and indeed it is obvious, without the aid of such assertions, that he sometimes yields to the temptation of making out a story. They admitted, however, what from my feelings I was sure of, that he is true to the spirit of the scene, and that a far better view can be got from him than from any source at present existing, of the Indian tribes of the Far West, and of the country where their inheritance lay.

Murray's Travels I read, and was charmed by their accuracy and clear, broad tone. He is the only Englishman that seems to have traversed these regions as man simply, not as John Bull. He deserves to belong to an aristocracy, for he showed his title to it more when left without a guide in the wilderness, than he can at the court of Victoria. He has; himself, no poetic force at description, but it is easy to make images from his hints. Yet we believe the Indian cannot be looked at truly except by a poetic eye. The Pawnees, no doubt, are such as he describes them, filthy in their habits, and treacherous in their character, but some would have seen, and seen truly, more beauty and dignity than he does with all his manliness and fairness of mind. However, his one fine old man is enough to redeem the rest, and is perhaps the relic of a better day, a Phocion among the Pawnees.

[Schoolcraft](#)'s Algic Researches is a valuable book, though a worse use could hardly have been made of such fine material. Had the mythological or hunting stories of the Indians been written down exactly as they were received from the lips of the narrators, the collection could not have been surpassed in interest both for the wild charm they carry with them, and the light they throw on a peculiar modification of life and mind. As it is, though the incidents have an air of originality and pertinence to the occasion, that gives us confidence that they have not been altered, the phraseology in which they were expressed has been entirely set aside, and the flimsy graces, common to the style of annuals and souvenirs, substituted for the Spartan brevity and sinewy grasp of Indian speech. We can just guess what might have been there, as we can detect the fine proportions of the Brave whom the bad taste of some white patron has arranged in frock-coat, hat, and pantaloons.

The few stories Mrs. Jameson wrote out, though to these also a sentimental air has been given, offend much less in that way than is common in this book. What would we not give for a completely faithful version of some among them! Yet, with all these drawbacks, we cannot doubt from internal evidence that they truly ascribe to the Indian a delicacy of sentiment and of fancy that justifies Cooper in such inventions as his Uncas. It is a white man's view of a savage hero, who would be far finer in his natural proportions; still, through a masquerade figure, it implies the truth.

Irving's books I also read, some for the first, some for the second time, with increased interest, now that I was to meet such people as he received his materials from. Though the books



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

are pleasing from, their grace and luminous arrangement, yet, with the exception of the Tour to the Prairies, they have a stereotype, second-hand air. They lack the breath, the glow, the charming minute traits of living presence. His scenery is only fit to be glanced at from dioramic distance; his Indians are academic figures only. He would have made the best of pictures, if he could have used his own eyes for studies and sketches; as it is, his success is wonderful, but inadequate.

McKenney's Tour to the Lakes is the dulllest of books, yet faithful and quiet, and gives some facts not to be met with everywhere.

I also read a collection of Indian anecdotes and speeches, the worst compiled and arranged book possible, yet not without clues of some value. All these books I read in anticipation of a canoe-voyage on Lake Superior as far as the Pictured Rocks, and, though I was afterwards compelled to give up this project, they aided me in judging of what I subsequently saw and heard of the Indians.

In Chicago I first saw the beautiful prairie-flowers. They were in their glory the first ten days we were there, –

"The golden and the flame-like flowers."

The flame-like flower I was taught afterwards, by an Indian girl, to call "Wickapee"; and she told me, too, that its splendors had a useful side, for it was used by the Indians as a remedy for an illness to which they were subject.

Beside these brilliant flowers, which gemmed and gilt the grass in a sunny afternoon's drive near the blue lake, between the low oak-wood and the narrow beach, stimulated, whether sensuously by the optic nerve, unused to so much gold and crimson with such tender green, or symbolically through some meaning dimly seen in the flowers, I enjoyed a sort of fairy-land exultation never felt before, and the first drive amid the flowers gave me anticipation of the beauty of the prairies.

At first, the prairie seemed to speak of the very desolation of dulness. After sweeping over the vast monotony of the lakes to come to this monotony of land, with all around a limitless horizon, – to walk, and walk, and run, but never climb, oh! it was too dreary for any but a Hollander to bear. How the eye greeted the approach of a sail, or the smoke of a steamboat; it seemed that anything so animated must come from a better land, where mountains gave religion to the scene.

The only thing I liked at first to do was to trace with slow and unexpecting step the narrow margin of the lake. Sometimes a heavy swell gave it expression; at others, only its varied coloring, which I found more admirable every day, and which gave it an air of mirage instead of the vastness of ocean. Then there was a grandeur in the feeling that I might continue that walk, if I had any seven-leagued mode of conveyance to save fatigue, for hundreds of miles without an obstacle and without a change. But after I had ridden out, and seen the flowers, and observed the sun set with that calmness seen only in the prairies, and the cattle winding slowly to their homes in the "island groves," – most peaceful of sights, – I began to love, because I began to know the scene, and shrank no longer from "the encircling vastness."



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

It is always thus with the new form of life; we must learn to look at it by its own standard. At first, no doubt, my accustomed eye kept saying, if the mind did not, What! no distant mountains? What! no valleys? But after a while I would ascend the roof of the house where we lived, and pass many hours, needing no sight but the moon reigning in the heavens, or starlight falling upon the lake, till all the lights were out in the island grove of men beneath my feet, and felt nearer heaven than there was nothing but this lovely, still reception on the earth; no towering mountains, no deep tree-shadows, nothing but plain earth and water bathed in light.

Sunset, as seen from that place, presented most generally, low-lying, flaky clouds, of the softest serenity.

One night a star "shot madly from, its sphere," and it had a fair chance to be seen, but that serenity could not be astonished.

Yes! it was a peculiar beauty, that of those sunsets and moonlights on the levels of Chicago, which Chamouny or the Trosachs could not make me forget.⁶⁴

Notwithstanding all the attractions I thus found out by degrees on the flat shores of the lake, I was delighted when I found myself really on my way into the country for an excursion of two or three weeks. We set forth in a strong wagon, almost as large, and with the look of those used elsewhere for transporting caravans of wild beasts, loaded with everything we might want, in case nobody would give it to us, — for buying and selling were no longer to be counted on, — with, a pair of strong horses, able and willing to force their way through mud-holes and amid stumps, and a guide, equally admirable as marshal and companion, who knew by heart the country and its history, both natural and artificial, and whose clear hunter's eye needed, neither road nor goal to guide it to all the spots where beauty best loves to dwell.

Add to this the finest weather, and such country as I had never seen, even in my dreams, although these dreams had been haunted by wishes for just such a one, and you may judge whether years of dulness might not, by these bright days, be redeemed, and a sweetness be shed over all thoughts of the West.

The first day brought us through woods rich in the moccason-flower and lupine, and plains whose soft expanse was continually touched with expression by the slow moving clouds which

"Sweep over with their shadows, and beneath
The surface rolls and fluctuates to the eye;
Dark hollows seem to glide along and chase
The sunny ridges,"

to the banks of the Fox River, a sweet and graceful stream. We reached Geneva just in time to escape being drenched by a violent thunder-shower, whose rise and disappearance threw expression into all the features of the scene.

Geneva reminds me of a New England village, as indeed there, and in the neighborhood, are many New-Englanders of an excellent

64. "From the prairie near [Chicago](#) had I seen, some days before, the sun set with that calmness observed only on the prairies. I know not what it says, but something quite different from sunset at sea. There is no motion except of waving grasses, — the cattle move slowly homeward in the distance. That *home!* where is it? It seems as if there was no home, and no need of one, and there is room enough to wander on for ever." — Manuscript Notes.

stamp, generous, intelligent, discreet, and seeking to win from life its true values. Such are much wanted, and seem like points of light among the swarms of settlers, whose aims are sordid, whose habits thoughtless and slovenly.⁶⁵

With great pleasure we heard, with his attentive and affectionate congregation, the Unitarian clergyman, Mr. Conant, and afterward visited him in his house, where almost everything bore traces of his own handiwork or that of his father. He is just such a teacher as is wanted in this region, familiar enough, with the habits of those he addresses to come home to their experience and their wants; earnest and enlightened enough to draw the important inferences from the life of every day.⁶⁶

A day or two we remained here, and passed some happy hours in the woods that fringe the stream, where the gentlemen found a rich booty of fish.

Next day, travelling along the river's banks, was an uninterrupted pleasure. We closed our drive in the afternoon at the house of an English gentleman, who has gratified, as few men do, the common wish to pass the evening of an active day amid the quiet influences of country life. He showed us a bookcase filled with books about this country; these he had collected for years, and become so familiar with the localities, that, on coming here at last, he sought and found, at once, the very spot he wanted, and where he is as content as he hoped to be, thus realizing Wordsworth's description of the wise man, who "sees what he foresaw."

A wood surrounds the house, through which paths are cut in every direction. It is, for this new country, a large and handsome dwelling; but round it are its barns and farm-yard, with cattle and poultry. These, however, in the framework of wood, have a very picturesque and pleasing effect. There is that mixture of culture and rudeness in the aspect of things which gives a feeling of freedom, not of confusion.

I wish, it were possible to give some idea of this scene, as viewed by the earliest freshness of dewy dawn. This habitation of man seemed like a nest in the grass, so thoroughly were the buildings and all the objects of human care harmonized with, what was natural. The tall trees bent and whispered all around, as if to hail with, sheltering love the men who had come to dwell among them.

The young ladies were musicians, and spoke French fluently, having been educated in a convent. Here in the prairie, they had learned to take care of the milk-room, and kill the rattlesnakes that assailed their poultry-yard. Beneath the shade of heavy curtains you looked out from the high and large windows to see Norwegian peasants at work in their national dress. In the wood grew, not only the flowers I had before seen, and wealth of tall,

65. "We passed a portion of one day with Mr. and Mrs. — —, young, healthy, and, thank Heaven, *gay* people. In the general dulness that broods over this land where so little genius flows, and care, business, and fashionable frivolity are equally dull, unspeakable is the relief of some flashes of vivacity, some sparkles of wit. Of course it is hard enough for those, most natively disposed that way, to strike fire. I would willingly be the tinder to promote the cheering blaze." — Manuscript Notes.

66. "Let any who think men do not need or want the church, hear these people talk about it as if it were the only indispensable thing, and see what I saw in [Chicago](#). An elderly lady from Philadelphia, who had been visiting her sons in the West, arrived there about one o'clock on a hot Sunday noon. She rang the bell and requested a room immediately, as she wanted to get ready for afternoon service. Some delay occurring, she expressed great regret, as she had ridden all night for the sake of attending church. She went to church, neither having dined nor taken any repose after her journey." — Manuscript Notes.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

wild roses, but the splendid blue spiderwort, that ornament of our gardens. Beautiful children strayed there, who were soon to leave these civilized regions for some really wild and western place, a post in the buffalo country. Their no less beautiful mother was of Welsh descent, and the eldest child bore the name of Gwynthleon. Perhaps there she will meet with some young descendants of Madoc, to be her friends; at any rate, her looks may retain that sweet, wild beauty, that is soon made to vanish from eyes which look too much on shops and streets, and the vulgarities of city "parties."

Next day we crossed the river. We ladies crossed on a little foot-bridge, from which we could look down the stream, and see the wagon pass over at the ford. A black thunder-cloud was coming up; the sky and waters heavy with expectation. The motion of the wagon, with its white cover, and the laboring horses, gave just the due interest to the picture, because it seemed, as if they would not have time to cross before the storm came on. However, they did get across, and we were a mile or two on our way before the violent shower obliged us to take refuge in a solitary house upon the prairie. In this country it is as pleasant to stop as to go on, to lose your way as to find it, for the variety in the population gives you a chance for fresh entertainment in every hut, and the luxuriant beauty makes every path attractive. In this house we found a family "quite above the common," but, I grieve to say, not above false pride, for the father, ashamed of being caught barefoot, told us a story of a man, one of the richest men, he said, in one of the Eastern cities, who went barefoot, from choice and taste.

Near the door grew a Provence rose, then in blossom. Other families we saw had brought with them and planted the locust. It was pleasant to see their old home loves, brought into connection with their new splendors. Wherever there were traces of this tenderness of feeling, only too rare among Americans, other things bore signs also of prosperity and intelligence, as if the ordering mind of man had some idea of home beyond a mere shelter beneath which to eat and sleep.

No heaven need wear a lovelier aspect than earth did this afternoon, after the clearing up of the shower. We traversed the blooming plain, unmarked by any road, only the friendly track of wheels which bent, not broke, the grass. Our stations were not from town to town, but from grove to grove. These groves first floated like blue islands in the distance. As we drew nearer, they seemed fair parks, and the little log-houses on the edge, with their curling smokes, harmonized beautifully with them.

One of these groves, Ross's Grove, we reached just at sunset. It was of the noblest trees I saw during this journey, for generally the trees were not large or lofty, but only of fair proportions. Here they were large enough to form with their clear stems pillars for grand cathedral aisles. There was space enough for crimson light to stream through upon the floor of water which the shower had left. As we slowly plashed through, I thought I was never in a better place for vespers.

That night we rested, or rather tarried, at a grove some miles beyond, and there partook of the miseries, so often jocosely



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

portrayed, of bedchambers for twelve, a milk dish for universal hand-basin, and expectations that you would use and lend your "hankercher" for a towel. But this was the only night, thanks to the hospitality of private families, that we passed thus; and it was well that we had this bit of experience, else might we have pronounced all Trollopian records of the kind to be inventions of pure malice.

With us was a young lady who showed herself to have been bathed in the Britannic fluid, wittily described by a late French writer, by the impossibility she experienced of accommodating herself to the indecorums of the scene. We ladies were to sleep in the bar-room, from which its drinking visitors could be ejected only at a late hour. The outer door had no fastening to prevent their return. However, our host kindly requested we would call him, if they did, as he had "conquered them for us," and would do so again. We had also rather hard couches (mine was the supper-table); but we Yankees, born to rove, were altogether too much fatigued to stand upon trifles, and slept as sweetly as we would in the "bigly bower" of any baroness. But I think England sat up all night, wrapped in her blanket-shawl, and with a neat lace cap upon her head, — so that she would have looked perfectly the lady, if any one had come in, — shuddering and listening. I know that she was very ill next day, in requital. She watched, as her parent country watches the seas, that nobody may do wrong in any case, and deserved to have met some interruption, she was so well prepared. However, there was none, other than from the nearness of some twenty sets of powerful lungs, which would not leave the night to a deathly stillness. In this house we had, if not good beds, yet good tea, good bread, and wild strawberries, and were entertained with most free communications of opinion and history from our hosts. Neither shall any of us have a right to say again that we cannot find any who may be willing to hear all we may have to say. "A's fish that comes to the net," should be painted on the sign at Papaw Grove.

Summer: Caroline Quarrels, an enslaved 18-year-old mulatto, boarded a steamer in St. Louis and traveled up-river to Alton, [Illinois](#), where due to her light skin she was able to merge into a group of white school children. There was a reward for her return and pursuers were close behind. A black man who saw through her pose warned her that Alton was not safe, and put her on a stagecoach for Milwaukee, Wisconsin. There, however, she was betrayed by a black barber for \$100. She again escaped with the assistance of attorney Asahel Finch, who took her across the Milwaukee River and hid her under a hog shed until she could be taken to the Pewaukee home of Samuel Daugherty. From there she was led by Ezra Mendell to the home of Deacon Allen Clinton in Prairieville (Waukesha).

UNDERGROUND RAILROAD



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1844

[Chicago](#)'s 1st public school was built on Madison Street between Dearborn and State Streets (this building would be among the many consumed in 1871 in the Great Fire).

May 14, Tuesday: Charles Francis Adams, Sr. (1807-1886) reported that the day was a clear one as the steamer *Amaranth* stopped at the town of Quincy in [Illinois](#):

The day was fine – the boat an excellent one, and the company very much better than we have yet had. Among others Captain Bell of the Army was very civil to us. The river does not vary much in its character from what we have seen – As we ascend, we catch glimpses of open country, which is called prairie in this region. In other respects the scene is the same – the same low banks covered with wood, with now and then a rise which is called a bluff. In the course of the morning we stopped at Quincy on the [Illinois](#) side – and for the sake of the name, we went up to see it. It is a very pretty place inhabited mainly by New England people. There is an open square in the centre of the town, and from the top of the hotel which is kept by a man who formerly kept the Bromfield House in Boston, we observed a very rich and beautiful prairie country. This was the only town on the river during this day which struck me at all favorably.

As we went on it became very necessary that we should settle upon our course. Quincy [Josiah Quincy, Jr., Adams' travelling companion] wished to stop at Nauvoo, the city of the [Mormons](#) and see something of [Joe Smith, the prophet](#). I was passive, as I have always been on this journey. But it became late before we got up and the passengers were full of discouraging tales of the disposition of these Mormons. Had it not been for a certain Doctor Goforth, a living skeleton of a man, I think Quincy would have been discouraged by the darkness and solitude which reigned on the shore. But he urged our landing so much that we finally ordered our things on shore.

June 27, Thursday, 5PM: A large group of men with blackened faces were seen to approach the jail of Carthage, Illinois. [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) at first assumed this to be Major-General Jonathan Dunham leading the Nauvoo Legion to his rescue. However, Dunham, who would claim that his reasoning had been that such an action would only have brought about the obliteration of the Mormon farms around Nauvoo, had (whatever his true reason for reluctance may have been) declined to make such an attempt. Instead, these men with blackened faces were non-Mormon [Illinois](#) vigilantes intent on summary justice. [Smith](#), who had never been particularly impressed with the doctrine of [Jesus](#) to “resist not the evil one,” killed one of them with a pistol that had been smuggled in to him, wounded another, leaped from a window, and began to cry out using the Masonic signal of distress, “Oh, Lord, my God, is there no help for the widow’s son?” (all this has been omitted from a movie that the Mormons have made about the incident). Outside, while he was semi-conscious, the vigilantes propped him against a wall and several times fired into his body at point-blank range. His elder brother [Hyrum](#)

[Smith](#), also armed with a smuggled pistol, was killed as well.



Here is [Professor Fawn McKay Brodie](#)'s 1945 analysis, with which I disagree in part:



Joseph had a ranging fancy, a revolutionary vigor, and a genius for improvisation, and what he could mold with these he made well. With them he created a book and a religion, but he could not create a truly spiritual context for that religion. He could canalize aspirations formed elsewhere into a new structure and provide the ritualistic shell of new observances. But within the dogma of the church there is no new Sermon on the Mount, no new saga of redemption, nothing for which Joseph himself might stand. His martyrdom was a chance event, wholly incidental to the creed that he created.

The part of this with which I disagree is the concluding sentence — to the effect that Smith's death was a chance event and wholly incidental to the creed that he had created. To the contrary: this was no happenstance



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

because the men who were killing him knew very well who he was and what he had done for which they were killing him. They were offering an offender against their norms, either norms having to do with sexual expression or norms having to do with truthfulness or both, and very much to the contrary, Smith's two offenses, of plural marriage and serial dissimulation, were not incidental to the creed that he had created, but had been constructed by him as central revealed doctrines of his new American religion.

[Professor Harold Bloom](#) has stipulated, in *THE AMERICAN RELIGION: THE EMERGENCE OF THE POST-CHRISTIAN NATION* (NY: Simon & Schuster, 1992), that the [Mormon](#) prophet was just as influential as [Waldo Emerson](#) in the shaping of our new American Religion of self-worship (both men were, it goes without saying, much more influential than Jesus), albeit, he suggests, in a much different manner. Bloom sums up the life work of Smith in the manner shown on the following screen.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



CHICAGO

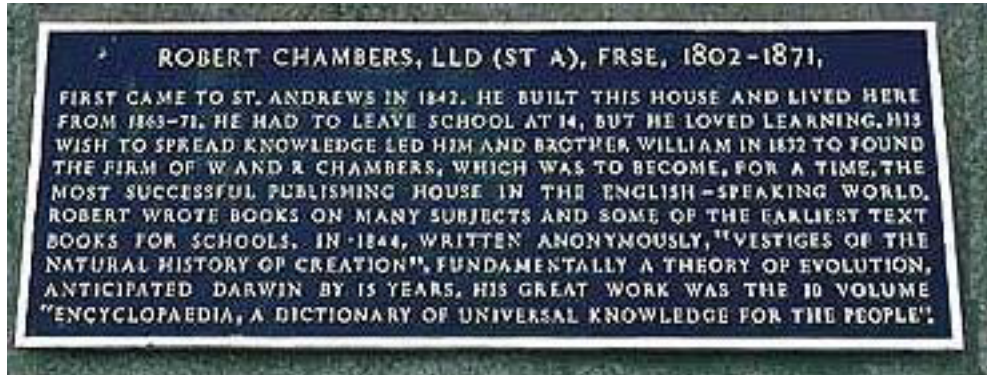
ILLINOIS



If one decides that Joseph Smith was no prophet, let alone king of the Kingdom of God, then one's dominant emotion towards him must be wonder. There is no other figure remotely like him in our entire national history, and it is unlikely that anyone like him ever can come again. Most Americans have never heard of him, and most of those who have remember him as a fascinating scamp or charlatan who invented the story of the Angel Moroni and the gold plates, and then forged the BOOK OF MORMON as a follow-up. Since the Book of Mormon, more even than the KING JAMES BIBLE, exists in more unread copies than any other work, that is poor fame indeed for a charismatic unmatched in our history. I myself can think of not another American, except for Emerson and Whitman, who so moves and alters my own imagination. For someone who is not a Mormon, what matters most about Joseph Smith is how American both the man and his religion have proved to be. So self-created was he that he transcends Emerson and Whitman in my imaginative response, and takes his place with the great figures of our fiction, since at moments he appears far larger than life, in the mode of a Shakespearean character. So rich and varied a personality, so vital a spark of divinity, is almost beyond the limits of the human, as normally we construe those limits. To one who does not believe in him, but who has studied him intensely, Smith becomes almost a mythology in himself. In the midst of writing this, I paused to reread Morton Smith's remarkable JESUS THE MAGICIAN (1978), and found myself rewriting the book as I went along, substituting Joseph Smith for Jesus, and Joseph Smith's circumstances and associates for those of Jesus. No Mormon (presumably) would sanction such impiety, but it is strikingly instructive. Joseph Smith the Magician is no more or less arbitrary a figure than Morton Smith's persuasive mythmaker.

I end as I began, with wonder. We do not know Joseph Smith, as he prophesied that even his own could never hope to know him. He requires strong poets, major novelists, accomplished dramatists to tell his history, and they have not yet come to him. He is as enigmatic as Abraham Lincoln, his contemporary, but even if we do not know Lincoln, we at least keep learning what it is that we cannot quite understand. But with Joseph Smith, we cannot be certain precisely what baffles us most. As an unbeliever, I marvel at his intuitive understanding of the permanent religious dilemmas of our country. Traditional Christianity suits the United States about as well as European culture does, which means scarcely at all. Our deep need for originality gave us Joseph Smith even as it gave us Emerson and Emily Dickinson, Whitman and Melville, Henry and William James, even as it gave us Lincoln, who founded our all-but-all-powerful Presidency. There is something of Joseph Smith's spirit in every manifestation of the American Religion.

Mid-October: The anonymous publication [VESTIGES OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CREATION](#), which eventually would turn out to have been by [Robert Chambers](#), took what [Henry Thoreau](#) would accept as one of the



“wider views of the universe,” in allowing that since God’s law extended across the entire starry cosmos, we might legitimately hypothesize that elsewhere, circling any number of strange distant stars, there might well be other earths filled with other lives than ours here beside the star known as Sol:

[WALDEN](#): We might try our lives by a thousand simple tests; as, for instance, that the same sun which ripens my beans illumines at once a system of earths like ours. If I had remembered this it would have prevented some mistakes. This was not the light in which I hoed them. The stars are the apexes of what wonderful triangles! What distant and different beings in the various mansions of the universe are contemplating the same one at the same moment! Nature and human life are as various as our several constitutions. Who shall say what prospect life offers to another? Could a greater miracle take place than for us to look through each other’s eyes for an instant?

Finding himself unable to overlook the manifest evidences of waste and cruelty in nature, Chambers was hypothesizing anonymously that God must have established two entirely separate sets of laws, one physical and the other moral, codes quite independent of one another, so that “Obedience to each gives only its own proper advantage, not the advantage proper to the other.”

This was of course being attacked as godlessness and so the publication would sell out four editions in seven months. In this year [Charles Darwin](#) was drafting an essay on his development theory, a theory very different in every particular, but he would not publish about this for some time either under his name or anonymously. All Thoreau was able to know of Darwin’s work therefore, at this point, was what he was able to read in the published journal of H.M.S. *Beagle*:



[Bear in mind that these *BEAGLE* volumes carry not only the name of Darwin on their spine, but also Phillip Parker King and Robert FitzRoy.]

As you remember, Thoreau would later make a passing remark in CAPE COD about this reading of Darwin:

Charles Darwin was assured that the roar of the surf on the coast of Chile, after a heavy gale, could be heard at night a distance of "21 sea miles across a hilly and wooded country."



One thing the readers of this anonymous volume could tell for sure about its author, was that he or she was a believer in [phrenology](#). Phrenological studies were revealing that on average, the brain of a female would weigh four ounces less than the brain of a male. How then could a woman, on average, possibly be of as strong a mind as her male counterpart? No wonder men are dominant! A woman's rationality, since it was not as robust as a man's, would more readily yield to her body and to her emotionality — something which anyway we can observe happening every day. (Had the gender politics of the era been reversed, we may notice, the opposite conclusions could have been derived from such period scientific "observations." Notice that in our present-day computer CPUs, speed of computation is inversely proportional to size — the more closely the transistors are packed, the shorter the wires between them, the greater the number of megaflops that can be achieved, which is the reason why supercomputers made up of computational boards have been quite replaced with supercomputers made up of computational chipsets. No wonder women are dominant! Obviously, since women's brains aren't inflated with water to the same degree as men's, their brain cells are closer together, resulting in shorter dendrons, resulting in a greater quickness and acuity of mind — something which anyway

When this [VESTIGES](#) first became available for purchase, its price of 7s. 6d. put it entirely out of the reach of the general public. This was not a pamphlet to unsettle the masses. If available at all for the general reader, it would be found in the lending library of a mechanics' institute, for a person who had purchased an annual subscription which entitled him to check out books. —But then a “peoples’ edition” would be put out in 1846 at 2s. 6d. A lawyer of Springfield, [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln, would read straight through the anonymous [VESTIGES OF THE NATURAL HISTORY OF CREATION](#) and would proclaim himself “a warm advocate of the doctrine.”

Back home from his visit to Europe and points east in Hartford, Connecticut, the [Reverend Joel Hawes, D.D.](#)—learning of the sad event that had transpired since his departure from his daughter at her missionary station in Smyrna, Turkey—delivered a memorial sermon at the First Church. The father had departed from Smyrna on May 11th with the daughter in excellent health. The daughter had succumbed on September 27th in Constantinople after a brief and apparently mild illness.

(Even subsequent to this memorial evening sermon, a few delayed letters would be arriving in the post.)

1845

[Illinois](#) enacted legislation that would enable committees of landowners to eliminate swamp lands. Swamp was wrong:

As far as the eye could reach nothing was to be seen but marshes full of flags and alders.



"In our efforts to cushion ourselves against smaller, more frequent climate stresses, we have consistently made ourselves more vulnerable to rare but larger catastrophes. The whole course of civilisation ... may be seen as a process of trading up on the scale of vulnerability."



— Brian Fagan,
THE LONG SUMMER: HOW CLIMATE CHANGED
CIVILISATION. Granta, 2004

Charles Lyell's TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA: A JOURNEY IN THE YEARS 1841-1842 appeared,⁶⁷ and in this year he was making a 2nd visit to North America. His A SECOND VISIT TO THE UNITED STATES would appear



in 1849. During these journeys Lyell would estimate the rate of recession at Niagara Falls and the annual average accumulation of alluvial matter in the Mississippi Delta, and would study the vegetable accumulations in the "Great Dismal Swamp" on the border between Virginia and [North Carolina](#), which he afterwards would employ in illustrating the formation of layers of coal. He studied coal formations in Nova Scotia, and in company with Dr. J.W. Dawson of Montreal, discovered inside the hollow stem of a *Sigillaria* the earliest known landshell, *Pupa vetusta*. Visiting Madeira and Teneriffe with G. Hartung, Lyell accumulated evidence on the age and deposition of lava-beds and the formation of volcanic cones.

TRAVELS IN NORTH AMERICA:

67. Charles Lyell's trip had encompassed Massachusetts, Connecticut, Maryland, Washington, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, [North Carolina](#), South Carolina, Georgia, [Rhode Island](#), Vermont, Kentucky, [Illinois](#), Ohio, and Nova Scotia.



A JOURNEY IN THE YEARS 1841-1842

Lyell's observations about American women excluded the comments about society gatherings so prevalent from other travelers, among them Alexis de Tocqueville and Gustave de Beaumont. Lyell noted approvingly the deference shown to female travelers on the railway and on the steamboats, but most of his remarks about American women concerned their work in Lowell in the mills and their work for religious charities. Lyell also included detailed information about slave provisions, slave prices, and a slave wedding.

CORNING, NEW YORK. September 5, 1841 Titles Used by the Americans.

I asked the landlord of the inn at Corning, who was very attentive to his guests, to find my coachman. He immediately called out in his bar-room, "Where is the gentleman that brought this man here?" A few days before, a farmer in New York had styled my wife "the woman," though he called his own daughters ladies, and would, I believe, have freely extended that title to their maid-servant. I was told of a witness in a late trial at Boston, who stated in evidence that "while he and another gentleman were shovelling up mud," &c.; from which it appears that the spirit of social equality has left no other signification to the terms "gentleman" and "lady" but that of "male and female individual."

HUDSON RIVER, NEW YORK. Sept. 27. 1841. Steamboat Travel; Treatment of Women Travelers in General.

We embarked once more on the Hudson, to sail from Albany to New York, with several hundred passengers on board, and thought the scenery more beautiful than ever. The steamboat is a great floating hotel, of which the captain is landlord. He presides at meals, taking care that no gentlemen take their places at table till all the ladies, or, as we should say in England, the women of every class, are first seated. The men, by whom they are accompanied, are then invited to join them, after which, at the sound of a bell, the bachelors and married men travelling en garcon pour into the saloon, in much the same style as members of the House of Commons rush into the Upper House to hear a speech from the throne.

One of the first peculiarities that must strike a foreigner in the United States is the deference paid universally to the sex, without regard to station. Women may travel alone here in stage-coaches, steam-boats, and railways, with less risk of encountering disagreeable behaviour, and of hearing coarse and unpleasant conversation, than in any country I have ever visited. The contrast in this respect between the Americans and the French is quite remarkable. There is a spirit of true gallantry in all this, but the publicity of the railway car, where all are in one long room, and of the large ordinaries, whether on land or water, is a great protection, the want of which has been felt by many a female traveller without escort in England. As the Americans address no conversation to strangers, we soon became tolerably reconciled to living so much in public.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS. October 27, 1841 Meeting Laura Bridgeman at the Blind Asylum

In the Blind Asylum I saw Laura Bridgman, in her twelfth year. At the age of two she lost her sight and hearing by a severe illness, but although deaf, dumb, and blind, her mind has been so advanced by the method of instruction pursued by Dr. Howe, that she shows more intelligence and quickness of feeling than many girls of the same age who are in full possession of all their senses. The excellent reports of Dr. Howe, on the gradual development of her mind, have been long before the public, and have recently been cited by Mr. Dickens, together with some judicious observations of his own. Perhaps no one of the cases of a somewhat analogous nature, on which Dugald Stewart and others have philosophised, has furnished so many new and valuable facts illustrating the extent to which all intellectual development is dependent on the instrumentality of the senses in discerning external objects, and, at the same time, in how small a degree the relative acuteness of the organs of sense determine the moral and intellectual superiority of the individual.

LOWELL, MASSACHUSETTS. Nov. 15, 1841 Wages in the Mills; Education in Lowell.

Went twenty-six miles to the north of Boston, by an excellent railway, to the manufacturing town of Lowell, which has sprung up entirely in the last sixteen years, and now contains about 20,000 inhabitants. The mills are remarkably clean, and well warmed, and almost all for making cotton and woollen goods, which are exported to the west. The young women from the age of eighteen to twenty-five, who attend to the spinning-wheels, are good-looking and neatly dressed, chiefly the daughters of New England farmers, sometimes of the poorer clergy. They belong, therefore, to a very different class from our manufacturing population, and after remaining a few years in the factory, return to their homes, and usually marry.



We are told that, to work in these factories is considered far more eligible for a young woman than domestic service, as they can save more and have stated hours of work (twelve hours a day!), after which they are at liberty. Their moral character stands very high, and a girl is paid off, if the least doubt exists on that point. Boarding-houses, usually kept by widows, are attached to each mill, in which the operatives are required to board; the men and women being separate. This regard for the welfare and conduct of the workpeople when they are not on actual duty is comparatively rare in England, where the greater supply of labour would render such interference and kind superintendence much more practicable. Still we could not expect that the results would be equally satisfactory with us, on account of the lower grade of the operatives, and the ignorance of the lower classes in England. In regard to the order, dress, and cleanliness of the people, these merits are also exemplified in the rural districts of Lancashire, and it is usually in our large towns alone, that the work people are unhealthy and squalid, especially where a number of the poor Irish live crowded together in bad dwellings. The factories at Lowell are not only on a great scale, but have been so managed as to yield high profits, a fact which should be impressed on the mind of every foreigner who visits them, lest, after admiring the gentility of manner and dress of the women and men employed, he should go away with the idea that he had been seeing a model mill, or a set of gentlemen and ladies playing at factory for their amusement. There are few children employed, and those under fifteen are compelled by law to go to school three months in the year, under penalty of a heavy fine. If this regulation is infringed, informers are not wanting, for there is a strong sympathy in the public mind with all acts of the legislature, enforcing education. The Bostonians submit to pay annually for public instruction in their city alone, the sum of 30,000*l.* sterling, which is about equal to the parliamentary grant of this year (1841) for the whole of England, while the sum raised for free schools in the state this year, by taxes for wages of teachers, and their board, and exclusive of funds for building, exceeds 100,000*l.* sterling. The law ordains, that every district containing fifty families shall maintain one school, for the support of which the inhabitants are required to tax themselves, and to appoint committees annually for managing the funds, and choosing their own schoolmasters. The Bible is allowed to be read in all, and is actually read in nearly all the schools; but the law prohibits the use of books “calculated to favour the tenets of any particular sect of Christians; Parents and guardians are expected to teach their own children, or to procure them to be taught, what they believe to be religious truth, and for this purpose besides family worship and the pulpit, there are Sunday-schools. The system works well among this church-building and churchgoing population.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA. November 29, 1841 Encounter with Recent English Emigrant

On entering the station-house of a railway which was to carry us to our place of embarkation, we found a room with only two chairs in it. One of these was occupied by a respectable-looking woman, who immediately rose, intending to give it up, to me, an act betraying that she was English, and newly-arrived, as an American gentleman, even if already seated, would have felt it necessary to rise and offer the chair to any woman, whether mistress or maid, and she, as a matter of course, would have accepted the proffered seat. After I had gone out, she told my wife that she and her husband had come a few months before from Hertfordshire, hoping to get work in Virginia, but she had discovered that there was no room here for poor white people, who were despised by the very negroes if they laboured with their own hands. She had found herself looked down upon, even for carrying her own child, for they said she ought to hire a black nurse. These poor emigrants were now anxious to settle in some free state.

RAILWAY FROM NORFOLK TO WELDON, [NORTH CAROLINA](#). December 23, 1841. Separate Arrangements for Men and Women on Railway Cars.

Our car, according to the usual construction in this country, was in the shape of a long omnibus, with the seats transverse, and a passage down the middle, where, to the great relief of the traveller, he can stand upright with his hat on, and walk about, warming himself when he pleases at the stove, which is in the centre of the car. There is often a private room fitted up for the ladies, into which no gentleman can intrude, and where they are sometimes supplied with rocking-chairs, so essential to the comfort of the Americans, whether at sea or on land, in a fashionable drawing-room or in the cabin of a ship. It is singular enough that this luxury, after being popular for ages all over Lancashire, required transplantation to the New World before it could be improved and become fashionable, so as to be reimported into its native land.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. December 28, 1841. Provisions for Slaves.

Returning home to this hospitable mansion in the dusk of the evening of the day following, I was surprised to see, in a grove of trees near the court-yard of the farm, a large wood-fire blazing on the ground. Over the fire hung three cauldrons, filled, as I afterwards learned, with hog's lard, and three old negro women, in their usual drab-coloured costume, were leaning over the cauldrons, and stirring the lard to clarify it. The red glare of the



fire was reflected from their faces, and I need hardly say how much they reminded me of the scene of the witches in Macbeth. Beside them, moving slowly backwards and forwards in a rocking chair, sat the wife of the overseer, muffled up in a cloak, and suffering from a severe cold, but obliged to watch the old slaves, who are as thoughtless as children, and might spoil the lard if she turned away her head for a few minutes. When I inquired the meaning of this ceremony, I was told it was “killing time,” this being the coldest season of the year, and that since I left the farm in the morning thirty hogs had been sacrificed by the side of a running stream not far off.

These were destined to serve as winter provisions for the negroes, of whom there were about a hundred on this plantation. To supply all of them with food, clothes, and medical attendants, young, old, and impotent, as well as the able-bodied, is but a portion of the expense of slave-labour. They must be continually superintended by trustworthy whites, who might often perform no small part of the task, and far more effectively, with their own hands.

CHARLESTON, SOUTH CAROLINA. January 13, 1842 Purchase Price for Slaves; Slave Wedding.

After the accounts I had read of the sufferings of slaves, I was agreeably surprised to find them, in general, so remarkably cheerful and light-hearted. It is true that I saw no gangs working under overseers on sugar plantations, but out of two millions and a half of slaves in the United States, the larger proportion are engaged in such farming occupations and domestic services as I witnessed in Georgia and South Carolina. I was often for days together with negroes who served me as guides, and found them as talkative and chatty as children, usually boasting of their master's wealth, and their own peculiar merits. At an inn in Virginia, a female slave asked us to guess for how many dollars a year she was let out by her owner. We named a small sum, but she told us exultingly, that we were much under the mark, for the landlord paid fifty dollars, or ten guineas a year for her hire. A good-humoured butler, at another inn in the same state, took care to tell me that his owner got 30l a year for him. The coloured stewardess of a steam-vessel was at great pains to tell us her value, and how she came by the name of Queen Victoria. When we recollect that the dollars are not their own, we can hardly refrain from smiling at the childlike simplicity with which they express their satisfaction at the high price set on them. That price, however, is a fair test of their intelligence and moral worth, of which they have just reason to feel proud, and their pride is at least free from all sordid and mercenary considerations. We might even say that they labour with higher motives than the whites—a disinterested love of doing their duty. I am aware that we may reflect and philosophise on this peculiar and amusing form of vanity, until we perceive in it the evidence of extreme social degradation; but the first impression which it made upon my mind was very consolatory, as I found it impossible to feel a painful degree of commiseration for persons so exceedingly well satisfied with themselves.

South Carolina is one of the few states where there is a numerical preponderance of slaves. One night, at Charleston, I went to see the guard-house, where there is a strong guard kept constantly in arms, and on the alert. Every citizen is obliged to serve in person, or find a substitute; and the maintenance of such a force, the strict laws against importing books relating to emancipation, and the prohibition to bring back slaves who have been taken by their masters into free states, allow that the fears of the owner, whether well-founded or not, are real. During our stay at Charleston, we were present at a negro wedding, where the bride and bridegroom, and nearly all the company, were of unmixed African race. They were very merry. The bride and bridesmaids all dressed in white. The marriage service performed by an Episcopal clergyman. Not long afterwards, when staying at a farm-house in [North Carolina](#), I happened to ask a planter if one of his negroes with whom we had been conversing was married. He told me, Yes, he had a wife on that estate, as well as another, her sister, on a different property which belonged to him; but that there was no legal validity in the marriage ceremony. I remarked, that he must be mistaken, as an Episcopal minister at Charleston would not have lent himself to the performance of a sacred rite, if it were nugatory in practice, and in the eye of the law. He replied, that he himself was a lawyer by profession, and that no legal validity ever had been, or ought to be, given to the marriage tie, so long as the right of sale could separate parent and child, husband and wife. Such separations, he said, could not always be prevented, when slaves multiplied fast, though they were avoided by the masters as far as possible. He defended the custom of bringing up the children of the same estate in common, as it was far more humane not to cherish domestic ties among slaves. On the same farm I talked with several slaves who had been set to fell timber by task-work, and had finished by the middle of the day. They never appeared to be overworked; and the rapidity with which they increase beyond the whites in the United States shows that they are not in a state of discomfort, oppression, and misery. Doubtless, in the same manner as in Ireland and parts of Great Britain, the want of education, mental culture, and respect for themselves, favours improvident marriages among the poor; so the state of mere animal existence of the slave, and his low moral and intellectual condition, coupled with kind treatment and all freedom from care, promote their multiplication. The effect of the institution on the progress of the whites is most injurious, and, after travelling in the northern States, and admiring their rapid advance, it is most depressing to the spirits. There appears to be no place in society for poor whites. If they are rich, their



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

slaves multiply, and from motives of kindly feeling towards retainers, and often from false pride, they are very unwilling to sell them. Hence They are constantly tempted to maintain a larger establishment than is warranted by the amount of their capital, and they often become involved in their circumstances, and finally bankrupt. The prudence, temper, and decision of character required to manage a plantation successfully is very great. It is notorious that the hardest taskmasters to the slaves are those who come from the northern free States.

Philadelphia, PENNSYLVANIA. Feb. 1, 1842 Religious Fervor of Women.

While here I heard complaints of the religious excitement into which the city had been just thrown by the arrival of a popular New England preacher, who attracted such crowds that at length all the sittings of his church were monopolized by the fair sex. American gallantry forbids that a woman should remain standing while gentlemen are comfortably seated in their pews, so that at last the men were totally excluded. Notice was immediately given that certain services were to be entirely reserved for the men; this announcement well calculated to provoke curiosity, and to tempt many a stray sheep from other folds. It was then thought expedient for the ministers of rival sects to redouble their zeal, that they might not be left behind in the race, and even the sober Episcopalians, though highly disapproving of the movement, increased the number of their services; so that I was assured it would be possible for the same individual between the hours of seven o'clock in the morning and nine in the evening, to go seven times to church in one day. The consequences are too like those occasionally experienced in the "old country," where enthusiasm is not kindled by so much free competition, to be worth dwelling upon. Every day added new recruits to a host of ascetic devotees, and places of public amusement were nearly deserted— at last even the innocent indulgence of social intercourse was not deemed blameless: and the men who had generally escaped the contagion in the midst of their professional avocations, found a gloomy cast over society or over their domestic circle. The young ladies, in particular, having abundance of leisure, were filled with a lively sense of their own exceeding wickedness, and the sins of their parents and guardians.

1846

April 14 or 15: The families of James F. Reed and George and Jacob Donner, 33 people in nine wagons, left Springfield, [Illinois](#).

THE DONNER DISASTER

May 1, Friday: Abraham Lincoln was nominated to be a Whig candidate from [Illinois](#) for the US House of Representatives.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 13, Wednesday: The US Congress having been informed a couple of days before by President [James Knox Polk](#), that a state of war existed between the United States of American and its southern neighbor, [Mexico](#), it recognized the existence of a state of war with [Mexico](#) and voted to authorize the President to solicit volunteers for the purpose of prosecution of that de facto war. What had happened was that the US had staged a provocation, inducing army soldiers to don stolen [Mexican](#) uniforms and stage a mock attack upon their own garrison post near the border. Word of this “Gulf of Tonkin” fraud would soon leak out of government circles and the war upon [Mexico](#) would become the 1st, but not the last, widely protested war in our history.⁶⁸

[WAR ON MEXICO](#)

Medical standards were so nonexistent that a fraud like Dr. Thomas J. Hodges would have no trouble performing the duties of a US Army surgeon during this foreign campaign. “Which leg?”

May 19: Early in the day a party of covered-wagon travelers from Springfield reached Colonel William H. Russell’s camp on Soldiers’ Creek or Indian Creek, a tributary of the Kansas River about 100 miles west of Independence. A new census of the party was taken and it was found to consist of 98 fighting men, 50 women, 46 wagons, and 350 cattle. The party agreed that for convenience in traveling they would divide into two groups. The cattle were allowed to rest while the men hunted and fished and the women dried washed clothing on boughs and bushes. Children made mud pies in the creek and gathered flowers between the cottonwood, beech, and alder trees. Colonel Russell made certain that new members of the party, such as a group of nine wagons from Illinois conveying the Reed and Donner families, were aware of and agreed with the plan of travel.

May 25: The wagon train of the Graves family from Marshall County, [Illinois](#), crossed the Missouri River at St. Joseph. From this day until the 29th, the wagon train of the Russell family would be held up by high water at the Big Blue River near present-day Marysville, Kansas. Levinah Murphy and her extended family joined this wagon train.

[Waldo Emerson](#)’s 43d birthday.



Louis-[Napoléon](#) Bonaparte escaped imprisonment in Ham in France and made his way toward London.

Now follows the second day’s observations I am copying from the journal of Thomas Swann Woodcock, one of the tourists who took the popular tour of this decade to the [Niagara Falls](#).

Left Albany at 9 O’Clock by the Railway for Schenectady, a distance of 17 Miles, for which 62.5 cents is charged, we were

68. A Representative from [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln, would 1st rise to the nation’s attention when he would begin to make public demands of the President, that we be informed of the “exact location” at which Mexico had allegedly invaded the United States. That Representative would learn that such anti-war antics did nothing to help the personal career and agenda of an American politician and, the next time the occasion offered, he would not attempt this stunt but instead would stay safely on the “loyal” pro-war side of the fence.

[US MILITARY INTERVENTIONS](#)



drawn by Horses about 2 Miles, being a steep ascent, we then found a Steam Engine waiting for us (built by Stephenson and called the John Bull) the road is then quite level for 14 Miles through the poorest Country I ever saw, the sand banks are so loose that trees have been cut down and laid upon them, to promote vegetation and prevent the sand from drifting, the sides of the Road are plentifully strewn with wild flowers, amongst which I perceived the blue lupin in great abundance, we at length stop to have our carriages attached to a stationary Engine which lets us down an inclined plane, from the top of which we have a fine view of Schenectady and part of the Valley of the Mohawk. it is chiefly built of Bricks and is in a low flat situation, and I think a place of no great importance, we arrived at this place at half past 10. from the cars we proceeded to enter our names for the Packet Boat, these boats are about 70 feet long, and with the exception of the Kitchen and bar, is occupied as a Cabin, the forward part being the ladies Cabin, is seperated [sic] by a curtain, but at meal times this obstruction is removed, and the table is set the whole length of the boat, the table is supplied with every thing that is necessary and of the best quality with many of the luxuries of life, on finding we had so many passengers, I was at a loss to know how we should be accomodated [sic] with berths, as I saw no convenience for anything of the kind, but the Yankees ever awake to contrivances have managed to stow more in so small a space than I thought them capable of doing, the way they proceed is as follows - The Settees that go the whole length of the Boat on each side unfold and form a cot bed. the space between this bed and the ceiling is so divided as to make room for two more, the upper berths are merely frames with sacking bottoms, one side of which has two projecting pins, which fit into sockets in the side of the boat, the other side has two cords attached one to each corner, these are suspended from hooks in the ceiling, the bedding is then placed upon them, the space between the berths being barely sufficient for a man to crawl in, and presenting the appearance of so many shelves, much apprehension is always entertained by passengers when first seeing them, lest the cords should break, such fears are however groundless, the berths are allotted according to the way bill the first on the list having his first choice and in changing boats the old passengers have the preference, the first Night I tried an upper berth, but the air was so foul that I found myself sick when I awoke, afterwards I choose an under berth and found no ill effects from the air, these Boats have three Horses, go at quicker rate and have the preference in going through the locks, carry no freight, are built extremely light, and have quite Genteel Men for their Captains, and use silver plate. the distance between Schenectady and Utica is 80 Miles the passage is \$3.50 which includes board, there are other Boats called Line Boats that carry at a cheaper rate, being found for half of the price mentioned, they are larger Boats carry freight have only two horses, and consequently do not go as quickly, and moreover have not so select a company, some Boats go as low as 1 cent per Mile the passengers finding themselves. The Bridges on the Canal are very low, particularly the old ones, indeed they are so low as to



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

scarcely allow the baggage to clear, and in some cases actually rubbing against it, every Bridge makes us bend double if seated on anything, and in many cases you have to lie on your back. the Man at the helm gives the Word to the Passengers. "Bridge" "very low Bridge" "the lowest in the Canal" as the case may be, some serious accidents have happened for want of caution, a young English Woman met with her death a short time since, she having fallen asleep with her head upon a box had her head crushed to pieces, such things however do not often occur, and in general it affords amusement to the passengers who soon immatate [sic] the cry, and vary it with a command, such as "All Jackson men bow down." after such commands we find few Aristocrats, an anecdote is told of one man, who after travelling on the Canal got under the bed in his sleep, and when partially awake durst not lift up his head. a man who slept near me, got up early in the Morning and going to his comrades berth drew his hand gently over his face, at the same time calling out "Bridge" when he suddenly started up amidst the laughter of the passengers. The Canal was within sight of the Mohawk River, in some cases only the towing path being between, the wall rising from the Channel of the river and being elevated 20 or 30 feet. This is the Valley of the Mohawk. so narrow is it in some places that there seems scarcely room for the River the Road and the Canal which pass through it, the scenery is not unlike that of the Valley of the Wye in Derbyshire. the land is perfectly flat and of a fine alluvial soil, said to be the richest in the State, it is held almost exclusively by persons of German extraction who preserve the language and customs of their ancestors, this level region is called the German Flats, and is so famous for its fertility that nothing can induce the Germans to sell, it is valued at \$200 per acre, though the uplands can be bought for \$40. these Germans are enemies to all improvement, are very industrious, but not very cleanly in their habits, in the broad parts of the Valley there are some Dutch Villages which have a very neat appearance, at Frankfort 10 miles from Utica we commence on the long level which is 69.5 miles without a lock, we arrived in Utica at about half 8 O'Clock AM. I had resolved to stay at this place and visit Trenton Falls, but owing to the unfavourable [sic] state of the Weather I concluded to proceed, our Boat went close alongside the Packet for Rochester, so we had only to step out of one onto the other, which as soon as we had done she immediately sailed, we paid \$6.50 each the distance being 160 Miles, our living was first rate, we passed through Utica, which seemed to be a large and important place, we could see five Rows of Brick Stores, and the place had an appearance of prosperity, at this place we took on several passengers who had come by stage, having left the Railway Station at the same time we did, they certainly got in about 5 hours before us but the roads were so bad that they complained of sore bones, and preferred the boat which though not the quickest, is decidedly the most pleasant way of travelling, one of these was a Liverpool Lumber Merchant on his way to Canada, but who was going out of his route to see the "Falls." Three Miles West of Utica we pass through the Village of Whitesboro' [Whitestown] where Marshalls Weaving Factory is located, the Mill can be seen at a distance,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

surrounded by small cottage Houses, there was a person of the Name of John Harper who left Manchester about 3 years before I did who settled in this place. It was my Intention to have called upon him, as however I could not do so, I jumped off the Boat near the bridge ran into a store and enquired if he still lived there, after ascertaining that fact I got on board again, this is a most beautiful village, and is called an Old Settlement, but you will judge of its age when I tell you that it was a Wilderness in 1785. it is called after White a native of Connt [sic] who was the first settler. here is a manual labour [sic] school which is in successful operation, the student paying his own expenses by the sweat of his brow, after passing through various settlements with high sounding names of Indian and Classical origin we arrived at Syracuse, famous for its Salt Manufactories. the vats for the evaporation of the Water from the Salt by the suns rays may be seen on both sides of the Canal on the Western extremety [sic] of the village, light wooden roofs are kept ready to slide over these vats in bad weather, and the salt is taken out once in two or three days. Salina is about 1.5 Miles from Syracuse, and as its name indicates, is a Salt establishment, the mode of evaporation here is that of boiling. Liverpool is about 6 Miles distant on the edge of the Lake (which is about 6 Miles long and 2 broad), these and other villages are solely employed in the Manufacture of Salt, there is a canal here that runs to Oswego on Lake Ontario, which had I have known at the time, I would have taken as the best route to the "falls," as I should then have touched at Toronto the Capital of U.C. We then pass through Palmyra, and over the Grand Embankment 72 feet high and extending 2 Miles, we at length arrived at Rochester at Eleven 0 Clock P.M. and went immediately to the Clinton Hotel where we staid for the Night, this City is elevated 500 feet above the Hudson River, from which place it is distant 270 Miles, it was first settled in 1812, and in 1827 contained 10,818 Inhabitants, the Genesee River runs through the City, the Canal being carried over by means of an aquaduct [sic]. it consists of ten arches of stone. the water rushes under with fearful rapidity, so much as to force itself up the battlements of the bridge, the water power is estimated at 38,400 horses, the whole river supplies 20,000 cubic feet a Minute; and the combined height of the falls of Rochester and Carthage is 280 feet, the water of course is so rapid as to prevent navigation. After getting breakfast we proceeded to the Village of Brighton in order to find out David Miller an acquaintance [sic] of G Woodwards. it is situated about 3 Miles from the City. when we arrived there we found he had removed 3 or 4 Miles to the Northward, and accordingly shaped our course that way, after taking the wrong road for about 2 Miles, we had to retrace our Steps, proceeding in our right course we soon got into the Woods, which are now for the first time thought worth the time to subdue, everything here is new but the Forests, log houses of all grades from the Whitewashed, neatly fenced in, to the black looking, mud-surrounded hovel. the roads are of the kind called corderoy [sic] consisting of logs of Wood rolled together. I have for the first time observed the practise of Girdling that is cutting the bark all around the tree so as to prevent the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

rising of the sap. Capt Basil Hall calls them the Banquos of the Forest. I have seen few large trees, in that I have been disappointed, but here they certainly attain their full growth, but they are so closely packed together that they cannot send out side shoots but run towering up to a great height, when left standing by themselves the wind soon blows them down, it is also next to impossible to pass through these woods, on account of the vast quantities of decayed matter, the trees of former Generations lie in vast heaps in all the stages of decomposition, you may observe the prostrate trunk of some deceased Monarch that is apparantly [sic] sound, but if you but step upon it, it crumbles to dust, the rays of the sun cannot penetrate these recesses, consequently there is no grass or underwood, it is only in the thinly wooded country that cattle can find pasture. still when this land is cleared, it yields enormous crops. We at length reached the house of David Miller, for house it was, and the only one near, the rest being merely log huts, on making enquiries at the door we learned that he had that Morning gone to the State of Michigan, to see his Father who was lying dangerously ill, we found his daughter at home who desired us to walk in and be seated. without asking us any questions she proceeded to get us some refreshments ready, and very soon placed them on the table, this from a girl not over 13 years of age, was what I should not have suspected. I found her to be very intelligent, it seems she was left the sole housekeeper, with a small child to take care of, we had some of the best bread served up that I ever tasted, and on asking whether it was not mixed up with milk instead of water, found that was the case, and a young Man her Uncle, who afterwards came in told me he never saw any other kind, it seems that Miller sold his other farm for \$30 per acre, it was on the banks of the canal, but had not a good house, he bought the present farm 2 years ago for \$37 with an excellent House upon it worth \$500. it consists of 51 acres, it was partially improved, he has cut down more since and has got a crop upon it, he now considers it worth with the crop as it now stands \$62. this land you must bear in mind though called cleared has an immense number of stumps upon it which will take years to eradicate, a person of the name of Pipkin has bought 200 acres of beautiful really clear land, with a Mansion upon it, for \$200 per acre, a person opposite him bought 4 acres with an house upon it for which he paid \$300 per acre, this land he told me had been worked for 20 years without putting anything upon it. Returned to Rochester in the Afternoon, took a survey of the flour Mills, which are fine stone Building of an immense size, at 5 0 Clock went on board the Canal Boat, the distance to Buffaloe [sic] is 93 Miles, 63 of which is on a level, the fare was \$3.50 but owing to opposition is now reduced to \$1.50. night soon coming on prevented me from seeing much of the Country, the next morning we found ourselves in the Neighbourhood of Lockport. at this place there are five double locks of excellent workmanship which elevate us 60 feet, we are therefore 560 above the Hudson and have attained the same elevation as the "falls" from which place we are only distant about 12 Miles. The following inscription I copied from the stone work on entering the lock. Erie Canal-



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"Let posterity be excited to perpetuate our free Institutions, and to make still greater efforts, than their Ancestors, to promote Public Prosperity by the recollection that these works of Internal Improvement were achieved by the spirit and perseverance of Republican Freemen." after going through the deep cutting immediately following the locks we arrive at Pendleton, the Entrance to the Tonawanda creek, which I think is very unwisely used for navigation their being a strong current after Rains which must greatly impede the Boats that are coming up, this Creek is used for 12 Miles, we then arrive at Tonawanda, and obtain the first glimpse of Canada and the Niagara River which now is only seperated [sic] from the Canal by an embankment, we here only see one half of the River, Grand Island being in the centre, this Island is about 12 Miles long and is covered with Oak timber, a Boston Company have Steam Saw Mills erected for the purpose of sawing it up into plank, two Ships have just been built here, the first that have been built for the Lake Trade. It was on this Island that Major Noah of New York wished to collect the scattered tribes of Israel. We next arrive at Black Rock, from which place we can distinctly see the buildings on the Canada Side, one large Building had written upon it in large letters "Cloth Establishment", the reason is obvious. John Bull can sell Cloth to his Brother Jonathan Free of duty, consequently he crosses the river for his clothes. Jonathan in turn accomodates [sic] John by letting him have his tea duty free, at half past 2 0 Clock we arrived at Buffaloe [sic], and proceeded to the Mansion House where we put up. Buffaloe is a lake Port. Steam Boats run from here to the far West, a few years ago and this was considered as such, but now nothing short of the Pacific Ocean can be considered such, from the description I had read of this place by Capt. Basil Hall, I had expected to find it a thriving though a small place, and the buildings to be chiefly of wood, but instead of this I found Main Street to be entirely of brick and the Stores really splendid, fine brick buildings were springing up in all directions, at the foot of Main Street there was 17 Brick Stores nearly finished and I was told that they were all ready rented at \$700 a year, how these rents are to be paid I really cannot tell as the Port must be closed 5 Months in the year, the streets were most abominably muddy, they not being paved, a circumstance not to be Wondered at when we find that they cannot speculate in paving stones. I observed that Gentlemen wore their Pantaloon inside their boots to protect them from the mud, this is the place for speculation, the people are all going mad, in the bar rooms of the Hotels plans of intended Towns are stuck up in the same style that play bills are stuck up in Manchester. these plans look very pretty indeed, the lots are laid out quite regular, and every thing cut and dried. a parcel of these lots are put up at Auction, terms so much per cent, say 10 at the day of sale 30 per cent in 2 Months the rest on Bond and Morgage [sic]. the buyer gets a title, they are then puffed off in the newspapers and the individuals go round peddling them, sells them for an advance, pockets the difference and speculates again, sensible men agree that these places will not be settled upon during the present Generation but it serves to speculate



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

upon and for all use full purposes land in the Moon would do just as well, in this way Chicago has been got up, but they have managed to build some houses there, it is 1,000 Miles from Buffaloe, and lots sell for from \$70 to 250 dollars a foot, that is, if a lot of Ground is 25 feet by 100 or so it would be called 25 feet, now this Buffalo is a most corrupt place as regards money matters, the whole of these fine buildings being build upon Credit, should an alteration in the value of money take place, and it most assuredly will, then these men cannot pay their Mortgages, the Banks will then claim them and as I firmly believe the Banks cannot redeem their paper now how will it be then? there is a person here by the name of Rathbun who they say has built up the place, he is the greatest builder, the Greatest Stage Contractor in fact he is at the head of everything and I see by the papers has lately offered Niagara Falls for sale for Manufacturing purposes, now this man is admitted on all hands to be unable to pay his debts and yet his notes pass current for money, the people declaring that they dare not let him break as it would ruin the whole place. a law has been passed in this state to prevent the circulation of small notes, ones and twos are at present uncurrent and illegal and 3s after next August, yet ones are quite in common circulation and those too of other States, none of which are legal under \$5. to sum up the matter it is a fine place, a splendid pyramid, but it is based on a peg. in looking out from my bed room Window I observed that the chimneys had all stages to support them and on paying attention to this circumstance I found that it was to protect them from the violence of the Gales from the Lake which I am told blow with great violence, the waves from the lake last fall made a complete breach in the canal wall and washed sand onto the bank on the other side, in fact in coming along the canal I saw plenty of evidence of the violence of the Wind in the fact of so many trees lying prostrate the roots completely torn out of the Ground. here I also found great numbers of emigrants ready to embark for the West. great numbers of poor Germans and also many Wealthy Yankees who having sold excellent farms to the Eastward were going into a Wilderness because the land was so very rich. these persons take with them their families, and as the land is so very rich and requires so little cultivation, they become a set of idle vagabonds and but one step removed from the Indians. I have however been told that many of these families are actually suffering from want, they are on the land but the land wants clearing and untill [sic] that is done they have to buy their food and I am told that pork is selling at 2 shillings per lb. and flour at \$15 per barrel.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

August 3: Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) was elected to the US House of Representatives. Here is his 1st Daguerreotype sitting of which we have any knowledge, and you will notice that the photographer did not know how to deal with the eye that stared at the nose — it's like the man had never before been challenged to photograph a cross-eyed politician:



1847

December 22, Wednesday: Congressman Abraham Lincoln from [Illinois](#) presented resolutions questioning President [James Knox Polk](#) about US hostilities with Mexico.⁶⁹



WAR ON MEXICO



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1848

In New-York, Charles Burton created the baby carriage.

In Brooklyn, the pharmaceutical firm Pfizer, Inc. was formed to begin manufacture and sale of a candy-coated dewormer dose.

Alexander T. Steward founded the initial department store, on Broadway.

City University was founded.

A group of city newspapers organize the Associated Press.

High Bridge over the Harlem River was completed.

New-York and [Chicago](#) became joined at the hip, by telegraph wire.

The Market Building, [Chicago](#)'s 1st City Hall, was erected on State Street.

[Edward Sherman Hoar](#) passed the bar exam and became qualified to practice law in the State of New York.

January 22, Sunday: With the fighting finally at an end, Representative Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) gave a speech on floor of the House of Representatives in opposition to President [James Knox Polk](#)'s war policy regarding [Mexico](#).

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York [Tribune](#) from [Rome](#):

January 22, 2 o'clock, P.M.

Pour, pour, pour again, dark as night, — many people coming in to see me because they don't know what to do with themselves. I am very glad to see them for the same reason; this atmosphere is so heavy, I seem to carry the weight of the world on my head and feel unfitted for every exertion. As to eating, that is a bygone thing; wine, coffee, meat, I have resigned; vegetables are few and hard to have, except horrible cabbage, in which the Romans delight. A little rice still remains, which I take with pleasure, remembering it growing in the rich fields of Lombardy, so green and full of glorious light. That light fell still more beautiful on the tall plantations of hemp, but it is dangerous just at present to think of what is made from hemp.

This week all the animals are being blessed,⁷⁰ and they get a gratuitous baptism, too, the while. The lambs one morning were taken out to the church of St. Agnes for this purpose. The little companion of my travels, if he sees this letter, will remember

69. The Representative from [Illinois](#) would learn that opposing a rush to war can do nothing to help a politician's Washington career and, the next time the occasion would offer, he would remain safely on the "loyal" or pro-war side of the fence.

70. One of Rome's singular customs. — ED.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

how often we saw her with her lamb in pictures. The horses are being blessed by St. Antonio, and under his harmonizing influence are afterward driven through the city, twelve and even twenty in hand. They are harnessed into light wagons, and men run beside them to guard against accident, in case the good influence of the Saint should fail.

This morning came the details of infamous attempts by the Austrian police to exasperate the students of Pavia. The way is to send persons to smoke cigars in forbidden places, who insult those who are obliged to tell them to desist. These traps seem particularly shocking when laid for fiery and sensitive young men. They succeeded: the students were lured, into combat, and a number left dead and wounded on both sides. The University is shut up; the inhabitants of Pavia and Milan have put on mourning; even at the theatre they wear it. The Milanese will not walk in that quarter where the blood of their fellow-citizens has been so wantonly shed. They have demanded a legal investigation of the conduct of the officials.

At Piacenza similar attempts have been made to excite the Italians, by smoking in their faces, and crying, "Long live the Emperor!" It is a worthy homage to pay to the Austrian crown, — this offering of cigars and blood.

"O this offence is rank; it smells to Heaven."

This morning authentic news is received from Naples. The king, when assured by his own brother that Sicily was in a state of irresistible revolt, and that even the women quelled the troops, — showering on them stones, furniture, boiling oil, such means of warfare as the household may easily furnish to a thoughtful matron, — had, first, a stroke of apoplexy, from, which the loss of a good deal of bad blood relieved him. His mind apparently having become clearer thereby, he has offered his subjects an amnesty and terms of reform, which, it is hoped, will arrive before his troops have begun to bombard the cities in obedience to earlier orders.

Comes also to-day the news that the French Chamber of Peers propose an Address to the King, echoing back all the falsehoods of his speech, including those upon reform, and the enormous one that "the peace of Europe is now assured"; but that some members have worthily opposed this address, and spoken truth in an honorable manner.

Also, that the infamous sacrifice of the poor little queen of Spain puts on more tragic colors; that it is pretended she has epilepsy, and she is to be made to renounce the throne, which, indeed, has been a terrific curse to her. And Heaven and Earth have looked calmly on, while the king of France has managed all this with the most unnatural of mothers.

April: The [Illinois](#) and Michigan [Canal](#) was completed at a cost of \$6,170,226, and William Gooding became secretary to the Canal Trustees.

CHICAGO

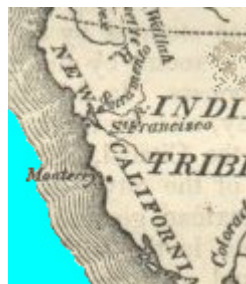
ILLINOIS

May: Having satisfactorily completed his studies, [L'Abbé Emmanuel-Henri-Dieudonné Domenech](#) was assigned to duty at a new German settlement, Castroville, in Texas (later he would be transferred to Brownsville). The war with Mexico was just concluded; raiding bands of Mexicans and rangers were ravaging on both sides of the Rio Grande, while outlaws from the border States and almost equally lawless discharged soldiers filled the new towns, and hostile Indians hovered constantly in the background. A cholera epidemic added its horrors. Nevertheless the young priest would soon be relied upon throughout southern Texas.

Scientific American magazine reported on the use of wire as a fencing material in northern [Illinois](#). "The cost, as near as we can learn, is about 35 cents to the rod. It is said to be most admirable against all stock but swine. Cattle and horses particularly, after having their noses well sawed by it once, can scarcely be got near it again."



"Gold Fever" arrived in San Francisco and Monterey. Soldiers left their posts and sailors abandoned their ships to seek gold in the mountains near Sacramento.



June: Abraham Lincoln attended the national Whig convention in support of General Zachary Taylor as their nominee for President. He would campaign for this candidate in [Maryland](#) and in Boston, and then in [Illinois](#).

October 10, Tuesday: "The Pioneer," [Chicago's](#) first locomotive, arrived at the Galena and Chicago Union Railroad. The railroad and the [canal](#) would be vital to the city's development (eventually this would become the largest railroad center in the world).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1849

March 7, Wednesday: On this day and the following one, Abraham Lincoln would be making an appeal before the US Supreme Court in regard to the [Illinois](#) statute of limitations, but his appeal would be unsuccessful.

March 31: It is probably on this day that Nathan Johnson left [New Bedford](#), bound for the California gold fields. (Between December 1848 and April 1850, at least a dozen other New Bedford men of color were reaching this same decision — evidently they were all trusting that a gold strike would enable them to pay off debts.)

Abraham Lincoln returned to Springfield, [Illinois](#) and abandoned politics for the private practice of law.

1850

H. von Helmholtz measured the speed of nervous impulses in frogs.

E. Du Bois-Reymond invented a galvanometer that could measure the electric impulses in nerves.

The mechanization of agriculture began. Mechanical reapers, and later the internal combustion engine (and consequently the tractor) altered the face of the world — and the growth and increasing urbanization of the world population. Between 1860 and 1920, about 1,000,000,000 acres of new land were brought under cultivation, with another 1,000,000,000 acres coming into production during the following six decades. Improvements in shipping, refrigeration, and processing further industrialized this process. Today's American farmer receives 4% of the price of chicken in the store and 12% of the price of a can of corn.

During this decade Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, exploiting the popularity of the writings of Humboldt in an utterly typical and enviably wrongheaded manner, would be espousing a novel and dangerous notion: in this best of all possible worlds, rain follows the plow. All we need to do, therefore, in this best of all possible worlds, to transform the arid high grasslands of the center of the North American continent into an edenic paradise, is determinedly to turn that arid sod and till that arid soil. As in baseball's field of dreams, if you build it they will come! "They," in this case, would turn out to be the vast black clouds of dust and despair of the 1930s: the Dustbowl. Ecology will not be mocked. By this point fully half of the native-born Vermonters had abandoned its rocky soil for points west. Sometimes entire towns moved as groups. [Herman Melville](#) would comment after a tour during the 1850s, that "Some of these mountain townships ... look like countries depopulated by plague and war. Every mile or two a house is passed untenanted." Horace Greeley would embrace this wish-fulfilment fantasy: "Go West, Young Man!" The rolling plains of [Illinois](#) would turn out to possess singular advantages not only in terms of a more fertile soil but also in terms of a scale more appropriate to the emergence of labor-saving farm machinery. The dry plateaus of Oklahoma, Kansas, Colorado, and the Texas panhandle would prove to be another, no less rocky, disappointment. And when they did turn the land into an ecological disaster, where would be Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian to say that "he was sure sorry"; where would be the federal government to make up for its poor imperial advice by the rendering of assistance to the distressed?

[Spencer Fullerton Baird](#) became junior assistant secretary at the Smithsonian Institution. The next fifteen years would be made difficult not only for him but for the others there, because of the character of the first secretary of that institution, Joseph Henry. It was perfectly legitimate, Henry felt, since he was the boss and since the reputation of that establishment was upon his shoulders, that he should be able at any time to riffle through the desks, opening and reading any and all correspondence. Woe would be the lot of any person there who had a locked desk, if the first secretary found that the key he had been given was not a working key! When Baird arrived at the new Smithsonian Castle, there were still slave pens behind the structure. On the bright side, Congress had just agreed to the Compromise of 1850 — so these pens were not as jam packed full of human chattel as they had been in previous years.



Camphene, a mixture of turpentine and alcohol which is highly volatile and explosive but had for reasons of economy been used in lamps since 1830, at this point passed out of use.

In [Chicago](#), gas lamps were erected on Lake Street and several adjacent blocks.

Allan Pinkerton escaped the constraints of his job with the city of [Chicago](#) to found his own Private Detection Agency, one of the first of its kind. It was just a fact of the times that local police forces were understaffed, underpaid, and corrupt. Often they couldn't stir themselves to go out of their way to catch a dangerous criminal, if that person had left their jurisdiction and was therefore no longer their problem. Soon it would become known, however, that these relentless "Pinks," when it was made worth their while, were going to trail a criminal from one end of the continent to the other. Those who could afford to pay for it were, one way or another, going to be able to obtain the completion of their vengeance with a polite nod to the criminal justice system.



[Caleb G. Forshey](#) was instrumental in drawing up the report of the Louisiana Legislature's Senate Standing Committee on Levees and Drainage. He would, however, find himself in disagreement with the major recommendations of this report.

In this year the federal congress was donating almost 15,000,000 acres of federal swampland to the midwestern states, in the Swamp Land Act. Originally, you may or may not know, the swamplands of the midwest encompassed some 64,000,000 acres — that's collectively the size of the state of Oregon. Nearly a quarter of the state of [Illinois](#) was wetland. The entire northwestern corner of Indiana, up near Lake Michigan, was swamp. Such a "desolate waste" was to be transformed by this giveaway program into a "habitat for industrious, healthy, and happy people" (white people, that is), by the states selling the public lands to these trusting private citizens and using the moneys collected to then begin hearty and helpful and humongous public drainage projects. Make the water go away. Relocate it through drainage pipes. Excrete it through sewer pipes. (Fortunately all such projects would collapse due to mismanagement and theft before any great damage would be done to the biomes of the midwestern American swamps.)

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

During this decade some farmers would begin utilizing horse-driven machinery instead of day-wage Irishmen to dig the deep ditches needed for the tiling of their meadows. The value of their farmland might rise 500% upon proper drainage. (A few generations after these horseshoe-shaped drainage tiles had been laid under the fields, their grandchildren would not even be aware that the fields of their family farm had at one time been soggy with surface waters.)

The sewage system of [Chicago](#) consisted of hollowed-out logs that drained by gravity to Lake Michigan (the main source of Chicago's drinking water). In this year the city began to plan to raise the general level of the foundations of all buildings by ten to fifteen feet, in order to allow the creation of a comprehensive system of combined sewers that would drain freely and quickly into the Chicago River (which of course debouched into the aforesaid Lake Michigan). This ambitious project would later be recognized as the 1st comprehensive sewerage plan in the United States of America. Per a report prepared in this year by Rogers, Chesbrough, and Parrott for the municipality of [Boston](#):

As the law now stands, any proprietor of land may lay out streets at such level as he may deem to be for his immediate interest, without municipal interference; and when they have been covered with houses and a large population are suffering the deplorable consequences of defective sewerage, the Board of Health is called upon to accept them and assume the responsibility of applying a remedy.

After a series of [cholera](#) epidemics in the 1830s, Paris had begun to pay attention to its toilets. During the following decades of the 19th Century, newer and larger sewers (*les egouts*) would be being constructed, and Eugène Belguard would receive design credit for much of this. Construction work began in this year, with the borrowing of the necessary moneys. By 1870, beneath the rues of Paris over 500 kilometers of new sewers would be in service or under construction.



February 1: Edward, a son of Abraham Lincoln and his wife Mary Todd Lincoln, died after a 2-month illness. The lawyer would resume his travels in the 8th Judicial Circuit, covering over 400 miles in 14 counties in [Illinois](#).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

June 4-28: [Waldo Emerson](#) went with a group on the *Ben Franklin* steamboat on the Ohio River from Cincinnati to Louisville, then took the *Mammoth Cave* steamer to Evansville and up the Green River and the Barren River to Bowling Green KY. There they transferred to stagecoaches for a visit to Mammoth Cave. The party walked from 7:30AM to 9:30PM, venturing nine miles into the cave. Emerson went back into the cave again for four hours the next day, and missed his transportation and had to hike seven miles before he got a ride back to Bowling Green. He then took a stagecoach to Eddyville and a steamer down the Cumberland River to Paducah, and took another steamer down the Ohio River to Cairo and up the Mississippi River to St. Louis. Since people were dying of [cholera](#) in Emerson's hotel, he left as soon as possible for Galena, and took a stagecoach to Elgin and a train to [Chicago](#). While in Chicago he took a buggy ride along the shore of Lake Michigan. He then crossed Lake Michigan to New Buffalo and took a train through Detroit back to Boston.



June 5: To night June 5th after a hot day I hear the first peculiar summer breathing of the frogs. When all is calm a small whirlwind will suddenly lift up the blazing leaves & let them fall beyond the line & set all the woods in a blaze in a moment— Or some slight almost invisible cinder seed of fire will be wafted from the burnt district on to the dry turf which covers the surface & fills the crevices of sunny rocks—& there it will catch as in tinder & smoke & smoulder perchance for half an hour heating several square yards of ground where yet no fire is visible until it spreads to the leaves and the wind fans it into a blaze. Men go to a fire for entertainment. When I see how eagerly men will run to a fire whether in warm or in cold weather by day or by night dragging an engine at their heels, I am astonished to perceive how good a purpose the love of excitement is made to serve.— What other force pray — what offered pay — what disinterested neighborliness could ever effect so much. No these are boys who are to be dealt with — & these are the motives that prevail. There is no old man or woman dropping into the grave but covets excitement. Yesterday when I walked to Goodman's hill It seemed to me that the atmosphere was never so full of fragrance and spicy odors. There is a great variety in the fragrance of the apple blossoms as well as their tints — some are quite spicy— The air seemed filled with the odor of ripe strawberries — though it is quite too early for them. The earth was not only fragrant but sweet & spicy to the smell — reminding us of Arabian gales & what mariners tell of the spice islands. The first of June when the ladies slipper & the wild pink have come out in sunny places on the hill sides — then the summer is begun according to the clock of the seasons.

In his journal, [Henry Thoreau](#) was for the first time able to deal with the forest fire he and [Edward Sherman Hoar](#) had caused on April 30, 1844. At the start of Volume II of his journal we find seven leaves full of miscellaneous jottings prior to the initial recorded day date (which was that of May 12, 1850). These miscellaneous jottings included the following curious retrospective of said event:



I once set fire to the woods. Having set out, one April day, to go to the sources of Concord River in a boat with a single companion, meaning to camp on the bank at night or seek a lodging in some neighboring country inn or farmhouse, we took fishing tackle with us that we might fitly procure our food from the stream. Indian-like. At the shoemaker's near the river, we obtained a match, which we had forgotten. Though it was thus early ill the spring, the river was low, for there had not been much rain, and we succeeded in catching a mess of fish sufficient for our dinner before we had left the town, and by the shores of Fair Haven Pond we proceeded to cook them. The earth was uncommonly dry, and our fire, kindled far from the woods in a sunny recess in the hillside on the east of the pond, suddenly caught the dry grass of the previous year which grew about the stump on which it was kindled. We sprang to extinguish it at first with our hands and feet, and then we fought it with a board obtained from the boat, but in a few minutes it was beyond our reach; being on the side of a hill, it spread rapidly upward, through the long, dry, wiry grass interspersed with bushes.

"Well, where will this end?" asked my companion. I saw that it might be bounded by Well Meadow Brook on one side, but would, perchance, go to the village side of the brook. "It will go to town," I answered. While my companion took the boat back down the river, I set out through the woods to inform the owners and to raise the town. The fire had already spread a dozen rods on every side and went leaping and crackling wildly and irreclaimably toward the wood. That way went the flames with wild delight, and we felt that we had no control over the demonic creature to which we had given birth. We had kindled many fires in the woods before, burning a clear space in the grass, without ever kindling such a fire as this.

As I ran toward the town through the woods, I could see the smoke over the woods behind me marking the spot and the progress of the flames. The first farmer whom I met driving a team, after leaving the woods, inquired the cause of the smoke. I told him. "Well," said he, "it is none of my stuff," and drove along. The next I met was the owner in his field, with whom I returned at once to the woods, running all the way. I had already run two miles. When at length we got into the neighborhood of the flames, we met a carpenter who had been hewing timber, an infirm man who had been driven off by the fire, fleeing with his axe. The farmer returned to hasten more assistance. I, who was spent with running, remained. What could I do alone against a front of flame half a mile wide? I walked slowly through the wood to Fair Haven Cliff, climbed to the highest rock, and sat down upon it to observe the progress of the flames, which were rapidly approaching me, now about a mile distant from the spot where the fire was kindled. Presently I heard the sound of the distant bell giving the alarm, and I knew that the town was on its way to the scene. Hitherto I had felt like a guilty person, — nothing but shame and regret. But now I settled the matter with myself shortly. I said to myself: "Who are these men who are said to be the owners of these woods, and how am I related to them? I have set fire to the forest, but I have done no wrong therein, and now it is as if the lightning had done it. These flames are but consuming their natural food." (It has never troubled me from that day to this more than if the lightning had done it. The trivial fishing was all that disturbed me and disturbs me still.) So shortly I settled it with myself and stood to watch the approaching flames. It was a glorious spectacle, and I was the only one there to enjoy it. The fire now reached the base of the cliff and then rushed up its sides. The squirrels ran before it in blind haste, and three pigeons dashed into the midst of the smoke. The flames flashed up the pines to their tops, as if they were powder.

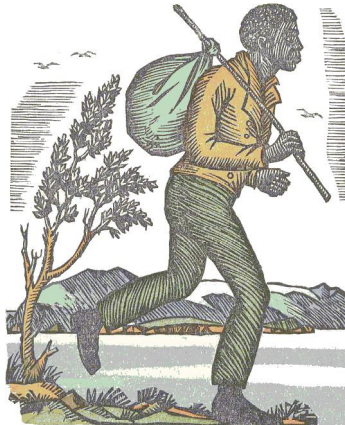
When I found I was about to be surrounded by the fire, I retreated and joined the forces now arriving from the town. It took us several hours to surround the flames with our hoes and shovels and by back fires subdue them. In the midst of all I saw the farmer whom I first met, who had turned indifferently away saying it was none of his stuff, striving earnestly to save his corded wood, his stuff, which the fire had already seized and which it after all consumed.

It burned over a hundred acres or more and destroyed much young wood. When I returned home late in the day, with others of my townsmen, I could not help noticing that the crowd who were so ready to condemn the individual who had kindled the fire did not sympathize with the owners of the wood, but were in fact highly elate and as it were thankful for the opportunity which had afforded them so much sport; and it was only half a dozen owners, so called, though not all of them, who looked sour or grieved, and I felt that I had a deeper interest in the woods, knew them better and should feel their loss more, than any or all of them. The farmer whom I had first conducted to the woods was obliged to ask me the shortest way back, through his own lot. Why, then, should the half-dozen owners [and] the individuals who set the fire alone feel sorrow for the loss of the wood, while the rest of the town have their spirits raised? Some of the owners, however, bore their loss like men, but other some declared behind my back that I was a "damned rascal;" and a flibbertigibbet or two, who crowed like the old cock, shouted some reminiscences of "burnt woods" from safe recesses for some years after. I have had nothing to say to any of them. The locomotive engine has since burned over nearly all the same ground and more, and in some measure blotted out the memory of the previous fire. For a long time after I had learned this lesson I marvelled that while matches and tinder were contemporaries the world was not consumed; why the houses that have hearths were not burned before another day; if the flames were not as hungry now as when I waked them. I at once ceased to regard the owners and my own fault, — if fault there was any in the matter, — and attended to the phenomenon before me, determined to make the most of it. To be sure, I felt a little ashamed when I reflected on what a trivial occasion this had happened, that at the time I was no better employed than my

townsmen.

That night I watched the fire, where some stumps still flamed at midnight in the midst of the blackened waste, wandering through the woods by myself; and far in the night I threaded my way to the spot where the fire had taken, and discovered the now broiled fish, — which had been dressed, — scattered over the burnt grass.

November 5: The [Chicago](#) abolitionist newspaper Western Citizen suggested that an appropriate response to the new Fugitive Slave Law would be for some of these black fugitives, who had escaped from Southern slavery among the wicked white people to Northern freedom among the decent white people, to return voluntarily to the South and there “seek martyrdom.” Yes, that’s not what they subliminally suggested, that’s the way they actually put the matter. Such black volunteers would serve, the newspaper pointed out editorially, as “propagandists of liberty.” The black martyrs would transform such self-immolation into “a standing appeal to the humanity of the North.”



To understand this sort of righteous newspaper rant, you have to understand something and understand it well: White abolitionism simply wasn’t about making the lives of Americans of color any easier. It didn’t have anything to do with that, at all. If you think it had anything to do with that, you’d better think again. It was about getting rid of The Negro Problem. It was about, it was all about, it was only about, the easing of the righteousnesses of white abolitionists.

“Let me hold you coat while somebody crucifies you.”

1851

The [Chicago](#) vicinity’s 1st university, Northwestern, was founded.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

On the island of Jamaica in this year, there began an epidemic of the [cholera](#).



There was [cholera](#) in Coles County, [Illinois](#), on the Great Plains, and in Missouri.

There had been objections to the intrusion on personal privacy occasioned by the activities of the agents of Lewis Tappan's Mercantile Agency and other such credit-verification firms (agents such as for instance the attorney Abraham Lincoln in [Illinois](#), who during the 1840s and 1850s was earning spot money by forwarding local gossip as to creditworthiness to the headquarters in New-York). Hunt's Merchants's Magazine charged in this year that, not to put too fine a point on it, any businessman who objected to such an invasion of privacy must be disingenuously attempting to get away with something unethical and unbusinesslike: "The man who objects to such investigation gives, in doing so, *prima facie* evidence that the result would be unfavorable to himself."

January 10, Friday-12, Sunday: [Waldo Emerson](#) was in Springfield, [Illinois](#), lecturing during these three succeeding evenings on "The Anglo-Saxon," on "Power," and on "Culture." Years later, Abraham Lincoln would remember that he had attended one of these three lectures — but would be quite unable to recall which particular topic was being covered on that evening.

1852

The 1st through train from the East Coast to [Chicago](#).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

November 17: William Draper Swan of [Chicago](#) (1809-1864) wrote to Frank Moore offering comments on life back in Boston, and selling horses. He discussed Franklin Pierce being chosen for President over Senator [Daniel Webster](#), and the nomination of Scoto.

December 11, Saturday: Frederick Law Olmsted set out on a 14-month tour from Virginia down through the Deep South into Texas. He had already decided that slavery was wrong before beginning this journalistic assignment of touring the slave states extended to him by a fellow Free-Soiler, Henry Raymond, editor of the New-York [Daily Times](#). A Hartford-born scientific farmer and the son of a prosperous merchant, he had studied agricultural science and engineering at Yale. Having put a large part of his 130-acre farm on Staten Island into fruit trees, by the time he came to the plantation system of the South he was not inclined to make the usual sort of “city boy” idealistic mistakes about farming. He would send off his newspaper articles as he went along and subsequently rework these into three books, *A JOURNEY IN THE SEABOARD SLAVE STATES* in 1856, *A JOURNEY THROUGH TEXAS* in 1857, and *A JOURNEY IN THE BACK COUNTRY* in 1860. Then he would condense and considerably revise the initial three books and issue the material again in 1861 as *THE COTTON KINGDOM*. He hoped to persuade the white planters that the enslavement of others wasn’t paying off for them – a mission not unlike that the indignant North Carolinian, Hinton R. Helper, intended for his polemical *THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH* which would appear shortly after Olmsted’s first book, but carried out by Olmsted in a considerably more subtle and indirect manner. Then in later years Olmsted would become a landscape architect, and design New York’s Central Park and the White City of the [Chicago](#)’s World Fair.



1853

February: [Illinois](#) adopted what was referred to as its “black law,” under which any “negro or mulatto” detected by an informer as attempting to reside within that state could be fined \$50 for a first offense, and more for any subsequent offenses. The law stipulated that persons unable to pay such fines were to be sold at public auction to work under conditions of enslavement until at the agreed rate the state had received 50% of the fine and the informer had received 50%. This black law, although seldom enforced, would be remaining on the Illinois lawbooks until 1865.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

I think the slaves generally (no one denies that there are exceptions) have plenty to eat; probably are fed better than the proletarian class of any other part of the world. I think that they generally save from their ration of meal. My informant said that commonly as much as five bushels of meal was sent to town by his hands every week, to be sold for them. Upon inquiry, he almost always found that it belonged to only two or three individuals, who had traded for it with the rest; he added, that too often the exchange was for whisky, which, against his rules, they obtained of some rascally white people in the neighborhood, and kept concealed. They were very fond of whisky, and sometimes much injured themselves with it.

To show me how well they were supplied with eggs, he said that once a vessel came to anchor, becalmed, off his place, and the captain came to him and asked leave to purchase some eggs of his people. He gave him permission, and called the cook to collect them for him. The cook asked how many she should bring. "Oh, all you can get," he answered – and she returned after a time, with several boys assisting her, bringing nearly two bushels, all the property of the slaves, and which they were willing to sell at four cents a dozen.

One of the smokers explained to me that it is very bad economy, not to allow an abundant supply of food to "a man's force." The negroes are fond of good living, and, if not well provided for, know how to provide for themselves. It is, also, but simple policy to have them well lodged and clothed. If they do not have comfortable cabins and sufficient clothing, they will take cold, and be laid up. He lost a very valuable negro, once, from having neglected to provide him with shoes.

Lodgings

The houses of the slaves are usually log-cabins, of various degrees of comfort and commodiousness. At one end there is a great open fire-place, which is exterior to the wall of the house, being made of clay in an inclosure, about eight feet square and high, of logs. The chimney is sometimes of brick, but more commonly of lath or split sticks, laid up like log-work and plastered with mud. They enjoy great roaring fires, and, as the common fuel is pitch pine, the cabin, at night when the door is open, seen from a distance, appears like a fierce furnace. The chimneys often catch fire, and the cabin is destroyed. Very little precaution can be taken against this danger. Several cabins are placed near together, and they are called "the quarters." On a plantation of moderate size there will be but one "quarters." The situation chosen for it has reference to convenience of obtaining water from springs and fuel from the woods. On some of the James River plantations there are larger houses, boarded and made ornamental. In these, eight families, each having a distinct sleeping-room and lock-up closets, and every two having a common kitchen or living-room, are accommodated.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

I wished to ascertain from him how old the different stages of the old-field forest-growth, by the side of our road, might be; but, for a long time, he was, or pretended to be, unable to comprehend my questions. When he did so, the most accurate information he could give me was, that he reckoned such a field (in which the pines were now some sixty feet high) had been planted with tobacco the year his old master bought him. He thought he was about twenty years old then, and that now he was forty. He had every appearance of being seventy.

He frequently told me there was no need for him to go any further, and that it was a dead, straight road to the station, without any forks. As he appeared very eager to return, I was at length foolish enough to allow myself to be prevailed upon to dispense with his guidance; gave him a quarter of a dollar for his time that I had employed, and went on alone. The road, which for a short distance further was plain enough, soon began to ramify, and, in half an hour, we were stumbling along a dark wood-path, looking eagerly for a house. At length, seeing one across a large clearing, we went through a long lane, opening gates and letting down bars, until we met two negroes, riding a mule, who were going to the plantation near the school-house, which we had seen the day before. Following them thither, we knew the rest of the way (Jane gave a bound and neighed, when we struck the old road, showing that she had beef lost, as well as I, up to the moment).

It was twenty minutes after the hour given in the time-table for the passage of the train, when I reached the station, but it had not arrived; nor did it make its appearance for a quarter of an hour longer; so I had plenty of time to deliver Tom's wife's message and take leave of Jane. I am sorry to say she appeared very indifferent, and seemed to think a good deal more of Tom than of me. Mr. W. had told me that the train would, probably, be half an hour behind its advertised time, and that I had no need to ride with haste, to reach it. I asked Col. Gillin if it would be safe to always calculate on the train being half an hour late: he said it would not; for, although usually that much behind the time-table, it was sometimes half an hour ahead of it. So those, who would be safe, had commonly to wait an hour. People, therefore, who wished to go not more than twenty miles from home, would find it more convenient, and equally expeditious, taking all things into account, to go in their own conveyance-there being but few who lived so near the station that they would not have to employ a horse and servant to get to it.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report :

Free-labor Farm in Virginia



I have been visiting a farm, cultivated entirely by free-labor. The proprietor told me that he was first led to disuse slave-labor, not from any economical considerations, but because he had become convinced that there was an essential wrong in holding men in forced servitude with any other purpose than to benefit them alone, and because he was not willing to allow his own children to be educated as slave-masters. His father had been a large slaveholder, and he felt very strongly the bad influence it had had on his own character. He wished me to be satisfied that Jefferson uttered a great truth when he asserted that slavery was more pernicious to the white race than the black. Although, therefore, a chief part of his inheritance had been in slaves, he had liberated them all.

Most of them had, by his advice, gone to Africa. These he had frequently heard from. Except a child that had been drowned, they were, at his last account, all alive, in general good health, and satisfactorily prospering. He had lately received a letter from one of them, who told him that he was "trying to preach the Gospel," and who had evidently greatly improved, both intellectually and morally, since he left here. With regard to those going North, and the common opinion that they encountered much misery, and would be much better off here, he said that it entirely depended on the general character and habits of the individual: it was true of those who were badly brought up, and who had acquired indolent and vicious habits, especially if they were drunkards, but, if of some intelligence and well-trained, they generally represented themselves to be successful and contented.

He mentioned two remarkable cases, that had come under his own observation, of this kind. One was that of a man who had been free, but, by some fraud and informality of his papers, was re-enslaved. He ran away, and afterwards negotiated, by correspondence, with his master, and purchased his freedom. This man he had accidentally met fifteen years afterwards, in a Northern city; he was engaged in profitable and increasing business, and showed him, by his books, that he was possessed of property to the amount of ten thousand dollars. He was living a great deal more comfortably and wisely than ever his old master had done. The other case was that of a colored woman, who had obtained her freedom, and who became apprehensive that she also was about to be fraudulently made a slave again. She fled to Philadelphia, where she was nearly starved, at first. A little girl, who heard her begging in the streets to be allowed to work for bread, told her that her mother was wanting some washing done, and she followed her home. The mother, not knowing her, was afraid to trust her with the articles to be washed. She prayed so earnestly for the job, however-suggesting that she might be locked into a room until she had completed it - that it was given her.

So she commenced life in Philadelphia. Ten years afterwards he had accidentally met her there; she recognized him immediately, recalled herself to his recollection, manifested the greatest joy at seeing him, and asked him to come to her house, which he found a handsome three-story building, furnished really with elegance; and she pointed out to him, from the window, three houses in the vicinity that she owned and rented. She showed great anxiety to have her children well educated, and was employing the best instructors for them which she could procure in Philadelphia.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

This gentleman, notwithstanding his anti-slavery sentiments, by no means favors the running away of slaves, and thinks the Abolitionists have done immense harm to the cause they have at heart. He wishes Northerners would mind their business, and leave Slavery alone, say but little about it—nothing in the present condition of affairs at the South— and never speak of it but in a kind and calm manner. He would not think it right to return a fugitive slave; but he would never assist one to escape. He has several times purchased slaves, generally such as his neighbors were obliged to sell, and who would otherwise have been taken South. This he had been led to do by the solicitation of some of their relatives. He had retained them in his possession until their labor had in some degree returned their cost to him, and he could afford to provide them with the means of going to Africa or the North, and a small means of support after their arrival. Having received some suitable training in his family, they had, without exception, been successful, and had frequently sent him money to purchase the freedom of relatives or friends they had left in slavery.

He considered the condition of slaves to have much improved since the Revolution, and very perceptibly during the last twenty years. The original stock of slaves, the imported Africans, he observed, probably required to be governed with much greater severity, and very little humanity was exercised or thought of with regard to them. The slaves of the present day are of a higher character; in fact, he did not think more than half of them were full-blooded Africans. Public sentiment condemned the man who treated his slaves with cruelty. The owners were mainly men of some cultivation, and felt a family attachment to their slaves, many of whom had been the playmates of their boyhood. Nevertheless, they were frequently punished severely, under the impulse of temporary passion, often without deliberation, and on unfounded suspicion. This was especially the case where they were left to overseers, who, though sometimes men of intelligence and piety, were more often coarse, brutal, and licentious; drinking men, wholly unfitted for the responsibility imposed on them.

He had read UNCLE TOM'S CABIN; mentioned several points in which he thought it wrong—that Uncle Tom was too highly painted, for instance; that such a character could not exist in, or spring out of Slavery, and that no gentleman of Kentucky or Virginia would have allowed himself to be in the position with a slave-dealer in which Mr. Shelby is represented— but he acknowledged that cases of cruelty and suffering, equal to any described in it, might be found. In his own neighborhood, some time ago, a man had been whipped to death; and he recollected several that had been maimed for life, by harsh and hasty punishment; but the whole community were indignant when such things occurred, and any man guilty of them would be without associates, except of similar character.

The opinions of this gentleman must not, of course, be considered as representative of those of the South in general, by any means; but as to facts, he is a competent, and, I believe, a wholly candid and unprejudiced witness. He is much respected, and on terms of friendship with all his neighbors, though they do not like his views on this subject. He told me, however, that one of them, becoming convinced of their correctness some time ago, freed his slaves, and moved to Ohio. As to UNCLE TOM, it is generally criticised very severely, and its representations of Slavery indignantly denied. I observe that it is not placarded outside the booksellers' stores, though the whole fleet of gunboats that have been launched after it show their colors bravely.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

It [UNCLE TOM'S CABIN] must, however, be a good deal read here, as I judge from the frequent allusions I hear made to it. With regard to the value of slave-labor, this gentleman is confident that, at present, he has the advantage in employing freemen instead of it. It has not been so until of late, the price of slaves having much advanced within ten years, while immigration has made free white laborers more easy to be procured.

He has heretofore had some difficulty in obtaining hands when he needed them, and has suffered a good deal from the demoralizing influence of adjacent slave-labor, the men, after a few months' residence, inclining to follow the customs of the slaves with regard to the amount of work they should do in a day, or their careless mode of operation. He has had white and black Virginians, sometimes Germans, and latterly Irish. Of all these, he has found the Irish on the whole the best. The poorest have been the native white Virginians; next, the free blacks: and though there have been exceptions, he has not generally paid these as high as one hundred dollars a year, and has thought them less worth their wages than any he has had. At present, he has two white natives and two free colored men, but both the latter were brought up in his family, and are worth twenty dollars a year more than the average. The free black, he thinks, is generally worse than the slave, and so is the poor white man. He also employs, at present, four Irish hands, and is expecting two more to arrive, who have been recommended to him, and sent for by those he has. He pays the Irishmen \$120 a year, and boards them. He has had them for \$100; but these are all excellent men, and well worth their price. They are less given to drinking than any men he has ever had; and one of them first suggested improvements to him in his farm, that he is now carrying out with prospects of considerable advantage. House-maids, Irish girls, he pays \$3 and \$6 a month.

He does not apprehend that in future he shall have any difficulty in obtaining steady and reliable men, that will accomplish much more work than any slaves. There are some operations, such as carting and spreading dung, and all work with the fork, spade, or shovel, at which his Irishmen will do, he thinks, over fifty per cent more in a day than any negroes he has ever known. On the whole, he is satisfied that at present free-labor is more profitable than slave-labor, though his success is not so evident that he would be willing to have attention particularly called to it. His farm, moreover, is now in a transition state from one system of husbandry to another, and appearances are temporarily more unfavorable on that account.

The wages paid for slaves, when they are hired for agricultural labor, do not differ at present, he says, from those which he pays for his free laborers. In both cases the hiring party boards the laborer, but, in addition to money and board, the slave-employer has to furnish clothing, and is subject, without redress, to any losses which may result from the carelessness or malevolence of the slave. He also has to lose his time if he is unwell, or when from any cause he is absent or unable to work.

The slave, if he is indisposed to work, and especially if he is not treated well, or does not like the master who has hired him, will sham sickness – even make himself sick or lame – that he need not work. But a more serious loss frequently arises, when the slave, thinking he is worked too hard, or being angered by punishment or unkind treatment, "getting the sulks," takes to "the swamp," and comes back when he has a mind to. Often this will not be till the year is up for which he is engaged, when he will return to his owner, who, glad to find his property safe, and that it has not died in the Swamp, or gone to Canada, forgets to punish him,



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

"But, meanwhile, how does the negro support life in the swamp?" I asked.

"Oh, he gets sheep and pigs and calves, and fowls and turkeys; sometimes they will kill a small cow. We have often seen the fires, where they were cooking them, through the woods, in the swamp yonder. If it is cold, he will crawl under a fodder-stack, or go into the cabins with some of the other negroes, and in the same way, you see, he can get all the corn, or almost anything else he wants."

"He steals them from his master?"

"From any one; frequently from me. I have had many a sheep taken by them."

"It is a common thing, then?"

"Certainly, it is, very common, and the loss is sometimes exceedingly provoking. One of my neighbors here was going to build, and hired two mechanics for a year. Just as he was ready to put his house up, the two men, taking offense at something, both ran away, and did not come back at all, till their year was out, and then their owner immediately hired them out again to another man."

These negroes "in the swamp," he said, were often hunted after, but it was very difficult to find them, and, if caught, they would run again, and the other negroes would hide and assist them. Dogs to track them he had never known to be used in Virginia.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report :

Recreation and Luxury among the Slaves

Saturday, Dec. 25. From Christmas to New-Year's Day, most of the slaves, except house servants, enjoy a freedom from labor; and Christmas is especially holiday, or Saturnalia, with them. The young ones began last night firing crackers, and I do not observe that they are engaged in any other amusement to-day; the older ones are generally getting drunk, and making business for the police. I have seen large gangs coming in from the country, and these contrast much in their general appearance with the town negroes. The latter are dressed expensively, and frequently more elegantly than the whites. They seem to be spending money freely, and I observe that they, and even the slaves that wait upon me at the hotel, often have watches, and other articles of value.

The slaves have a good many ways of obtaining "spending money," which, though in law belonging to their owner, as the property of a son under age does to his father, they are never dispossessed of, and use for their own gratification, with even less restraint than a wholesome regard for their health and moral condition may be thought to require. A Richmond paper, complaining of the liberty allowed to slaves in this respect, as calculated to foster an insubordinate spirit, speaks of their "champagne suppers." The police broke into a gambling cellar a few nights since, and found about twenty negroes at "high play," with all the usual accessories of a first-class "Hell." It is mentioned that, among the number taken to the watch-house, and treated with lashes the next morning, there were some who had previously enjoyed a high reputation for piety, and others of a very elegant or foppish appearance. Passing two negroes in the street, I heard the following:

"Workin' in a tobacco factory all de year roun', an' come Christmas, only twenty dollars! Workin' mighty hard, too-up to 12 o'clock o' night very often – an' then to hab a nigger oberseah!" "A nigger!"

"Yes – dat's it, yer see. Wouldn't care if 'twarnt for dat. Nothin' but a dirty nigger! orderin' 'round, jes' as if he was a wite man!"

It is the custom of tobacco manufacturers to hire slaves and free negroes at a certain rate of wages per year. A task of 45 lbs. per day is given them to work up, and all that they choose to do more than this they are paid for – payment being made once a fortnight; and invariably this over-wages is used by the slave for himself, and is usually spent in drinking, licentiousness and gambling. The man was grumbling that he had saved but \$20 to spend at the holidays. One of the manufacturers offered to show me, by his books, that nearly all gained by overwork \$5 a month, many \$20, and some as much as \$28.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Ingenuity Of The Negro

Sitting with a company of smokers last night, one of them, to show me the manner in which a slave of any ingenuity or cunning would manage to avoid working for his master's profit, narrated the following anecdote. He was executor of an estate in which, among other negroes, there was one very smart man, who, he knew perfectly well, ought to be earning for the estate \$150 a year, and who could do it if he chose, yet whose wages for a year, being let out by the day or job, had amounted to but \$18, while he had paid for medical attendance upon him \$45. Having failed in every other way to make him earn anything, he proposed to him that he should purchase his freedom and go to Philadelphia, where he had a brother. He told him if he would earn a certain sum (\$400 I believe), and pay it over to the estate for himself, he would give him his free papers. The man agreed to the arrangement, and by his overwork in a tobacco factory, and some assistance from his free brother, soon paid the sum agreed upon, and was sent to Philadelphia. A few weeks afterwards he met him in the street, and asked him why he had returned. "Oh, I don't like dat Philadelphy, massa; ant no chance for colored folks dere; spec' if I'd been a runaway, de wite folks dere take care o' me; but I couldn't git anythin' to do, so I jis borrow ten dollar of my broder, and cum back to old Virginny."

"But you know the law forbids your return. I wonder that you are not afraid to be seen here; I should think Mr._____ (an officer of police) would take you up."

"Oh! I look out for dat, Massa, I juss hire myself out to Mr._____ himself, ha! ha! He tink I your boy."

And so it proved, the officer, thinking that he was permitted to hire himself out, and tempted by the low wages at which he offered himself, had neglected to ask for his written permission, and had engaged him for a year. He still lived with the officer, and was an active, healthy, good servant to him.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Qualities as a Laborer

A well-informed capitalist and slave-holder remarked, that negroes could not be employed in cotton factories. I said that I understood they were so in Charleston, and some other places at the South. "It may be so, yet," he answered, "but they will have to give it up."

The reason was, he said, that the negro could never be trained to exercise judgment; he cannot be made to use his mind; he always depends on machinery doing its own work, and cannot be made to watch it. He neglects it until something is broken or there is great waste. "We have tried reward and punishments, but it makes no difference. It's his nature and you cannot change it. All men are indolent and have a disinclination to labor, but this is a great deal stronger in the African race than in any other. In working niggers, we just always calculate that they will not labor at all except to avoid punishment, and they will never do more than just enough to save themselves from being punished, and no amount of punishment will prevent their working carelessly and indifferently. It always seems on the plantation as if they took pains to break all the tools and spoil all the cattle that they possibly can, even when they know they'll be directly punished for it."

As to rewards, he said, "They only want to support life, they will not work for anything more; and in this country it would be hard to prevent their getting that." I thought this opinion of the power of rewards was not exactly confirmed by the narrative we had just heard, but I said nothing. "If you could move," he continued, "all the white people from the whole seaboard district of Virginia and give it up to the negroes that are on it now, just leave them to themselves, in ten years time there would not be an acre of land cultivated, and nothing would be produced, except what grew spontaneously."

The Hon. Willoughby Newton, by the way, seems to think that if it had not been for the introduction of guano, a similar desolation would have soon occurred without the Africanization of the country. He is reported to have said:

I look upon the introduction of guano, and the success attending its application to our barren lands, in the light of a special interposition of Divine Providence, to save the northern neck of Virginia from reverting entirely into its former state of wilderness and utter desolation. Until the discovery of guano—more valuable to us than the mines of California— I looked upon the possibility of renovating our soil, of ever bringing it to a point capable of producing remunerating crops, as utterly hopeless. Our up-lands were all worn out, and our bottom-lands fast failing, and if it had not been for guano, to revive our last hope, a few years more and the whole country must have been deserted by all who desired to increase their own wealth, or advance the cause of civilization by a proper cultivation of the earth.



FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Improvement of the Negro in Slavery

"But are they not improving?" said I; "that is a point in which I am much interested, and I should be glad to know what is your observation? Have they not, as a race, improved during the last hundred years, do you not think?"

"Oh, yes indeed, very greatly. During my time -I can remember how they were forty years ago- they have improved two thousand per cent.! Don't you think so?" he asked another gentleman. "Yes; certainly."

"And you may find them now, on the isolated old plantations in the back country, just as I recollect them when I was a boy, stupid and moping, and with no more intelligence than when they first came from Africa. But all about where the country is much settled their condition is vastly ameliorated. They are treated much better, they are fed better, and they have much greater educational privileges."

Educational Privileges

"Educational privileges?" I asked, in surprise.

"I mean by preaching and religious instruction. They have the Bible read to them a great deal, and there is preaching for them all over the country. They have preachers of their own; right smart ones they are, too, some of them."

"Do they?" said I. "I thought that was not allowed by law."

"Well, it is not - that is, they are not allowed to have meetings without some white man, is present. They must not preach unless a white man hears what they say. However, they do. On my plantation, they always have a meeting on Sundays, and I have sometimes, when I have been there, told my overseer, - 'You must go up there to the meeting, you know the law requires it;' and he would start as if he was going, but would just look in and go by; he wasn't going to wait for them."

A Distinguished Divine

He then spoke of a minister, whom he owned, and described him as a very intelligent man. He knew almost the whole of the Bible by heart. He was a fine-looking man - a fine head and a very large frame. He had been a sailor, and had been in New Orleans and New York, and many foreign ports. "He could have left me at any time for twenty years, if he had wished to," he said. "I asked him once how he would like to live in New York? Oh, he did not like New York at all! niggers were not treated well there - there was more distinction made between them and white folks than there was here. 'Oh, dey ain't no place in de worl like Ole Virginny for niggers, massa,' says he."

Another gentleman gave similar testimony.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:
How they are Fed

I said I supposed that they were much better off, more improved intellectually, and more kindly treated in Virginia than further South. He said I was mistaken in both respects – that in Louisiana, especially, they were more intelligent, because the amalgamation of the races was much greater, and they were treated with more familiarity by the whites; besides which, the laws of Louisiana were much more favorable to them. For instance, they required the planter to give slaves 200 pounds of pork a year: and he gave a very apt anecdote, showing the effect of this law, but which, at the same time, made it evident that a Virginian may be accustomed to neglect providing sufficient food for his force, and that they sometimes suffer greatly for want of it. I was assured, however, that this was very rare –that, generally, the slaves were well provided for –always allowed a sufficient quantity of meal, and, generally, of pork –were permitted to raise pigs and poultry, and in summer could always grow as many vegetables as they wanted. It was observed, however, that they frequently neglected to provide for themselves in this way, and live mainly on meal and bacon. If a man does not provide well for his slaves, it soon becomes known, he gets the name of a "nigger killer," and loses the respect of the community.

The general allowance of food was thought to be a peck and a half of meal, and three pounds of bacon a week. This, it was observed, is as much meal as they can eat, but they would be glad to have more bacon; sometimes they receive four pounds, but it is oftener that they get less than three. It is distributed to them on Saturday nights; or, on the better managed plantations, sometimes, on Wednesday, to prevent their using it extravagantly, or selling it for whisky on Sunday. This distribution is called the "drawing," and is made by the overseer to all the heads of families or single negroes. Except on the smallest plantations, where the cooking is done in the house of the proprietor, there is a cook-house, furnished with a large copper for boiling, and an oven. Every night the negroes take their "mess," for the next day's breakfast and dinner, to the cook, to be prepared for the next day. Custom varies as to the time it is served out to them; sometimes at morning and noon, at other times at noon and night. Each negro marks his meat by cuts, so that he shall know it from the rest, and they observe each other's rights with regard to this, punctiliously.

After breakfast has been eaten early in the cabins, at sunrise or a little before in winter, and perhaps a little later in summer, they go to the field. At noon dinner is brought to them, and, unless the work presses, they are allowed two hours' rest. Very punctually at sunset they stop work and are at liberty, except that a squad is detached once a week for shelling corn, to go to the mill for the next week's drawing of meal. Thus they work in the field about eleven hours a day on an average. Returning to the cabins, wood "ought to have been" carted for them; but if it has not been, they then go to the woods and "tote" it home for themselves. They then make a fire –a big, blazing fire at this season, for the supply of fuel is unlimited– and cook their own supper, which will be a bit of bacon fried, often with eggs, corn-bread baked in the spider after the bacon, to absorb the fat, and perhaps some sweet potatoes roasted in the ashes. Immediately after supper they go to sleep, often lying on the floor or a bench in preference to a bed. About two o'clock they very generally rouse up and cook and eat, or eat cold, what they call their "mornin' bit;" then sleep again till breakfast.





FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Clothing

As to the clothing of the slaves on the plantations, they are said to be usually furnished by their owners or masters, every year, each with a coat and trousers, of a coarse woolen or woolen and cotton stuff (mostly made, especially for this purpose, in Providence, R. I.), for Winter, trousers of cotton osnaburghs for Summer, sometimes with a jacket also of the same; two pairs of strong shoes, or one pair of strong boots and one of lighter shoes for harvest; three shirts; one blanket, and one felt hat.

The women have two dresses of striped cotton, three shifts, two pairs of shoes, etc. The women lying-in are kept at knitting short sacks, from cotton which, in Southern Virginia, is usually raised, for this purpose, on the farm, and these are also given to the negroes. They also purchase clothing for themselves, and, I notice especially, are well supplied with handkerchiefs which the men frequently, and the women nearly always, wear on their heads. On Sundays and holidays they usually look very smart, but when at work, very ragged and slovenly.

At the conclusion of our bar-room session, some time after midnight, as we were retiring to our rooms, our progress up stairs and along the corridors was several times impeded, by negroes lying fast asleep, in their usual clothes only, upon the floor. I asked why they were not abed, and was answered by a gentleman, that negroes never wanted to go to bed; they always preferred to sleep upon the floor.

Fraternity

As I was walking in the outskirts of the town this morning, I saw squads of negro and white boys together, pitching pennies and firing crackers in complete fraternization. The white boys manifested no superiority, or assumption of it, over the dark ones.

An old, palsied negro-woman, very thinly and very raggedly clad, met me and spoke to me. I could not, from the trembling incoherency of her voice, understand what she said, but she was evidently begging, and I never saw a more pitiable object of charity at the North. She was, perhaps, a free person, with no master and no system to provide for her.

I saw, for the first time in my life, two or three young white women smoking tobacco in clay pipes. From their manner it was evidently a well-formed habit, and one which they did not suspect there was occasion for them to practice clandestinely, or be ashamed of.

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Religious Condition

With regard to the moral and religious condition of the slaves, I cannot, either from what I observe, or from what is told me, consider it in any way gratifying. They are forbidden by law to meet together for worship, or for the purpose of mutual improvement. In the cities, there are churches especially for them, in which the exercises are conducted by white clergymen. In the country, there is usually a service, after that for the whites especially, in all the churches which, by the way, are not very thickly scattered. In one parish, about twenty miles from Richmond, I was told that the colored congregation in the afternoon is much smaller than that of the whites in the morning; and it was thought not more than one-fifth of the negroes living within a convenient distance were in the habit of attending it; and of these many came late, and many more slept through the greater part of the service.

A goodly proportion of them, I am told, "profess religion," and are received into the fellowship of the churches; but it is evident, of the greater part even of these, that their idea of religion, and the standard of morality which they deem consistent with a "profession" of it, is very degraded. That they are subject to intense excitements, often really maniacal, which they consider to be religious, is true; but as these are described, I cannot see that they indicate anything but a miserable system of superstition, the more painful that it employs some forms and words ordinarily connected with true Christianity.

A Virginia correspondent of the N. Y. Times, writing upon the general religious condition of the State, and of the comparative strength and usefulness of the different churches, says:

The Baptists also number (in Eastern Virginia) 44,000 colored members. This makes a great difference. Negroes join the church –perhaps in a great majority of cases– with no ideas of religion. I have but little confidence in their religious professions. Many of them I hope are very pious; but many of them are great scoundrels –perhaps the great majority of them– regardless of their church profession as a rule of conduct. They are often baptized in great numbers, and the Baptist Church (so exemplary in so much) is to blame, I fear, in the ready admission it gives to the negroes.

The Baptist Church generally gets the negroes – where there are no Baptists, the Methodist. Immersion strikes their fancy. It is a palpable, overt act, that their imagination can take hold of. The ceremony mystically impresses them, as the ceremonies of Romanism affect the devotees of that connection. They come up out of the water, and believe they see "the Lord." In their religion, negroes are excessively superstitious. They have all sorts of "experiences," and enjoy the most wonderful revelations. Visions of the supernatural are of nightly occurrence, and the most absurd circumstances are invested with some marvelous significance. I have heard that the great ordeal, in their estimation, a "seeker" had to pass, was being held over the infernal flames by a thread or a hair. If the thread does not break, the suspendee is "in the Lord."

It is proper, therefore, I think, to consider this circumstance, in estimating the strength of a Church, whose communicants embrace such a number of negroes. Of the Methodists, in Eastern Virginia, some six or seven thousand are colored.

This condition of the slaves is not necessarily a reproach to those whose duty it more particularly is to instruct and preach the true Gospel to them. It is, in a great degree, a necessary result of the circumstances of their existence. The possession of arbitrary power has always, the world over, tended irresistibly to destroy humane sensibility, magnanimity, and truth....





FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:

Half an hour after this I arrived at the negro-quarter – a little hamlet of ten or twelve small and dilapidated cabins. Just beyond them was a plain farm-gate, at which several negroes were standing; one of them, a well-made man, with an intelligent countenance and prompt manner, directed me how to find my way to his owner's house. It was still nearly a mile distant; and yet, until I arrived in its immediate vicinity, I saw no cultivated field, and but one clearing. On the edge of this clearing, a number of negroes, male and female, lay stretched out upon the ground near a small smoking charcoal pit. Their master afterwards informed me that they were burning charcoal for the plantation blacksmith, using the time allowed them for holidays – from Christmas to New Year' – to earn a little money for themselves in this way. He paid them by the bushel for it. When I said that I supposed he allowed them to take what wood they chose for this purpose, he replied that he had five hundred acres covered with wood, which he would be very glad to have any one burn, or clear off in any way. Cannot some Yankee contrive a method of concentrating some of the valuable properties of this old field pine, so that they may be profitably brought into use in more cultivated regions? Charcoal is now brought to New York from Virginia; but when made from pine it is not very valuable, and will only bear transportation from the banks of the navigable rivers, whence it can be shipped, at one movement, to New York. Turpentine does not flow in sufficient quantity from this variety of the pine to be profitably collected, and for lumber it is of very small value.

Mr. W.'s house was an old family mansion, which he had himself remodeled in the Grecian style, and furnished with a large wooden portico. An oak forest had originally occupied the ground where it stood; but this having been cleared and the soil worn out in cultivation by the previous proprietors, pine woods now surrounded it in every direction, a square of a few acres only being kept clear immediately about it. A number of the old oaks still stood in the rear of the house, and, until Mr. W. commenced his improvements, there had been some in its front. These, however, he had cut away, as interfering with the symmetry of his grounds, and in place of them had planted ailanthus trees in parallel rows.

On three sides of the outer part of the cleared square there was a row of large and comfortable-looking negro-quarters, stables, tobaccohouses, and other offices, built of logs.

Mr. W. was one of the few large planters, of his vicinity, who still made the culture of tobacco their principal business. He said there was a general prejudice against tobacco, in all the tide-water region of the State, because it was through the culture of tobacco that the once fertile soils had been impoverished; but he did not believe that, at the present value of negroes, their labor could be applied to the culture of grain, with any profit, except under peculiarly favorable circumstances. Possibly, the use of guano might make wheat a paying crop, but he still doubted. He had not used it, himself. Tobacco required fresh land, and was rapidly exhausting, but it returned more money, for the labor used upon it, than anything else; enough more, in his opinion, to pay for the wearing out of the land. If he was well-paid for it, he did not know why he should not wear out his land.

His tobacco-fields were nearly all in a distant and lower part of his plantation; land which had been neglected before his time, in a great measure, because it had been sometimes flooded, and was, much of the year, too wet for cultivation. He was draining and clearing it,

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED's report:



He had had an Irish gang draining for him, by contract. He thought a negro could do twice as much work, in a day, as an Irishman. He had not stood over them and seen them at work, but judged entirely from the amount they accomplished: he thought a good gang of negroes would have got on twice as fast. He was sure they must have "trifled" a great deal, or they would have accomplished more than they had. He complained much, also, of their sprees and quarrels. I asked why he should employ Irishmen, in preference to doing the work with his own hands. "It's dangerous work (unhealthy?), and a negro's life is too valuable to be risked at it. If a negro dies, it's a considerable loss, you know."

He afterwards said that his negroes never worked so hard as to tire themselves-always were lively, and ready to go off on a frolic at night. He did not think they ever did half a fair day's work. They could not be made to work hard: they never would lay out their strength freely, and it was impossible to make them do it.

This is just what I have thought when I have seen slaves at work-they seem to go through the motions of labor without putting strength into them. They keep their powers in reserve for their own use at night, perhaps.

Mr. W. also said that he cultivated only the coarser and lower-priced sorts of tobacco, because the finer sorts required more painstaking and discretion than it was possible to make a large gang of negroes use. "You can make a nigger work," he said, "but you cannot make him think."

Although Mr. W. was very wealthy (or, at least, would be considered so anywhere at the North), and was a gentleman of education, his style of living was very farmer-like, and thoroughly Southern. On their plantations, generally, the Virginia gentlemen seem to drop their full-dress and constrained town-habits, and to live a free, rustic, shooting-jacket life. We dined in a room that extended out, rearwardly, from the house, and which, in a Northern establishment, would have been the kitchen. The cooking was done in a detached log-cabin, and the dishes brought some distance, through the open air, by the servants. The outer door was left constantly open though there was a fire in an enormous old fire-place, large enough, if it could have been distributed sufficiently, to have lasted a New York seamstress the best part of the winter. By the door, there was indiscriminate admittance to negro children and fox-hounds, and, on an average, there were four of these, grinning or licking their chops, on either side of my chair, all the time I was at the table. A stout woman acted as head waitress, employing two handsome little mulatto boys as her aids in communicating with the kitchen, from which relays of hot corn-bread, of an excellence quite new to me, were brought at frequent intervals. There was no other bread, and but one vegetable served-sweet potato, roasted in ashes, and this, I thought, was the best sweet potato, also, that I ever had eaten; but there were four preparations of swine's flesh, besides fried fowls, fried eggs, cold roast turkey, and opossum, cooked I know not how, but it somewhat resembled baked sucking-pig. The only beverages on the table were milk and whisky.

I was pressed to stay several days with Mr. W., and should have been glad to have accepted such hospitality, had not another engagement prevented. When I was about to leave, an old servant was directed to get a horse, and go with me, as guide, to the rail-road station at Col. Gillin's. He followed behind me, and I had great difficulty in inducing him to ride near enough to converse with me.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 25: [Waldo Emerson](#)'s 50th birthday.

An influential "Exposition of Sentiments" document was adopted by the Pennsylvania [Yearly Meeting](#) of Progressive Friends at Kennett Square. Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) helped draft this, although she remained with Philadelphia's [Hicksite](#) Yearly Meeting. Friend Joseph Dugdale, one of the Clerks who signed it, later removed to [Illinois](#) and became a major figure in the new Illinois Yearly Meeting. Friend Jesse H. "Ducky" Holmes, a Swarthmore professor and Clerk of the Progressive Yearly Meeting during its final two decades, was also a member of Swarthmore Meeting, and would be a very active figure in the Friends General Conference until his death in 1940. This Progressive reformation of liberal Quakerism would come to fruition in 1926, when the Friends General Conference would adopt a Uniform Discipline. This document would become the basis and template for new editions of all the Friends General Conference yearly meetings, which emerged in rapid succession thereafter, and closely resembled it. The Uniform Discipline codified such Progressive principles as the idealization of the individual seeking conscience, a congregational polity, the quiet abolition of Ministers and Elders, the near-total abandonment of disownment, and a renewed emphasis on humanitarian reform as the goal and sign of authentic religion. The result would become "meetinghouse" or "unprogrammed" Quakerism as we know it today.

EXPOSITION OF SENTIMENTS ADOPTED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA YEARLY MEETING OF PROGRESSIVE FRIENDS, 1853

To the Friends of Pure and Undeified Religion, and to all Seekers after Truth, of whatever name or denomination, the Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends sendeth Greeting;

DEAR FRIENDS: Having been led, as we trust, through obedience to the revelations of truth, to form a Religious Association upon principles always too little regarded and often trampled under foot by professing Christians and popular sects, we are constrained to address you in explanation of our leading sentiments, purposes, plan; and hopes.

If, as we believe, the basis of our organization, and the arrangements we propose for the culture of man's religious powers, are in harmony with the Divine laws, and adapted to the wants of human nature and the demands of the present age, it is certainly incumbent upon us to diffuse true knowledge thereof as widely as possible; and if, on the other hand, "the light that is in us be darkness," it is proper that we should invoke your earnest efforts to redeem us from our errors, and turn our feet into the highway of holiness and truth. We, therefore, ask your serious and unprejudiced consideration of the matters presented in this Exposition, so that, whether you shall accept or reject our propositions, your conclusions may minister to your own peace of mind and growth in the love and practice of the truth.

In our efforts to apply the principles of Christianity to daily life, and to social customs and institutions which we deemed subversive of individual and national morality, as well as in conflict with the laws of God, we encountered the hostility of the popular sects, to one or another of which most of us belonged, and to which we were bound by ties that grew with our growth and strengthened with our strength. Mingling with the chime of church bells and with the tones of the preacher's voice,



or breaking upon the stillness of our religious assemblies, we heard the clank of the slave's chain, the groans of the wounded and dying on the field of bloody strife, the noise of drunken revelry, the sad cry of the widow and the fatherless, and the wail of homeless, despairing poverty, driven

By foul Oppression's ruffian gluttony
Forth from life's plenteous feast;

and when, in obedience to the voice of God, speaking through the holiest sympathies and purest impulses of our Godlike humanity, we sought to arouse our countrymen to united efforts for the relief of human suffering, the removal of giant wrongs, the suppression of foul iniquities, we found the Church, in spite of her solemn professions, arrayed against us, blocking up the path of reform with her serried ranks, prostituting her mighty influence to the support of wickedness in high places, smiling complacently upon the haughty oppressor, "justifying the wicked for a reward," maligning the faithful Abdiels who dared to stand up for the truth and to testify against popular crimes—thus traitorously upsetting the very foundations of the Religion she was sacredly bound to support and exemplify, and doing in the name of Christ deeds at which humanity shuddered, obliterating her indignant blushes only with the tears that welled up from the depths of her great loving heart.

For a time, though not without deep mortification and discouragement, we bore this appalling delinquency, thinking in our short-sightedness that it was mainly the result of a temporary mistake, and not of an incurable leprosy tainting the whole body. In the "patience of hope" we toiled on, seeking to reform alike the Church and the world, and deeming it certain that the former would speedily abandon her false and sinful position, and "come up to the help of the Lord" against the hosts of unrighteousness and oppression. Our hopes in this respect were doomed to a sad and bitter disappointment.

The leaders of the Church, instead of retracing the false step which they had taken, grew more and more hostile to the cause of Christian Reform, while there was not found in the body enough of moral principle to reject their counsels and repudiate their impious claims to a Divine warrant for their criminal apostasy. Inflated with spiritual pride, and claiming to be the anointed expounders of God's will, they mocked at Philanthropy as no part of religion, exalted in its place the Dagon of man-made Disciplines, charged obedience to the decisions of Yearly Meetings or other ecclesiastical assemblies, as the sum of human obligation, bade us stifle the gushing sympathies which link us to our kind, and passively "wait God's time" for the removal of the evils that afflict and curse our race; as if God had not revealed his purpose of doing this work by human instrumentality — as if there were times when deeds of charity and mercy are offensive in His sight — as if the cry of suffering Humanity and the emotions it stirs within us were not a sufficient revelation of His will, and we were bound to wait in listless inactivity for some supernatural or miraculous manifestation of His



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

authority and power!

Alas! how many have thus waited, until at last the spiritual ear has become too dull and heavy to vibrato under the gentle tones of the "still, small voice," and the head so hard and cold, that it has ceased to beat at the cry of mortal woe! Superstition has woven around their souls her impenetrable veil, excluding the warm sunlight of God's presence, paralyzing their moral energies, and leaving their holiest sympathies to stagnate for lack of use; thus unfitting them for the work the good Father sets before them in common with all His children, and defeating the great end and purpose of their earthly life.

When we refused to obey the mandate of our ecclesiastical rulers, choosing to hearken to the voice of God rather than unto the voice of man, we found our worst foes in our own religious households; the rod of ecclesiastical power was lifted above our heads, and some of us were made to understand that excommunication was the price to be paid for the exercise of that liberty which Jesus proclaimed as the birthright of his disciples. We might have devoted our energies, to the acquisition of wealth, and, in imitation of the example of many who stood high in the Church, entered into close relations with men devoid of religious principle in the pursuit of that object and no voice of censure or reproof would have been lifted against us; but when we associated with noble men and women, not of our sect, for the purpose of abolishing slavery, war, intemperance, and other crying abominations, and our zeal for humanity made us indifferent to the forms of the Church, though more than ever alive to the great principles she had so long professed to believe and revere, we were treated as offenders; and the strange spectacle was witnessed of bodies, claiming to be God's representatives on earth, excluding from their pale, men and women of blameless lives for loving peace, purity and freedom so devotedly, as to be willing to co-operate with all whose hearts prompted them to labor for the promotion of those heavenly virtues. Thus were the great and ennobling principles of our common humanity subordinated to sectarian shibboleths, and that Divine charity, which is the essence of the God-like, and the sum of every virtue in man, narrowed down to the dimensions of a particular creed, or smothered under the petty limitations of speculative theology.

Driven thus to choose between our loyalty to sect and our allegiance to God, and feeling still the need of some outward helps in the cultivation of the religious sentiment, we were naturally led to investigate the whole subject of religious organization, its nature, uses and sphere, and the source and extent of its powers. The result of our inquiries is a clear conviction, that Churches, however high their pretensions of authority derived from God, are only human organizations, and the repositories of only such powers as may have been rightfully conferred upon them by the individuals of whom they are composed, or derived from the laws of our social nature. It is time that this truth, so long obscured by the sorcery of priestcraft, were clearly understood and boldly proclaimed.

Too long have the common people been deluded with the idea that the Church holds a mysterious or organic relation to the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Infinite, — a relation distinct from that existing between the soul and its Creator, and conferring special powers and prerogatives. Perhaps no error has done more than this to debase and enslave the mind of man, to fetter his godlike powers, and make him the ready instrument of superstition and priestcraft. It is the most vicious element of Popery, from which our Protestant sects are not yet delivered. Our religion, which should make us free and self-reliant, willing to bend the knee only to God, as he stands revealed to our own consciousness, withered by the touch of this superstition, becomes, in the hands of ambitious and designing men, the instrument of our degradation the symbol of littleness, meanness, bigotry and hypocrisy.

The Romish Church sets up for herself a claim of absolute infallibility, and the various Protestant sects, professing to deride her pretensions, yet tax our credulity scarcely less. From the Episcopal Church, with her imposing ritual and elaborate ceremonials, down to modern Quakerism, with its professed abjuration of all forms, its rustic garb and look of "meek simplicity," all seem deluded with the idea that the Church, being made after a Divine pattern, is supernaturally preserved from error. Even the Quaker regards the decision of his Yearly Meeting with a superstitious reverence scarcely inferior to that which the Catholic awards to the decrees of the Pope and the Cardinals. Do his reason and common sense suggest that the Yearly Meeting has decided erroneously or unjustly, he banishes the thought as little less than impious, becomes silent if not acquiescent, and mayhap lays his reason and common sense a sacrifice on the altar of the Church. Poor man! let him be once fairly convinced that ecclesiastical bodies, however sacred their professions, however worthy of esteem within their legitimate sphere, are yet only human, and without authority to bind the conscience even of the humblest of God's children, and he will no longer dare to offer such a sacrifice, to dishonor his Creator by debasing his powers.

It would be easy to show that this claim of supernatural power, on the part of the organized Church, is at war with the whole genius and spirit of Christianity as exhibited in the life and teachings of Jesus, and without warrant in the writings of the Apostles and primitive Christians, as well as subversive of individual rights and responsibilities. Jesus nowhere indicated an intention to organize a Church clothed with such power. Indeed, it does not appear from his recorded words that he even contemplated any organization whatever of those who should embrace his doctrines. He specified no such work as incumbent upon those whom he sent forth as witnesses of the truth, but left them to adopt such instrumentalities as might recur to them adapted to promote the object of their mission.

The Apostles did indeed organize Churches, but they did not pretend that they were framed after a Divinely prescribed pattern, still less that they were clothed with a supernatural power. "It was not," says a learned writer, "until the number of personal followers of Jesus increased by thousands, and the need of some organization began to be felt, that any thing like the institution of a distinct and permanent religious society



appears to have been definitely contemplated. And then nothing more was done, than was necessary to that present exigency. Thus the whole institution of the Church at Jerusalem grew up by degrees, as one step after another was called for by a succession of circumstances altogether peculiar." A religious periodical of high authority in matters of ecclesiastical history, testified, some years since, as follows:

Men have clung as with a dying grasp to a few shreds of ancient tradition, and deemed it sacrilege to meddle with these consecrated relics. They have attached a peculiar sacredness to their own constitutions, councils, ordinances, creeds and decisions, as if they rested on Divine right and apostolic authority.... The beautiful theories of Church government, devised with so much care and put together with so much skill and art, have, we are sure, no manner of resemblance to the Churches mentioned in the Acts and Epistles. The primitive Christians, could they come among us, would be not a little surprised to hear their assemblies, gathered by stealth for worship, with or without particular standing officers, referred to as the models after which the superstructure of denominational Churches is supposed to be fashioned. They were simple-hearted men and women, exposed to continual persecution, and bound together in Christian love; forming and modifying their regulations exactly as was needed; never once dreaming that they or their successors were bound to a single system by some great code, provided by Divine authority.... The reason of associating together was, to further this great end, mutually to enliven the feelings of devotion, strengthen the principles of piety, and aid in, and urge to, the discharge of duty.... Some things were practiced in some Churches and not in others. Some officers existed in one and not in another; some met in one place and not in another; and all had a right to do whatever might be conducive to the general good.

We have dwelt at some length on this point, because we deem it of fundamental importance. This claim of organic communion with God lies at the root of many evils in the Churches around us, and hence we desire to make our denial of its validity as emphatic as possible. We would impress upon the minds of all whom our voice may reach, the truth, that there is no mysterious alchemy whereby a company of men, mean and selfish as individuals, are transmuted into a holy body; no Divine afflatus vouchsafed to them in the mass, superseding the necessity of personal conformity to the will of God.

Such a claim is the acme of superstition and imposture. It is amazing that it should for so long a period have deceived and befouled the nations! When will the people learn that there is nothing Divine, nothing too sacred for investigation, in the artificial arrangements and prescribed formalities of sects? Alas! what multitudes join the popular Churches, submitting to their rites and paying the expenses of their administration,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

deluding themselves meanwhile with the idea that they are thus ensuring their eternal salvation, even though their daily lives are deified by sordid and debasing acts, and they scarcely lift a finger or breathe one honest aspiration for their own or the world's moral improvement!

Our inquiries into the nature and uses of Religions Organization have also brought us to the conclusion, that the Churches around us have made a vital mistake in demanding uniformity of belief in respect to scholastic theology, ordinances, rites and forms, as a condition of religious fellowship and the basis of associated effort. It would hardly be possible to exaggerate the evils resulting from this mistake. It has led the Church into dissensions, hypocrisy and all uncharitableness, and instead of promoting a manly, vigorous and healthful piety, which ever manifests itself in works of practical benevolence and would make her a burning and a shining light in the presence of surrounding darkness, it narrows the scope of her vision, dwarfs the intellect, smothers the heart, and makes her the purveyor of traditions and shams, a covert for meanness and treachery, and a hiding-place for the perpetrators and apologists of popular wickedness. It reverses the arrangements proposed by Jesus and his early followers, putting that first which should be last, the incidental in place of the primary, the temporary in place of the eternal. Jesus enjoins it upon his bearers to "seek first the kingdom of God and His righteousness;" but the popular Church practically tells us, on pain of eternal perdition, to seek first of all the theology of that kingdom, assuring us, with impious tongue, that if we only master that, get its different parts properly arranged and labeled, and learn to believe them, however inconsistent with each other, and contrary to our reason and common sense, the righteousness may safely enough be left to take care of itself!

Instead of requiring as the evidence of our piety the "fruits" demanded in the Gospel of Jesus, it sneers at "good works" as "carnal" and inefficacious, bids us mind our catechisms, disciplines and confessions of faith; to come regularly to its assemblies, and worship according to its prescribed forms! It is no wonder that politicians, bent upon schemes of selfish aggrandizement, mock at the Higher Law, and declare their own oppressive statutes a finality, when the Church is found thus corrupt and apostate. No marvel that insatiate Wealth tramples upon lowly Poverty; that War's "red thunders" reverberate round the world that Drunkenness counts its victims by tens of thousands; that Land Monopoly grinds humanity in the dust; that Lust is doing his work of defilement and shame with impunity; that immortal beings are driven to their daily toil tinder the lash, and even sold in the shambles, when the Church proffers absolution for such crimes upon terms so easy of fulfilment.

The natural counterpart of this false and superstitious devotion to creeds and forms is an unnatural sourness and melancholy – a Pharisaical spirit, which frowns upon amusements as an offence to God, and which would cover the face of society with a sanctimonious gloom as repugnant to Religion as to unpurged human nature. The victims of this spirit converse about religion, not in manly and natural tones, indicative of



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

sincerity and earnestness, but in a whining, canting manner, as if it were a burden hard to be borne, but which they reluctantly consent to carry during their mortal life, as the only means of eternal salvation!

We are persuaded that the exhibitions of this spirit on the part of the Church have produced incalculable mischief, by exciting the prejudices of the young against all Religion as necessarily of an ascetic character, and by placing amusements beyond the pale of Christian influence, thus making them liable to excesses which might otherwise be avoided. The Christian, of all other persons, should not be of a sad countenance, but ever cheerful and hopeful in his demeanor, making the very atmosphere he breathes a witness of the serene joy that dwells in his heart. No false idea of sanctity, no superstitious or fanatical "worry" about his soul, should ho ever suffer to make his presence distasteful and unwelcome to the young.

We cannot undertake to particularize all the errors of principle and practice in the popular Churches, which our investigations have revealed to us; but there is one more which we must not pass in silence. We allude to that vicious and despotic feature in the organization of most of them, which, beginning in the subordination of the individual to the local Church, or to Elders. Overseers, or other officers thereof; ends in the subjection of local bodies to some larger assembly or central power. There are, indeed, some Churches which have attempted to abolish this system, but they are still too much bound by usage to practices inconsistent with their theories.

Experience, as well as observation, has taught us that local organizations should in the first place be formed upon principles which will offer the best possible safeguard to the equal rights of the individual members, and discourage tyranny, whether of the many or the few; and, in the next place, that they should never allow any other body, however numerous or imposing, to exercise authority over them. The forms of Church organization, instead of being such as are suggested by the ideas of individual freedom and responsibility which pervade the teachings of Jesus, would seem to have been borrowed from anti-Christian and despotic systems of civil government, whereof force is the vital and controlling element. Under such forms religious tyranny, always difficult of repression is sure to spring up into a vigorous life.

It would be easy to illustrate this truth by a reference to the history of any of those Churches in which the affiliated and subordinating system of government prevails, but the experience of many of our number naturally leads us to point to the Society of Friends as a warning against this lamentable evil. The setting apart of ministers as a distinct order of persons, and for life; the appointment of Elders to sit in judgment upon the services of the Ministry, and to determine officially what is and what is not inspiration; the subjection of individual liberty to official dictation; the subordination of Preparative to Monthly, of Monthly to Quarterly, of Quarterly to Yearly Meetings; all this affords a covert for despotic authority. It is an arrangement whereby the few are enabled to control the many, and to carry into successful operation their plans for



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

keeping the Church popular with the world, while she is trampling upon her own most vital principles, and obstinately refusing to do the work for which she was originally established. It aggravates, moreover, all the other evils which have crept into the body, and renders the work of reform extremely difficult, if not impossible.

But while we thus earnestly deny the claims of Religious Associations to Divine authority, and maintain that they form no exception to the rule, that "institutions are made for man, not man for institutions," and while we would fearlessly expose all that is wrong in existing Churches, we do not therefore repudiate such associations as necessarily evil. Founded upon right principles, adjusted to the wants of our social nature, within their legitimate sphere as the servants and helpers, not the masters of the soul, as a means and not an end, we esteem them of great importance. It is only when they interpose between our consciences and God, assuming to tell us authoritatively how much and what we must believe, and virtually trampling under foot the right of private judgment, that our manhood prompts us to reject them

The mistakes which men have made in their efforts to realize the benefits of Religious Association, however strange and even preposterous they may appear to us at this advanced period of the world's history, were only the incidents of Humanity imperfectly informed and developed. They should not therefore discourage us, still less lead us into other errors at the opposite extreme. Men have also made great mistakes in science, and in things pertaining to physical life – in astronomy, chemistry, and the mechanic arts, and even in agriculture; and it would be no more absurd to urge these mistakes as a reason for abandoning all associated effort in such matters, than it would be to allege the similar blunders into which men have fallen in regard to Religion, and the abuses growing out of them, as a reason why we should resist the strong impulse of our nature which prompts us to combine our efforts for the promotion of piety and good morals.

Past errors and present imperfections, instead of affording an argument against organization, are only illustrations of its necessity, as a means whereby the strong may help the weak, the highly cultivated soul minister to the edification of those less enlightened, and social influence become the aid and support of individual virtue. Beavers do not more naturally combine to build their habitations, than men and women, inspired by a common love of God and Humanity, and a common thirst for religious excellence, mingle and combine their individual efforts for the promotion of pure and undefiled religion among themselves and throughout the world.

In forming The Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, we have followed the instincts of our moral and social nature, and acted Upon the settled conviction, that such an organization was necessary to our highest efficiency in the work which our Heavenly Father has given us to do. We seek not to diminish, but to intensify in ourselves the sense of individual responsibility – not to escape from duty, but to aid one another in its performance – to lift up before all who may be influenced



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

by our words or actions a high standard of moral and religious excellence – to commit ourselves before the world as the friends of righteousness and truth, and as under the highest obligations to labor for the redemption of mankind from every form of error and sin.

It has been our honest endeavor to avoid, if possible, the mistakes into which previous organizations have so generally fallen, and especially those radical errors which are pointed out in this address. To this end we have made our association as simple as possible, having done little more than to provide for an annual assembly. We claim for this organization no other powers than such as we ourselves have conferred upon it in consistency with our own and others' individual freedom. We make no draft upon the veneration of our fellow-men for any arrangement that we have adopted, or may adopt hereafter. Veneration is due only to God, and to those eternal principles of Rectitude, Justice and Love, of which He is the embodiment. We have set forth no forms nor ceremonies; nor have we sought to impose upon ourselves or others a system of doctrinal belief. Such matters we have left where Jesus left them, with the conscience and common sense of the individual. It has been our cherished purpose to restore the union between Religion and Life, and to place works of goodness and mercy far above theological speculations and scholastic subtleties of doctrine. Creed-making is not among the objects of our association. Christianity, as it presents itself to our minds, is too deep, too broad, and too high, to be brought within the cold propositions of the theologian. We should as soon think of bottling up the sunshine for the use of posterity, as of attempting to adjust the free and universal principles taught and exemplified by Jesus of Nazareth to the angles of a man-made creed.

Churches which undertake this impious and impracticable work doom themselves thereby to barrenness and death. Instead of being warmed and animated by that living faith which "works by love" and overcomes the world, they lapse into bigotry and intolerance, and their formularies, having no life in themselves, become at length mere petrifications, fossil remains of ideas, which, however significant once, have no longer any adaptation to the condition of the race. It is sad to behold a Church, with Christ's name upon its brow, turning away from the wells of immortal truth, and clinging with superstitious pertinacity and veneration to the shell of an ancient creed, or the letter of an ancient Discipline, from which the original soul long since took its flight; swift to frown upon the slightest departure from its forms and theories, but slow to utter a testimony against a popular sin; ever zealous in tithing "mint, anise and cumin," but heavy of step and slow of speech when the great interests of Humanity are at stake.

Our terms of membership are at once simple, practical and catholic. If we may be said to have a test, it is one which applies to the heart and the life, not to the head nor to any of its speculations. Our platform is broad as Humanity, and comprehensive as Truth. We interrogate no man as to his theological belief; we send no Committees to pry into the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

motives of those who may desire to share the benefits of our Association; but open the door to all who recognize the Equal Brotherhood of the Human Family, without regard to sex, color or condition, and who acknowledge the duty of defining and illustrating their faith in God, not by assent to a creed, but by lives of personal purity, and works of beneficence and charity to mankind. If, by any possibility, there should be found here and there a sincere inquirer after truth, who may not feel himself included in this invitation to membership, we shall still bid him welcome to our assemblies, and listen with patience to whatever his highest convictions may prompt him to offer.

We do not seek to bind our Association together by external bands, nor by agreement in theological opinions. Identity of object, oneness of spirit in respect to the practical ditties of life, the communion of soul with soul in a common love of the beautiful and true, and a common aspiration after moral excellence, — these are our bond of union; and when these shall die out in our hearts, nothing will remain to hold us together; and those who shall come after us will not be subjected to the trouble of tearing down a great ecclesiastical edifice, constructed by our hands, before they can make provision for the supply of their own religious wants.

The name of our Association is suggestive of its history and principles. As a sign of our adherence to the great moral testimonies which the Society of Friends has so long professed, as well as for historical reasons, we have adopted in part the name chosen by Fox, Penn, and other reformers of a past generation, for the Societies which they founded, and which, we regret to say, have in our day widely departed from the spirit and principles of those illustrious men. The term "Progressive" is intended as a recognition of the fact, that our knowledge of truth is limited, and as an indication of an honest purpose on our part to "go on unto perfection," and to avail ourselves from time to time of whatever new light may be shed upon our path.

Our meetings are at present conducted very much like those of the Society of Friends, except that they are not ruled by Elders, and that we have among us no privileged class called Ministers. We welcome alike the word of exhortation, the voice of prayer, and the song of praise and thanksgiving, whichever may well up from the "inner fulness" of the devoted heart; and if at any time words shall be uttered that appear to us to savor not of life but of contention and speculation, while we may feel called upon to speak our own sentiments with freedom, we hope not to be found denying the liberty of speech to others. Some may fear that liberty so unrestricted may lead to disorder and confusion, but we are persuaded that gentleness and forbearance are more potent than official dictation, and that the instinctive sense of right and wrong, in the breast of even a misguided and obtrusive man, will afford the best safeguard of propriety and order in our assemblies.

As a Yearly Meeting, we disclaim all disciplinary authority, whether over individual members or local Associations. We shall, from time to time, declare our sentiments on such subjects as may demand our attention; but they will be armed with no other



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

force than that which our moral influence may impart, or which may belong to the nature of truth when earnestly and honestly spoken. It will be our aim to cherish freedom of thought and speech, on every subject relating to man's highest welfare. In saying this, we have no mental reservations to mock the earnest seeker after truth. We have no thunderbolts to launch at those whose perceptions of truth lead them to different conclusions from those of the majority; no edicts of excommunication to scare the soul from its researches; no sanctimonious scowl to dart at him who carries the torch of free inquiry into the very holy of holies. We know of no question too sacred for examination nor in respect to which human reason should yield to human authority, however ancient or venerable.

Our organization is formed upon such principles, that while the body will not be responsible for the acts of individuals, so, on the other hand, individuals and minorities may avoid responsibility for any acts of the body which they do not approve, by recording their votes against such acts, or, if they think the case demands it, by a protest. It will, more-over, be the right of any individual to withdraw from the Association at any moment, without being required to give reasons for so doing, and without being subjected to censure on the part of the meeting.

Believing that local Associations, similar in their principles and aims to ours, would meet the wants of multitudes at the present day, and that they would be likely to accomplish great good, we hope to see such established in every community where a sufficient number of persons are found ready for the work. The men and women who are engaged in the various moral reforms of the day, and who have become weary of the prevalent sectarianism, might, we believe, gain strength for their special labors by establishing regular meetings on the First day of the week, for mutual edification and improvement for an interchange of the sympathies growing out of common pursuits and trials, and for the cultivation of their moral and religious powers. The principle of human fraternity would be thereby strengthened among them, and their children be preserved from many unhealthful influences, and prepared to meet the responsibilities of, life in a spirit becoming to the age in which their lot has been cast

Surely, these are objects worthy of our earnest thought and most careful attention. Our province is not that of iconoclasts alone. We must build as well as destroy. If there are evil institutions to be overthrown and pernicious customs to be uprooted, so also is there need of a new social fabric, of which righteousness and peace are to be the foundations. If there are vices to be done away, so also are there virtues to be promoted; if there are corrupt trees to be hewn down and cast into the fire so also are there plants of godliness to be trained, and flowers of heavenly beauty and fragrance to be nurtured. And in this work we must help each other, not occasionally and incidentally alone, but regularly and systematically.

The arrangements for meetings should in every case be adapted to the peculiar wants and tastes of the communities in which they are respectively held, care being taken to keep forms



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

subordinate to works of practical goodness and beneficence. It is neither necessary nor desirable that one meeting should be an exact copy of another. Adhering closely to fundamental principles, there will still be scope for a variety of modes and forms.

The local Associations should do more than hold weekly meetings. They should regard it a sacred duty to provide for the visitation and help of the poor in their respective neighborhoods, to lend their sympathy and encouragement to such as are borne down under heavy trials, and to afford prompt and efficient aid in every right effort for the promotion of Temperance, Peace, Anti-Slavery, Education, the Equal Rights of Woman, &c.; that thus the public may be convinced that the Religion they seek to diffuse and establish is not an aggregation of mysteries, abstractions, and unmeaning forms, but a Religion for practical, every-day use, whose natural tendency is to fructify the conscience, intensify the sense of moral responsibility, purify and ennoble the aims of men, and thus to make society wiser, better, and happier. Such Associations, moreover, ought to regard it as their special function to cultivate and develop the religious sentiment among their members, and, so far as possible, in the community generally. For this purpose they would do well to establish libraries, in which the works of eminent anti-sectarian writers upon moral, ethical, and religious subjects might become accessible to all classes, especially to the young.

Such Associations would naturally communicate, by letter or otherwise, with the Yearly Meeting, each giving That body the results of its own peculiar experience, and receiving in return the experiences of others, with such suggestions as the Quarterly Meeting, upon a careful comparison of the whole, may be qualified to make. The various Yearly Meetings may also strengthen one another's hands by fraternal, correspondence and counsel; and thus, without ecclesiastical authority or domination on the part of any, the whole body of believers in practical Christianity throughout the country may be cemented together in Christian love, and prepared to labor in harmony for the redemption of mankind from every evil and false way, and for the establishment of universal righteousness, purity, and peace. A Church thus united would wield a moral power like that of the Apostles and immediate followers of Jesus, and the means by which it would conquer the world are those which an Apostle has described:

BY PURENESS, BY KNOWLEDGE, BY LONG-SUFFERING, BY THE HOLY SPIRIT, BY LOVE UNFEIGNED, BY THE ARMOR OF RIGHTEOUSNESS ON THE RIGHT HAND AND ON THE LEFT.

Dear Friends! are these ideas of a Church Utopian? Are we dreamers and enthusiasts? or is the day foretold by ancient prophets and bards beginning to dawn upon our darkness and to light the dull horizon with its reviving rays? Are we always to walk amid shadows and shams? Do we not hear the voice of God speaking to us in the deep silence of our souls, and uttering itself in the events that are passing before us, bidding us awake from our slumbers, to cast away our doubts, and purify ourselves



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

for the work of building up a pure Christianity upon the earth
Are not the fields every where white unto the harvest? and are
there not all around us men and women, whose hearts God hath
touched with holy fire, and who stand ready to enlist with us
in this glorious cause?

Let us, then, not falter, nor hesitate. What if our numbers are
few, and the hosts of superstition and sin stand before us in
menacing array? What are their boasts to us, when we know that
the truth we promulgate is "a part of the celestial machinery
of God," and that, "whoso puts that machinery in gear for mankind
hath the Almighty to turn his wheel?"

O, brother man I fold to thy heart thy brother
Where pity dwells, the peace of God is there;
To worship rightly, is to love each other,
Each smile a hymn, each kindly deed a prayer.

Follow with reverent steps the great example
Of Him whoso holy work was 'doing good;'
So shall the wide earth seem our Father's temple,
Each loving life a psalm of gratitude.

Then shall all shackles fall; the stormy clangor
Of wild war music o'er the earth shall cease;
Love shall tread out the baleful fire of anger,
And in its ashes plant the tree of peace.

Signed on behalf and by direction of the Pennsylvania Yearly
Meeting of Progressive Friends, held at Old Kennett, Chester
County, by adjournments, from the 22d to the 25th of Fifth Month,
1853.

Joseph A. Dugdale,
Sidney Peirce,
Clerks



May 25: I quarrel with most botanists' description of different species, say of willows. It is a difference without a distinction. No stress is laid upon the peculiarity of the species in question, and it requires a very careful examination and comparison to detect any difference in the description. Having described you one species, he begins again at the beginning when he comes to the next and describes it *absolutely*, wasting time; in fact does not describe the species, but rather the genus or family; as if, in describing the particular races of men, you should say of each in its turn that it is but dust and to dust it shall return. The object should be to describe not those particulars in which a species resembles its genus, for they are many and that would be but a negative description, but those in which it is peculiar, for they are few and positive.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

October 1, Saturday: In Syracuse NY, the 2d annual “Jerry Celebration” honoring the freeing of Jerry McHenry from federal marshals who had been seeking on October 1, 1851 to “return” him to his “owner.”



RESISTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

In Missouri that night, the fugitive slave Jack Burton was stealing a boat and crossing the Mississippi to the free soil of [Illinois](#). Since he was still vulnerable to slavecatchers and bounty hunters, he would need to continue his difficult procedure of moving only during hours of darkness.

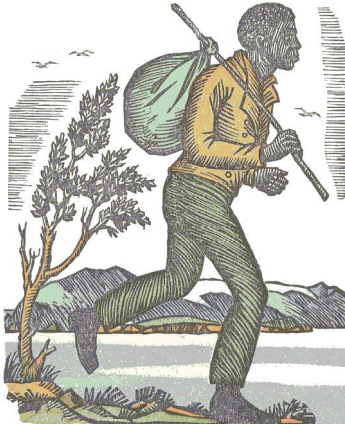


October 3, Monday: The fugitive slave Jack Burton crossed a branch of the [Illinois](#) river and followed a railway track until just outside Bloomington. Meeting up with some teams, he got on one of the wagons and rode into Rock Island.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

October 4, Tuesday: In Rock Island, Jack Burton, who had never shaved anyone but himself, managed to persuade a barber to hire him.



In this community, the fugitive slave would meet members of a society of abolitionists, who would pay his way to [Chicago](#).





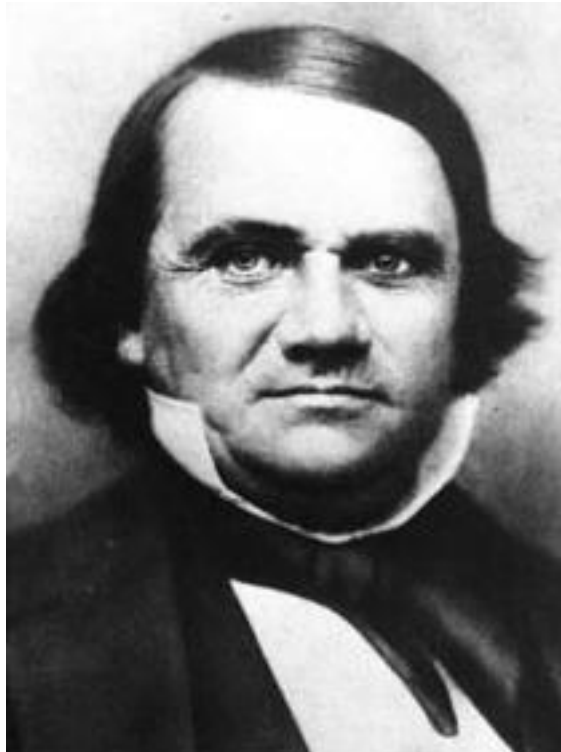
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

October 7, Friday: Jack Burton started for [Chicago](#), his fare paid by the Rock Island abolitionists. He would reside for three weeks with another barber of color there before heading on to Windsor in Upper Canada.

1854

The Republican Party was formed, taking its name from the “Democratic-Republican” party founded by Thomas Jefferson (that party had dropped “Republican” from its name in 1828). Prominent in the Republican platform was the opposition to the extension of slavery. The issue of slavery, and this year’s Kansas-Nebraska Act proposed by [Illinois](#) Senator Stephen A. Douglass as a way of repealing the Missouri Compromise and extending slavery, contributed to the defection of many Whigs to the new party.



[Waldo Emerson](#)’s attitude toward the Kansas/Nebraska Act was: “the question is properly, whether slavery or whether freedom shall be abolished.”⁷¹

71. Slater, Joseph, ed. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF EMERSON AND CARLYLE. New York: Columbia University Press, 1964, page 499.

Frederick Douglass made a modest proposal about “Bleeding Kansas”:⁷² It has been alleged by Michael



Goldfield in “The Color of Politics in the United States: White Supremacy as the Main Explanation for the Peculiarities of American Politics from Colonial Times to the Present” (in LaCapra, Dominick, ed. THE BOUNDS OF RACE: PERSPECTIVES ON HEGEMONY AND RESISTANCE. Ithaca NY: Cornell UP, 1991, page 124) that:



Until the early 1850s when Joseph Wedemeyer and other radical followers of Karl Marx who understood the importance of abolition for the white workers, gained some small influence in the white workers’ movement, labor leaders as a whole were more interested in freedom from Afro-Americans than in freedom for them. The rallying cry of Free Soilism in 1845 was the Wilmot Proviso, which barred slavery from the new territories, but suggested that land rights should be reserved for whites only. Such an approach was counterposed to the more radical and more realistic approach offered by Douglass for Kansas in 1854. Douglass argued that 1,000 free black homesteading families settling in Kansas would put up a “wall of living fire” through which slavery could not pass.

Frederick Douglass delivered an address “The Claims of the Negro Ethnologically Considered” before the literary societies of Western Reserve College in Rochester NY, in which he attacked the use of the scientism of his day as a legitimatior for racism. Weighing craniological and physiological similarities against differences, he proposed that from a purely scientific standpoint humans constituted one grouping, which should not have been a difficult conclusion for his audience to accept, since, as we now know, were the same standards for speciation to be applied to the pongid branch of mammals as are routinely applied to, say, beetles, we would be forced to recognize that there is only one existing species of pongids, of which chimpanzees,

72. You will notice an amazing thing here. We’ve got “Douglas” and “Douglass” in the very same data element!

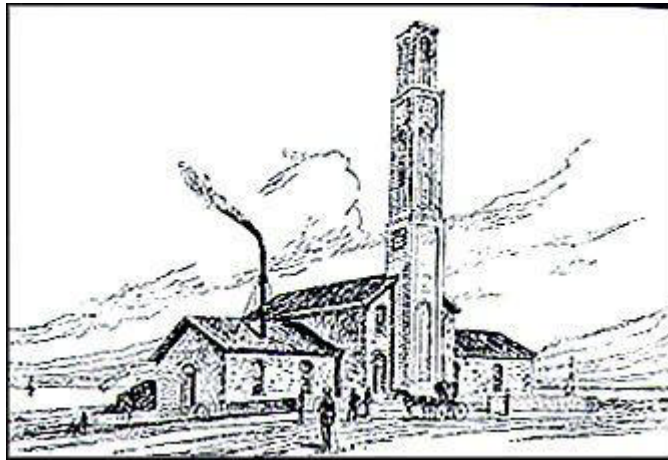
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

humans, and the recently discovered gorillas would constitute at most differing local races. Nevertheless, at the end of all this rationalization Douglass proclaimed it all to be quite literally of no significance. For even if none of this turned out to be the case, he indicated, even if anatomical differences were someday by someone demonstrated to far outweigh similarities, it would never follow that one human group ought to hold another human group in contempt as inferior beings. The title to freedom, liberty, and knowledge he held to depend not at all upon any “natural” realities, but instead upon the law of “the Courts of Heaven.” What difference does difference make, when it comes to human rights? None whatsoever. One is reminded of our contemporary “Calvin and Hobbes” cartoon in which Hobbes the Tiger destroy’s Calvin the boy terror’s incipient Social Darwinism by informing him that living things were obviously put upon the face of this planet in order to chase and tear one another, and to eat one another alive. (Chastened of his naturalism, Calvin goes home, and at the end of the strip he is locking all the doors and turning on all the lights.)

Abraham Lincoln re-entered politics in opposition to the Kansas/Nebraska Act and was elected to the [Illinois](#) legislature, but declined this seat in order to try to become a US Senator. The Act succeeded in sweeping aside the Missouri Compromise, which had been restricting the expansion of slavery. With a nod to Southern power, the federal government was placing the volatile issue of slavery into the hands of those settling the new territories. “The people” will decide, by “popular vote,” whether to be “free” or “slave.”

February: The 1st water-pumping station for the city of [Chicago](#):



From this point forward this city’s water was going to be clean.

Not.

1855

Abraham Lincoln was not chosen by the [Illinois](#) legislature to be a US Senator.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

In Ireland, the endemic poverty, temperance crusades, and high taxes on [alcohol](#) were causing recourse to [ether](#) as a cheap, readily available alcohol substitute, especially by lower-class [Catholics](#). By 1869 priests would be denouncing this sort of inebriation as sinful.

THE TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT

A public demonstration against [Chicago](#)'s [prohibition](#) of the sale of [beer](#) on Sunday resulted in more than 60 arrests (you have three guesses as to what sort of accent the people had, who got locked up).

This year would represent the peak of the [alcohol](#)-abstinence movement for 19th-Century America.



Legal [prohibition](#) was in effect for 13 of the 40 states of the Union. (The next such spasm of prohibitionism would begin in 1920. The social cycle from inebriation to dryness seems to approximate 70 years, or about three generations.) About one in every three Americans lived in a place where the sale of [alcohol](#) was being prohibited, if not entirely prevented.

Ethanol Consumption in Annual Gallons per US Adult

1790	5.8
1830	7.1
1840	3.1
1860	2.1
1890	2.1
1900	2.1
1920	0.9
1940	1.56
1980	2.76



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

March: Dr. Levi D. Boone, the candidate of the American or “Know-Nothing” Party, was elected mayor of [Chicago](#). He would organize the city’s 1st police department (you know, don’t you, who needed to be kept under control?).

[WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#) was reviewed in the [Knickerbocker Magazine](#), 45:235-41.

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)

TOWN AND RURAL HUMBUGS.

WHEN Philip, King of Macedon, had made preparations to march against the Corinthians, the latter, though utterly incapable of coping with that sagacious and powerful monarch, affected to make great efforts at defence with a view to resist him. Diogenes, who took great delight in ridiculing such follies as he was too proud to indulge in himself, or did not happen to have a taste for, began to roll about his tub in a bustling and excited manner, thus deriding the idle hurry and silly show of opposition by which the feeble Corinthians were trying to deceive themselves or Philip into a belief that he had something to fear from them.

It is a wonder to a certain Yankee Diogenes, that there are not more tubs rolled about now-a-days; for the world, in his estimation, never contained more bustling, shadow-pursuing Corinthians, than at the present time.

A Concord philosopher, or modern Diogenes, who has an eye of acute penetration in looking out upon the world, discovered so much aimless and foolish bustle, such a disproportion of shams to realities, that his inclination or self-respect would not permit him to participate in them; so he built himself in the woods, on the banks of a pond of pure water -deep enough for drowning purposes if the bean-crop failed- a tub of unambitious proportions, into which he crawled.

In this retreat, where he supported animal and intellectual life for more than two years, at a cost of about thirteen (!) dollars per annum, he wrote a book full of interest, containing the most pithy, sharp, and original remarks.

It is a fortunate circumstance for Mr. Thoreau, the name of this eccentric person, that his low estimate of the value of the objects, compared with their cost, for which the world is so assiduously and painfully laboring should have received, so soon after the publication of his book, such an important, substantial, and practical confirmation in the auto-biography of Barnum.

If any thing is calculated to induce a man to see how few beans will support animal life, we think it is a contemplation of the life and career of the great show-man.

If there is any thing calculated to reconcile us, not to the career of Barnum, but to whatever laborious drudgery may be necessary to procure good beef-steaks and oysters. with their necessary accompaniments, it is the thought of those inevitable beans, that constituted so large a part of the crop of Mr. Thoreau, and that extraordinary compound of corn-meal and water, which he facetiously called bread.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Beyond all question, the two most remarkable books that have been published the last year are the "Autobiography of Barnum," and "Life in the Woods," by Thoreau. The authors of the two books, in tastes, habits, disposition, and culture are perfect antipodes to each other; and the lessons they inculcate are consequently diametrically opposite. If ever a book required an antidote, it is the auto-biography of Barnum, and we know of no other so well calculated to furnish this antidote as the book of Thoreau's.

If any of the readers of the "Knickerbocker" have so long denied themselves the pleasure of reading "Walden, or Life in the Woods," we will give them a slight account of the book and its author; but we presume the information will be necessary to only very few. Mr. Thoreau is a graduate of Harvard University. He is a bold and original thinker; he reads much, is a great observer, and looks quite through the deeds of men." "Beware," says Emerson, "when the great GOD lets loose a thinker on this planet. Then all things are at risk." Are thinkers so rare that all the moral, social, and political elements of society may be disturbed by the advent of one? The sale Barnum's book has already met with is not, to be sure, suggestive of an overwhelming number of thinkers in the country. Thinkers always have been considered dangerous. Even Caesar, if he could have feared any thing, would have been afraid of that lean Cassius, because

"He thinks too much: such men are dangerous."

And why are thinkers dangerous? Because the world is full of "time-honored and venerable" shams, which the words of thinkers are apt to endanger.

After leaving college, Mr. Thoreau doffed the harness which society enjoins that all its members shall wear, in order for them "to get along well," but it galled and chafed in so many places that he threw it off, and took to the woods in Concord. He built a hut there, a mile from any neighbors, that cost him twenty-eight dollars, twelve and a-half cents, and lived there more than two years – eight months of the time at an expense of nearly nine shillings a-month. Before adopting this mode of life, he first tried schoolkeeping, reporting for a newspaper, and then trading for a livelihood; but after a short trial at each, became persuaded that it was impossible for his genius to lie in either of those channels.

After hesitating for some time as to the advisability of seeking a living by picking huckle-berries, he at last concluded that the occupation of a day-laborer was the most independent of any, as it required only thirty or forty days in a year to support one. The laborer's day ends with the going down of the sun, and he is then free to devote himself to his chosen pursuit, independent of his labor; but his employer, who speculates from month to month, has no respite from one end of the year to the other. In short, I am convinced, both by faith and experience, that to maintain one's self on this earth, is not a hardship, but a pastime, if we will live simply and wisely, as the pursuits of the simpler nations are still the sports of the more



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

artificial. It is not necessary that a man should earn his living by the sweat of his brow, unless he sweats easier than I do." The establishment in the woods, kept up by the extravagant expenditures we have mentioned before, was the result of these Reflections.

If there is any reader of the "Knickerbocker" -native-born and a Know-Nothing- who needs to be told who P.T. BARNUM is, such a person might, without doubt, "hear something to his advantage," by inquiring out and presenting himself before that illustrious individual; for the great show-man has made a good deal of money by exhibiting less extraordinary animals than such a man would be.

It was pretty well understood by physiologists, before the recent experiment of Mr. Thoreau, how little farinaceous food would suffice for the human stomach; and Chatham-street clothiers have a tolerably accurate knowledge of how little poor and cheap raiment will suffice to cover the back, so that his "life in the woods" adds but little to the stock of information scientific men already possessed. But it was not clearly known to what extent the public was gullible until the auto-biography of Barnum fully demonstrated the fact. This renowned individual has shown to a dignified and appreciative public the vulgar machinery used to humbug them, and they (the public) are convulsed with laughter and delight at the exposition. 'Cuteness is held in such great esteem that the fact of being egregiously cajoled and fooled out of our money is lost sight of in admiration for the shrewdness of the man who can do it. And then there is such an idolatrous worship of the almighty dollar, that the man who accumulates "a pile" is pretty sure to have the laugh on his side. "Let him laugh who wins," says Barnum, and the whole country says amen. It is very evident that shams sometimes "pay better" pecuniarily than realities, but we doubt if they do in all respects. Although Thoreau "realized" from his bean-crop one season -a summer's labor- but eight dollars seventy-one and a-half cents, yet it is painful to think what Barnum must have "realized" from "Joice Heth" and the "Woolly Horse." If we were obliged to choose between being shut up in "conventionalism's air-tight stove," (even if the said stove had all the surroundings of elegance and comforts that wealth could buy,) and a twenty-eight dollar tub in the woods, with a boundless range of freedom in the daily walks of life, we should not hesitate a moment in taking the tub, if it were not for a recollection of those horrid beans, and that melancholy mixture of meal and water. Aye, there's the rub; for from that vegetable diet what dreams might come, when we had shuffled off the wherewith to purchase other food, must give us pause. There's the consideration that makes the sorry conventionalisms of society of so long life. We rather bear those ills we have, than fly to others that we know not of very reasonable dread of something unpleasant resulting to us from eating beans in great quantities, would be likely to be a consequence of our experience alone, if we happened to be deficient in physiological knowledge. Whatever effects, however, different kinds of diet may have upon different persons, mentally or physically, nothing is more clear than the fact that the diet



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of Mr. Thoreau did not make him mentally windy. We think, however, between Iranistan, with Joice Heth and the Mermaid for associates, and the tub at Walden, with only Shakespeare for a companion, few probably would be long puzzled in making a choice, though we are constrained to say that the great majority would undoubtedly be on the side of the natural phenomena – we mean on the side of Barnum and the other mentioned curiosities. Still, in contemplating a good many of the situations in which Barnum was placed, it is impossible to conceive that any person of a comparatively sensitive nature would not gladly have exchanged places with the man of the woods. (We refer of course to the author of "Walden," and not to the animal known as "the man of the woods." Some perhaps would not have taken pains to make this explanation.)

There is a good deal more virtue in beans than we supposed there was, if they are sufficient to sustain a man in such cheerful spirits as Thoreau appears to have been in when he wrote that book. The spirit oftentimes may be strong when the flesh is weak; but there does not appear to be any evidence of weakness of the flesh in the author of "Walden." We cannot help feeling admiration for the man

"THAT fortune's buffets and rewards.
Hast ta'en with equal thanks:"

and since Sylla so coolly massacred so many Roman citizens, there has not been a man who apparently has contemplated his fellow-men with a more cheerful, lofty, and philosophical scorn than the occupant of this Walden tub. If a man can do this upon beans, or in spite of them, we shall endeavor to cultivate a respect for that vegetable, which we never could endure.

It was a philosopher, as ancient as Aristotle, we believe, who affirmed that "they most resemble the gods whose wants were fewest." Whether the sentiment is a true one or not, we have no hesitation in saying that the gods we worship will bear a good deal more resemblance to H.D. Thoreau than to P.T. Barnum. We believe it requires a much higher order of intellect to live alone in the woods, than to dance attendance in the museum of a great metropolis upon dead hyenas and boa constrictors, living monkeys and rattle-snakes, giants and dwarfs, artificial mermaids, and natural zanies.

There is, however, a good deal of society worse than this. Of the many good things said by Colton, one of the best, we think, is the following:

"Expense of thought is the rarest prodigality, and to dare to live alone the rarest courage; since there are many who had rather meet their bitterest enemy in the field, than their own hearts in their closet. He that has no resources of mind is more to be pitied than he who is in want of necessaries for the body; and to be obliged to beg our daily happiness from others, bespeaks a more lamentable poverty than that of him who begs his daily bread."

We do not believe there is any danger of proselytes to Mr. Thoreau's mode of life becoming too numerous. We wish we could say the same in regard to Barnum's. We ask the reader to look



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

around among his acquaintances, and see if the number of those whose resources of mind are sufficient to enable them to dispense with much intercourse with others, is not exceedingly small. We know of some such, though they are very few; but their fondness for solitude unfortunately is not associated with any particular admiration for a vegetable diet. It is a melancholy circumstance, and one that has been very bitterly deplored, ever since that indefinite period when "the memory of man runneth not to the contrary," that the accompaniments of poverty should go hand-in-hand with a taste for a solitary life. A hearty appreciation of and love for humble fare, plain clothes, and poor surroundings generally, are what men of genius need to cultivate. "Walden" tends to encourage this cultivation.

The part of Mr. Barnum's life, during which he has become a millionaire, has been spent almost wholly in a crowd. It would be no paradox to say that if the time he has spent as a show-man had been spent in the woods, neither the brilliancy of his imagination nor the vigor and originality of his thoughts would have enabled him to have produced a book that would have created any very great excitement, notwithstanding the extraordinary attributes of that intellect which could conceive the idea of combining nature and art to produce "natural curiosities, "and which was shrewd enough to contrive ways and means for drawing quarters and shillings, and for the smallest value received, indiscriminately from residents in the Fifth Avenue and the Five-Points, from the statesman and "the Bowery-boy," from savans, theologians, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and "the rest of mankind," to say nothing about Queen Victoria, the Duke of Wellington, and a large portion of the Eastern continent beside.

Unlike as Barnum and Thoreau are in most every other respect, in one point there is a striking resemblance. Both of them had no idea of laboring very hard with their hands for a living; they were determined to support themselves principally by their wits. The genius of Barnum led him to obtain the meat he fed upon by a skillful combination of nature with art – by eking out the short-comings in the animal creation with ingenious and elaborate manufactures, and then adroitly bringing the singular compounds thus formed to bear upon the credulity of the public. And thus, while he taxed the animal, vegetable. and mineral kingdoms, either separately or combined, to gratify the curiosity of the public, the most valued products of the last-mentioned kingdom flowed in a large and perpetual stream into his pocket. But his expenditures of "brass" in these labors were enormous. Thoreau had no talent for "great combinations." The meat he fed upon evidently would not be that of extraordinary calves or over-grown buffaloes, baked in the paragon cooking-stove of public curiosity; or rather, as he ate no meat, the vegetables he lived upon would not come from the exhibition of India-rubber mermaids, gutta-percha fish, or mammoth squashes. His genius did not lie at all in that direction. On the contrary, he preferred to diminish his wants, instead of resorting to extraordinary schemes to gratify them.

Mr. Thoreau gives a description of a battle fought upon his wood-pile between two armies of ants, that is exceedingly graphic and



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

spirited. We think it surpasses in interest the description of battles fought about Sebastopol, written by the famous correspondent of the London "Times." Perhaps, however, we are somewhat prejudiced in the matter. The truth is, we have read so much about the war in Europe, that the whole subject has become somewhat tiresome; and this account of the battle of the ants in Concord had so much freshness about it – so much novelty, dignity, and importance, which the battles in Europe cease to possess for us that we have read it over three or four times with increased interest each time. We regret that the whole account is too long to copy here, but we will give the closing part: "They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was, Conquer or die! ... I was myself excited somewhat, even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord fight! Two killed on the patriot's side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why, here every ant was a Buttrick. 'Fire! – for God's sake, fire!' and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer. There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memo~ able to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker-Hill, at least."

The more you think of it the less the difference between this fight and those battles about Sebastopol. There appears, however, to have been this advantage in favor of the battle of the ants, there was no "mistake" made in the orders, (that the chronicler could discover), by which many valuable lives were lost, as in the charge of cavalry at Sebastopol. All the operations of the ants appeared to be systematic and welltimed. This rather goes to show that the commanders of ants are more cautious than the commanders of men, for the reason probably that they hold the lives of their combatants in greater estimation.

The machinery that is used to bring about battles between different nations by "the powers that be," is very much like that Barnum used to divert the public – to divert money from their pockets into his. By adding to the age of his remarkable "nurse" –the vivacious and interesting Joice– in about the same proportion that he increased the age of his juvenile phenomenon, General Thumb, he was guilty of a departure from truth not a whit more extraordinary than the discrepancy between the conversation of the Emperor of all the Russias with the English ambassadors in regard to the health of Turkey, and his actions at the same time. Barnum unquestionably possesses superior diplomatic talents. Talleyrand would have approved them.

We said some little way back that there was one point of resemblance between Barnum and Thoreau. There are half-a-dozen. Both are good-natured, genial, pleasant men. One sneers at and



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

ridicules the pursuits of his contemporaries with the same cheerfulness and good-will that the other cajoles and fleeces them. The rural philosopher measured the length, breadth, and depth of Walden Pond, with the same jovial contentedness that the metropolitan show-man measured the length, breadth, and depth of the public gullibility. Both too are compassionate men. Flashes of pity are occasionally met with in the book of Barnum's, at the extent of the credulity of that public he seemingly so remorselessly wheedled; and Thoreau evinced a good deal of compassion for some of his well-to-do townsmen. His sympathy was a good deal moved in behalf of the farmer that owned "a handsome property," who was driving his oxen in the night to Brighton, through the mud and darkness. Both were artists. He of the wood constructed himself the unpretending edifice he occupied – a representation of which graces the title-page of his book. Barnum's artistic skill was more evinced in constructing such "curiosities" as we have before alluded to. And finally, both were humbugs – one a town and the other a rural humbug.

But both of them have nevertheless made large contributions to the science of human nature. Malherbe, once upon hearing a prose work of great merit extolled, dryly asked if it would *reduce the price of bread!* If "Walden" should be extensively read, we think it would have the effect to reduce somewhat the price of meat, if it did not of bread. At all events it encourages the belief, which in this utilitarian age enough needs encouragement, that there is some other object to live for except "to make money." In the New-England philosophy of life, which so extensively prevails where the moral or intelledual character of a man is more or less determined by his habits of *thrift*, such a book as "Walden" was needed. Extravagant as it is in the notions it promulgates, we think it is nevertheless calculated to do a good deal of good, and we hope it will be widely read. Where it exerts a bad influence upon one person, Barnum's autobiography will upon a hundred.

1856

Marshall Field began his career, as a sales clerk at \$400 per year. His motto: "Give the lady what she wants." But sometimes he would irritate the ladies of [Chicago](#) nonetheless, as when he would complete a 6-penny sale to a servant-girl before turning to them, remarking "The rule of 'first come, first served' is rigidly observed."

A railway bridge spanning the Mississippi River opened between Rockville, [Illinois](#) and Davenport, Iowa. Abraham Lincoln, a lawyer, would be defending the legality of that bridge before the Supreme Court, in response to a "right of way" suit that would be brought by a steamship company.

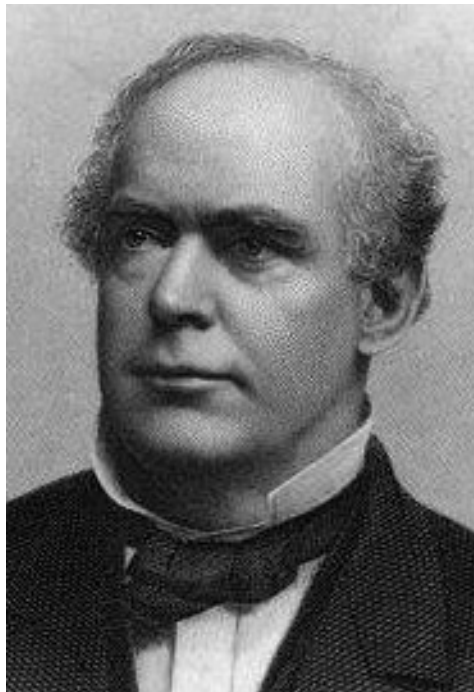
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

At [Chicago](#), the second Fort Dearborn was demolished after having stood empty and silent for 19 years:



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.



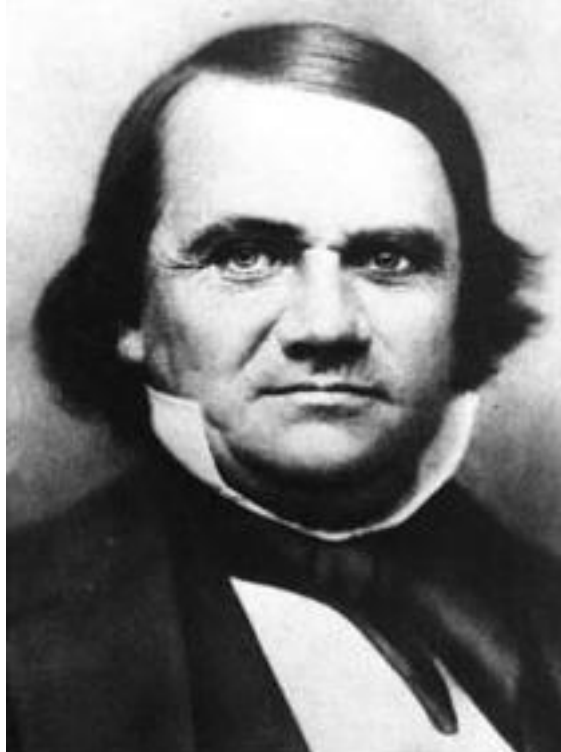
May 19, day: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: “Slave and Coolie Trade: Message from the President ... communicating information in regard to the Slave and Coolie trade.” –HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34 Cong. 1 sess. XII. No. 105. (Partly reprinted in SENATE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34 Cong. 1 sess. XV No. 99.)

On the floor of the US Senate on this day and the following one, Massachusetts Senator Charles Sumner was denouncing the “Crime against Kansas” (the Kansas-Nebraska Act) as “in every respect a swindle” and characterized its authors, Senators Andrew P. Butler and Stephen A. Douglass, as myrmidons (followers) of slavery. (This speech that occupied two days would consume 112 pages of printed proceedings.)



Sumner targeted two Democratic senators. Seeking frankness “within the limits of parliamentary propriety,” he characterized [Illinois](#)’s Stephen A. Douglass to his face as a “noise some, squat, and nameless animal ... not

a proper model for an American senator.”



South Carolina’s Andrew Butler, who was not present, received more elaborate treatment. Representative Preston S. Brooks was Butler’s South Carolina kinsman. Please note, however, that while it is correct to say that the Senator raised the question of the moral status of enslavers of fellow human beings more explicitly than had been customary on the floor of the gentleman’s club that was the US Senate, it has been quite false of our historians to presume (as any number have done, attempting to split the responsibility “fairly” down the middle) that he had in any manner slurred the personal honor of Representative Preston S. Brooks of South Carolina, or the personal honor of any of Representative Brooks’s relatives. Sumner’s remarks, according to David Grimsted, who has apparently studied them in their general context in the Congressional Record with some care, were not at all false, were not at all salacious, and were not especially personal, but were, in comparison with general Senate rhetoric, rather commonplace. “The speech was harsh about slavery and the South –especially South Carolina and Virginia– but in verbal abusiveness, personal and sectional, it was neither notable nor comparable to commonplace Southern rhetoric in Congress, much less the brutal vulgarities that poured from Brooks....”



May 19:... Apple in bloom; some, no doubt, earlier. Nighthawk’s squeals. Red-wing’s nest [**Red-winged Blackbird** Agelaius phoeniceus] made, and apparently a kingbird’s (?), on black willow four feet above water. [It is a robin’s without mud.]...

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

THE CRIME AGAINST KANSAS.
—
THE APOLOGIES FOR THE CRIME
—
THE TRUE REMEDY.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES,

19th and 20th MAY, 1856.

WASHINGTON, D. C.
BULL & BLANCHARD, PRINTERS
1856.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 29: Abraham Lincoln helped organize the new Republican Party of [Illinois](#). At its 1st national convention he would get 110 votes for the vice-presidential nomination, bringing him national attention. He would campaign in Illinois for the Republican presidential candidate, [John Charles Frémont](#).

From George Templeton Strong's New-York diary:



No new vagaries from the wild men of the South since yesterday. The South is to the North nearly what the savage Gaelic race of the Highlands was to London tempore William and Mary, vide Macaulay's third volume; except that they've assumed to rule their civilized neighbors instead of being oppressed by them, and that the simple, barbaric virtues of their low social development have been thereby deteriorated. A few fine specimens have given them a prestige the class don't deserve. We at the North are a busy money-making democracy, comparatively law-abiding and peace-loving, with the faults (among others) appropriate to traders and workers. A rich Southern aristocrat who happens to be of fine nature, with the self-reliance and high tone that life among an aristocracy favors, and culture and polish from books and travel, strikes us (not as Brooks struck Sumner but) as something different from ourselves, more ornamental and in some respects better. He has the polish of a highly civilized society, with the qualities that belong to a ruler of serfs. Thus a notion has got footing here that "Southern gentlemen" are a high-bred chivalric aristocracy, something like Louis XIV's noblesse, with grave faults, to be sure, but on the whole, very gallant and generous, regulating themselves by "codes of honor" (that are wrong, of course, but very grand); not rich, but surrounded by all the elements of real refinement. Whereas I believe they are, in fact, a race of lazy, ignorant, coarse, sensual, swaggering, sordid, beggarly barbarians, bullying white men and breeding little niggers for sale.

June 12, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), from Worcester.



Abraham Lincoln's speech of June 10th was characterized on this day by his political opponents, in the pages of the [Illinois State Register](#), as "niggerism" of "as dark a hue" as that of Frederick Douglass:

Mr. Lincoln opened his speech, and for more than an hour he bored his audience with one of the weakest speeches that he ever perpetrated. He was evidently laboring under much restraint, conscious that he was doling out new doctrine to the old whigs about him, and fearful that in keeping within moderate bounds, he would so filter his discourse that it would not in any degree reach the end he desired. He would occasionally launch out and lead his hearers to think that the most ultra abolitionism would follow, when, under the old whig eyes we have mentioned, he would soften his remarks to a supposed palatable texture. In this way, backing and filling, he frittered away anything of argument that he might have presented, convincing his audience, however, that his niggerism has as dark a hue as that of Garrison or Douglass but that his timidity before the peculiar audience he addressed prevented its earnest advocacy with the power and ability he is known to possess.

The gist of his remarks were intended to show that the democratic party favors the extension of slavery, that black republicanism aims to prevent it; by what process we did not learn from him, nor did he furnish any evidence of the truth of his allegation against the democracy. He was opposed to the extension of slavery. So are we. But we desire to see it done in a constitutional manner – by the act of the people interested. For leaving the decision of the question there, by the adjustment of '50, and by the Nebraska act, black republicanism has raised another furor in the country, and until very lately, they have claimed for congress the power to refuse the admission of any new state recognizing slavery by its constitution. Latterly, this plank of their platform has been suppressed. We heard nothing of it on Tuesday evening from Mr. Lincoln. The same caving in as to the restoration of the Missouri restriction, marks the latter day policy of the sectional party, and he as cautiously avoided it. They seek power, Mr. Lincoln naively told us, by the agglomeration of all the discordant elements of faction, and if obtained, the now suppressed platform of ultra abolitionism will be avowed and acted upon. He boldly avowed, in one of his many escapings, that there could be no Union with slavery. That agitation would be ceaseless until it shall be



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

swept away, but the mode of its eradication he left to inference from his own antecedents and those of the ruling spirits of black-republicanism – Garrison, Greeley, Seward, Sumner, and others of that genus.

To attain power, by whatever means, was the burden of his song, and he pointed to the complexion of the Bloomington ticket as evidence of the desire of the factions to attain it by any process. Bissell [William H. Bissell, Republican running for governor], a renegade democrat, headed it. Hoffman, a German nondescript [Francis A. Hoffman, Republican running for lieutenant governor, who would as a native of Germany lacking the requisite 14 years of citizenship later be replaced by John Wood of Adams County], followed; Miller, ex-whig and probable know-nothing [James Miller, Republican for treasurer], followed next, while Hatch [Ozias M. Hatch, Republican for secretary of state], Dubois [Jesse K. Dubois, Republican for auditor] and Powell [William H. Powell, Republican for superintendent of public instruction], avowed know-nothings, brought up the rear. With such a medley – such a fusion of opposites, none can doubt that the end and aim of the Bloomington organization is “power” – and place, and that its managers would sink any principle, trample upon right, law and constitution to attain their object. Mr. Lincoln’s allusion to Bissell’s services as a warrior was singularly malapropos, in him, at least; Bissell’s laurels having been won in a war, the “identical spot” on which it commenced never could be learned by Mr. L., and consequently had his inveterate opposition during its entire progress, by his congressional action in hampering the democratic administration in its prosecution. In this connection, Bissell may well exclaim – “Save me from such backing!”

Except from the squad of claquers we have mentioned, Mr. Lincoln’s remarks were received with coldness. He convinced nobody of his own sincerity, of the justness of his cause, nor did he elicit any applause except from the drilled few who occupied the front benches.

December 21, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was being written to by Benjamin B. Wiley in [Chicago](#).

Chicago Dec 21, 1856

Mr Thoreau

*So much time had elapsed since I wrote you that I feared
I should get no reply; I was therefore surprised & delighted as well as
encouraged, when your letter of 12th reached me. I do not want
to encroach on your time but I shall take the liberty of writing to
you occasionally, in hopes of drawing out a response, even though
it be a criticism, for this would be valuable to me, as
I do not want to slumber in false security. Like those
knights who loudly sang hymns while they were passing the
enchanted isle, I will remember that I am going to tell
you some of my outward, though more of my inward life[.]
This of itself will be a [s]trong incentive to virtue.
The arrival of your letter at this time makes me think*



of Napoleon's practice of leaving letters unopened for weeks till in many cases there was no necessity for a reply. Though I wanted your views, I kept on in my path and already more than dimly apprehended that no man can penetrate the secrets of creation & futurity— Still I like to dwell on these themes, particularly the latter, as I have never found a present worthy to have permanent dominion over me. I like to send my thoughts forward to meet my destiny more than half way and prepare myself to meet with alacrity any decree of Eternal Fate.

Page 2

I am obliged for the excellent quotations from Confucius and the idea given of his teachings. I trust that if on this planet I attain the age of 40 years, I shall by the wisdom that may be mine merit the respect of those whose standard is infinitely high and whose motto is excelsior. "To be rich & honored by iniquitous means is for me as the [floating] cloud which passes" speaks to me with power. The last N° of the Westminster magazine contains an article on Buddhism which I presume you may have seen. It does not mention him (Confucius)

*^ though as you told me he was above all sects
On my way back to Providence after my unforgotten Concord visit, I pondered deeply on what you had told me "to follow the faintest aspiration &c". I perhaps almost resolved to give up my Western plans of trade. Soon after, I walked with Newcomb and I of course fully agree with you in your high estimate of him and when you speak of my few opportunities for repeating those walks, I hope you only refer to my distance-- not to his health. He asked me if I knew any active outdoor sphere he was qualified to fill and from what he said I doubt not he would come here did such a place present itself. [He] could much better than I afford to let books alone, as he has studied much more and has a more original and powerful mind, at least for metaphysical thoughts. It would give me deep satisfaction to have him here if I am to remain here. Just before your letter reached me I had been thinking*

Page 3

of a future White Mountain trip with him and was not putting it far off. It is a good plan for traders to go to higher spheres occasionally. I will give you some of my reasons for coming here though I withhold such as these from "business men" or "worldlings" technically so called. I think I can truly say that I am content with (I have told [these] to no other person)

^ my outward circumstances but I hope at some future day to sustain a refined intercourse with some good & gentle being whom

*I can call wife, or better still companion and I know that all persons would not be satisfied to live on what would content me. At that time I should want to carry out my ideas of life as well as I can now but I should want to give my companion the facilities to carry out her views. Again, unless I deceive myself, I wish to be liberal beyond the sphere of my own family. The perfect transparency of soul that I would have between us leads me to say that I also had some thought of reputation. While in business formerly I travelled courses that I shall never tread again, and this, united with the success that generally accompanies able industry but which at the same time whets the edge of envy & malice, raised against me in some quarters the & also my habit of refusing to justify my acts
^ voice of calumny, though it is true that it is [not] often applied to those concerns where I feel that censure may be due. Not from any inconvenience of this kind however did I leave Providence, for such would have been the very thing to make me remain there, as I am ready and like to face difficulties & dangers. My former partner is my personal friend, but as*

Page 4

partners I [felt] that we were entirely unsuited to each other and I dissolved the connection against his will and that of his present associate[.] [Had] it not been for my personal relations to him I should have recommenced there, as my friends wished me to do, but such a course would have brought me into direct competition with him and would inevitably have taken away much of his profit and that I will not do particularly as here is a field large enough for all and where I am specially prominent invited to take ~~an important~~ part in a large house. Do not imagine from what I said that my former [cause] was a type of all that is disgraceful in man. I was intensely busy and acted thoughtlessly & unintelligently and my acts were such as are all the time adroitly done by ~~business men~~ decent men rather with eclat than with damage to their reputation. That other men do the same however is no excuse for me and having during the quiet of my past summer drunk somewhat of eternal truth I see & feel my errors and [s]o help me God shall not again fall into them. My very retirement from trade was in the eyes of my detracting neighbors not the least of my short-comings though I know it to be one of the most fortunate things I ever did. As I place character however infinitely before reputation, I am not necessarily pledged to trade again. The fact that I am almost invariably popular and flattered & courted in Providence circles shows me that I need a higher monitor than the



voice of the multitude who must necessarily know so little of the motives that actuate me. So little do detracting remarks [ruffle] my temper that were it in my way I should gladly assist any of the quintette club that try to injure me though of course with the littleness of soul which they display I cannot have particular love for them. I trust that if I have future antagonists they may be greater than these little men who have never had the manliness to face me. I expect to find in Montaigne somewhere the story of Alexander the Great who when urged to punish a slanderer, refused, saying he would live so purely that all men would see the fellow spoke falsely

Page 5

I thus give you the leading motives that influenced me to come here. Since I arrived I heard that one of my leading prospective partners is dissatisfied with the determination I have shown to attend to higher things than trade. I am perfectly aware that I have lost caste with mere traders. The gentleman referred to is now here and our grand council will soon begin. Walden will not change color during its continuance nor the Concord stop flowing. I am here at the wish of others as well as the result of my own reasoning but I will not become a common business drudge for all the wealth of Chicago. Instead of a trader I am going to be a man. I believe a divine life can be nourished even in this Western Shrine of Mammon. Should our Council not end in a partnership, I have no settled plans for the future. I should in all probability soon favor myself with a visit to Concord. Were I more gifted I would now leave trade forever and be your Plato. I freely admit to you that this kind of life is not what pleases me. Do not interpret my remarks into the grumblings of disappointment, for I am what the world calls singularly favored by fortune. I await the wishes result of our Council calmly though my ~~nature~~ would lead me to the haunts of Nature. If you think my ideas erroneous write a severe ~~et~~ criticism for me. I would like to have you tell me just what you think

I have a good deal of leisure now. I have read Montaigne's Essays to some extent & with unfailing interest. The ancient anecdotes make the valuable part of the book to me though they are so

Page 6

well incorporated with his generally sensible & pithy remarks that no common man can approach him. I have read some of Emerson, a man to whom I am much indebted. I saw his notice of Mr. Hoar. You mentioned to me Miss Hoar when I was there. In one respect I think Emerson of infinite moment



^ has put in for me the key-stone of an arch which [has] cost me much labor & travail to build. He will be here next month to lecture and I shall call on him, as he asked me to do. Most men here are intensely devoted to trade but I have found one with whom I have unreserved & delightful intercourse— Rev Rush R Shippen the Unitarian minister. Mr Emerson will remember him. He is no ways priestly but has that open guileless countenance that wins the fullest confidence. He is of course intelligent & well-informed[.] He generously places his library at my disposal. I gladly accepted an invitation to take tea with him tomorrow as there is entire absence of [cere]mony. I am glad to find such a man with whom I can talk of the Infinite & Eternal. In addition to his library I have access to a public one of about 2000 volumes & I think I can largely extend my facilities. Very few books I read but I like to look at the tables of contents the engravings & portraits of others. The N[.]Y. Tribune often has things of more than transient interest. Some of their political articles are most powerful. Their notice of “Walden” introduced it to me. I take walks of considerable length almost daily and think I in that respect am the most enthusiastic of the 100,000 here.
plus
^ I generally go along the Lake shore. I have to go 3 miles to

Page 7
reach woods my way. The Lake is the great feature of the place. Everything being level I have nothing on the land to meet my New England bred eyes and have learned (from Newcomb) to watch the clouds and I find it not the least valuable of his suggestions. One cloudy morning I saw in the East over the Lake as the moon rose what resembled a vast bird with outstretched wings holding her course towards the East. I recorded in my Journal that I might consider it emblematic of my own desire of progress towards the source of[] inward illumination. One morning I saw in the East a perpendicular pillar of cloud that would have answered well enough to guide any Israelites that were going in that direction--another morning I saw on the hitherto level surface of the frozen lake ice-hills of considerable size. I was glad to see hills anywhere. The Lake water is carried over the city for drinking &c. It [is almost] always discolored by storms. That which comes moderately clear I [fancy] I can render white by beating with my hands and if allowed to [stand,] a sediment of lime is deposited. It makes some trouble with [strang'ers] digestive organs and I am not entirely accustomed to it. If you [have at] your tongue's end a description of your own way to make a filter,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

I should probably put it in practice & should appreciate your kindness. I have been wondering how you [know] the different species of plants as described by science. Is the description

Page 8

*so accurate that you [know] them at sight?
are millers that come round our summer lamps Chrysalides
and into what are they next transformed?
I have written much more than I expected to do. I hope I may
ere long have a reply from you. Please remember me to Mr Emerson
if you meet him. I am yours sincerely B B Wiley*

{written perpendicular to text:

Postmark: CHICAGO

[]

DEC

1856

Address: Henry D. Thoreau Esq.

Concord

Mass.}



Dec. 21. Sunday. Think what a pitiful kind of life ours is, eating our kindred animals! and in some places one another! Some of us (the Esquimaux), half whose life is spent in the dark, wholly dependent on one or two animals not many degrees removed from themselves for food, clothing, and fuel, and partly for shelter; making their sledges “of small fragments of porous bones [of whale], admirably knit together by thongs of hide” ([Kane](#)’s last book, vol. i, page 205), thus getting about, sliding about, on the bones of our cousins. Where [Kane](#) wintered in the Advance in 1853-54, on the coast of Greenland, about 78½° north latitude, or further north than any navigator had been excepting Parry at Spitzbergen, he meets with Esquimaux, and “the fleam-shaped tips of their lances were of unmistakable steel.” “The metal was obtained in traffic from the more southern tribes.” Such is trade.

P. M. — To Walden.

The pond is open again *in the middle*, owing to [lie rain of yesterday. I go across to the cliffs by way of the Andromeda Ponds.

How interesting and wholesome their color now! A broad level thick stuff, without a crevice in it, composed of the dull brown-red andromeda. Is it not the most uniform and deepest red that covers a large surface now? No withered oak leaves are nearly as red at present. In a broad hollow amid the hills, you have this perfectly level red stuff, marked here and there only with gray streaks or patches of bare high blueberry bushes, etc., and all surrounded by a light border of straw-colored sedge, etc.

Even the little red buds of the *Vaccinium Pennsylvanicum* and *vacillans* on the now bare and dry-looking stems attract me as I go through the open glades between the first Andromeda Pond and the Well Meadow Field. Many twigs of the *Vaccinium vacillans* appear to have been nibbled off, and some of its *buds have unfolded*, apparently in the fall. I observe sage willows with many leaves on them still.

Apparently the red oak retains much fewer leaves than the white, scarlet, and black. I notice the petioles of both the black and red twisted in that peculiar way. The red oak leaves look thinner and flatter, and therefore perhaps show the lobes more, than those of the black. The white oak leaves are the palest and most shrivelled, the lightest, perhaps a shade of buff, but they are of various shades, some pretty dark with a salmon tinge. The swamp white oak leaves (which I am surprised to find Gray makes a variety (*discolor*) of the *Quercus Prinus*) are very much like the shrub oak, but more curled. These two are the best preserved, though they do not hang on so well as the white and scarlet. Both remarkable for their thick, leathery, sound leaves, uninjured by insects, and their very light downy under sides. The black oak leaves are the darkest brown, with clear or deep yellowish-brown under sides, obovate in outline. The scarlet oak leaves, which are very numerous still, are of

a ruddy color, having much blood in their cheeks. They are all winter the reddest on the hillsides. They still spread their ruddy fingers to the breeze. After the shrub and swamp white, they are perhaps the best preserved of any I describe. The red oak leaves are a little lighter brown than the black oak, less yellowish beneath. Their lobes, methinks, are narrower and straighter-sided. They are the color of their own acorns.

1857

Joseph Hosmer sold the Hosmer family farm in [Concord](#), which had been in the family's possession for 220 years, and moved to [Chicago](#).

The Illinois Central Railroad system extended at this point from [Chicago](#) to Cairo, [Illinois](#).

April 7, Tuesday: Benjamin B. Wiley was writing to [Henry Thoreau](#) from [Chicago](#):

If it be not unfair to ask an author what he means I would inquire what I am to understand when in your list of employments given in Walden you say "I long ago lost a hound a bay-horse and a turtle-dove." If I transgress let the question pass unnoticed.



On either the 7th or the 9th, John ("Frank") Wheeler was born in Concord, Massachusetts, son of Seth Brooks Wheeler and Mary Adelaide Giddings Wheeler (he would [hang](#) himself in New Boston, New Hampshire on February 27, 1896 at the age of 38).

May 13, Wednesday: By this day, all the British of [India](#) had been informed by telegraph of the mutiny that was taking place at Simla. This new device for the communication of information therefore became instantly a device for the interception of information, for, according to the London [Times](#), with the British in possession of such intelligence and the natives not yet generally in possession of it, “the post was stopped, and an embargo placed on all native correspondence.” The [Times](#) went on to specifically categorize the telegraph as a weapon of war: “It is not too much to say that the telegraph saved India.”

The Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) went to the annual Western Unitarian Conference in Alton, [Illinois](#). The Supreme court had recently announced its Dred Scott decision, and Conway felt personally humiliated at this because Justice Peter Daniel, one of the justices who had declared that the black people of America were “outside the family of nations” and struck down the Missouri Compromise, was a relative of his.⁷³

[Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#).

[OCR-scan letter from THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, ed. Walter Harding and Carl Bode, 1958, and insert here.]



May 13. Work in garden. I see a toad only an inch and a quarter long; so they must be several years growing.

P. M.—To Leaning Hemlocks.

A large bunch of oat spawn in meadow water. Scare up a black duck and apparently two summer ducks. Canoe birch, how long? *Sternotherus*.



May 14. P. M.—To Assabet Bath and stone bridge.

I hear two thrashers plainly singing in emulation of each other.

At the temporary brush fence pond, now going down, amid the sprout-land and birches, I see, within a dozen rods along its shore, one to three rods from edge, thirteen wood tortoises on the grass, at 4 P. M. this cloudy afternoon. This is apparently a favorite resort for them, —a shallow open pool of half an acre, which dries up entirely a few weeks later, in dryish, mossy ground in an open birch wood, etc., etc. They take refuge in the water and crawl out over the mossy ground. They lie about in various positions, very conspicuous there, at every rod or two. They are of various forms and colors: some almost regularly oval or elliptical, even pointed behind, others very broad behind, more or less flaring and turned up on the edge; some a dull lead-color and almost smooth, others brown with dull-yellowish marks. I see one with a large dent three eighths of an inch deep and nearly two inches long in the middle of its back, where it was once partially crushed. Hardly one has a perfect shell. The males (?), with concave sternums; the females, even or convex. They have their reddish-orange legs stretched out often, listlessly, when you approach, draw in their heads with a hiss when you take them up, commonly taking a bit of stubble with them.

See a pair of marsh hawks, the smaller and lighter-colored male, with black tips to wings, and the large brown female, sailing low over J. Hosmer’s sprout-land and screaming, apparently looking for frogs or the like. Or have they not a nest near? They hover very near me. The female, now so near, sails very grandly, with the outer wing turned or tilted up when it circles, and the bars on its tail when it turns, etc., reminding me of a great brown moth. Sometimes alone; and when it approaches its mate it utters a low, grating note like *cur-r-r*. Suddenly the female holds straight toward me, descending gradually. Steadily she comes on, without swerving, until only two rods off, then wheels.

I find an old bog-hoe left amid the birches in the low ground, the handle nearly rotted off. In the low birch land north of the pear tree the old corn-hills are very plain still, and now each hill is a dry moss-bed, of various species of *cladonia*. What a complete change from a dusty corn-hill!

Abel Hosmer tells me that he has collected and sown white pine seed, and that he has found them in the crop of

73. Why Conway should have been alarmed, that he had a stupid relative, is anybody’s guess. Dred Scott probably had stupid relatives too, but it is not of record that he agonized over this.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

pigeons. (?)

Salix lucida at bridge; maybe staminate earlier. Herb-of-St.-Barbara, how long?



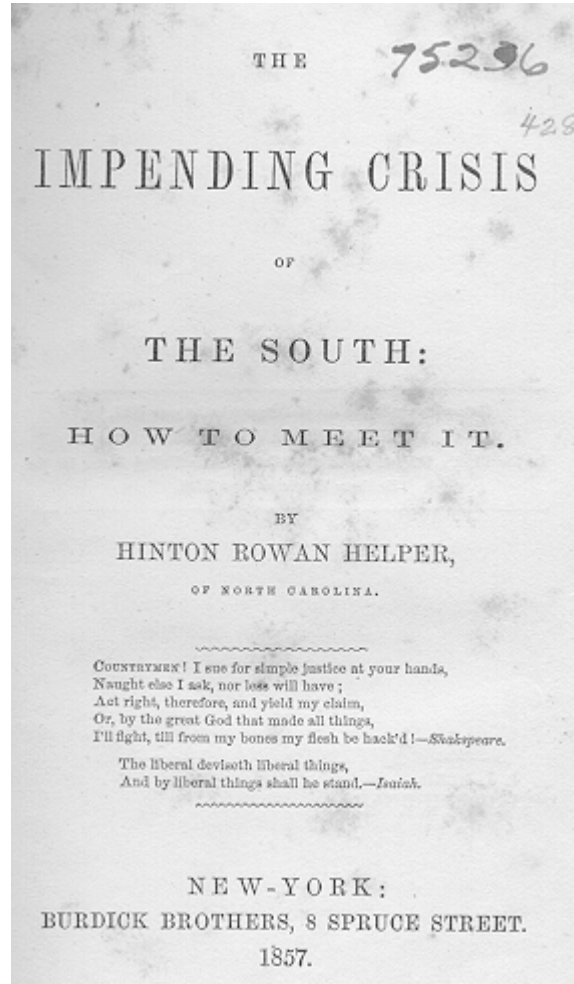
May 14, Thursday: Abel Hosmer [Concord farmer] tells me that he has collected and sown white pine seed, and that he has found them in the crop of pigeons [American Passenger Pigeons *Ectopistes migratorius*].(?)

June 26: In Springfield, [Illinois](#), Abraham Lincoln spoke against the Dred Scott decision.



This man had no rights that any white American was bound to respect. None at all. Nope.

The 1st edition of Hinton Rowan Helper's polemical compilation of census data *THE IMPENDING CRISIS OF THE SOUTH: HOW TO MEET IT* was published in [Baltimore](#), expanding upon what we now have come to regard as a pleasant conceit –the idea that oppression actually is unprofitable to the oppressor– and proclaiming also the pleasant conceit that [Waldo Emerson](#), who had originally espoused this idea in the 1844 “EMANCIPATION IN THE BRITISH WEST INDIES”, was America's “most practical and profound metaphysician.” Hoo boy! What Helper was proposing amounted to a comprehensive racial boycott by all whites against all persons of color. These coloreds couldn't help but be unfair low-price low-quality competition for decent, honest, clean white workingmen such as him. He proposed a total ostracization of any white man so unaware of the needs of white people as to utilize the labor of a nonwhite. No union with slaveholders! It would become a crime to so much as possess a copy of this racist book in the American South.

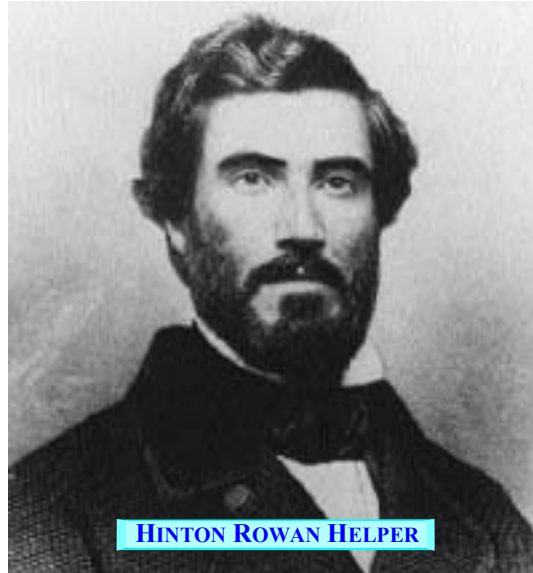


There was a blurb by Horace Greeley in the New-York Tribune and Weekly Tribune. When Senator James Mason of Virginia read Helper's statistical study, he considered that its intent was "to array man against man in our own States." Helper's attitude was plain. He minced no words. He recommended to all white Americans that for fundamental economic reasons an abolitionist is your "best and only true" friend. I will quote *passim* in the manner in which it is customary to quote from such a treatise on attitude as *MEIN KAMPF*, in illustration of the plainness of Helper's message.⁷⁴



You must either be for us or against us.... [The white masses are going to] have justice peaceably or by violence.... Do you aspire to become the victims of white nonslaveholding vengeance by day, and of barbarous massacre by the negroes at night?... [Slavery is] a perpetual license to murder.... In nine cases out of ten [slaves are] happy to cut their masters' throats.

74. Anyone who desires to evaluate the accuracy and representativeness of the constructed paragraph of quotation is urged to consult the original, which is a quick and entertaining read if one pays attention to the textual paragraphs while ignoring the enormous quantities of utterly irrelevant and tendentious and pretentious statistical tabulation.



HINTON ROWAN HELPER

This Emerson-admirer was an egregious case of what you would term an Antislavery Racist. —Which is to say, he was a Southern white man, from [North Carolina](#), who owned no slaves, whose fixation was that of the victim. It wasn't the blacks who were being harmed by slavery, it was real decent folks like him who were being harmed by [slavery](#). All these slaves, who belonged to other people, were impacting his life! He hated the nigger who was doing him wrong, He hated the slavemaster who was doing him wrong. What he needed most urgently was a lily-white, pure America of which he could be proud, where he could stand tall. Slavery was a tainted and archaic social system that was standing in the way of white people's cultural and material progress. Blacks were a tainted and inferior group who had no business being here in our brave New World in the first place.⁷⁵

The Democrats immediately attempted to neutralize Helper's dangerous racist abolitionism by issuing Gilbert J. Beebe's A REVIEW AND REFUTATION OF Hinton Rowan Helper's "IMPENDING CRISIS". They charged that their political opponents, the Republicans, were using this treatise as their "text-book."

A crisis would break out in the discussions of this attitude about how to achieve progress, in December 1859 during the uproar over the John Brown raid on Harpers Ferry by abolitionists.

Speaking of progress, in this year in England, [Herbert Spencer](#)'s article "Progress: its Law and Cause" began to apply his one big idea, a principle that he had derived from K.E. von Baer, that the biological development of an organism proceeds from a homogenous state to a heterogeneous state, to the solar system, to animal species, to human society, to industry, to art, to language, to science, and to the kitchen sink. This ideology-driven infatuation eventually led to his friend Thomas Henry Huxley commenting about him that Spencer's idea of a tragedy was "a deduction killed by a fact."

75. This interesting book has been republished in Cambridge MA in 1968. For more on this guy and his not-all-that-novel conceit that the victims were victimizing him and needed to be trumped, see Hugh C. Bailey's HINTON ROWAN HELPER: ABOLITIONIST-RACIST (University of Alabama, 1965).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

July: [Illinois](#) attorney Abraham Lincoln and his wife Mary Lincoln visited New-York, [Niagara Falls](#), and Canada.
(No, that's not them in this photo.)





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1858

The Reverend [Ralph Emerson](#) relocated to Rockford, Illinois, where he would occasionally lecture at the [Chicago](#) Theological Seminary.

E.S. Chesbrough (1813-1886) had started out in his work career as a railroad survey chairman. In 1855 he had become the engineer of the Chicago Sewerage Commission. In this year he presented what would become recognized by his peers as the first significant treatise on sewerage, thus contributing to [Chicago](#) becoming the 1st big American city to design and install a comprehensive sewerage system.

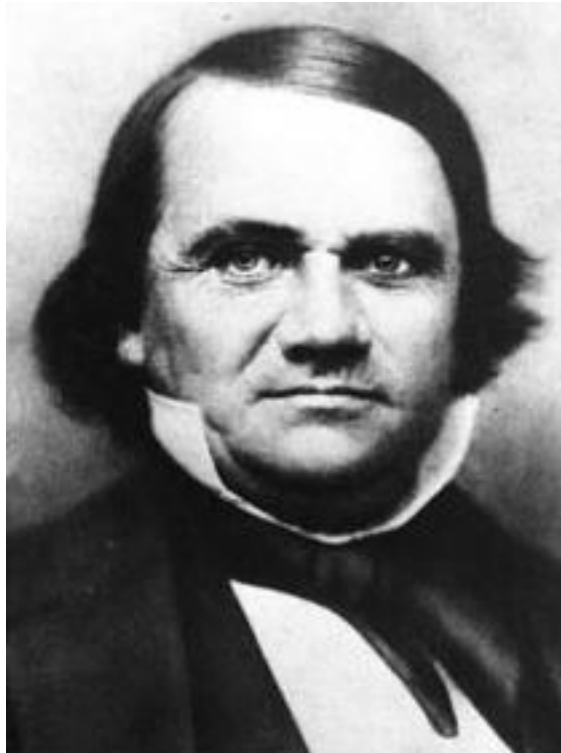
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) was named the Republican Party's candidate for the US Senate and delivered a plea for unity under his leadership in which he commented "A house divided against itself cannot stand." In this year this candidate would express the personal opinion that although the language of our [Declaration of Independence](#), that "all men ... happiness" yada yada yada, was not compatible with holding American blacks in a condition of enslavement, nevertheless it was compatible with denying to them full political and social parity with white Americans. They might well be granted something more than slavery just as soon as it became convenient to white Americans to grant that to them, but, since they were of course inherently inferior to real human beings, which is to say, white human beings like Abraham Lincoln, they would always warrant something less than full consideration.



The Democratic candidate from [Illinois](#), Stephen A. Douglas, would win the election.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

[John Wells Foster](#) relocated to the environs of [Chicago](#), where he would reside for the remainder of his life.



For a period he would serve as Commissioner of the Land Department of the [Illinois](#) Central Railroad.

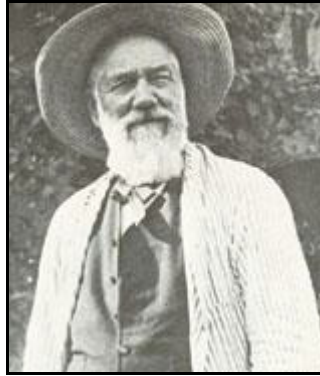
January: John Brown and his band had ridden into Missouri and attacked two proslavery homesteads, confiscating property such as mules and wagons and liberating 10 or 11 of their slaves. The group would travel 82 days and covered over a thousand miles while these slaves were being delivered to freedom in Canada. Brown would travel from Springdale IA to [Chicago](#) by train and go east to raise more funds.

Sydney Howard Gay resigned from the National Anti-Slavery Standard to accept an offer from the New-York Tribune.



April 8: The schooner *Thomas Kingsford* sailed out of Oswego, beginning its season of voyages between New York and [Chicago](#).

On this day and the following one [Henry Thoreau](#) surveyed the John Kettell farm on Lexington Road for Sam Staples, and charged him \$11.⁵⁰. The farm stretched from Lexington Road across the field to Cambridge



Turnpike and then to the Mill Brook and had belonged to Isaac Watts⁷⁶ in 1849 when Thoreau divided the woods on the hill behind and northeast of the house into 52 woodlots. Marcia Moss believes that 1849 survey was the first one Thoreau recorded in his Field Notes book. It shows the location of land belonging to Sexton, George Heywood, C.B. Davis, Cyrus Warren, Shannon, Richard Messer, John B. Moore, and the surroundings. Thoreau's journal for October 4, 1857 indicates that he seriously injured himself one day while building a woodshed on this land.

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

This would presumably be the event described later by Sheriff Sam to Dr. Edward Emerson:

Sam Staples told me ... "When I bought that farm next to your father's, I had him [Thoreau] run the lines for me. I guess 'twas about the last work he did. Well the line against your father's pear orchard and meadow running down to the brook, I'd always supposed was right, as his hedge ran, and so I dug that ditch between his meadow and mine, right in the line of the hedge. Well, when we come to run the line, the corner of the hedge on the Turnpike was right, but when we got to the other end of the hedge, 'twas several feet over on to what I'd bought. And at the brook, the ditch which I'd dug to it from the hedge-corner, supposing that this was the line, came much as a rod into my meadow by the deed. That tickled Thoreau mightily. 'We'll call Emerson down and show it to him,' says he. 'Oh, never mind,' says I, 'he don't know about it; let it be as it is.' 'No,' says

76. This was not the Isaac Watts who authored hymns.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

he, 'I'll get Emerson down.' So he went up to the house and told him we got something to show him down at the meadow, and he put on his hat and came along with Henry. Well, when we got him down there, Thoreau, says he, 'I didn't think this of you, Mr. Emerson, stealing so much land of Staples here.' Well, your father was troubled when he saw where the ditch was over in my land. 'I'll pay you for the land,' says he, 'what's it worth?' 'Oh, no,' says I, 'I dug the ditch there supposing the hedge was the line. 'Twan't your fault. 'Twas the man you bought of showed you where to put the hedge. Let it be as the ditch now.' It pleased Thoreau to get the joke on him."

April 28: John Brown was in [Chicago](#).

In a \$2,000 contest, the "Greensward" plan of Frederick Law Olmsted, beating 32 other designs, was chosen for New-York's new Central Park. Primarily, this plan won because its initiator was perceived as separate from the political system of that time and place, an outsider, a non-beneficiary of the process at hand. (The actual work of design would be done by another man, Calvert Vaux, who had training in architecture and who was neither so well, nor so poorly, connected.)



What had been on the approximately 770 acres of land at the time? The standard story, the story that the white people created and that the white people wanted to remember, was that it had been merely smelly swamp, weedy trees, and rocky outcroppings with an incredible coating of city filth. The skating pond that Vaux and Olmsted included in the plan would create a skating sensation, with 100,000 persons showing up of an afternoon.

Such skating was all the rage. In this same year, at Toronto, the 1st ice-[skating](#) rink in Canada was opening for business. (Québec City boasts the 1st covered rink in Canada, with a large shed built over the natural ice to protect it from heavy snowfall.)



April 28. Blustering northwest wind and wintry aspect A.M.— Down river to look at willows.... I see the fish hawk [*Osprey Pandion haliaetus*] again.... As it flies low, directly over my head, I see that its body is white beneath, and the white on the forward side of the wings beneath, if extended across the breast, would form a regular crescent. Its wings do not form a regular curve in front, but an abrupt angle. They are loose and broad at tips. This bird goes fishing slowly down one side of the river and up again on the other, forty to sixty feet high, continually poising itself almost or quite stationary, with its head to the northwest wind and looking down, flapping its wings enough to keep its place, sometimes stationary for about a minute. It is not shy. This boisterous weather is the time to see it.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

June 16, day: Abraham Lincoln was nominated to be the Republican senator from [Illinois](#), opposing Democratic candidate Stephen A. Douglas. He would deliver his “House Divided” speech at the state convention in Springfield. Also, he would be engaging Douglas in a series of seven debates with big audiences.


The remains of [Elisha Mitchell](#) were transferred from his grave in Ashville, [North Carolina](#) to the top of the peak that would be named after him, [Mt. Mitchell](#).

[Henry Thoreau](#) noted in his journal that [Edward Waldo Emerson](#) (about 14 years of age), [Edward Jarvis “Ned” Bartlett](#) (about 16 years of age), and Samuel Storow Higginson (presumably at this point about 15, since he would graduate from Harvard College in 1863) “came to ask me the names of some eggs to-night.” The boys provided information as to the various nests that they had seen.



June 16: To Staple’s Meadow Wood. It is pleasant to paddle over the meadows now, at this time of flood, and look down on the various meadow plants, for you can see more distinctly quite to the bottom than ever.... No doubt thousands of birds’ nests have been destroyed by the flood, –blackbirds’ bobolinks’, song sparrows’, etc. I see a robin’s nest high above the water with the young just dead and the old bird in the water, apparently killed by the abundance of rain and afterward I see a fresh song sparrow’s nest which has been flooded and destroyed.



 Our national birthday, Sunday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 54th birthday.



In [Chicago, Illinois](#) Central Railroad workers were attempting to launch a balloon they were referring to as “The Spirit of ’76.” The record doesn’t state whether or not they did manage to get this “monster balloon” up into the air, or if they did, how long it stayed up or how high it rose.⁷⁷

In Brooklyn, New-York, the corner-stone of the Armory was set in position with appropriate ceremony.

Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes delivered an oration in Boston.

77. The Russian film “Burnt by the Sun” records a similar attempt near Moscow.

This is what the [Niagara Falls](#) looked like in this year, to Currier & Ives:



During the celebration of the opening of the associated hydraulic canal, the dam gave way (fortunately, no one was injured).



The [negrero](#) *Wanderer* sailed from the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina for the coast of Africa, disguised as a luxury cruise ship. There's now an entire book about this one remarkable vessel, Erik Calonius's *THE WANDERER: THE LAST AMERICAN SLAVE SHIP AND THE CONSPIRACY THAT SET ITS SAILS*, published by St. Martin's Press in 2006.

Jefferson Davis, delivering a 4th-of-July oration on board a steamer bound from [Baltimore](#) to Boston, predicted (it would seem :-)) the outcome of the Civil War, when he roundly declared that "this great country will continue united."



Overlooking Lake Winnepiseogee, now Winnepesaukee:



July 4. Sunday. A. M.—Clears up after a rainy night. Get our breakfast apparently in the northern part of Loudon, where we find, in a beech and maple wood, *Panax quinquefolium*, apparently not quite out, *Osmorrhiza brevistylis* (or hairy uraspermum), gone to seed, which Bigelow refers to woods on Concord Turnpike, i. e. hairy sweet cicely. Also ternate polypody (?). Saw a chestnut tree in Loudon.

Leaving Loudoh Ridge on the right we continued on by the Hollow Road —a long way through the forest

without houses— through a part of Canterbury into Gilmanton Factory village. I see the *Ribes prostratum*, or fetid currant, by roadside, already red, as also the red elder-berries, ripe or red. Strawberries were abundant by the roadside and in the grass on hillsides everywhere, with the seeds conspicuous, sunk in pits on the surface. (Vide a leaf of same kind pressed.)

The Merrimack at Merrimack, where I walked, —half a mile or more below my last camp on it in '9,— had gone down two or three feet within a few days, and the muddy and slimy shore was covered with the tracks I This only in the northern part of New Hampshire. of many small animals, apparently three-toed sandpipers, minks, turtles, squirrels, perhaps mice, and some much larger quadrupeds. The *Solidago lanceolata*, not out, was common along the shore. Wool-grass without black sheaths, and a very slender variety with it; also *Carex crinita*.

We continue along through Gilmanton to Meredith Bridge, passing the Suncook Mountain on our right, a long, barren rocky range overlooking Lake Winnepiseogee. Turn down a lane five or six miles beyond the bridge and spend the midday near a bay of the lake. *Polygonum cilinode*, apparently not long. I hear song sparrows there among the rocks, with a totally new strain, ending *whit whit, whit whit, whit whit whit*. They had also the common strain. We had begun to see from Gilmanton, from high hills in the road, the sharp rocky peak of Chocorua in the north, to the right of the lower Red Hill. It was of a pale-buff color, with apparently the Sandwich Mountains west of it and Ossipee Mountain on the right. The goldfinch was more common than at home, and the fragrant fern was perceived oftener. The evergreen-forest not frequently heard.

It is far more independent to travel on foot. You have to sacrifice so much to the horse. You cannot choose the most agreeable places in which to spend the noon, commanding the finest views, because commonly there is no water there, or you cannot get there with your horse. New Hampshire being a more hilly and newer State than Massachusetts, it is very difficult to find a suitable place to camp near the road, affording water, a good prospect, ~nd retirement. We several times rode on as much as ten miles with a tired horse, looking in vain for such a spot, and then almost invariably camped in some low, unpleasant spot. There are very few, scarcely any, lanes, or even paths and bars along the road. Having got beyond the range of the chestnut, the few bars that might be taken down are long and heavy planks or slabs, intended to confine sheep, and there is no passable road behind. And beside, when you have chosen a place one must stay behind to watch your effects, while the other looks about. I frequently envied the independence of the walker, who can spend the midday hours and take his lunch in the most agreeable spot on his route. The only alternative is to spend your noon at some trivial inn, pestered by flies and tavern loungers.

Camped within a mile of Senter Harbor, in a birch wood on the right near the lake. Heard in the night a loon, screech owl, and cuckoo, and our horse, tied to a slender birch close by, restlessly pawing the ground all night and whinnying to us whenever we showed ourselves, asking for something more than meat to fill his belly with.



August 21: The [negrero Echo](#), taken with a cargo of 306 [slaves](#), was brought to the port of Charleston, South Carolina (HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 35th Congress, 2d session II, part 4, Number 2, part 4, pages 5, 14).

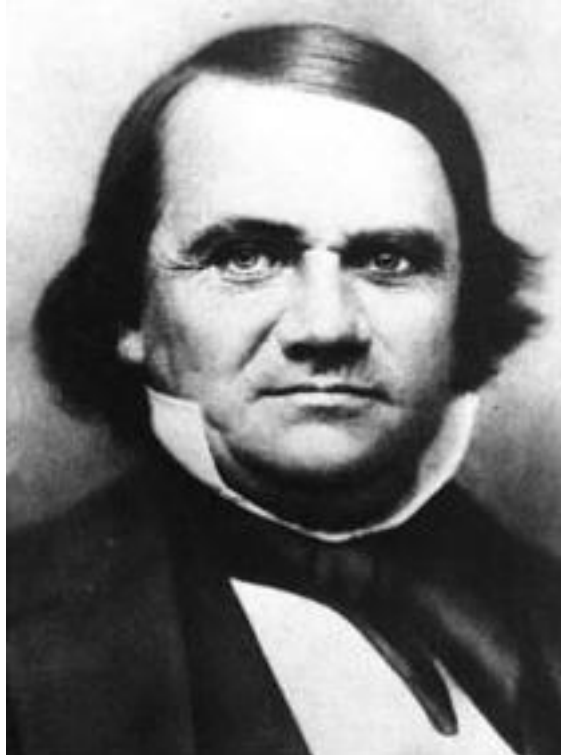
INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

Life must have seemed quite a bit different on this day, for Abraham Lincoln and for [Henry Thoreau](#):



August 21: P.M.—A-berrying to Conantum. I notice hardhacks clothing their stems now with their erected leaves, showing the whitish under sides. A pleasing evidence of the advancing season. How yellow that kind of hedgehog (?) sedge, [!] in the toad pool by Cyrus Hubbard's corner. I still see the patch of *epilobium* on Bee Tree Hill as plainly as ever, though only the pink seed-vessels and stems are left.

Per the COLLECTED WORKS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, here is the 1st debate with Stephen A. Douglas, that was taking place on this day at Ottawa, [Illinois](#):



August 21, 1858

Mr. Douglas' Speech.

Ladies and gentlemen: I appear before you to-day for the purpose of discussing the leading political topics which now agitate the public mind. By an arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and myself, we are present here to-day for the purpose of having a joint discussion as the representatives of the two great political parties of the State and Union, upon the principles in issue between these parties and this vast concourse of people, shows the deep feeling which pervades the public mind in regard to the questions dividing us.

Prior to 1854 this country was divided into two great political parties, known as the Whig and Democratic parties. Both were national and patriotic, advocating principles that were universal in their application. An old line Whig could proclaim his principles in Louisiana and Massachusetts alike. Whig principles had no boundary sectional line, they were not limited by the Ohio river, nor by the Potomac, nor by the line of the free and slave States, but applied and were proclaimed wherever the Constitution ruled or the American flag waved over the American soil. (Hear him, and three cheers.) So it was, and so it is with the great Democratic party, which, from the days of Jefferson until this period, has proven itself to be the historic party of this nation. While the Whig and Democratic parties differed in regard to a bank, the tariff, distribution,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

the specie circular and the sub-treasury, they agreed on the great slavery question which now agitates the Union. I say that the Whig party and the Democratic party agreed on this slavery question while they differed on those matters of expediency to which I have referred. The Whig party and the Democratic party jointly adopted the Compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of a proper and just solution of this slavery question in all its forms. Clay was the great leader, with Webster on his right and Cass on his left, and sustained by the patriots in the Whig and Democratic ranks, who had devised and enacted the Compromise measures of 1850.

In 1851, the Whig party and the Democratic party united in Illinois in adopting resolutions endorsing and approving the principles of the compromise measures of 1850, as the proper adjustment of that question. In 1852, when the Whig party assembled in Convention at Baltimore for the purpose of nominating a candidate for the Presidency, the first thing it did was to declare the compromise measures of 1850, in substance and in principle, a suitable adjustment of that question. (Here the speaker was interrupted by loud and long continued applause.) My friends, silence will be more acceptable to me in the discussion of these questions than applause. I desire to address myself to your judgment, your understanding, and your consciences, and not to your passions or your enthusiasm. When the Democratic convention assembled in Baltimore in the same year, for the purpose of nominating a Democratic candidate for the Presidency, it also adopted the compromise measures of 1850 as the basis of Democratic action. Thus you see that up to 1853-'54, the Whig party and the Democratic party both stood on the same platform with regard to the slavery question. That platform was the right of the people of each State and each Territory to decide their local and domestic institutions for themselves, subject only to the federal constitution.

During the session of Congress of 1853-'54, I introduced into the Senate of the United States a bill to organize the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska on that principle which had been adopted in the compromise measures of 1850, approved by the Whig party and the Democratic party in Illinois in 1851, and endorsed by the Whig party and the Democratic party in national convention in 1852. In order that there might be no misunderstanding in relation to the principle involved in the Kansas and Nebraska bill, I put forth the true intent and meaning of the act in these words: "It is the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any State or Territory, or to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the federal constitution." Thus, you see, that up to 1854, when the Kansas and Nebraska bill was brought into Congress for the purpose of carrying out the principles which both parties had up to that time endorsed and approved, there had been no division in this country in regard to that principle except the opposition of the abolitionists. In the House of Representatives of the Illinois Legislature, upon a resolution asserting that principle, every Whig and every Democrat in the House voted in the affirmative,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

and only four men voted against it, and those four were old line Abolitionists. (Cheers.)

In 1854, Mr. Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull entered into an arrangement, one with the other, and each with his respective friends, to dissolve the old Whig party on the one hand, and to dissolve the old Democratic party on the other, and to connect the members of both into an Abolition party under the name and disguise of a Republican party. (Laughter and cheers, hurrah for Douglas.) The terms of that arrangement between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Trumbull have been published to the world by Mr. Lincoln's special friend, James H. Matheny, Esq., and they were that Lincoln should have Shields' place in the U.S. Senate, which was then about to become vacant, and that Trumbull should have my seat when my term expired. (Great laughter.) Lincoln went to work to abolitionize the Old Whig party all over the State, pretending that he was then as good a Whig as ever; (laughter) and Trumbull went to work in his part of the State preaching Abolitionism in its milder and lighter form, and trying to abolitionize the Democratic party, and bring old Democrats handcuffed and bound hand and foot into the Abolition camp. ("Good," "hurrah for Douglas," and cheers.) In pursuance of the arrangement, the parties met at Springfield in October, 1854, and proclaimed their new platform. Lincoln was to bring into the Abolition camp the old line Whigs, and transfer them over to Joshua Reed Giddings, Chase, Ford, Frederick Douglass and Parson Lovejoy,⁷⁸ who were ready to receive them and christen them in their new faith. (Laughter and cheers.) They laid down on that occasion a platform for their new Republican party, which was to be thus constructed. I have the resolutions of their State convention then held, which was the first mass State Convention ever held in Illinois by the Black Republican party, and I now hold them in my hands and will read a part of them, and cause the others to be printed. Here is the most important and material resolution of this Abolition platform.

1. Resolved, That we believe this truth to be self-evident, that when parties become subversive of the ends for which they are established, or incapable of restoring the government to the true principles of the constitution, it is the right and duty of the people to dissolve the political bands by which they may have been connected therewith, and to organize new parties upon such principles and with such views as the circumstances and exigencies of the nation may demand.

2. Resolved, That the times imperatively demand the reorganization of parties, and repudiating all previous party attachments, names and predilections, we unite ourselves together in defence of the liberty and constitution of the country, and will hereafter co-operate as the Republican party, pledged to the accomplishment of the following purposes: to bring the administration of the government back to the control of first principles; to restore Nebraska and Kansas to the position of free territories; that, as the constitution of the United States, vests in the States, and not in Congress, the power to legislate for the extradition of fugitives from labor, to repeal and entirely abrogate the fugitive slave law; to

78. Joshua Reed Giddings, U.S. representative from Ohio, and Thomas H. Ford, Ohio Know-Nothing and abolitionist.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

restrict slavery to those States in which it exists; to prohibit the admission of any more slave States into the Union; to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia; to exclude slavery from all the territories over which the general government has exclusive jurisdiction; and to resist the acquirements of any more territories unless the practice of slavery therein forever shall have been prohibited.

3. Resolved, That in furtherance of these principles we will use such constitutional and lawful means as shall seem best adapted to their accomplishment, and that we will support no man for office, under the general or State government, who is not positively and fully committed to the support of these principles, and whose personal character and conduct is not a guaranty that he is reliable, and who shall not have abjured old party allegiance and ties.

(The resolutions, as they were read, were cheered throughout.)

Now, gentlemen, your Black Republicans have cheered every one of those propositions, ("good and cheers,") and yet I venture to say that you cannot get Mr. Lincoln to come out and say that he is now in favor of each one of them. (Laughter and applause. "Hit him again.") That these propositions, one and all, constitute the platform of the Black Republican party of this day, I have no doubt, ("good") and when you were not aware for what purpose I was reading them, your Black Republicans cheered them as good Black Republican doctrines. ("That's it," etc.) My object in reading these resolutions, was to put the question to Abraham Lincoln this day, whether he now stands and will stand by each article in that creed and carry it out. ("Good." "Hit him again.") I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln to-day stands as he did in 1854, in favor of the unconditional repeal of the fugitive slave law. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to-day, as he did in 1854, against the admission of any more slave States into the Union, even if the people want them. I want to know whether he stands pledged against the admission of a new State into the Union with such a constitution as the people of that State may see fit to make. ("That's it;" "put it at him.") I want to know whether he stands to-day pledged to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. I desire him to answer whether he stands pledged to the prohibition of the slave trade between the different States. ("He does.") I desire to know whether he stands pledged to prohibit slavery in all the territories of the United States, North as well as South of the Missouri Compromise line, ("Kansas too.") I desire him to answer whether he is opposed to the acquisition of any more territory unless slavery is first prohibited therein. I want his answer to these questions. Your affirmative cheers in favor of this Abolition platform is not satisfactory. I ask Abraham Lincoln to answer these questions, in order that when I trot him down to lower Egypt I may put the same questions to him. (Enthusiastic applause.) My principles are the same everywhere. (Cheers, and "hark.") I can proclaim them alike in the North, the South, the East, and the West. My principles will apply wherever the Constitution prevails and the American flag waves. ("Good," and applause.) I desire to know whether Mr. Lincoln's principles



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

will bear transplanting from Ottawa to Jonesboro? I put these questions to him to-day distinctly, and ask an answer. I have a right to an answer ("that's so," "he can't dodge you," etc.), for I quote from the platform of the Republican party, made by himself and others at the time that party was formed, and the bargain made by Lincoln to dissolve and kill the old Whig party, and transfer its members, bound hand and foot, to the Abolition party, under the direction of Joshua Reed Giddings and Frederick Douglass. (Cheers.) In the remarks I have made on this platform, and the position of Mr. Lincoln upon it, I mean nothing personally disrespectful or unkind to that gentleman. I have known him for nearly twenty-five years. There were many points of sympathy between us when we first got acquainted. We were both comparatively boys, and both struggling with poverty in a strange land. I was a school-teacher in the town of Winchester, and he a flourishing grocery-keeper in the town of Salem. (Applause and laughter.) He was more successful in his occupation than I was in mine, and hence more fortunate in this world's goods. Abraham Lincoln is one of those peculiar men who perform with admirable skill everything which they undertake. I made as good a school-teacher as I could and when a cabinet maker I made a good bedstead and tables, although my old boss said I succeeded better with bureaus and secretaries than anything else; (cheers,) but I believe that Lincoln was always more successful in business than I, for his business enabled him to get into the Legislature. I met him there, however, and had a sympathy with him, because of the up hill struggle we both had in life. He was then just as good at telling an anecdote as now. ("No doubt.") He could beat any of the boys wrestling, or running a foot race, in pitching quoits or tossing a copper, could ruin more liquor than all the boys of the town together, (uproarious laughter,) and the dignity and impartiality with which he presided at a horse race or fist fight, excited the admiration and won the praise of everybody that was present and participated. (Renewed laughter.) I sympathised with him, because he was struggling with difficulties and so was I. Mr. Lincoln served with me in the Legislature in 1836, when we both retired, and he subsided, or became submerged, and he was lost sight of as a public man for some years. In 1846, when Wilmot introduced his celebrated proviso, and the Abolition tornado swept over the country, Lincoln again turned up as a member of Congress from the Sangamon district. I was then in the Senate of the United States, and was glad to welcome my old friend and companion. Whilst in Congress, he distinguished himself by his opposition to the Mexican war, taking the side of the common enemy against his own country; ("that's true,") and when he returned home he found that the indignation of the people followed him everywhere, and he was again submerged or obliged to retire into private life, forgotten by his former friends. ("And will be again.") He came up again in 1854, just in time to make this Abolition or Black Republican platform, in company with Joshua Reed Giddings, Lovejoy, Chase, and Frederick Douglass for the Republican party to stand upon. (Laughter, "Hit him again," &c.) Trumbull, too, was one of our own contemporaries. He was born and raised in old Connecticut, was



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

bred a federalist, but removing to Georgia, turned nullifier when nullification was popular, and as soon as he disposed of his clocks and wound up his business, migrated to Illinois, (laughter,) turned politician and lawyer here, and made his appearance in 1841, as a member of the Legislature. He became noted as the author of the scheme to repudiate a large portion of the State debt of Illinois, which, if successful, would have brought infamy and disgrace upon the fair escutcheon of our glorious State. The odium attached to that measure consigned him to oblivion for a time. I helped to do it. I walked into a public meeting in the hall of the House of Representatives and replied to his repudiating speeches, and resolutions were carried over his head denouncing repudiation, and asserting the moral and legal obligation of Illinois to pay every dollar of the debt she owed and every bond that bore her seal. ("Good," and cheers.) Trumbull's malignity has followed me since I thus defeated his infamous scheme.

These two men having formed this combination to abolitionize the old Whig party and the old Democratic party, and put themselves into the Senate of the United States, in pursuance of their bargain, are now carrying out that arrangement. Matheny states that Trumbull broke faith; that the bargain was that Abraham Lincoln should be the Senator in Shields' place, and Trumbull was to wait for mine; (laughter and cheers,) and the story goes, that Trumbull cheated Lincoln, having control of four or five abolitionized Democrats who were holding over in the Senate; he would not let them vote for Lincoln, and which obliged the rest of the Abolitionists to support him in order to secure an Abolition Senator. There are a number of authorities for the truth of this besides Matheny, and I suppose that even Mr. Lincoln will not deny it. (Applause and laughter.)

Mr. Lincoln demands that he shall have the place intended for Trumbull, as Trumbull cheated him and got his, and Trumbull is stumping the State traducing me for the purpose of securing that position for Lincoln, in order to quiet him. ("Lincoln can never get it, &c.") It was in consequence of this arrangement that the Republican Convention was empanelled to instruct for Lincoln and nobody else, and it was on this account that they passed resolutions that he was their first, their last, and their only choice. Archy Williams was nowhere, Browning was nobody, Wentworth was not to be considered, they had no man in the Republican party for the place except Lincoln, for the reason that he demanded that they should carry out the arrangement. ("Hit him again.")

Having formed this new party for the benefit of deserters from Whiggery, and deserters from Democracy, and having laid down the Abolition platform which I have read, Lincoln now takes his stand and proclaims his Abolition doctrines. Let me read a part of them. In his speech at Springfield to the convention which nominated him for the Senate, he said:

In my opinion it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "A house divided against itself cannot stand." I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half Slave and half Free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved--I do not expect the house to fall---but I do expect it will



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other. Either the opponents of Slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the States ---old as well as new, North as well as South.

("Good," "good." and cheers.)

I am delighted to hear you Black Republicans say "good." (Laughter and cheers.) I have no doubt that doctrine expresses your sentiments ("hit them again," "that's it,") and I will prove to you now, if you will listen to me, that it is revolutionary and destructive of the existence of this Government. ("Hurrah for Douglas," "good," and cheers.) Mr. Lincoln, in the extract from which I have read, says that this Government cannot endure permanently in the same condition in which it was made by its framers - divided into free and slave States. He says that it has existed for about seventy years thus divided, and yet he tells you that it cannot endure permanently on the same principles and in the same relative condition in which our fathers made it. ("Neither can it.") Why can it not exist divided into free and slave States? Washington, Jefferson, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, Jay, and the great men of that day, made this Government divided into free States and slave States, and left each State perfectly free to do as it pleased on the subject of slavery. ("Right, right.") Why can it not exist on the same principles on which our fathers made it? ("It can.") They knew when they framed the Constitution that in a country as wide and broad as this, with such a variety of climate, production and interest, the people necessarily required different laws and institutions in different localities. They knew that the laws and regulations which would suit the granite hills of New Hampshire would be unsuited to the rice plantations of South Carolina, ("right, right,") and they, therefore, provided that each State should retain its own Legislature, and its own sovereignty with the full and complete power to do as it pleased within its own limits, in all that was local and not national. (Applause.) One of the reserved rights of the States, was the right to regulate the relations between Master and Servant, on the slavery question. At the time the Constitution was formed, there were thirteen States in the Union, twelve of which were slaveholding States and one a free State. Suppose this doctrine of uniformity preached by Mr. Lincoln, that the States should all be free or all be slave had prevailed and what would have been the result? Of course, the twelve slaveholding States would have overruled the one free State, and slavery would have been fastened by a Constitutional provision on every inch of the American Republic, instead of being left as our fathers wisely left it, to each State to decide for itself. ("Good, good," and three cheers for Douglas.) Here I assert that uniformity in the local laws and institutions of the different States is neither possible or desirable. If uniformity had been adopted when the government was established, it must inevitably have been the uniformity of slavery everywhere, or else the



uniformity of negro citizenship and negro equality everywhere. We are told by Abraham Lincoln that he is utterly opposed to the Dred Scott decision, and will not submit to it, for the reason that he says it deprives the negro of the rights and privileges of citizenship. (Laughter and applause.) That is the first and main reason which he assigns for his warfare on the Supreme Court of the United States and its decision. I ask you, are you in favor of conferring upon the negro the rights and privileges of citizenship? ("No, no.") Do you desire to strike out of our State Constitution that clause which keeps slaves and free negroes out of the State, and allow the free negroes to flow in, ("never,") and cover your prairies with black settlements? Do you desire to turn this beautiful State into a free negro colony, ("no, no,") in order that when Missouri abolishes slavery she can send one hundred thousand emancipated slaves into Illinois, to become citizens and voters, on an equality with yourselves? ("Never," "no.") If you desire negro citizenship, if you desire to allow them to come into the State and settle with the white man, if you desire them to vote on an equality with yourselves, and to make them eligible to office, to serve on juries, and to adjudge your rights, then support Mr. Lincoln and the Black Republican party, who are in favor of the citizenship of the negro. ("Never, never.") For one, I am opposed to negro citizenship in any and every form. (Cheers.) I believe this government was made on the white basis. ("Good.") I believe it was made by white men, for the benefit of white men and their posterity for ever, and I am in favour of confining citizenship to white men, men of European birth and descent, instead of conferring it upon negroes, Indians and other inferior races.

("Good for you." "Douglas forever.")

Mr. Lincoln, following the example and lead of all the little Abolition orators, who go around and lecture in the basements of schools and churches, reads from the Declaration of Independence, that all men were created equal, and then asks how can you deprive a negro of that equality which God and the Declaration of Independence awards to him. He and they maintain that negro equality is guarantied by the laws of God, and that it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence. If they think so, of course they have a right to say so, and so vote. I do not question Mr. Lincoln's conscientious belief that the negro was made his equal, and hence is his brother, (laughter,) but for my own part, I do not regard the negro as my equal, and positively deny that he is my brother or any kin to me whatever. ("Never." "Hit him again," and cheers.) Abraham Lincoln has evidently learned by heart Parson Lovejoy's catechism. (Laughter and applause.) He can repeat it as well as Farnsworth,⁷⁹ and he is worthy of a medal from father Joshua Reed Giddings and Frederick Douglass for his Abolitionism. (Laughter.) He holds that the negro was born his equal and yours, and that he was endowed with equality by the Almighty, and that no human law can deprive him of these rights which were guarantied to him by the Supreme ruler of the Universe. Now, I do not believe that the Almighty ever intended the negro to be the equal of the white

79. US Representative John F. Farnsworth of Chicago.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

man. ("Never, never.") If he did, he has been a long time demonstrating the fact. (Cheers.) For thousands of years the negro has been a race upon the earth, and during all that time, in all latitudes and climates, wherever he has wandered or been taken, he has been inferior to the race which he has there met. He belongs to an inferior race, and must always occupy an inferior position. ("Good," "that's so," &c.) I do not hold that because the negro is our inferior that therefore he ought to be a slave. By no means can such a conclusion be drawn from what I have said. On the contrary, I hold that humanity and christianity both require that the negro shall have and enjoy every right, every privilege, and every immunity consistent with the safety of the society in which he lives. (That's so.) On that point, I presume, there can be no diversity of opinion. You and I are bound to extend to our inferior and dependent being every right, every privilege, every facility and immunity consistent with the public good. The question then arises what rights and privileges are consistent with the public good. This is a question which each State and each Territory must decide for itself---Illinois has decided it for herself. We have provided that the negro shall not be a slave, and we have also provided that he shall not be a citizen, but protect him in his civil rights, in his life, his person and his property, only depriving him of all political rights whatsoever, and refusing to put him on an equality with the white man. ("Good.") That policy of Illinois is satisfactory to the Democratic party and to me, and if it were to the Republicans, there would then be no question upon the subject; but the Republicans say that he ought to be made a citizen, and when he becomes a citizen he becomes your equal, with all your rights and privileges. ("He never shall.") They assert the Dred Scott decision to be monstrous because it denies that the negro is or can be a citizen under the Constitution. Now, I hold that Illinois had a right to abolish and prohibit slavery as she did, and I hold that Kentucky has the same right to continue and protect slavery that Illinois had to abolish it. I hold that New York had as much right to abolish slavery as Virginia has to continue it, and that each and every State of this Union is a sovereign power, with the right to do as it pleases upon this question of slavery, and upon all its domestic institutions. Slavery is not the only question which comes up in this controversy. There is a far more important one to you, and that is, what shall be done with the free negro? We have settled the slavery question as far as we are concerned; we have prohibited it in Illinois forever, and in doing so, I think we have done wisely, and there is no man in the State who would be more strenuous in his opposition to the introduction of slavery than I would; (cheers) but when we settled it for ourselves, we exhausted all our power over that subject. We have done our whole duty, and can do no more. We must leave each and every other State to decide for itself the same question. In relation to the policy to be pursued towards the free negroes, we have said that they shall not vote; whilst Maine, on the other hand, has said that they shall vote. Maine is a sovereign State, and has the power to regulate the qualifications of voters within her limits. I would never



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

consent to confer the right of voting and of citizenship upon a negro, but still I am not going to quarrel with Maine for differing from me in opinion. Let Maine take care of her own negroes and fix the qualifications of her own voters to suit herself, without interfering with Illinois, and Illinois will not interfere with Maine. So with the State of New York. She allows the negro to vote provided he owns two hundred and fifty dollars' worth of property, but not otherwise. While I would not make any distinction whatever between a negro who held property and one who did not; yet if the sovereign State of New York chooses to make that distinction it is her business and not mine, and I will not quarrel with her for it. She can do as she pleases on this question if she minds her own business, and we will do the same thing. Now, my friends, if we will only act conscientiously and rigidly upon this great principle of popular sovereignty which guarantees to each State and Territory the right to do as it pleases on all things local and domestic instead of Congress interfering, we will continue at peace one with another. Why should Illinois be at war with Missouri, or Kentucky with Ohio, or Virginia with New York, merely because their institutions differ? Our fathers intended that our institutions should differ. They knew that the North and the South having different climates, productions and interests, required different institutions. This doctrine of Mr. Lincoln's of uniformity among the institutions of the different States is a new doctrine, never dreamed of by Washington, Madison, or the framers of this Government. Mr. Abraham Lincoln and the Republican party set themselves up as wiser than these men who made s xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx

* This extract from Mr. Lincoln's Peoria Speech of 1854, was read by him in the Ottawa debate, but was not reported fully or accurately, in either the Times or Press & Tribune. It is inserted now as necessary to a complete report of the debate. [Footnote written by Lincoln in the margin of the debates scrapbook.]

[5] "Materially" corrected by Lincoln to "materials."

[6] "Whas" corrected by Lincoln to "What."

[7] U.S. Senator Charles E. Stuart ("my friend from Michigan").

[8] This episode is not reported in the Press and Tribune, and was deleted by Lincoln in the debates scrapbook.

[9] The five preceding paragraphs composing this digression were deleted by Lincoln in the debates scrapbook. The bias of the Times reporter is obvious, but it may be well to note that the episode appears in the Press and Tribune as follows:

"MR. LINCOLN---Let the Judge add that Lincoln went along with them.

"JUDGE DOUGLAS.---Mr. Lincoln says let him add that he went along with them to the Senate Chamber. I will not add that for I do not know it.

"MR. LINCOLN.---I do know it.

"JUDGE DOUGLAS.---But whether he knows or not my point is this, and I will yet bring him to his milk on this point."

[10] This paragraph is not in the Press and Tribune.

August 27: For the 2nd debate between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas, at Freeport, [Illinois](#), here is how Douglas was reported in the [Chicago Times](#):

MR. DOUGLAS' SPEECH. ... I trust now that Mr. Lincoln will deem himself answered on his four points. He racked his brain so much in devising these four questions that he exhausted himself, and had not strength enough to invent the others. (Laughter.) As soon as he is able to hold a council with his advisers, Lovejoy, Farnsworth, and Frederick Douglass, he will frame and propound others. (Good, good, &c. Renewed laughter, in which Mr. Lincoln feebly joined, saying that he hoped with their aid to get seven



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

questions, the number asked him by Judge Douglas, and so make conclusions even.) You Black Republicans who say good, I have no doubt think that they are all good men. (White, white.) I have reason to recollect that some people in this country think that Fred. Douglass is a very good man. The last time I came here to make a speech, while talking from the stand to you, people of Freeport, as I am doing to-day, I saw a carriage and a magnificent one it was, drive up and take a position on the outside of the crowd; a beautiful young lady was sitting on the box seat, whilst Fred. Douglass and her mother reclined inside, and the owner of the carriage acted as driver. (Laughter, cheers, cries of right, what have you to say against it, &c.) I saw this in your own town. ("What of it.") All I have to say of it is this, that if you, Black Republicans, think that the negro ought to be on a social equality with your wives and daughters, and ride in a carriage with your wife, whilst you drive the team, you have a perfect right to do so. (Good, good, and cheers, mingled with hooting and cries of white, white.) I am told that one of Fred. Douglass' kinsmen, another rich black negro, is now traveling in this part of the State making speeches for his friend Lincoln as the champion of black men. ("White men, white men," and "what have you got to say against it." That's right, &c.) All I have to say on that subject is that those of you who believe that the negro is your equal and ought to be on an equality with you socially, politically, and legally; have a right to entertain those opinions, and of course will vote for Mr. Lincoln. ("Down with the negro," no, no, &c.)

MR. DOUGLAS' RESPONSE TO A QUESTION FROM THE AUDIENCE: ... Lincoln on the one hand and Trumbull on the other, being disappointed politicians, (laughter,) and having retired or been driven to obscurity by an outraged constituency because of their political sins, formed a scheme to abolitionize the two parties and lead the Old Line Whigs and Old Line Democrats captive, bound hand and foot into the Abolition camp. Joshua Reed Giddings, Chase, Frederick Douglass and Lovejoy were here to christen them whenever they were brought in. (Great laughter.) Lincoln went to work to dissolve the Old Line Whig party. Clay was dead, and although the sod was not yet green on his grave, this man undertook to bring into disrepute those great compromise measures of 1850, with which Clay and Webster were identified. Up to 1854 the old Whig party and the Democratic party had stood on a common platform so far as this slavery question was concerned. You Whigs and we Democrats differed about the bank, the tariff, distribution, the specie circular and the sub-treasury, but we agreed on this slavery question and the true mode of preserving the peace and harmony of the Union. The compromise measures of 1850 were introduced by Clay, were defended by Webster, and supported by Cass, and were approved by Millard Fillmore, and sanctioned by the National men of both parties. They constituted a common plank upon which both Whigs and Democrats stood. In 1852 the Whig party in its last national convention at [Baltimore](#) endorsed and approved these measures of Clay, and so did the national convention of the Democratic party held that same year. Thus the old line Whigs and the old line

Democrats stood pledged to the great principle of self-government, which guarantees to the people of each Territory the right to decide the slavery question for themselves. In 1854 after the death of Clay and Webster, Mr. Lincoln on the part of the Whigs undertook to abolitionize the Whig party, by dissolving it, transferring the members into the Abolition camp and making them train under Joshua Reed Giddings, Fred. Douglass, Lovejoy, Chase, Farnsworth, and other abolition leaders.



August 27. P. M.—To Walden.

Dog-day weather again to-day, of which we had had none since the 18th,—i. e. clouds without rain. Wild carrot on railroad, apparently in prime. Hieracium C(madense, apparently in prime, and perhaps H. scabrum. Lactuca, apparently much past prime, or nearly done. The Nabalus albus has been out some ten days, but N. Fraseri at Walden road will not open, apparently, for some days yet.

I see round-leaved cornel fruit on Heywood Peak, now half China-blue and half white, each berry. Rhus Toxicodendron there is half of it turned scarlet and yellow, as if we had had a severe drought, when it has been remarkably wet. It seems, then, that in such situations some plants will always assume this prematurely withered autumnal aspect. Orchis lacera, probably done some time. Robins fly in flocks.

Apparently Juncus tenuis, some time out of bloom, by depot wood-piles, i.e. between south wood-shed and good apple tree; some fifteen inches high. More at my boat's shore.

November 2, Tuesday: Although the Republican Party candidate, Abraham Lincoln, obtained a majority in the popular vote by opposing the extension of slavery to the new western states (125,000 over 121,000),⁸⁰ the voters were merely selecting candidates for the [Illinois](#) statehouse who would then select the politician who would represent Illinois in the federal Senate — and in the Illinois statehouse the Democratic incumbent Stephen A. Douglas would by a margin of 8 votes be able to retain his seat in the US Senate.



November 2: P.M.—To Cliff. A cool gray November afternoon; sky overcast.

Looking back from the causeway, the large willow by Mrs. Bigelow's and a silvery albe are the only leafy trees to be seen in and over the village, the first a yellowish mass, also some Lombardy poplars on the outskirts. It is remarkable that these (and the weeping willow, yet green) and a few of our Populus tremuloides~ (lately the grandidentata also 1), all closely allied, are the only trees now (except the larch and perhaps a very few small white birches) which are conspicuously yellow, almost the only deciduous ones whose leaves are not withered, i. e. except scarlet oaks, red oaks, and some of the others, etc.

I see here and there yet some middle-sized coniferous willows, between humilixxxxx and discolor, whose upper leaves, left on, are quite bright lemon-yellow in dry places. These single leaves brighter than their predecessors which have fallen. The pitch pine is apparently a little past the midst of its fall. In sprout-lands some young birches are still rather leafy and bright-colored. Going over the newly cleared pasture on the northeast of Fair Haven Hill, I see that the scarlet oaks are more generally bright than on the 22d ult. Even the little sprouts in the russet pasture and the high tree-tops in the yew wood burn now, when the middle-sized bushes in the sprout-lands have mostly gone out. The large scarlet oak trees and tree-tops in woods, perhaps especially on hills, apparently are late because raised above the influence of the early frosts. Methinks they are as bright, even this dark day, as I ever saw them. The blossoming of the I Still one scarlet oak! the forest flower, surpassing all in splendor (at least since the maple)! I do not know but they interest me more than the maples, they are so widely and equally dispersed throughout the forest; they are so hardy, a nobler tree on the whole, lasting into November; our chief November flower, abiding the approach of winter with us, imparting warmth to November prospects. It is remarkable that the latest bright color that is general should be this deep, dark scarlet and red, the intensest of colors, the ripest fruit of the year, like the cheek of a glossy red ripe apple from the cold Isle of Orleans, which will not be mellow for eating till next spring! When I rise to a hilltop, a thousand of these great oak roses, distributed on every side as far as the horizon! This my unfailing prospect for a fortnight past as surely as I rose to a hilltop! This late forest flower surpasses all that spring or summer could do. Their colors were but rare and dainty specks, which made no impression on a distant eye. Now it is an extended forest or a mountain-side that bursts into bloom, through or along which we may journey from day to day. I admire these roses three

80. Neither candidate was pro-black. Both made repeated use of the word “nigger” in their stump speeches.

or four miles off in the horizon. Comparatively, our gardening is on a petty scale, the gardener still nursing a few asters amid dead weeds, ignorant of the gigantic asters and roses which, as it were, overshadow him and ask for none of his care. Comparatively, it is like a little red paint ground on a teacup and held up against the sunset sky. Why not take more elevated and broader views, walk in the greater garden, not skulk in a little “debauched” nook of it? Consider the beauty of the earth, and not merely of a few impounded herbs? However, you will not see these splendors, whether you stand on the hilltop or in the hollow, unless you are prepared to see them. The gardener can see only the gardener’s garden, wherever he goes. The beauty of the earth answers exactly to your demand and appreciation.

Apples in the village and lower ground are now generally killed brown and crisp, without having turned yellow, especially the upper parts, while those on hills and [in] warm places turned yellowish or russet, and so ripened to their fall. Of quince bushes the same, only they are a little later and are greener yet.

The sap is now frequently flowing fast in the scarlet oaks (as I have not observed it in the others), and has a pleasant acorn-like taste. Their bright tints, now that most other oaks are withered, are connected with this phenomenon. They are full of sap and life. They flow like a sugar maple in the spring. It has a pleasantly astringent taste, this strong oak wine.

That small poplar seen from Cliffs on the 29th is a *P. tremuloides* [quaking aspen]. It makes the impression of a bright and clear yellow at a distance, though it is rather dingy and spotted.

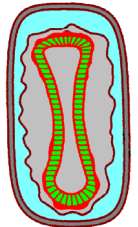
It is later, then (this and the Baker Farm one), than any *P. grandidentata* [bigtooth aspen] that I know.

Looking down on the oak wood southeast of Yew Wood, I see some large black oak tops a brown yellow still; so generally it shows life a little longer than the white and swamp white apparently. One just beyond the smallpox burying-ground is generally greenish inclining to scarlet, looking very much like a scarlet oak not yet completely changed, for the leaf would not be distinguished. However, the nuts, with yellow meat, and the strong bitter yellow bark betrayed it. Yet it did not amount to scarlet.

I see a few shrub oak leaves still fresh where sheltered. The little chinquapin has fallen.

I go past the Well Meadow Field. There is a sympathy between this cold, gray, overcast November afternoon and the grayish-brown oak leaves and russet fields.

The Scotch larch is changed at least as bright as ours.



VARIOLA

November 11: The schooner *Thomas Kingsford* ended its season at Oswego, New York. It had transported 117,400 bushels of grain out of the [Chicago](#) area and transported 17,500 barrels of salt into the Chicago area. In this shipping season it had completed one trip more than the record number between the two ports, in spite of being detained in Chicago for ten days each trip (once it had been detained for twelve days) while waiting for cargoes.



November 11: Goodwin brings me this afternoon a this year’s loon (**Common Loon** ■ *Gavia immer*), which he just killed on the river, – great northern diver, but a smaller specimen than Wilson describes and somewhat differently marked. It is twenty-seven inches long to end of feet by forty-four, and bill three and three-quarters to angle of mouth; above blackish-gray with small white spots (two at end of each feather).³ Beneath, pure white, throat and all, except a dusky bar across the vent. Bill chiefly palebluish and dusky. You are struck by its broad, flat, sharp-edged legs, made to cut through the water rather than to walk with, set far back and naturally stretched out backward, its long and powerful bill, conspicuous white throat and breast. Dislodged by winter in the north, it is slowly travelling toward a warmer clime, diving in the cool river this morning, which is now full of light, the trees and bushes on the bank having long since lost their leaves, and the neighboring fields are white with frost. Yet this hardy bird is comfortable and contented there if the sportsman would let it alone.

1 English?

2 And green-briar, according to November 7th and 11th, 1855; and perhaps a few other shrubs.

3 It must have been a red-throated loon.

P. M.—To Island and J. P. Brown’s cold pond.

A cold day. Now seek sunny and sheltered places as in early spring, the south side the island, for example. Certain localities are thus distinguished. And they retain this peculiarity permanently, unless it depends on a wood which may be cut. Thousands of years hence this may still be the warmest and sunniest spot in the spring and fall.

I hear here a faint creaking of two or three crickets or locusts, but it is a steady sound,—not the common



cricket's,—long-continued, and when one pauses, generally another continues the strain, so that it seems absolutely continuous. They are either in the grass or on the bushes by the edge of the water, under this sunny wood-side. I afterward hear a few of the common cricket on the side of Clamshell. Thus they are confined now to the sun on the south sides of hills and woods. They are quite silent long before sunset.

Snow-fleas are skipping on the surface of the water at the edge, and spiders running about. These become prominent now.

The waters look cold and empty of fish and most other inhabitants now. Here, in the sun in the shelter of the wood, the smooth shallow water, with the stubble standing in it, is waiting for ice. Indeed, ice that formed last night must have recently melted in it. The sight of such water now reminds me of ice as much as of water. No doubt many fishes have gone into winter quarters.⁸¹

The flowering dogwood, though still leafy, is uninteresting and partly withered.

Gossamer reflecting the light is another November phenomenon (as well as October). I see here, looking toward the sun, a very distinct silvery sheen from the cranberry vines, as from a thousand other November surfaces, though, looking down on them, they are dark purple.

Speaking of twiggy mazes, the very stubble and fine pasture grasses unshorn are others reflecting the light, too, like twigs; but these are of a peculiar bleached brownish color, a principal ingredient in the russet of the earth's surface.⁸²

Going by the willow-row above railroad, scare up a small duck,—perhaps teal,—and, in the withered grass at Nut Meadow Brook, two black ducks, which rise black between me and the sun, but, when they have circled round to the east, show some silvery sheen on the under side of their wings. Am surprised to see a little ice in this brook in the shade, as I push far up it through a dense field of withered bluejoint,—a spot white with frost, a few inches over. Saw a small pool in the woods also skimmed over, and many ice-crystals heaved up in low ground. Scare up a bird which at first ran in the grass, then flew,—a snipe. See only a very few small water-bugs in the brook, but no large ones nor skaters.

Vide account of eel~ in Tnhme for November 9th.

' Vide November 8th.

As a general rule, the leaves hold on longest on our indigenous trees and shrubs which were the first to leaf out, e. g. aspen, white birch, meadow-sweet, gooseberry, roses, willows.

In the shade of the wood, on the hillside just west of the cold pond, am surprised to see the frost about the cistus not in the least melted. This, at least, is an evidence that cold weather is come. Looking closely at it, it reminds me by its form and position of the decodon bark half cracked open. It consists of four or five thin curled shavings of frost, so to speak horizontally grained, placed vertically and based on the stem, one within another, and curling toward the same side, forming a sort of fool's cap of different thicknesses, or cockles, or sugar-plums. It seems it is so cool that the frost about the cistus does not melt all day, in the shade. Coming home I have cold fingers, and must row to get warm.

In the meadows the pitcher-plants are bright-red.

This is the month of nuts and nutty thoughts,—that November whose name sounds so bleak and cheerless. Perhaps its harvest of thought is worth more than all the other crops of the year. Men are more serious now.

I find, in the wood-path this side that pond, thirteen kernels of corn close together, and five of them have the germ uncovered, the thin husk that was over them torn off. This might have been done accidentally by the squirrel (?) in separating it from the ear or in transporting it. And this may be the origin of some accounts of their eating out the germ to prevent its sprouting. If they do eat it, perhaps it is because it is the softest (as it is) and perhaps the most savory part. These were at least a third of a mile from a corn-field.

The tail-coverts of the young hen-hawk, i. e. this year's bird, at present are white, very handsomely barred or watered with dark brown in an irregular manner, somewhat as above, the bars on opposite sides of the midrib alternating in an agreeable manner. Such natural objects have suggested the "watered" figures or colors in the arts. Few mortals ever look down on the tail-coverts of a young hen-hawk, yet these are not only beautiful, but of a peculiar beauty, being differently marked and colored (to judge from Wilson's account of the old) from those of the old bird. Thus she finishes her works above men's sight.

1 Vide fall of '59.

The scarlet oak leaf! What a graceful and pleasing outline! a combination of graceful curves and angles.

81.

82.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

These deep bays in the leaf are agreeable to us as the thought of deep and smooth and secure havens to the mariner. But both your love of repose and your spirit of adventure are addressed, for both bays and headlands are represented,—sharp-pointed rocky capes and rounded bays with smooth strands. To the sailor's eye it is a much indented shore, and in his casual glance he thinks that if he doubles its sharp capes he will find a haven in its deep rounded bays. If I were a drawingmaster, I would set my pupils to copying these leaves, that they might learn to draw firmly and gracefully. It is a shore to the aerial ocean, on which the windy surf beats. How different from the white oak leaf with its rounded headlands, on which no lighthouse need be placed!

1

I [Excursions, p. 280; Riv. ~44.]

Some white oak leaves retain a smothered inward crimson fire long after they have fallen very pure and complete, more interesting to me than their fresher glow, because more indestructible,—an evening glow.

1859

During this year the [Illinois](#) legislature chose Stephen A. Douglas for the US Senate over Abraham Lincoln, by a vote of 54 to 46 — but this was not because the Illinois legislature was distressed at Lincoln's racism.

There was a report from Arkansas that three white men there had been [hanged](#) when they had been found to have in their possession literature by the troublesome antislavery racist Hinton Rowan Helper. In London, in this year, the US Minister was approached by a representative of Her Majesty's government, on behalf of a visiting white Englishman who had been caught distributing Helperite materials in Virginia. The US Minister refused to intercede on behalf of Her Majesty's government in the internal criminal affairs of the State of Virginia.

(Get this, just as it wasn't enough to be a white man in the southern states of the United States of America, it also wasn't enough to be a racist — being the **wrong kind** of white racist could get one into really big trouble in the fastest way.)

William Still started a press campaign to end racial discrimination on Philadelphia's railroad cars. After John Brown and his insurrection at Harpers Ferry failed, Still would shelter some of his men and help them escape capture.

February 22, Tuesday: [Robert Collyer](#) accepted a position as Minister-at-Large at the 1st Unitarian Church of [Chicago](#) and he and his wife Ann Longbottom Collyer and their two surviving young children, with his son Samuel by his previous marriage, began their journey to the Midwest.



[Henry Thoreau](#), the author of what one member of his audience remembered as "*that odd book, Walden, or Life in the Woods*," lectured in H.G.O. Blake's Worcester parlor on "AUTUMNAL TINTS":



February 22: Go to Worcester to lecture in a parlor.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

March 10, day: The mules and wagons obtained in Missouri having been disposed of by auction in Springdale IA to raise money for railroad fares, the rescued slaves were dispatched by boxcar from West Liberty toward [Chicago](#). John Brown also departed for [Chicago](#) and then Canada.



March 10: 6 A. M.—To Hill.

I see at near [SIC] the stone bridge where the strong northwest wind of last night broke the thin ice just formed, and set the irregular triangular pieces on their edges quite perpendicular and directed northwest and southeast and pretty close together, about nine inches high, for half a dozen rods, like a dense fleet of schooners with their mainsails set.

And already, when near the road, I hear the warble of my first *Concord* bluebird, borne to me from the hill through the still morning air, and, looking up, I see him plainly, though so far away, a dark speck in the top of a walnut.

When I reach the Assabet above the Hemlocks, I hear a loud crashing or brattling sound, and, looking through the trees, see that it is the thin ice of the night, half an hour after sunrise, now swiftly borne down the stream in large fleets and going to wreck against the thick old ice on each side. This evidently is a phenomenon of the morning. The river, too, has just waked up, and, no doubt, a river in midsummer as well as in winter recognizes the advent of the morning as much as a man or an animal does. They retire at night and awake in the morning. Looking northeast over Hosmer's meadow, I see still the rosy light reflected from the low snow-spits, alternating with green ice there. Apparently because the angles of incidence and exidence are equal, therefore we see the green in ice at sundown when we look aslant over the ice, our visual ray making such an angle with it as the yellow light from the western horizon does in coming to it.

P. M.—To Witherell Vale.

There are some who never do nor say anything, whose life merely excites expectation. Their excellence reaches no further than a gesture or mode of carrying themselves. They are a sash dangling from the waist, or a sculptured war-club over the shoulder. They are like fine-edged tools gradually becoming rusty in a shop-window. I like as well, if not better, to see a piece of iron or steel, out of which many such tools will be made, or the bush-whack in a man's hand.

When I meet gentlemen and ladies, I am reminded of the extent of the inhabitable and uninhabitable globe; I exclaim to myself, Surfaces! surfaces! If the outside of a man is so variegated and extensive, what must the inside be? You are high up the Platte River, traversing deserts, plains covered with soda, with no deeper hollow than a prairie-dog hole tenanted also by owls and venomous snakes.

As I look toward the woods (from Wood's Bridge), I perceive the spring in the softened air. [Vide April 15.]

This is to me the most interesting and affecting phenomenon of the season as yet. Apparently in consequence of the very warm sun, this still and clear day, falling on the earth four fifths covered with snow and ice, there is an almost invisible vapor held in suspension, which is like a thin coat or enamel applied to every object, and especially it gives to the woods, of pine and oak intermingled, a softened and more living appearance. They evidently stand in a more genial atmosphere than before. Looking more low, I see that shimmering in the air over the earth which betrays the evaporation going on. Looking through this transparent vapor, all surfaces, not osiers and open waters alone, look more vivid. The hardness of winter is relaxed.

There is a fine effluence surrounding the wood, as if the sap had begun to stir and you could detect it a mile off. Such is the difference between an object seen through a warm, moist, and soft air and a cold, dry, hard one. Such is the genialness of nature that the trees appear to have put out feelers by which our senses apprehend them more tenderly. I do not know that the woods are ever more beautiful, or affect me more.

I feel it to be a greater success as a lecturer to affect uncultivated natures than to affect the most refined, for all cultivation is necessarily superficial, and its roots may not even be *directed toward* the centre of the being.

Rivers, too, like the walker, unbutton their icy coats, and we see the dark bosoms of their channels in the midst of the ice. Again, in pools of melted snow, or where the river has risen, I look into clear, placid water, and see the russet grassy bottom in the sun.

Look up or down the open channel now, so smooth, like a hibernating, animal that has ventured to come out to the mouth of its burrow. One way, perhaps, it is like melted silver alloyed with copper. It goes nibbling off the edge of the thick ice on each side. Here and there I see a musquash sitting in the sun on the edge of the ice, eating a clam, and the clamshells it has left are strewn along the edge. Ever and anon he drops into the liquid mirror, and soon reappears with another clam. This clear, placid, silvery water is evidently a phenomenon of spring. Winter could not show us this.

A broad channel of water separates the dry land from the ice, and the musquash-hunter finds it hard to reach the game he has shot on the ice.

Fine red-stemmed mosses have begun to push and bud on Clamshell bank, growing in the Indian ashes where

surface taken off. [Carpenter](#) says, "The first green crust upon the cinders with which the surface of Ascension Island was covered, consisted of minute mosses."

We sit in the sun on the side of Money-Diggers' Hill, amid the crimson low blueberry shoots and the withered *Andropogon scoparius* and the still erect *Solidago arguta* (var. the common) and the tall stubble thickly hung with fresh gleaming cobwebs. There are some grayish moths out, etc.; some gnats.

I see the bridge far away over the ice resting on its black piers above the ice which is lifted around it. It is short-legged now. This level or horizontal line resting on perpendicular black ones is always an interesting sight to me.

As we sit in this wonderful air, many sounds—that of woodchopping, for one—come to our ears agreeably blunted or muffled, even like the drumming of a partridge, not sharp and rending as in winter and recently. If a partridge should drum in winter, probably it would not reverberate so softly through the wood and sound indefinitely far. Our voices, even, sound differently and betray the spring. We speak as in a house, in a warm apartment still, with relaxed muscles and softened voices. The voice, like a woodchuck in his burrow, is met and lapped in and encouraged by all genial and sunny influences. There may be heard now, perhaps, under south hillsides and the south sides of houses, a slight murmur of conversation, as of insects, out of doors.

These earliest spring days are peculiarly pleasant. We shall have no more of them for a year. I am apt to forget that we may have raw and blustering days a month hence. The combination of this delicious air, which you do not want to be warmer or softer, with the presence of ice and snow, you sitting on the bare russet portions, the south hillsides, of the earth, this is the charm of these days. It is the summer beginning to show itself like an old friend in the midst of winter. You ramble from one drier russet patch to another. These are your stages. You have the air and sun of summer, over snow and ice, and in some places even the rustling of dry leaves under your feet, as in Indian-summer days.

The bluebird on the apple tree, warbling so innocently to inquire if any of its mates are within call, — the angel of the spring! Fair and innocent, yet the offspring of the earth. The color of the sky above and of the subsoil beneath. Suggesting what sweet and innocent melody (terrestrial melody) may have its birthplace between the sky and the ground.

Two frogs (may have been *Rana fontinalis*; did not see them) jumped into Hosmer's grassy ditch.

See in one place a small swarm of insects flying or gyrating, dancing like large tipulidæ. The dance within the compass of a foot always above a piece of snow of the same size in the midst of bare ground.

The most ornamental tree I have seen this spring was the willow full of catkins now showing most of their down, in front of Puffer's house.

March 29: Walden Pond thawed.

[William Andrus Alcott](#) died in Auburndale, Massachusetts, the author of some one hundred books (during this year a 2d edition to his 1849 volume on vegetarianism would be published).

VIEW THE PAGE IMAGES

Julia Dent Grant, the wife of Ulysses S. Grant, along with the other Dent daughters, had been "given" [slaves](#) as presents by their father while they were children (although presumably the titles to this property would have remained in the name of their father Fred Dent, Sr.). A year or two before, Ulysses S. Grant had either purchased William Jones, a 5'7" mulatto born in about 1825, or—we aren't sure which—he had been gifted with Jones by Fred Dent. On the slave market in this year, a middle-aged male like Jones might have been worth between \$800 and \$1,000, depending on health and skills. In early 1860 the Grants would be moving from White Haven, Missouri to Galena, [Illinois](#), and any slaves that the Grant family took along with them on their journey from Missouri to Illinois would at their destination of course be considered free. On this day (therefore?) Grant [manumitted](#) Jones.



March 29. Driving rain and southeast wind, etc.

Walden is first clear after to-day.

Garfield says he saw a woodcock about a fortnight ago. Minott thinks the middle of March is as early as they come and that they do not then begin to lay.



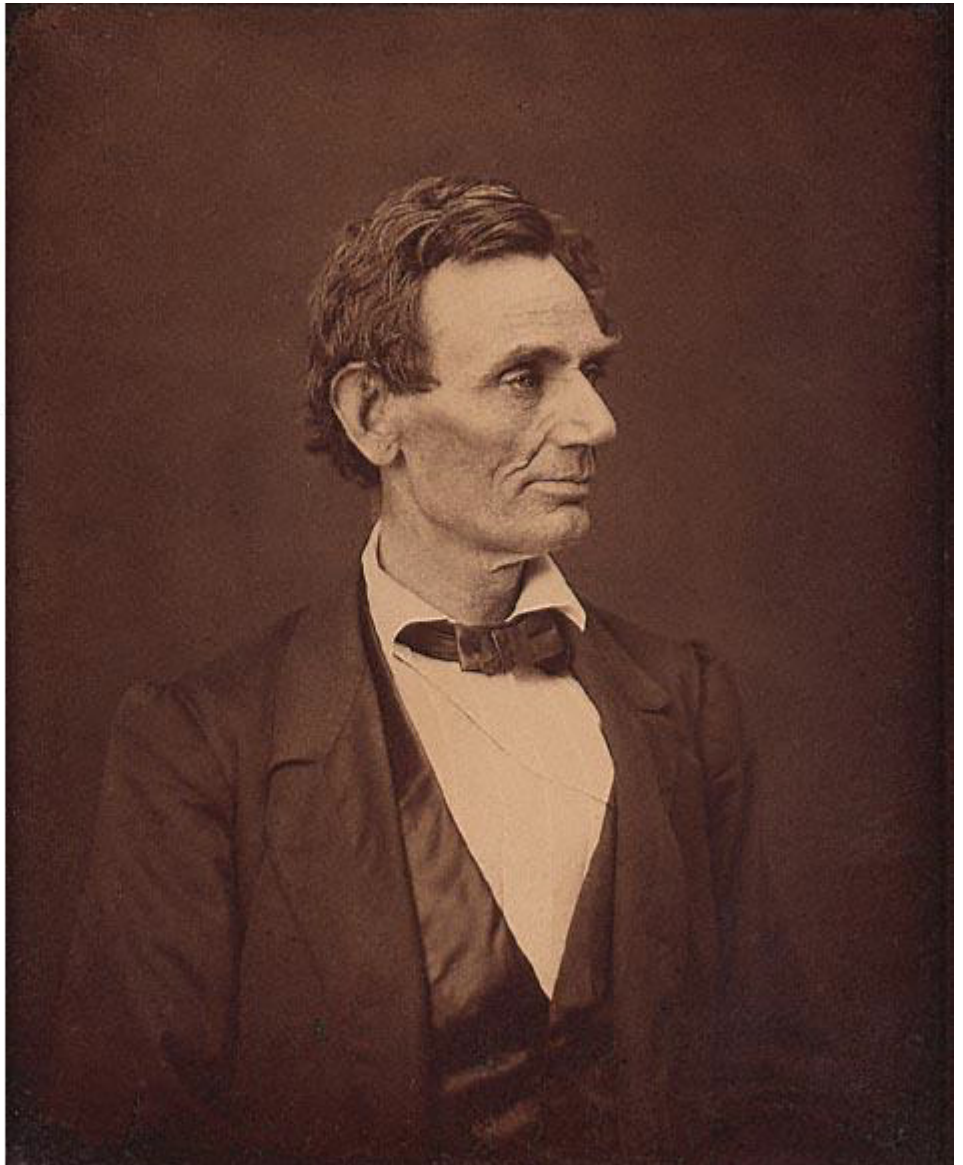
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Fall: Abraham Lincoln made his last trip through the 8th Judicial Circuit of [Illinois](#).

1860

The pro-Abraham Lincoln faction of the Republicans was at this point being referred to as “the Wide-Awakes.” Thomas Hicks painted a portrait of their candidate on the basis of a photograph made in a studio in Springfield during this year:



SKETCH OF THE OFFICIAL LIFE
OF
JOHN A. ANDREW,
AN ORATION BY WM. BREWSTER,
A. M., &c.
PUBLISHED BY J. W. APPLETON & CO.,
155 NASSAU ST. N. Y.

NEW YORK:
PUBLISHED BY J. W. APPLETON & CO.,
155 NASSAU ST. N. Y.

South Carolina seceded from the Union and the Confederation of Southern States was formed.

	Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
1789	GEORGE WASHINGTON	No formally organized party	692	
	JOHN ADAMS	No formally organized party	34	
	JOHN JAY	No formally organized party	9	
	R. H. HARRISON	No formally organized party	6	
	JOHN RUTLEDGE	No formally organized party	6	
	JOHN HANCOCK	No formally organized party	4	
	GEORGE CLINTON	No formally organized party	3	
	SAMUEL HUNTINGTON	No formally organized party	2	
	JOHN MILTON	No formally organized party	2	
	JAMES ARMSTRONG	No formally organized party	1	
	BENJAMIN LINCOLN	No formally organized party	1	
	EDWARD TELFAIR	No formally organized party	1	
	(NOT VOTED)	No formally organized party	44	



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

American Presidential Elections 1789-1864^a

	Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
1792	GEORGE WASHINGTON	Federalist	132	
	JOHN ADAMS	Federalist	77	
	GEORGE CLINTON	Democratic-Republican	50	
	THOMAS JEFFERSON		4	
	AARON BURR		1	
1796	JOHN ADAMS	Federalist	71	
	THOMAS JEFFERSON	Democratic-Republican	68	
	THOMAS PINCKNEY	Federalist	59	
	AARON BURR	Antifederalist	30	
	SAMUEL ADAMS	Democratic-Republican	5	
	OLIVER ELLSWORTH	Federalist	11	
	GEORGE CLINTON	Democratic-Republican	7	
	JOHN JAY	Independent-Federalist	5	
	JAMES IREDELL	Federalist	3	
	GEORGE WASHINGTON	Federalist	2	
	JOHN HENRY	Independent	2	
	S. JOHNSTON	Independent-Federalist	2	
	C. C. PINCKNEY	Independent-Federalist	1	
1800	THOMAS JEFFERSON	Democratic-Republican	733	
	AARON BURR	Democratic-Republican	73	
	JOHN ADAMS	Federalist	65	
	C. C. PINCKNEY	Federalist	64	
	JOHN JAY	Federalist	1	
1804	THOMAS JEFFERSON	Democratic-Republican	162	
	C. C. PINCKNEY	Federalist	14	
1808	JAMES MADISON	Democratic-Republican	122	
	C. C. PINCKNEY	Federalist	47	



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

American Presidential Elections 1789-1864^a

	Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
	GEORGE CLINTON	Independent-Republican	6	
	(NOT VOTED)		1	
1812	<u>JAMES MADISON</u>	Democratic-Republican	128	
	DE WITT CLINTON	Fusion	89	
	(NOT VOTED)		1	
1816	JAMES MONROE	Republican	183	
	RUFUS KING	Federalist	34	
	(NOT VOTED)		4	
1820	JAMES MONROE	Republican	231	
	JOHN Q. ADAMS	Independent-Republican	1	
	(NOT VOTED)		3	
1824	JOHN Q. ADAMS	No distinct party designations	844	113,122
	ANDREW JACKSON		99	151,271
	HENRY CLAY		37	47,531
	W. H. CRAWFORD		41	40,856
1828	ANDREW JACKSON	Democratic	178	642,553
	JOHN Q. ADAMS	National Republican	83	500,897
1832	ANDREW JACKSON	Democratic	219	701,780
	HENRY CLAY	National Republican	49	484,205
	WILLIAM WIRT	Anti-Masonic	7	100,715
	JOHN FLOYD	Nullifiers	11	
	(NOT VOTED)		2	
1836	MARTIN VAN BUREN	Democratic	170	764,176
	WILLIAM H. HARRISON	Whig	73	550,816
	HUGH L. WHITE	Whig	26	146,107
	DANIEL WEBSTER	Whig	14	41,201
	W. P. MANGUM	Anti-Jackson	11	



American Presidential Elections 1789-1864^a

	Presidential Candidate	Political Party	Electoral Votes	Popular Votes
1840	WILLIAM H. HARRISON	Whig	234	1,275,390
	MARTIN VAN BUREN	Democratic	60	1,128,854
1844	JAMES K. POLK	Democratic	170	1,339,494
	HENRY CLAY	Whig	105	1,300,004
	JAMES G. BIRNEY	Liberty		62,103
1848	ZACHARY TAYLOR	Whig	163	1,361,393
	LEWIS CASS	Democratic	127	1,223,460
	MARTIN VAN BUREN	Free Soil		291,501
1852	FRANKLIN PIERCE	Democratic	254	1,607,510
	Winfield Scott	Whig	42	1,386,942
	JOHN P. HALE	Free Soil		155,210
1856	JAMES BUCHANAN	Democratic	174	1,836,072
	JOHN C. FRÉMONT	Republican	114	1,342,345
	MILLARD FILLMORE	American	8	873,053
1860	ABRAHAM LINCOLN	Republican	180	1,865,908
	JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE	Southern Democratic	72	848,019
	STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS	Democratic	12	1,380,202
	JOHN BELL	Constitutional Union	39	590,901

a.Minor candidates polling less than 10,000 popular votes and receiving no electoral votes are excluded. In early elections, electors were chosen by legislatures in many states, rather than by popular vote. Until 1804, each elector voted for two men without indicating which was to be president and which vice president. Because the two houses of the New York legislature could not agree on electors, the state did not cast its electoral vote. It was some time before North Carolina and Rhode Island ratified the Constitution. When Jefferson and Aaron Burr received equal numbers of electoral votes, the decision was referred to the House of Representatives. The 12th Amendment (1804) provided that electors cast separate ballots for president and vice president. In cases in which no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes, the decision was made by the House of Representatives. This is all based upon data from the HISTORICAL STATISTICS OF THE UNITED STATES, COLONIAL TIMES TO 1957 (1960), STATISTICAL ABSTRACT OF THE UNITED STATES, 1969, 90th ed. (1969), and CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY'S GUIDE TO U.S. ELECTIONS, 3rd ed. (1994).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

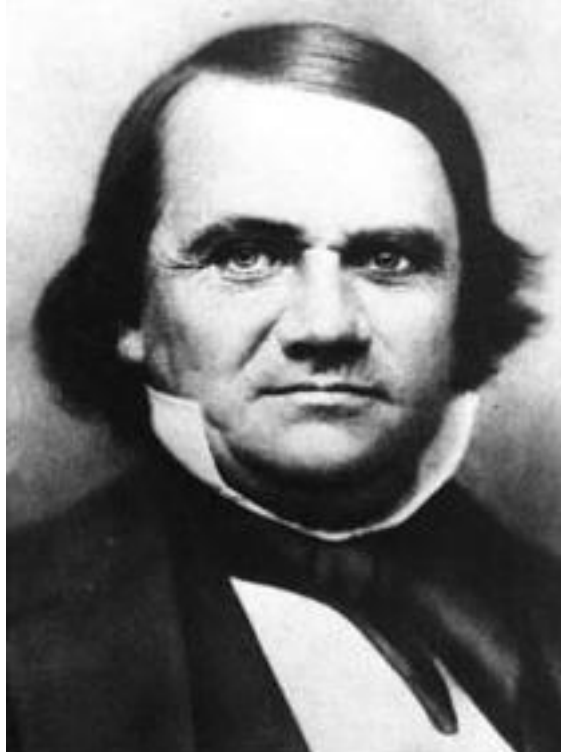
February 1: The Niagara Falls Gazette expressed scepticism about the promised exploits of the touring tight-rope performer “Charles Blondin” (M. Jean-François Gravelot, 1824-1897): “The English mind has been surely excited on the subject of Blondin and his performances at the Falls. The ‘stilt’ hoax, the ‘Georgia Railroad’ yarn, the Silver Lake ‘snaik’ story, and other American ‘sells’ by which their most solemn journals have been victimized together with the wiggish letter to the New York Times last summer, which declared Blondin to be a myth, have combined their cautioning influence to render our British brethren confirmed skeptics as regards the rope walking achievements of the little Frenchman.”⁸³ The performer appears to have been touring, having performed the night before at the Theatre Royal in Liverpool. Midway on his path above the Niagara Falls he would stop on the highwire to cook and eat an omelette. Nowadays he is in the Kensal Green Cemetery of London and may for all we know still be cooking his omelettes.⁸⁴

The Democratic candidate having withdrawn, the American candidate for the Speakership of the House of Representatives finally achieved the necessary 119 votes. The longest speakership struggle in our nation’s history had been completed. During this struggle the representatives had been coming into the chambers armed for their own protection, and had friends sitting in the galleries who were likewise armed and alert to defend them by firing down onto the floor if and when the occasion arose. In the course of the debating over the Speakership, Representative L.O.B. Branch of North Carolina had challenged Representative Galusha Grow of Pennsylvania to a duel and the two Representatives had had to be arrested and placed under heavy bond. Representative John A. Logan had become so enraged in the midst of a violent argument with Representative William Kellogg over an alleged insult to Senator Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois that he had drawn and

83. Once upon a time a yarn had been pulled over the eyes of a New-York Times reporter, that Georgian white men fought duels aboard their state railroad trains.

84. High-Density Lipoproteins have no medical significance subsequent to death.

brandished his pistol, proclaiming “By God, if I can’t talk, I can do something else.”



While Representative John B. Hasking of New York had been in the process of making derogatory remarks about a Democratic colleague, he had accidentally dropped his pistol onto the floor, although it appears not to have discharged. Senator William Bigler of Pennsylvania commented in regard to all this that “Nothing has made so much bad blood as the endorsement of the Hinton Rowan Helper book and attempt now making to promote a man who did this to the responsible station of speaker of the House. The next most offensive thing is the sympathy manifested for old Brown.”

A person evidently named R. Redington was writing [Henry Thoreau](#) to inquire if he had written more than two books, to request that, if so, he be informed where these books might be purchased, and to request in addition that two copies of each of his existing books be sent to Little, Brown, & Company:



Feb. 1. 2 P. M.—5°. A cold day.
Two or three inches of dry snow last night.
Grows colder apace toward night. Frost forms on windows.

February 27, Monday: Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) was visiting New-York in order to deliver an address at the Cooper Institute that would publicly disassociate himself from the idea of trying to help the negro slave improve his lot. This would be printed with his approval, as follows:⁸⁵

MR. PRESIDENT AND FELLOW-CITIZENS OF NEW-YORK:—The facts with which I shall deal this evening are mainly old and familiar; nor is there anything new in the general use I shall make of them. If there shall be any novelty, it will be in the mode

85. THE ADDRESS OF THE HON. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, IN [V]INDICATION OF THE POLICY OF THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION AND THE PRINCIPLES OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, DELIVERED AT COOPER INSTITUTE, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1860, ISSUED BY THE YOUNG MEN’S REPUBLICAN UNION, (659 BROADWAY, NEW-YORK,) WITH NOTES BY CHARLES C. NOTT & CEPHAS BRAINERD, MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF CONTROL. New-York: George F. Nesbitt & Co., Printers and Stationers, 1860.



of presenting the facts, and the inferences and observations following that presentation.

In his speech last autumn, at Columbus, Ohio, as reported in "The New-York Times," Senator Douglas said:

"Our fathers, when they framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

I fully indorse this, and I adopt it as a text for this discourse. I so adopt it because it furnishes a precise and an agreed starting point for a discussion between Republicans and that wing of the Democracy headed by Senator Douglas. It simply leaves the inquiry: "What was the understanding those fathers had of the question mentioned?"

What is the frame of Government under which we live?

The answer must be: "[The Constitution of the United States](#)." That Constitution consists of the original, framed in 1787, (and under which the present government first went into operation,) and twelve subsequently framed amendments, the first ten of which were framed in 1789.

Who were our fathers that framed the Constitution? I suppose the "thirty-nine" who signed the original instrument may be fairly called our fathers who framed that part of the present Government. It is almost exactly true to say they framed it, and it is altogether true to say they fairly represented the opinion and sentiment of the whole nation at that time. Their names, being familiar to nearly all, and accessible to quite all, need not now be repeated.

I take these "thirty-nine" for the present, as being "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live."

What is the question which, according to the text, those fathers understood "just as well, and even better than we do now?"

It is this: Does the proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in the Constitution, forbid our Federal Government to control as to slavery in our Federal Territories?

Upon this, Senator Douglas holds the affirmative, and Republicans the negative. This affirmation and denial form an issue; and this issue -this question- is precisely what the text declares our fathers understood "better than we."

Let us now inquire whether the "thirty-nine," or any of them, ever acted upon this question; and if they did, how they acted upon it — how they expressed that better understanding?

In 1784, three years before the Constitution — the United States then owning the Northwestern Territory, and no other,⁸⁶ the Congress of the Confederation had before them the question of prohibiting slavery in that Territory; and four of the "thirty-nine," who afterward framed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on that question. Of these, Roger Sherman [Connecticut], Thomas Mifflin [Pennsylvania], and Hugh Williamson [North Carolina] voted for the prohibition, thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor

86. The cession of territory was authorized by New-York, February 19, 1780; by Virginia, January 2, 1781, and again (without certain conditions at first imposed) "at their sessions, begun on the 20th day of October, 1783"; by Massachusetts, November 13, 1784; by Connecticut, May —, 1786; by South Carolina, March 8, 1787; by North Carolina, December —, 1789; and by Georgia at some time prior to April 1802.

The deeds of cession were executed by New-York, March 1, 1781; by Virginia, March 1, 1784; by Massachusetts, April 19, 1785; by Connecticut, September 13, 1786; by South Carolina, August 9, 1787; by North Carolina, February 25, 1790; and by Georgia, April 24, 1802. Five of these grants were therefore made before the adoption of [the Constitution](#), and one afterward; while the sixth (North Carolina) was authorized before, and consummated afterward. The cession of this State contains the express proviso "that no regulations made, or to be made by Congress, shall tend to emancipate slaves." The cession of Georgia conveys the Territory subject to the Ordinance of '87, except the provision prohibiting slavery.

These dates are also interesting in connection with the extraordinary assertions of Chief Justice Taney, (19 How, page 434) that "the example of Virginia was soon afterwards followed by other States," and that (page 436) the power in the Constitution "to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the Territory or other property belonging to the United States," was intended only "to transfer to the new Government the property then held in common," "and has no reference whatever to any Territory or other property, which the new sovereignty might afterwards itself acquire." On this subject, vide Federalist, No. 43, sub. 4 and 5.

anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in federal territory. The other of the four — James M'Henry [[Maryland](#)] — voted against the prohibition, showing that, for some cause, he thought it improper to vote for it.⁸⁷ In 1787, still before [the Constitution](#), but while the Convention was in session framing it, and while the Northwestern Territory still was the only territory owned by the United States, the same question of prohibiting slavery in the territory again came before the Congress of the Confederation; and two more of the "thirty-nine" who afterward signed the Constitution, were in that Congress, and voted on the question. They were William Blount and William Few,⁸⁸ and they both voted for the prohibition — thus showing that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything else, properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in federal territory. This time the prohibition became a law, being part of what is now well known as the Ordinance of '87.⁸⁹

The question of federal control of slavery in the territories, seems not to have been directly before the Convention which framed the original Constitution; and hence it is not recorded that the "thirty-nine," or any of them, while engaged on that instrument, expressed any opinion of that precise question.⁹⁰

In 1789, by the first Congress which sat under [the Constitution](#), an act was passed to enforce the Ordinance of '87, including the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. The bill for this act was reported by one of the "thirty-nine," Thomas Fitzsimmons, then a member of the House of Representatives from Pennsylvania. It went through all its stages without a word of opposition, and finally passed both branches without yeas and nays, which is equivalent to an unanimous passage.⁹¹ In this Congress there were sixteen of the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon [New Hampshire], Nicholas Gilman [New Hampshire], Wm. S. Johnson [Connecticut], Roger Sherman [Connecticut], Robert Morris [Pennsylvania], Thos. Fitzsimmons [Pennsylvania], William Few [Georgia], Abraham Baldwin [Georgia], Rufus King [Massachusetts], William Paterson [New Jersey], George Clymer [Pennsylvania], Richard Bassett [Delaware], George Read [Delaware], Pierce Butler⁹² [South Carolina], Daniel Carroll [[Maryland](#)], [James Madison](#) [Virginia].

This shows that, in their understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, properly forbade Congress to prohibit slavery in the federal territory; else both their fidelity to correct principle, and their oath to support the Constitution, would have constrained them to oppose the prohibition.

Again, George Washington, another of the "thirty-nine," was then President of the United States, and, as such, approved and signed the bill; thus completing its validity as a law, and thus showing that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government, to control as to slavery in federal territory.

No great while after the adoption of the original Constitution, North Carolina ceded to the Federal Government the country now constituting the State of Tennessee; and a few years later Georgia ceded that which now constitutes the States of Mississippi

87. What Mr. M'Henry's views were, it seems impossible to ascertain. When the Ordinance of '87 was passed he was sitting in the Convention. He was afterward appointed Secretary of War; yet no record has thus far been discovered of his opinion. Mr. M'Henry also wrote a biography of La Fayette, which, however, cannot be found in any of the public libraries, among which may be mentioned the State Library at Albany, and the Astor, Society, and Historical Society Libraries, at New-York. Alexander Hamilton says of him, in a letter to Washington, (Works, vol. 6, p. 65): "M'Henry you know. He would give no strength to the Administration, but he would not disgrace the office; his views are good."

88. William Blount was from North Carolina, and William Few, from Georgia — the two States which afterward ceded their territory to the United States. In addition to these facts the following extract from the speech of Rufus King in the Senate, on the Missouri Bill, shows the entire unanimity with which the Southern States approved the prohibition: —

"The State of Virginia, which ceded to the United States her claims to this Territory, consented, by her delegates in the old Congress, to this Ordinance. Not only Virginia, but North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia, by the unanimous votes of their delegates in the Old Congress, approved of the Ordinance of 1787, by which Slavery is forever abolished in the Territory northwest of the river Ohio. Without the votes of these States the Ordinance could not have been passed; and there is no recollection of an opposition from any of these States to the act of confirmation passed under the actual Constitution."

and Alabama. In both deeds of cession it was made a condition by the ceding States that the Federal Government should not prohibit slavery in the ceded country. Besides this, slavery was then actually in the ceded country. Under these circumstances, Congress, on taking charge of these countries, did not absolutely prohibit slavery within them. But they did interfere with it -take control of it- even there, to a certain extent. In 1798, Congress organized the Territory of Mississippi. In the act of organization, they prohibited the bringing of slaves into the Territory, from any place without the United States, by fine, and giving freedom to slaves so brought.⁹³ This act passed both branches of Congress without yeas and nays. In that Congress were three of the "thirty-nine" who framed the original Constitution. They were John Langdon [New Hampshire], George Read [Delaware] and Abraham Baldwin [Georgia]. They all, probably, voted for it. Certainly they would have placed their opposition to it upon record, if, in their understanding, any line dividing local from federal authority, or anything in [the Constitution](#), properly forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in federal territory.

In 1803, the Federal Government purchased the Louisiana country. Our former territorial acquisitions came from certain of our own States; but this Louisiana country was acquired from a foreign nation. In 1804, Congress gave a territorial organization to that part of it which now constitutes the State of Louisiana. New Orleans, lying within that part, was an old and comparatively large city. There were other considerable towns and settlements, and slavery was extensively and thoroughly intermingled with the people. Congress did not, in the Territorial Act, prohibit slavery; but they did interfere with it -take control of it- in a more marked and extensive way than they did in the case of Mississippi. The substance of the provision therein made, in relation to slaves, was:

First. That no slave should be imported into the territory from foreign parts. Second. That no slave should be carried into it who had been imported into the United States since the first day of May, 1798. Third. That no slave should be carried into it, except

89. "The famous ordinance of Congress of the 13th July, 1787, which has ever since constituted, in most respects, the model of all our territorial governments, and is equally remarkable for the brevity and exactness of its text, and for its masterly display of the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty." — Justice Story, 1 Commentaries, section 1312.

"It is well known that the Ordinance of 1787 was drawn by the Hon. Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, and adopted with scarcely a verbal alteration by Congress. It is a noble and imperishable monument to his fame." — Id. note.

The ordinance was reported by a committee, of which Wm. S. Johnson and Charles Pinckney were members. It recites that, "for extending the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty, which form the basis whereon these republics, their laws and constitutions, are erected; to fix and establish those principles as the basis of all laws, constitutions and governments which forever hereafter shall be formed in the said Territory; to provide also for the establishment of States and permanent government, and for their admission to a share in the federal councils, on an equal footing with the original States, at as early periods as may be consistent with the general interest —

"It is hereby ordained and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of compact between the original States and the people and States in the said Territory, and forever remain unalterable, unless by common consent, to wit:"

* * * *

"Art. 6. There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory otherwise than in the punishment of crimes whereof the party shall have been duly convicted; provided always that any person escaping into the same, from whom labor or service is lawfully claimed in any one of the original States, such fugitive may be lawfully reclaimed, and conveyed to the person claiming his or her labor or service."

On passing the ordinance, the ayes and nays were required by Judge Yates, of New-York, when it appeared that his was the only vote in the negative.

The ordinance of April 23, 1784, was a brief outline of that of '87. It was reported by a Committee, of which Mr. Jefferson was chairman, and the report contained a slavery prohibition intended to take effect in 1800. This was stricken out of the report, six States voting to retain it — three voting to strike out — one being divided (N.C.) and the others not being represented. (The assent of nine States was necessary to retain any provision.) And this is the vote alluded to by Mr. Lincoln. But subsequently, March 16, 1785, a motion was made by Rufus King to commit a proposition "that there be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude" in any of the Territories; which was carried by the vote of eight States, including [Maryland](#). — Journal Am. Congress, vol. 4, pp. 373, 380, 481, 752.

When, therefore, the ordinance of '87 came before Congress, on its final passage, the subject of slavery prohibition had been "agitated" for nearly three years; and the deliberate and almost unanimous vote of that body upon that question leaves no room to doubt what the fathers believed, and how, in that belief, they acted.

by the owner, and for his own use as a settler; the penalty in all the cases being a fine upon the violator of the law, and freedom to the slave.⁹⁴

This act also was passed without yeas and nays. In the Congress which passed it, there were two of the "thirty-nine." They were Abraham Baldwin [Georgia] and Jonathan Dayton [New Jersey]. As stated in the case of Mississippi, it is probable they both voted for it. They would not have allowed it to pass without recording their opposition to it, if, in their understanding, it violated either the line properly dividing local from federal authority, or any provision of the Constitution.

In 1819-20, came and passed the Missouri question. Many votes were taken, by yeas and nays, in both branches of Congress, upon the various phases of the general question. Two of the "thirty-nine"—Rufus King and Charles Pinckney—were members of that Congress.⁹⁵ Mr. King steadily voted for slavery prohibition and against all compromises, while Mr. Pinckney as steadily voted against slavery prohibition and against all compromises. By this, Mr. King showed that, in his understanding, no line dividing local from federal authority, nor anything in the Constitution, was violated by Congress prohibiting slavery in federal territory; while Mr. Pinckney, by his votes, showed that, in his understanding, there was some sufficient reason for opposing such prohibition in that case.⁹⁶

The cases I have mentioned are the only acts of the "thirty-nine," or of any of them,

90. It singularly and fortunately happens that one of the "thirty-nine," "while engaged on that instrument," viz., while advocating its ratification before the Pennsylvania Convention, did express an opinion upon this "precise question," which opinion was never disputed or doubted, in that or any other Convention, and was accepted by the opponents of [the Constitution](#), as an indisputable fact. This was the celebrated James Wilson, of Pennsylvania. The opinion is as follows: —

MONDAY, Dec. 3, 1787.

"With respect to the clause restricting Congress from prohibiting the migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, prior to the year 1808: The Hon. gentleman says that this clause is not only dark, but intended to grant to Congress, for that time, the power to admit the importation of slaves. No such thing was intended; but I will tell you what was done, and it gives me high pleasure that so much was done. Under the present Confederation, the States may admit the importation of slaves as long as they please; but by this article, after the year 1808, the Congress will have power to prohibit such importation, notwithstanding the disposition of any State to the contrary. I consider this as laying the foundation for banishing slavery out of this country; and though the period is more distant than I could wish, yet it will produce the same kind, gradual change which was pursued in Pennsylvania. It is with much satisfaction that I view this power in the general government, whereby they may lay an interdiction on this reproachful trade. But an immediate advantage is also obtained; for a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding \$10 for each person; and this, sir, operates as a partial prohibition; it was all that could be obtained. I am sorry it was no more; but from this I think there is reason to hope that yet a few years, and it will be prohibited altogether. And in the meantime, the new States which are to be formed will be under the control of Congress in this particular, and slaves will never be introduced amongst them." — 2 Elliott's Debates, 423.

It was argued by Patrick Henry in the Convention in Virginia, as follows:

"May not Congress enact that every black man must fight? Did we not see a little of this in the last war? We were not so hard pushed as to make emancipation general. But acts of Assembly passed, that every slave who would go to the army should be free. Another thing will contribute to bring this event about. Slavery is detested. We feel its fatal effects. We deplore it with all the pity of humanity. Let all these considerations press with full force on the minds of Congress. Let that urbanity which, I trust, will distinguish America, and the necessity of national defence — let all these things operate on their minds, they will search that paper, and see if they have power of manumission. And have they not, sir? Have they not power to provide for the general defence and welfare? May they not think that these call for the abolition of slavery? May they not pronounce all slaves free, and will they not be warranted by that power? There is no ambiguous implication, no logical deduction. The paper speaks to the point; they have the power in clear, unequivocal terms, and will clearly and certainly exercise it." — 3 Elliott's Debates, 534.

Edmund Randolph, one of the framers of the Constitution, replied to Mr. Henry, admitting the general force of the argument, but claiming that, because of other provisions, it had no application to the States where slavery then existed; thus conceding that power to exist in Congress as to all territory belonging to the United States.

Dr. Ramsay, a member of the Convention of South Carolina, in his history of the United States, vol. 3, pages 36, 37, says: "Under these liberal principles, Congress, in organizing colonies, bound themselves to impart to their inhabitants all the privileges of coequal States, as soon as they were capable of enjoying them.

In their infancy, government was administered for them without any expense. As soon as they should have 60,000 inhabitants, they were authorized to call a convention, and, by common consent, to form their own constitution. This being done, they were entitled to representation in Congress, and every right attached to the original States. These privileges are not confined to any particular country or complexion. They are communicable to the emancipated slave, (for in the new State of Ohio, slavery is altogether prohibited), to the copper-colored native, and all other human beings who, after a competent residence and degree of civilization, are capable of enjoying the blessings of regular government."

upon the direct issue, which I have been able to discover.

To enumerate the persons who thus acted, as being four in 1784, two in 1787, seventeen in 1789, three in 1798, two in 1804, and two in 1819-20 — there would be thirty of them. But this would be counting John Langdon, Roger Sherman, William Few, Rufus King, and George Read, each twice, and Abraham Baldwin, three times. The true number of those of the "thirty-nine" whom I have shown to have acted upon the question, which, by the text, they understood better than we, is twenty-three, leaving sixteen not shown to have acted upon it in any way.⁹⁷

Here, then, we have twenty-three out of our thirty-nine fathers "who framed the Government under which we live," who have, upon their official responsibility and their corporal oaths, acted upon the very question which the text affirms they "understood just as well, and even better than we do now;" and twenty-one of them — a clear majority of the whole "thirty-nine" — so acting upon it as to make them guilty of gross political impropriety and wilful perjury, if, in their understanding, any proper division between local and federal authority, or anything in [the Constitution](#) they had made themselves, and sworn to support, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the federal territories. Thus the twenty-one acted; and, as actions speak louder than words, so actions, under such responsibility, speak still louder.

Two of the twenty-three voted against Congressional prohibition of slavery in the federal territories, in the instances in which they acted upon the question. But for what reasons they so voted is not known. They may have done so because they thought a proper division of local from federal authority, or some provision or principle of the Constitution, stood in the way; or they may, without any such question, have voted against the prohibition, on what appeared to them to be sufficient grounds of expediency. No one who has sworn to support the Constitution, can conscientiously vote for what he understands to be an unconstitutional measure, however expedient he may think it; but one may and ought to vote against a measure which he deems constitutional, if, at the same time, he deems it inexpedient. It, therefore, would be unsafe to set down even the two who voted against the prohibition, as having done so because, in their understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or anything in [the Constitution](#), forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in federal territory.

The remaining sixteen of the "thirty-nine," so far as I have discovered, have left no record of their understanding upon the direct question of federal control of slavery in the federal territories [Nathaniel Gorham, Massachusetts; Alexander Hamilton, New-York; William Livingston and David Brearly, New Jersey; [Benjamin Franklin](#), Jared Ingersoll, James Wilson, and Gouverneur Morris, Pennsylvania; Gunning Bedford, John Dickinson, and Jacob Broom, Delaware; Daniel, of St. Thomas, Jenifer,

91. The Act of 1789, as reported by the Committee, was received and read Thursday, July 16th. The second reading was on Friday, the 17th, when it was committed to the Committee of the whole house, "on Monday next." On Monday, July 20th, it was considered in Committee of the whole, and ordered to a third reading on the following day; on the 21st, it passed the House, and was sent to the Senate. In the Senate it had its first reading on the same day, and was ordered to a second reading on the following day, (July 22d,) and on the 4th August it passed, and on the 7th was approved by the President.

92. This is not the Pierce Butler who fucked up Fanny Kemble, but one of his illustrious ancestors.



93. Chapter 28, section 7, U.S. Statutes, 5th Congress, 2d Session.

94. Chapter 38, section 10, U.S. Statutes, 8th Congress, 1st Session.

95. Rufus King, who sat in the old Congress, and also in the Convention as the representative of Massachusetts, removed to New-York and was sent by that State to the U.S. Senate of the first Congress. Charles Pinckney was in the House, as a representative of South Carolina.

[Maryland](#); John Blair, Virginia; Richard Dobbs Spaight, North Carolina; John Rutledge and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, South Carolina]. *But there is much reason to believe that their understanding upon that question would not have appeared different from that of their twenty-three compeers, had it been manifested at all.*

For the purpose of adhering rigidly to the text, I have purposely omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any person, however distinguished, other than the thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution; and, for the same reason, I have also omitted whatever understanding may have been manifested by any of the "thirty-nine" even, on any other phase of the general question of slavery. If we should look into their acts and declarations on those other phases, as the foreign slave trade, and the morality and policy of slavery generally, it would appear to us that on the direct question of federal control of slavery in federal territories, the sixteen, if they had acted at all, would probably have acted just as the twenty-three did. Among that sixteen were several of the most noted anti-slavery men of those times—as Dr. [Benjamin Franklin](#), Alexander Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris—while there was not one now known to have been otherwise, unless it may be John Rutledge, of South Carolina.⁹⁶

The sum of the whole is, that of our thirty-nine fathers who framed the original Constitution, twenty-one—a clear majority of the whole—certainly understood that no proper division of local from federal authority, nor any part of [the Constitution](#), forbade the Federal Government to control slavery in the federal territories; while all the rest probably had the same understanding. Such, unquestionably, was the understanding of our fathers who framed the original Constitution; and the text affirms that they understood the question "better than we."

But, so far, I have been considering the understanding of the question manifested by the framers of the original Constitution. In and by the original instrument, a mode was provided for amending it; and, as I have already stated, the present frame of "the Government under which we live" consists of that original, and twelve amendatory articles framed and adopted since. Those who now insist that federal control of slavery in federal territories violates the Constitution, point us to the provisions which they suppose it thus violates; and, as I understand, they all fix upon provisions in these amendatory articles, and not in the original instrument. The Supreme Court, in the

96. Although Mr. Pinckney opposed "slavery prohibition" in 1820, yet his views, with regard to the powers of the general government, may be better judged by his actions in the Convention:

FRIDAY, June 8th, 1787. — "Mr. Pinckney moved 'that the National Legislature shall have the power of negating all laws to be passed by the State Legislatures, which they may judge improper,' in the room of the clause as it stood reported.

"He grounds his motion on the necessity of one supreme controlling power, and he considers this as the corner-stone of the present system; and hence, the necessity of retrenching the State authorities, in order to preserve the good government of the national council." — P. 400, Elliott's Debates.

And again, THURSDAY, August 23d, 1787, Mr. Pinckney renewed the motion with some modifications. — P. 1409, James Madison Papers.

And although Mr. Pinckney, as correctly stated by Mr. Lincoln, "steadily voted against slavery prohibition, and against all compromises," he still regarded the passage of the Missouri Compromise as a great triumph of the South, which is apparent from the following letter.

CONGRESS HALL, March 2d, 1820, 3 o'clock at night.

DEAR SIR: — I hasten to inform you, that this moment WE have carried the question to admit Missouri, and all Louisiana to the southward of 36(deg)30', free from the restriction of slavery, and give the South, in a short time, an addition of six, perhaps eight, members to the Senate of the United States. It is considered here by the slaveholding States, as a great triumph.

The votes were close — ninety to eighty-six — produced by the seceding and absence of a few moderate men from the North. To the north of 36(deg) 30', there is to be, by the present law, restriction; which you will see by the votes, I voted against. But it is at present of no moment; it is a vast tract, uninhabited, only by savages and wild beasts, in which not a foot of the Indian claims to soil is extinguished, and in which, according to the ideas prevalent, no land office will be opened for a great length of time. With respect, your obedient servant,

CHARLES PINCKNEY.

But conclusive evidence of Mr. Pinckney's views is furnished in the fact, that he was himself a member of the Committee which reported the Ordinance of '87, and that on every occasion, when it was under the consideration of Congress, he voted against all amendments. — Jour. Am. Congress, Sept. 29th, 1786. Oct. 4th. When the ordinance came up for its final passage, Mr. Pinckney was sitting in the Convention, and did not take part in the proceedings of Congress.

97. Of the 23 who acted upon the question of prohibition, 12 were from the present slaveholding States.

Dred Scott case, plant themselves upon the fifth amendment, which provides that no person shall be deprived of "life, liberty or property without due process of law;" while Senator Douglas and his peculiar adherents plant themselves upon the tenth amendment, providing that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution," "are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people."⁹⁹ Now, it so happens that these amendments were framed by the first Congress which sat under the Constitution — the identical Congress which passed the act already mentioned, enforcing the prohibition of slavery in the Northwestern Territory. Not only was it the same Congress, but they were the identical, same individual men who, at the same session, and at the same time within the session, had under consideration, and in progress toward maturity, these Constitutional amendments, and this act prohibiting slavery in all the territory the nation then owned. The Constitutional amendments were introduced before, and passed after the act enforcing the Ordinance of '87: so that, during the whole pendency of the act to enforce the Ordinance, the Constitutional amendments were also pending. The seventy-six members of that Congress, including sixteen of the framers of the original Constitution, as before stated, were preeminently our fathers who framed that part of "the Government under which we live," which is now claimed as forbidding the Federal Government to control slavery in the federal territories. Is it not a little presumptuous in any one at this day to affirm that the two things which that Congress deliberately framed, and carried to maturity at the same time, are absolutely inconsistent with each other? And does not such affirmation become impudently absurd when coupled with the other affirmation from the same mouth, that those who did the two things, alleged to be inconsistent, understood whether they really were inconsistent better than we — better than he who affirms that they are inconsistent? It is surely safe to assume that the thirty-nine framers of the original Constitution, and the seventy-six members of the Congress which framed the amendments thereto, taken together, do certainly include those who may be fairly called "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live."¹⁰⁰ And so assuming, I defy any man to show that any one of them ever, in his whole life, declared that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of [the Constitution](#), forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the federal territories. I go a step further. I defy any one to show that any living man in the whole world ever did, prior to the beginning of the present century, (and I might almost say prior to the

98. "The only distinction between freedom and slavery consists in this: in the former state, a man is governed by the laws to which he has given his consent, either in person or by his representative; in the latter, he is governed by the will of another. In the one case, his life and property are his own; in the other, they depend upon the pleasure of a master. It is easy to discern which of the two states is preferable. No man in his senses can hesitate in choosing to be free rather than slave.

Were not the disadvantages of slavery too obvious to stand in need of it, I might enumerate and describe the tedious train of calamities inseparable from it. I might show that it is fatal to religion and morality; that it tends to debase the mind, and corrupt its noblest springs of action. I might show that it relaxes the sinews of industry and clips the wings of commerce, and works misery and indigence in every shape." — Alexander Hamilton, Works, vol. 2, pp. 3, 9.

"That you will be pleased to countenance the restoration of liberty to those unhappy men, who alone in this land of freedom, are degraded into perpetual bondage, and who, amidst the general joy of surrounding freemen, are groaning in servile subjection; that you will devise means for removing this inconsistency from the character of the American people; that you will promote mercy and justice toward this distressed race; and that you will step to the very verge of the power vested in you for discouraging every species of traffic in the persons of our fellow-men." — Philadelphia, Feb. 3d, 1790. [Benjamin Franklin](#)'s Petition to Congress for the Abolition of Slavery.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris said: — "He never would concur in upholding domestic slavery. It was a nefarious institution. It was the curse of heaven on the States where it prevailed. * * * The admission of slavery into the representation, when fairly explained, comes to this — that the inhabitant of South Carolina or Georgia, who goes to the coast of Africa, and, in defiance of the most sacred laws of humanity, tears away his fellow-creatures from their dearest connections, and damns them to the most cruel bondage, shall have more votes, in a government instituted for the protection of the rights of mankind, than the citizen of Pennsylvania or New Jersey, who views, with a laudable horror, so nefarious a practice. * * * * * He would sooner submit himself to a tax for paying for all the negroes in the United States than saddle posterity with such a constitution." — Debate on Slave Representation in the Convention. — James Madison Papers.

beginning of the last half of the present century,) declare that, in his understanding, any proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of the Constitution, forbade the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the federal territories. To those who now so declare, I give, not only "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," but with them all other living men within the century in which it was framed, among whom to search, and they shall not be able to find the evidence of a single man agreeing with them.

Now, and here, let me guard a little against being misunderstood. I do not mean to say we are bound to follow implicitly in whatever our fathers did. To do so, would be to discard all the lights of current experience -to reject all progress- all improvement. What I do say is, that if we would supplant the opinions and policy of our fathers in any case, we should do so upon evidence so conclusive, and argument so clear, that even their great authority, fairly considered and weighed, cannot stand; and most surely not in a case whereof we ourselves declare they understood the question better than we.

If any man at this day sincerely believes that a proper division of local from federal authority, or any part of [the Constitution](#), forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the federal territories, he is right to say so, and to enforce his position by all truthful evidence and fair argument which he can. But he has no right to mislead others, who have less access to history, and less leisure to study it, into the false belief that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live," were of the same opinion — thus substituting falsehood and deception for truthful evidence and fair argument. If any man at this day sincerely believes "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live," used and applied principles, in other cases, which ought to have led them to understand that a proper division of local from federal authority or some part of the Constitution, forbids the Federal Government to control as to slavery in the federal territories, he is right to say so. But he should, at the same time, brave the responsibility of declaring that, in his opinion, he understands their principles better than they did themselves; and especially should he not shirk that responsibility by asserting that they "understood the question just as well, and even better, than we do now."

But enough! Let all who believe that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live, understood this question just as well, and even better, than we do now," speak as they spoke, and act as they acted upon it. This is all Republicans ask -all Republicans desire- in relation to slavery. As those fathers marked it, so let it be again marked, as an evil not to be extended, but to be tolerated and protected only because of and so far as its actual presence among us makes that toleration and protection a necessity. Let all the guaranties those fathers gave it, be, not grudgingly, but fully and fairly maintained. For this Republicans contend, and with this, so far as I know or believe, they will be content.

And now, if they would listen -as I suppose they will not- I would address a few words to the Southern people.

I would say to them: — You consider yourselves a reasonable and a just people; and I

99. An eminent jurist (Chancellor Walworth) has said that "The preamble which was prefixed to these amendments, as adopted by Congress, is important to show in what light that body considered them." (8 Wend. R., p. 100.) It declares that a number of the State Conventions "having at the time of their adopting [the Constitution](#) expressed a desire, in order to prevent misconstruction or abuse of its powers, that further declaratory and restrictive clauses should be added," resolved, &c.

This preamble is in substance the preamble affixed to the "Conciliatory Resolutions" of Massachusetts, which were drawn by Chief Justice Parsons, and offered in the Convention as a compromise by John Hancock. (Life Ch. J. Parsons, p. 67.) They were afterward copied and adopted with some additions by New Hampshire.

The fifth amendment, on which the Supreme Court relies, is taken almost literally from the declaration of rights put forth by the convention of New-York, and the clause referred to forms the ninth paragraph of the declaration. The tenth amendment, on which Senator Douglas relies, is taken from the Conciliatory Resolutions, and is the first of those resolutions somewhat modified. Thus, these two amendments sought to be used for slavery, originated in the two great anti-slavery States, New-York and Massachusetts.

100. It is singular that while two of the "thirty-nine" were in that Congress of 1819, there was but one (besides Mr. Rufus King) of the "seventy-six." The one was William Smith, of South Carolina. He was then a Senator, and, like Mr. Pinckney, occupied extreme Southern ground.

consider that in the general qualities of reason and justice you are not inferior to any other people. Still, when you speak of us Republicans, you do so only to denounce us as reptiles, or, at the best, as no better than outlaws. You will grant a hearing to pirates or murderers, but nothing like it to "Black Republicans." In all your contentions with one another, each of you deems an unconditional condemnation of "Black Republicanism" as the first thing to be attended to. Indeed, such condemnation of us seems to be an indispensable prerequisite -license, so to speak- among you to be admitted or permitted to speak at all. Now, can you, or not, be prevailed upon to pause and to consider whether this is quite just to us, or even to yourselves? Bring forward your charges and specifications, and then be patient long enough to hear us deny or justify.

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. You will then begin to discover, as the truth plainly is, that your proof does not touch the issue. 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 us 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 George 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 North-western Territory, which act embodied the policy of the 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 La Fayette that he considered that prohibition a wise measure, expressing in the same connection his hope that we should at some time have a confederacy of free States.¹⁰¹

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,

101. The following is an extract from the letter referred to: —

"I agree with you cordially in your views in regard to negro slavery. I have long considered it a most serious evil, both socially and politically, and I should rejoice in any feasible scheme to rid our States of such a burden. The Congress of 1787 adopted an ordinance which prohibits the existence of involuntary servitude in our Northwestern Territory forever. I consider it a wise measure. It meets with the approval and assent of nearly every member from the States more immediately interested in Slave labor. The prevailing opinion in Virginia is against the spread of slavery in our new territories, and I trust we shall have a confederation of free States." The following extract from a letter of George Washington to Robert Morris, April 12th, 1786, shows how strong were his views, and how clearly he deemed emancipation a subject for legislative enactment: — "I can only say that there is no man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is but one proper and effective mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is, BY LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY, and that, as far as my suffrage will go, shall never be wanting."

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

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.

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 are divided on 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-rinciple" that "if one man would enslave another, no third man should object," fantastically called "Popular Sovereignty;" 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. Consider, then, whether your claim of conservatism for yourselves, and your charge of destructiveness against us, are based on the most clear and stable foundations.

Again, you say we have made the slavery question more prominent than it formerly was. We deny it. We admit that it is more prominent, but we deny that we made it so. It was not we, but you, who discarded the old policy of the fathers. We resisted, and still resist, your innovation; and thence comes the greater prominence of the question. Would you have that question reduced to its former proportions? Go back to that old policy. What has been will be again, under the same conditions. If you would have the peace of the old times, readopt the precepts and policy of the old times.

You charge that we stir up insurrections among your slaves. We deny it; and what is your proof? Harper's Ferry! John Brown!! John Brown was no Republican; and you have failed to implicate a single Republican in his Harper's Ferry enterprise. If any member of our party is guilty in that matter, you know it or you do not know it. If you do know it, you are inexcusable for not designating the man and proving the fact. If you do not know it, you are inexcusable for asserting it, and especially for persisting 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.¹⁰²

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 doctrine, and make no declaration, which were not held to and made by "our fathers who framed the Government under which we live." You never dealt fairly by us in relation to this affair. When it occurred, some important State elections were near at hand, and you were in evident glee with the belief that, by charging the blame upon us, you could get an advantage of us in those elections. The elections came, and your expectations were not quite fulfilled. Every Republican man knew that, as to himself at least, your charge was a slander, and he was not much inclined by it to cast his vote in your favor. Republican doctrines and declarations are accompanied with a continual protest against any interference whatever with your slaves, or with you about your slaves. Surely, this does not encourage them to revolt. True, we do, in common with "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live," declare our belief that slavery is wrong; but the slaves do not hear us declare even this. For anything we say or do, the slaves would scarcely know there is a Republican party. I believe they would not, in fact, generally know it but for your misrepresentations of us, in their hearing. In your

political contests among yourselves, each faction charges the other with sympathy with Black Republicanism; and then, to give point to the charge, defines Black Republicanism to simply be insurrection, blood and thunder among the slaves. Slave insurrections are no more common now than they were before the Republican party was organized. What induced the Southampton insurrection, twenty-eight years ago, in which, at least, three times as many lives were lost as at Harper's Ferry?¹⁰³ You can scarcely stretch your very elastic fancy to the conclusion that Southampton was "got up by Black Republicanism." In the present state of things in the United States, I do not think a general, or even a very extensive slave insurrection, is possible. The indispensable concert of action cannot be attained. The slaves have no means of rapid communication; nor can incendiary freemen, black or white, supply it. The explosive materials are everywhere in parcels; but there neither are, nor can be supplied, the indispensable connecting trains. Much is said by Southern people about the affection of slaves for their masters and mistresses; and a part of it, at least, is true. A plot for an uprising could scarcely be devised and communicated to twenty individuals before some one of them, to save the life of a favorite master or mistress, would divulge it. This is the rule; and the slave revolution in Hayti was not an exception to it, but a case occurring under peculiar circumstances.¹⁰⁴ The gunpowder plot of British history, though not connected with slaves, was more in point. In that case, only about twenty were admitted to the secret; and yet one of them, in his anxiety to save a friend, betrayed the plot to that friend, and, by consequence, averted the calamity. Occasional poisonings from the kitchen, and open or stealthy assassinations in the field, and local revolts extending to a score or so, will continue to occur as the natural results of slavery; but no general insurrection of slaves, as I think, can happen in this country for a long time. Whoever much fears, or much hopes for such an event, will be alike disappointed. In the language of Mr. Jefferson, uttered many years ago, "It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation, and deportation, peaceably, and in such slow degrees, as that the evil will wear off insensibly; and their places be, pari passu, filled

102. A Committee of five, consisting of Messrs. Mason, Davis and Fitch, (Democrats,) and Collamer and Doolittle, (Republicans,) was appointed Dec. 14, 1859, by the U.S. Senate, to investigate the Harper's Ferry affair. That Committee was directed, among other things, to inquire: (1.) "Whether such invasion and seizure was made under color of any organization intended to subvert the government of any of the States of the Union." (2.) "What was the character and extent of such organization." (3.) "And whether any citizen of the United States, not present, were implicated therein, or accessory thereto, by contributions of money, arms, munitions, or otherwise."

The majority of the Committee, Messrs. Mason, Davis, and Fitch, reply to the inquiries as follows:

[1] "There will be found in the Appendix, a copy of the proceedings of a Convention held at Chatham, Canada, of the Provisional Form of Government there pretended to have been instituted, the object of which clearly was to subvert the government of one or more States, and of course, to that extent, the government of the United States." By reference to the copy of Proceedings it appears that nineteen persons were present at that Convention, eight of whom were either killed or executed at Charlestown, and one examined before the Committee.

[2] "The character of the military organization appears, by the commissions issued to certain of the armed party as captains, lieutenants, &c., a specimen of which will be found in the Appendix." (These Commissions are signed by John Brown as Commander-in-Chief, under the Provisional Government, and by J. H. Kagi as Secretary.)

"It clearly appeared that the scheme of Brown was to take with him comparatively but few men; but those had been carefully trained by military instruction previously, and were to act as officers. For his military force he relied, very clearly, on inciting insurrection amongst the Slaves."

[3] "It does not appear that the contributions were made with actual knowledge of the use for which they were designed by Brown, although it does appear that money was freely contributed by those styling themselves the friends of this man Brown, and friends alike of what they styled the cause of freedom, (of which they claimed him to be an especial apostle,) without inquiring as to the way in which the money would be used by him to advance such pretended cause."

In concluding the report the majority of the Committee thus characterize the "invasion:" "It was simply the act of lawless ruffians, under the sanction of no public or political authority — distinguishable only from ordinary felonies by the ulterior ends in contemplation by them," &c.

103. The Southampton insurrection, August, 1831, was induced by the remarkable ability of a slave calling himself General Nat Turner. He led his fellow bondmen to believe that he was acting under the order of Heaven. In proof of this he alleged that the singular appearance of the sun at that time was a divine signal for the commencement of the struggle which would result in the recovery of their freedom. This insurrection resulted in the death of sixty-four white persons, and more than one hundred slaves. The Southampton was the eleventh large insurrection in the Southern States, besides numerous attempts and revolts.

up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up.¹⁰⁵

Mr. Jefferson did not mean to say, nor do I, that the power of emancipation is in the Federal Government. He spoke of Virginia; and, as to the power of emancipation, I speak of the slaveholding States only. The Federal Government, however, as we insist, has the power of restraining the extension of the institution — the power to insure that a slave insurrection shall never occur on any American soil which is now free from slavery.

John Brown's effort was peculiar. It was not a slave insurrection. It was an attempt by white men to get up a revolt among slaves, in which the slaves refused to participate. In fact, it was so absurd that the slaves, with all their ignorance, saw plainly enough it could not succeed. That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon, and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were, in their philosophy, precisely the same. The eagerness to cast blame on old England in the one case, and on New England in the other, does not disprove the sameness of the two things.

And how much would it avail you, if you could, by the use of John Brown, Hinton Rowan Helper's book, and the like, break up the Republican organization? Human action can be modified to some extent, but human nature cannot be changed. There is a judgment and a feeling against slavery in this nation, which cast at least a million and a half of votes. You cannot destroy that judgment and feeling — that sentiment — by breaking up the political organization which rallies around it. You can scarcely scatter and disperse an army which has been formed into order in the face of your heaviest fire; but if you could, how much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?

But you will break up the Union rather than submit to a denial of your Constitutional rights.¹⁰⁶

That has a somewhat reckless sound; but it would be palliated, if not fully justified, were we proposing, by the mere force of numbers, to deprive you of some right, plainly written down in [the Constitution](#). But we are proposing no such thing.

When you make these declarations, you have a specific and well-understood allusion to an assumed Constitutional right of yours, to take slaves into the federal territories, and to hold them there as property. But no such right is specifically written in the Constitution. That instrument is literally silent about any such right. We, on the contrary, deny that such a right has any existence in the Constitution, even by implication.

Your purpose, then, plainly stated, is, that you will destroy the Government, unless you be allowed to construe and enforce the Constitution as you please, on all points in dispute between you and us. You will rule or ruin in all events.

104. In March, 1790, the General Assembly of France, on the petition of the free people of color in St. Domingo, many of whom were intelligent and wealthy, passed a decree intended to be in their favor, but so ambiguous as to be construed in favor of both the whites and the blacks. The differences growing out of the decree created two parties — the whites and the people of color; and some blood was shed. In 1791, the blacks again petitioned, and a decree was passed declaring the colored people citizens, who were born of free parents on both sides. This produced great excitement among the whites, and the two parties armed against each other, and horrible massacres and conflagrations followed. Then the Assembly rescinded this last decree, and like results followed, the blacks being the exasperated parties and the aggressors. Then the decree giving citizenship to the blacks was restored, and commissioners were sent out to keep the peace. The commissioners, unable to sustain themselves, between the two parties, with the troops they had, issued a proclamation that all blacks who were willing to range themselves under the banner of the Republic should be free. As a result a very large proportion of the blacks became in fact free. In 1794, the Conventional Assembly abolished slavery throughout the French Colonies. Some years afterward the French Government sought, with an army of 60,000 men to reinstate slavery, but were unsuccessful, and then the white planters were driven from the Island.

105. Vide Jefferson's Autobiography, commenced January 6th, 1821. Jefferson's Works, vol. 1, page 49.

This, plainly stated, is your language. Perhaps you will say the Supreme Court has decided the disputed Constitutional question in your favor. Not quite so. But waiving the lawyer's distinction between dictum and decision, the Court have decided the question for you in a sort of way. The Court have substantially said, it is your Constitutional right to take slaves into the federal territories, and to hold them there as property. When I say the decision was made in a sort of way, I mean it was made in a divided Court, by a bare majority of the Judges, and they not quite agreeing with one another in the reasons for making it,¹⁰⁷ that it is so made as that its avowed supporters disagree with one another about its meaning, and that it was mainly based upon a mistaken statement of fact — the statement in the opinion that "the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in the Constitution."¹⁰⁸

An inspection of the Constitution will show that the right of property in a slave is not "distinctly and expressly affirmed" in it. Bear in mind, the Judges do not pledge their judicial opinion that such right is impliedly affirmed in the Constitution; but they pledge their veracity that it is "distinctly and expressly" affirmed there — "distinctly," that is, not mingled with anything else — "expressly," that is, in words meaning just that, without the aid of any inference, and susceptible of no other meaning.

If they had only pledged their judicial opinion that such right is affirmed in the instrument by implication, it would be open to others to show that neither the word "slave" nor "slavery" is to be found in [the Constitution](#), nor the word "property" even, in any connection with language alluding to the things slave, or slavery, and that wherever in that instrument the slave is alluded to, he is called a "person;" — and wherever his master's legal right in relation to him is alluded to, it is spoken of as "service or labor which may be due," — as a debt payable in service or labor.¹⁰⁹ Also, it

106. "I am not ashamed or afraid publicly to avow, that the election of William H. Seward or Salmon P. Chase, or any such representative of the Republican party, upon a sectional platform, ought to be resisted to the disruption of every tie that binds this Confederacy together. (Applause on the Democratic side of the House.)" — Mr. Curry, of Alabama, in the House of Representatives.

"Just so sure as the Republican Party succeed in electing a sectional man, upon their sectional, anti-slavery platform, breathing destruction and death to the rights of my people, just so sure, in my judgment, the time will have come when the South must and will take an unmistakable and decided action, and then he who dallies is a dastard, and he who doubts is damned! I need not tell what I, as a Southern man, will do. I think I may safely speak for the masses of the people of Georgia — that when that event happens, they, in my judgment, will consider it an overt act, a declaration of war, and meet immediately in convention, to take into consideration the mode and measure of redress. That is my position; and if that be treason to the Government, make the most of it." — Mr. Gartell, of Georgia, in the House of Representatives.

"I said to my constituents, and to the people of the capital of my State, on my way here, if such an event did occur," — [i.e., the election of a Republican President, upon a Republican platform,] "while it would be their duty to determine the course which the State would pursue, it would be my privilege to counsel with them as to what I believed to be the proper course; and I said to them, what I say now, and what I will always say in such an event, that my counsel would be to take independence out of the Union in preference to the loss of constitutional rights, and consequent degradation and dishonor, in it. That is my position, and it is the position which I know the Democratic party of the State of Mississippi will maintain." — Gov. McRae, of Mississippi.

"It is useless to attempt to conceal the fact that, in the present temper of the southern people, it" [i.e., the election of a Republican President] "cannot be, and will not be submitted to. The 'irrepressible conflict' doctrine, announced and advocated by the ablest and most distinguished leader of the Republican party, is an open declaration of war against the institution of slavery; wherever it exists; and I would be disloyal to Virginia and the South, if I did not declare that the election of such a man, entertaining such sentiment, and advocating such doctrines, ought to be resisted by the slaveholding States. The idea of permitting such a man to have the control and direction of the army and navy of the United States, and the appointment of high judicial and executive officers, POSTMASTERS INCLUDED, cannot be entertained by the South for a moment." — Gen. Letcher, of Virginia.

"Slavery must be maintained — in the Union, if possible; out of it, if necessary: peaceably if we may; forcibly if we must." — Senator Iverson, of Georgia.

"Lincoln and Hamlin, the Black Republican nominees, will be elected in November next, and the South will then decide the great question whether they will submit to the domination of Black Republican rule — the fundamental principle of their organization being an open, undisguised, and declared war upon our social institutions. I believe that the honor and safety of the South, in that contingency, will require the prompt secession of the slaveholding States from the Union; and failing then to obtain from the free States additional and higher guaranties for the protection of our rights and property, that the seceding States should proceed to establish a new government. But while I think such would be the imperative duty of the South, I should emphatically reprobate and repudiate any scheme having for its object the separate secession of South Carolina. If Georgia, Alabama and Mississippi alone — giving us a portion of the Atlantic and Gulf coasts — would unite with this State in a common secession upon the election of a Black Republican, I would give my assent to the policy." — Letter of Hon. James L. Orr, of S.C., to John Martin and others, July 23, 1860.

would be open to show, by contemporaneous history, that this mode of alluding to slaves and slavery, instead of speaking of them, was employed on purpose to exclude from the Constitution the idea that there could be property in man.

To show all this, is easy and certain.¹¹⁰

When this obvious mistake of the Judges shall be brought to their notice, is it not reasonable to expect that they will withdraw the mistaken statement, and reconsider the conclusion based upon it?

And then it is to be remembered that "our fathers, who framed the Government under which we live" -the men who made the Constitution- decided this same Constitutional question in our favor, long ago — decided it without division among themselves, when making the decision; without division among themselves about the meaning of it after it was made, and, so far as any evidence is left, without basing it upon any mistaken statement of facts.

Under all these circumstances, do you really feel yourselves justified to break up this Government, unless such a court decision as yours is, shall be at once submitted to as a conclusive and final rule of political action? But you will not abide the election of a Republican President! In that supposed event, you say, you will destroy the Union; and then, you say, the great crime of having destroyed it will be upon us! That is cool. A highwayman holds a pistol to my ear, and mutters through his teeth, "Stand and deliver, or I shall kill you, and then you will be a murderer!"

To be sure, what the robber demanded of me -my money- was my own; and I had a clear right to keep it; but it was no more my own than my vote is my own; and the threat of death to me, to extort my money, and the threat of destruction to the Union, to extort my vote, can scarcely be distinguished in principle.

A few words now to Republicans. 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

107. The Hon. John A. Andrew, of the Boston Bar, made the following analysis of the Dred Scott case in the Massachusetts legislature. Hon. Caleb Cushing was then a member of that body, but did not question its correctness.

"On the question of possibility of citizenship to one of the Dred Scott color, extraction, and origin, three justices, viz., Taney, Wayne and Daniels, held the negative. Nelson and Campbell passed over the plea by which the question was raised. Grier agreed with Nelson. Catron said the question was not open. McLean agreed with Catron, but thought the plea bad. Curtis agreed that the question was open, but attacked the plea, met its averments, and decided that a free born colored person, native to any State, is a citizen thereof, by birth, and is therefore a citizen of the Union, and entitled to sue in the Federal Courts.

"Had a majority of the court directly sustained the plea in abatement, and denied the jurisdiction of the Circuit Court appealed from, then all else they could have said and done would have been done and said in a cause not theirs to try and not theirs to discuss. In the absence of such majority, one step more was to be taken. And the next step reveals an agreement of six of the Justices, on a point decisive of the cause, and putting an end to all the functions of the court.

"It is this. Scott was first carried to Rock Island, in the State of Illinois, where he remained about two years, before going with his master to Fort Snelling, in the Territory of Wisconsin. His claim to freedom was rested on the alleged effect of his translation from a slave State, and again into a free territory. If, by his removal to Illinois, he became emancipated from his master, the subsequent continuance of his pilgrimage into the Louisiana purchase could not add to his freedom, nor alter the fact. If, by reason of any want or infirmity in the laws of Illinois, or of conformity on his part to their behests, Dred Scott remained a slave while he remained in that State, then — for the sake of learning the effect on him of his territorial residence beyond the Mississippi, and of his marriage and other proceedings there, and the effect of the sojournment and marriage of Harriet, in the same territory, upon herself and her children — it might become needful to advance one other step into the investigation of the law; to inspect the Missouri Compromise, banishing slavery to the south of the line of 36(deg)30' in the Louisiana purchase.

"But no exigency of the cause ever demanded or justified that advance; for six of the Justices, including the Chief Justice himself, decided that the status of the plaintiff, as free or slave, was dependent, not upon the laws of the State into which he had been, but of the State of Missouri, in which he was at the commencement of the suit. The Chief Justice asserted that 'it is now firmly settled by the decisions of the highest court in the State, that Scott and his family, on their return were not free, but were, by the laws of Missouri, the property of the defendant.' This was the burden of the opinion of Nelson, who declares 'the question is one solely depending upon the law of Missouri, and that the federal Court, sitting in the State, and trying the case before us, was bound to follow it.' It received the emphatic endorsement of Wayne, whose general concurrence was with the Chief Justice. Grier concurred in set terms with Nelson on all 'the questions discussed by him.' Campbell says, 'The claim of the plaintiff to freedom depends upon the effect to be given to his absence from Missouri, in company with his master in Illinois and Minnesota, and this effect is to be ascertained by reference to the laws of Missouri.' Five of the Justices, then, (if no more of them,) regard the law of Missouri as decisive of the plaintiff's rights."

calmly consider their demands, and yield to them if, in our deliberate view of our duty, we possibly can.¹¹¹ 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. 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. Senator 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 from all taint of opposition to slavery, before they will cease to believe that all their troubles proceed from us.

I am quite aware 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.¹¹² 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.¹¹³

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 readily grant, if we thought

108. "Now, as we have already said in an earlier part of this opinion upon a different point, the right of property in a slave is distinctly and expressly affirmed in [the Constitution](#). The right to traffic in it, like an ordinary article of merchandise and property, was guaranteed to the citizens of the United States in every State that might desire it for twenty years." — Ch. J. Taney, 19 How. U.S.R., p. 451. Vide language of Mr. James Madison, note 35, as to "merchandise."

109. Not only was the right of property not intended to be "distinctly and expressly affirmed in [the Constitution](#)," but the following extract from Mr. James Madison demonstrates that the utmost care was taken to avoid so doing: —

"The clause as originally offered [respecting fugitive slaves] read 'If any person LEGALLY bound to service or labor in any of the United States shall escape into another State,' etc., etc. (Vol. 3, p. 1456.) In regard to this, Mr. Madison says, "The term 'legally' was struck out, and the words 'under the laws thereof,' inserted after the word State, in compliance with the wish of some who thought the term 'legally' equivocal and favoring the idea that slavery was legal in a moral point of view." — *Ib.*, p. 1589.

slavery right; all we ask, they could as readily grant, if they thought it wrong.¹¹⁴ 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 to George Washington, imploring men to unsay what Washington said, and undo 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

110. We subjoin a portion of the history alluded to by Mr. Lincoln. The following extract relates to the provision of [the Constitution](#) relative to the slave trade. (Article I, Sec. 9.) 25th August, 1787. — The report of the Committee of eleven being taken up, Gen. [Charles Cotesworth] Pinckney moved to strike out the words "the year 1800," and insert the words "the year 1808."

Mr. Nathaniel Gorham seconded the motion.

Mr. James Madison — Twenty years will produce all the mischief that can be apprehended from the liberty to import slaves. So long a term will be more dishonorable to the American character than to say nothing about it in the Constitution.

Mr. Gouverneur Morris was for making the clause read at once —

"The importation of slaves into North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, shall not be prohibited," &c.

This, he said, would be most fair, and would avoid the ambiguity by which, under the power with regard to naturalization the liberty reserved to the States might be defeated. He wished it to be known, also, that this part of the Constitution was a compliance with those States. If the change of language, however, should be objected to by the members from those States, he should not urge it. Col. Mason, (of Va.,) was not against using the term "slaves," but against naming North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, lest it should give offence to the people of those States.

Mr. Sherman liked a description better than the terms proposed, which had been declined by the old Congress, and were not pleasing to some people.

Mr. Clymer concurred with Mr. Sherman.

Mr. Williamson, of North Carolina, said that both in opinion and practice he was against slavery; but thought it more in favor of humanity, from a view of all circumstances, to let in South Carolina and Georgia, on those terms, than to exclude them from the Union.

Mr. Morris withdrew his motion.

Mr. Dickinson wished the clause to be confined to the States which had not themselves prohibited the importation of slaves, and for that purpose moved to amend the clause so as to read —

"The importation of slaves into such of the States as shall permit the same, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature of the United States, until the year 1808," which was disagreed to, nem. con.

The first part of the report was then agreed to as follows:

"The migration or importation of such persons as the several States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Legislature prior to the year 1808."

Mr. Sherman was against the second part, ["but a tax or duty may be imposed on such migration or importation at a rate not exceeding the average of the duties laid on imports,"] as acknowledging men to be property by taxing them as such under the character of slaves.

Mr. James Madison thought it wrong to admit in the Constitution the idea that there could be property in men. The reason of duties did not hold, as slaves are not, like merchandise, consumed.

It was finally agreed, nem., con. to make the clause read —

"But a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each PERSON." — James Madison Papers, Aug. 25, 1787.

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.

April 10, Tuesday: Martin Robison Delany set sail from Lagos to England.



That evening, Abraham Lincoln spoke in the Phoenix Hall at Bloomington, [Illinois](#). A local newspaper would report:

After a few apologetic remarks, the speaker proceeded to comment upon polygamy in Utah, and the recent action in the United States house of representatives on that subject. [Vermont Representative Justin S. Morrill's HR7 to punish the practice of polygamy, etc., although it had passed the House on April 5th, would die in the Senate.] He said his main object in doing so was to call attention to the views and action of gentlemen who held to the doctrine of popular sovereignty, as related to the suppression of polygamy. These gentlemen, he said, were less than half the democratic members of the house – southern democrats voting for the anti-polygamy bill, because it favored the doctrine that congress could control the subject of slavery in the territories. But the Illinois democrats, although as much opposed to polygamy as any body else, dare not vote for the bill, because it was opposed to Mr. Douglas.

Mr. McClernand, of Illinois, had proposed to suppress the evil of polygamy by dividing up the territory, and attaching the different portions to other territories. He admitted that he had not seen Col. McClernand's speech on the subject; but proceeded to comment upon his action, nevertheless. McClernand's proposition was in harmony with the views formerly suggested by Mr. Douglas in a speech at Springfield; and he gave him credit for consistency, at least. But, inquired the speaker, how much

111. Compare this noble passage and that at page 18 [i.e., p. 535, supra], with the twaddle of Mr. Orr, (note 31,) and the slang of Mr. Douglas, (note 38.)

112. That demand has since been made. Says MR. O'CONOR, counsel for the State of Virginia in the Lemon Case, page 44: "We claim that under these various provisions of the Federal Constitution, a citizen of Virginia has an immunity against the operation of any law which the State of New-York can enact, whilst he is a stranger and wayfarer, or whilst passing through our territory; and that he has absolute protection for all his domestic rights, and for all his rights of property, which under the laws of the United States, and the laws of his own State, he was entitled to, whilst in his own State. We claim this, and neither more NOR LESS."

Throughout the whole of that case, in which the right to pass through New York with slaves at the pleasure of the slave owners is maintained, it is nowhere contended that the statute is contrary to the Constitution of New-York; but that the statute and the Constitution of the State are both contrary to the Constitution of the United States.

The State of Virginia, not content with the decision of our own courts upon the right claimed by them, is now engaged in carrying this, the Lemon case, to the Supreme Court of the United States, hoping by a decision there, in accordance with the intimations in the Dred Scott case, to overthrow the Constitution of New-York.

Senator Toombs, of Georgia, has claimed in the Senate, that laws of Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, New Hampshire, Ohio, Rhode Island, Vermont, and Wisconsin, for the exclusion of slavery, conceded to be warranted by the State Constitutions, are contrary to the Constitution of the United States, and has asked for the enactment of laws by the General Government which shall override the laws of those States and the Constitutions which authorize them.



better was it to divide up the territory and attach its parts to others? It was effecting indirectly that which Mr. McClernand denied could be done directly. This inconsistency, Mr. Lincoln illustrated by a classic example of a similar inconsistency: "If I cannot rightfully murder a man, I may tie him to the tail of a kicking horse, and let him kick the man to death!"

But why divide up the territory at all? continued he. Something must be wrong there, or it would not be necessary to act at all. And if one mode of interference is wrong, why not the other? Why is not an act dividing the territory as much against popular sovereignty as one for prohibiting polygamy? If you can put down polygamy in that way, why may you not thus put down slavery?

Mr. Lincoln said he supposed that the friends of popular sovereignty would say -if they dared speak out- that polygamy was wrong and slavery right; and therefore one might thus be put down and the other not; and after supposing several other things of northern democrats, he proceeded to notice, what he called, Mr. Douglas's sedition law. [On January 16th Douglas had introduced a resolution in the Senate for its Committee on the Judiciary to introduce a bill to protect a state or territory against invasion, etc., but on February 1st this had been tabled.]

On the subject of the proposed law, he began by reading Mr. Douglas's resolution as offered to the senate. Everything prohibited in the resolution, said he, is wrong, and ought to be prohibited and punished. There was now no such law against them, simply, as he supposed, because nobody had thought the crimes enumerated in the resolution would ever be committed. And, moreover, he declared, not one of them ever had been committed! He defied any one to point to a single instance where

113. "Policy, humanity, and Christianity, alike forbid the extension of the evils of free society to new people and coming generations." — Richmond Enquirer, Jan. 22, 1856.

"I am satisfied that the mind of the South has undergone a change to this great extent, that it is now the almost universal belief in the South, not only that the condition of African slavery in their midst, is the best condition to which the African race has ever been subjected, but that it has the effect of ennobling both races, the white and the black." — Senator Mason, of Virginia.

"I declare again, as I did in reply to the Senator from Wisconsin (Mr. Doolittle,) that, in my opinion, slavery is a great moral, social and political blessing — a blessing to the slave, and a blessing to the master." — Mr. Brown, in the Senate, March 6, 1860.

"I am a Southern States' Rights man; I am an African slave-trader. I am one of those Southern men who believe that slavery is right — morally, religiously, socially, and politically." (Applause.)

"I represent the African Slave-trade interests of that section. (Applause.) I am proud of the position I occupy in that respect. I believe the African Slave-trader is a true missionary and a true Christian." (Applause.) — Mr. Gaulden, a delegate from First Congressional District of Georgia, in the Charleston Convention, now a supporter of Mr. Douglas.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I would gladly speak again, but you see from the tones of my voice, that I am unable to. This has been a happy, a glorious day. I shall never forget it. There is a charm about this beautiful day, about this sea air, and especially about that peculiar institution of yours — a clam bake. I think you have the advantage, in that respect, of Southerners. For my own part, I have much more fondness for your clams than I have for their niggers. But every man to his taste." — Hon. Stephen A. Douglass Address at Rocky Point, Rhode Island, August 2, 1860.

114. It is interesting to observe how two profoundly logical minds, though holding extreme, opposite views, have deduced this common conclusion. Says Mr. O'Connor, the eminent leader of the New-York Bar, and the counsel for the State of Virginia in the Lemon case, in his speech at Cooper Institute, December 19th, 1859: —

"That is the point to which this great argument must come — Is negro slavery unjust? If it is unjust, it violates that first rule of human conduct — 'Render to every man his due.' If it is unjust, it violates the law of God which says, 'Love thy neighbor as thyself,' for that requires that we should perpetrate no injustice. Gentlemen, if it could be maintained that negro slavery was unjust, perhaps I might be prepared — perhaps we all ought to be prepared — to go with that distinguished man to whom allusion is frequently made, and say, 'There is a higher law which compels us to trample beneath our feet [the Constitution](#) established by our fathers, with all the blessings it secures to their children.' But I insist — and that is the argument which we must meet, and on which we must come to a conclusion that shall govern our actions in the future selection of representatives in the Congress of the United States — I insist that negro slavery is not unjust."

the authorities or the people of one state had invaded another: or where there had been a conspiracy or combination to interfere with the institutions or property of the people in one state by citizens of another! John Brown, to be sure, had made a raid into Virginia; but Virginia had been competent to deal with him and his confederates without a congressional law; and hence no such law was necessary. Insurrections had always been put down; hence no law was necessary against them. What, then, inquired the speaker, was the real object of Mr. Douglas's proposition? He then quoted from that gentleman's speech on the subject, in which he says that Brown's raid into Virginia, and similar outrages, were the legitimate and logical result of the abolition teachings of the day. Then, said Mr. Lincoln, I conceive the real object of the proposed bill was to put down republicanism; to prevent republican meetings, and to shut men's mouths! If, however, he added, the only object is to punish negro-dealers, he had no objection. But he denied that any body had ever conspired to steal negroes. The speaker then went on to comment on the proposed law, as if it was only meant to suppress free speech; addressed his remarks chiefly to Mr. Douglas, and throughout the speech seemed to consider him as the only man in the democratic party who was worthy of attention. A few words on the question why, if states and territories may introduce slavery, McLean county, or any individual may not, according to popular sovereignty, do the same, concluded the speech.




April 10. Cheney elm, many anthers shed pollen, probably 7th. Some are killed. *Salix purpurea* apparently will not open for four or five days.
2 P.M. 44° and east wind (followed by some rain still the next day, as usual).


May 18: [John Shepard Keyes](#) was among the delegates to the national convention of the Republican party when it nominated Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) (soon Keyes would be made a United States marshal and would serve as a bodyguard during the Inauguration ceremony — and be present also for the delivery of the Gettysburg Address). But we are getting ahead of ourselves here, for before that could come about, this party's nominee would need to campaign against and triumph over the [Illinois](#) Democrat Stephen A. Douglass and the Southern Democrat John C. Breckinridge.



May 18. P. M.—To Walden.
The creak of the cricket has been common on all warm, dry hills, banks, etc., for a week,—inaugurating the summer.
Gold-thread out,—how long?—by Trillium Woodside. *Trientalis*.
The green of the birches is fast losing its prominence amid the thickening cloud of reddish-brown and yellowish oak leafets. The last and others [?] are now like a mist enveloping the dark pines. Apple trees, now, for two or three days, generally bursting into bloom (not in full bloom), look like whitish rocks on the hillsides,—somewhat even as the shad-bush did.
The sand cherry flower is about in prime. It grows on all sides of short stems, which are either upright or spreading, forming often regular solid cylinders twelve to eighteen inches long and only one and a half inches in diameter, the flowers facing out every way, of uniform diameter, determined by the length of the peduncles. Pretty wands of white flowers, with leafets intermingled.
The remarkably dry weather has been both very favorable and agreeable weather to walkers. We have had almost constant east winds, yet generally accompanied with warmth,—none of the rawness of the east wind commonly. We have, as it were, the bracing air of the seashore with the warmth and dryness of June in the

country.

The night-warbler  is a powerful singer for so small a bird. It launches into the air above the forest, or over some hollow or open space in the woods, and challenges the attention of the woods by its rapid and impetuous warble, and then drops down swiftly into the tree-tops like a performer withdrawing behind the scenes, and he is very lucky who detects where it alights. That large fern (is it *Aspidium spinulosum*?) of Brister Spring Swamp is a foot or more high. It is partly evergreen.

A hairy woodpecker [**Hairy Woodpecker**  *Picoides villosus*] betrays its hole in an apple tree by its anxiety. The ground is strewn with the chips it has made, over a large space. The hole, so far as I can see, is exactly like that of the downy woodpecker, —the entrance (though not so round) and the conical form within above,—only larger.

The bird scolds at me from a dozen rods off.

Now for very young and tender oak leaves and their colors.

October 24: Abraham Lincoln replied to an inquiry he had received from John C. Lee, president of the Young Men's Republican Association of Jacksonville, [Illinois](#). Presumably Lee had inquired whether the Democrats were correct in alleging that the candidate had contributed money to John Brown's cause:

Confidential

J.C. Lee, Esq Springfield, Ills.

Dear Sir Oct. 24, 1860

Yours of the 14th. was received some days ago, and should have been answered sooner.

I never gave fifty dollars, nor one dollar, nor one cent, for the object you mention, or any such object.

I once subscribed twentyfive dollars, to be paid whenever Judge Logan would decide it was necessary to enable the people of Kansas to defend themselves against any force coming against them from without the Territory, and not by authority of the United States. Logan never made the decision, and I never paid a dollar on the subscription. The whole of this can be seen in the files of the Illinois Journal, since the first of June last.

Yours truly

A. LINCOLN



October 24. P.M.—To Walden Woods.

See three little checkered adders lying in the sun by a stump on the sandy slope of the Deep Cut; yet sluggish. They are seven or eight inches long. The dark blotches or checkers are not so brown as in large ones. There is a transverse dark mark on the snout



and a forked light space on the back part [OF] the head.



Examine again Emerson's pond lot, to learn its age by the stumps cut last spring. I judge from them that they were some five (?) years cutting over the part next the water, for I count the rings of many stumps and they vary in number from twenty-four or five to thirty, though twenty-six, seven, and eight are commonest, as near as I can count. It is hard to distinguish the very first ring, and often one or more beside before you reach the circumference. But, these being almost all sprouts, I know that they were pretty large the first year. I repeatedly see beside the new tree (cut last spring) the now well-rotted stump from which it sprang. But I do not see the stump from which the last sprang. I should like to know how long they may continue to spring from the stump. Here are shoots of this year which have sprung vigorously from stumps cut in the spring, which had sprung in

like manner some twenty-eight or thirty years ago from a stump which is still very plain by their sides. I see that some of these thirty-year trees are sprouts from a white oak stump twenty inches in diameter,—four from one in one case. Sometimes, when a white pine stump is all crumbling beside, there is a broad shingle-like flake left from the centre to the circumference, the old ridge of the stump, only a quarter of an inch thick, and this betrays the axe in a straight inclined surface.



The southeast part of Emerson's lot, next the pond, is yet more exclusively oak sprouts, or oak from oak, with fewer pine stumps. I examine an oak seedling in this. There are two very slender shoots rising ten or more inches above the ground, which, traced downward, conduct to a little stub, which I mistook for a very old root or part of a larger tree, but, digging it up, I found it to be a true seedling. This seedling had died down to the ground six years ago, and then these two slender shoots, such as you commonly see in oak woods, had started. The root was a regular seedling root (fusiform if *straightened*), at least seven eighths of an inch thick, while the largest shoot was only one eighth of an inch thick, though six years old and ten inches high. The root was probably ten years old when the seedling first died down, and is now some sixteen years old. Yet, as I say, the oak is only ten inches high. This shows how it endures and gradually pines and dies. As you look down on it, it has two turns, and three as you look from the side, so firmly is it rooted. Any one will be surprised on digging up some of these lusty oaken carrots.



Look at stumps in Heywood's lot, southeast side pond, from Emerson's to the swimming-place. They are white pine, oak, pitch pine, etc. I count rings of three white pine (from sixty to seventy). There are a few quite large white pine stumps; on one, ninety rings. One oak gives one hundred and sixteen rings. A pitch pine some fifteen or sixteen inches over gives about one hundred and thirty-five. All these are very easy, if not easier than ever, to count. The pores of the pines are distinct ridges, and the pitch is worn off.



(Many white and pitch pines elsewhere cut this year cannot be counted, they are so covered with pitch.) I remember this as a particularly dense and good-sized wood, mixed pine and oak.

Mrs. Heywood's pitch pines by the shore, judging from some cut two or three years ago, are about eighty-five years old. As far as I have noticed, the pitch pine is the slowest-growing tree (of pines and oaks) and gives the most rings in the smallest diameter.

Then there are the countless downy seeds (thistle-like) of the goldenrods,



so fine that we do not notice them in the air. They cover our clothes like dust. No wonder they spread over all fields and far into the woods.

I see those narrow pointed yellow buds now laid bare so thickly along the slender twigs of the *Salix discolor*, which is almost bare of leaves.

November 6: Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) received 180 of 303 possible electoral votes and 40 percent of the popular vote and would be duly chosen by the Electoral College as the 16th US president and the 1st Republican.

December 22: At the Court of Queen's Bench in Toronto, the actual application was submitted by John Anderson's counsel, Mr. Freeman, for leave to appeal the court's adverse decision to Canada's higher Court of Error and Appeal. The court advised the attorney that there could be no appeal to the court above from its judgment upon a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Counsel for Anderson then declared that he was going to sue for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Common Pleas, and he was going to sue for a writ of *Habeas Corpus* from the Court of Chancery, and, if necessary, he was going to apply directly to the Canadian legislature, and in the last resort, he was going to take his case directly to the Privy Council and to the Parliament in England.

President Abraham Lincoln was engaged in correspondence with Alexander H. Stephens of Springfield, [Illinois](#), attempting to persuade this voter that although he was confessedly an opponent of race slavery, he did nevertheless realize that the needs of white Americans always did come, and always would come, before the rights of black Americans. Trust me, sir, I know what race I am:

For your own eye only. Hon. A.H. Stephens — Springfield, Ills.
 My dear Sir
 Dec. 22, 1860
 Your obliging answer to my short note is just received, and for which please accept my thanks. I fully appreciate the present peril the country is in, and the weight of responsibility on me. Do the people of the South really entertain fears that a Republican administration would, directly, or indirectly, interfere with their slaves, or with them, about their slaves? If they do, I wish to assure you, as once a friend, and still, I hope, not an enemy, that there is no cause for such fears. The South would be in no more danger in this respect, than it was in the days of Washington. I suppose, however, this does not meet the case. You think slavery is right and ought to be extended; while we think it is wrong and ought to be restricted. That I suppose is the rub. It certainly is the only substantial difference between us.
 Yours very truly
 A. LINCOLN



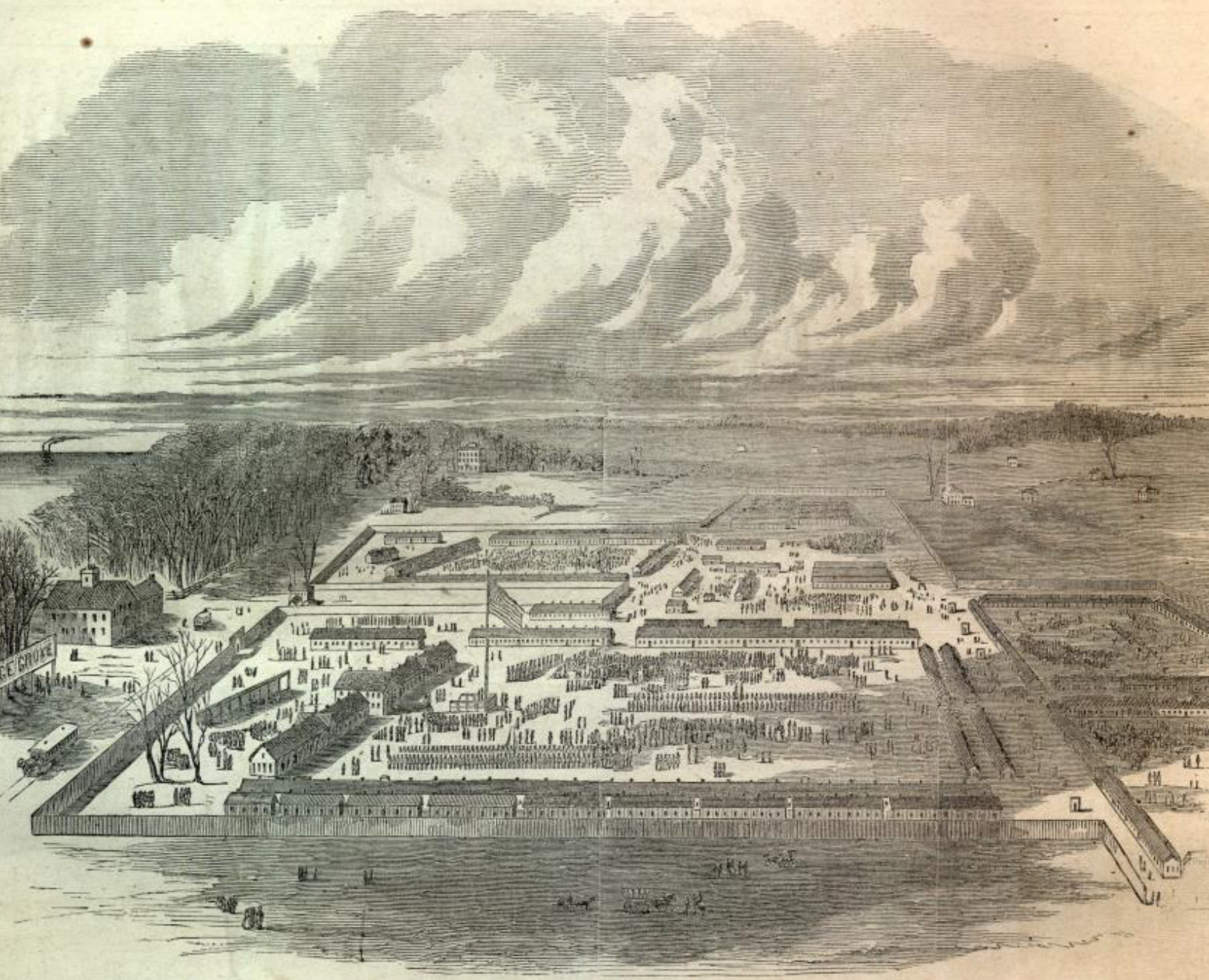
Dec. 22. This evening and night, the second important snow, there having been sleighing since the 4th, and now,—

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1861

Camp Douglas was opened on land that had belonged to Stephen A. Douglas near [Chicago](#), to train Northern recruits to kill in the Civil War. (Later, this was to become a prisoner-of-war camp.)





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

February 11: Abraham Lincoln gave a brief farewell to friends and supporters at Springfield, [Illinois](#) and boarded a train for Washington DC. He would receive a warning during this trip of a possible attempt at assassination.¹¹⁵



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR FEBRUARY 11]

115. According to Harold S. Schultz's NATIONALISM AND SECTIONALISM IN SOUTH CAROLINA, 1852-1860 (Durham: Duke UP, 1950, page 226), for instance, a group of South Carolinians had organized themselves as the "[Minutemen](#)" with an agenda including but not limited to a march upon Washington DC to prevent installation of the Republican president.

May 22, Friday: Franz Liszt dined at the Tuileries with the Emperor [Napoléon III](#) and Empress Eugenie. His playing for the invited guests produced a sensation.

The two visitors from Massachusetts, [Henry Thoreau](#) and Horace Mann, Jr., “Rode down Michigan Avenue” in [Chicago](#). Meanwhile, in Minnesota, the destination of our Massachusetts travelers, a missionary teacher of the Chippewa Indians at Belle Prairie some 50 miles upriver from Fort Snelling, Patrick Henry Taylor—a young man who had lost one eye in a childhood accident but had nevertheless already adventured with his older brother Jonathan for some 500 miles on the Red River and the Mississippi River in a birchbark canoe—volunteered for the Union forces. From a letter Henry Taylor wrote to his parents:



I have heard that it is doubtful about the St. Cloud company being accepted for some time at least, and as more men are wanted to fill up the First Regiment which has already been accepted for three months, but now wanted for three years or during the war, I have given my name to go in that Reg. I am to start for Fort Snelling (near St. Paul) in the course of three hours. It is now 7 o'clock A.M. I am the only one who goes from Belle Prairie. I have taught two weeks on my term at Little Falls, but you know schools come after Law and Government. I shall probably take the oath day after tomorrow. The "Star Spangled Banner, o long may it wave." I should be pleased to see you all before I go, but I cannot. The same God, who has thus protected me will not withhold his guardian care in future. I go feeling that I am right and in a good cause, and if that be the case, I will not fear. Tell all my brothers and sisters to stand firm by the Union and by the glorious liberties which, under God, we enjoy.

And, from the diary which Henry Taylor began at that significant juncture in his life:



May 22, 1861 – Left Belle Prairie, Minn. at 11 a.m. by stage, arriving at Sauk Rapids at 7 p.m., the boys drilling in the opening.

[Thoreau](#), evidently after ditching his travelling companion for awhile, visited the Chicago [Unitarian](#) minister, the Reverend [Robert Collyer](#), evidently at his parsonage next to the church, and then after Thoreau left the Reverend wrote him an enclosure note, sending him some materials which he had requested, and added a

suggestion that Thoreau might author a book about the American West.



Mr Thoreau

Dear Sir

You will find herein the things you wanted to know. Mr Whitfield is very well posted about the country and what he Says is reliable. I hope you will have a pleasant time get heartily well and write a book about the great west that will be to us what your other books are. ["a freinds"] I want you to stop in Chicago as you come back if it can be possible, and be my guest a few days. I should be very much pleased to have you take a rest and feel at home with us, and if you do please write in time so that I shall be sure to be at home.

*I am very truly
Robert Collyer
Chicago May 22^d.*

Thirty-one years later, in 1892, this minister would write most perceptively about the person whom he so briefly encountered, in a manuscript he would title **CLEAR GRIT: A COLLECTION OF LECTURES, ADDRESSES AND POEMS** which eventually, in 1913, would see publication by Boston's Beacon Press.



Here are pages 294-7 as eventually published:

Thirty-one years ago last June a man came to see me in [Chicago](#) whom I was very glad and proud to meet. It was Henry Thoreau of Concord, the Diogenes of this new world, the Hermit of Walden Woods. The gentle and loving misanthropist and apostle of individualism so singular and separate that I do not know where to look for his father or his son – the most perfect instance



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

to be found I think of American independence run to seed, or shall we say to a mild variety which is very fair to look on but can never sow itself for another harvest. The man of a natural mind which was **not** enmity against God, but in a great and wide sense was subject to the law of God and to no other law. The saint of the **bright** ages and the own brother in this to the Saint of the dark ages, who called the wild creatures that run and fly his sisters and brothers, and was more intimate with them than he was with our human kind. The man of whom, so far as pure seeing goes, Jesus would have said "blessed are your eyes, for **they see**," and whose life I want to touch this evening for some lessons that as it seems to me he alone could teach those who would learn.

As I remember Henry Thoreau then, he was something over forty years of age but would have easily passed for thirty-five, and he was rather slender, but of a fine, delicate mold, and with a presence which touched you with the sense of perfect purity as newly opened roses do. It is a clear rose-tinted face he turns to me through the mist of all these years, and delicate to look on as the face of a girl; also he has great gray eyes, the seer's eyes full of quiet sunshine. But it is a strong face, too, and the nose is especially notable, being as [Moncure] Conway said to me once of Emerson's nose, a sort of interrogation mark to the universe. His voice was low, but still sweet in the tones and inflections, though the organs were all in revolt just then and wasting away and he was making for the great tablelands beyond us Westwards, to see if he could not find there a new lease of life. His words also were as distinct and true to the ear as those of a great singer, and he had Tennyson's splendid gift in this, that he never went back on his tracks to pick up the fallen loops of a sentence as commonplace talkers do. He would hesitate for an instant now and then, waiting for the right word, or would pause with a pathetic patience to master the trouble in his chest, but when he was through the sentence was perfect and entire, lacking nothing, and the word was so purely one with the man that when I read his books now and then I do not hear my own voice within my reading but the voice I heard that day....

We are not sure it would be best to meet some men who have touched us by their genius, but it seems to me now that to see Thoreau as I did that day in Chicago and hear him talk was the one thing needful to me, because he was so simply and entirely the man I had thought of when I read what he had written. There was no lapse, no missing link; the books and the man were one, and I found it was true of him also that "the word was made flesh and dwelt among us."

CHICAGO

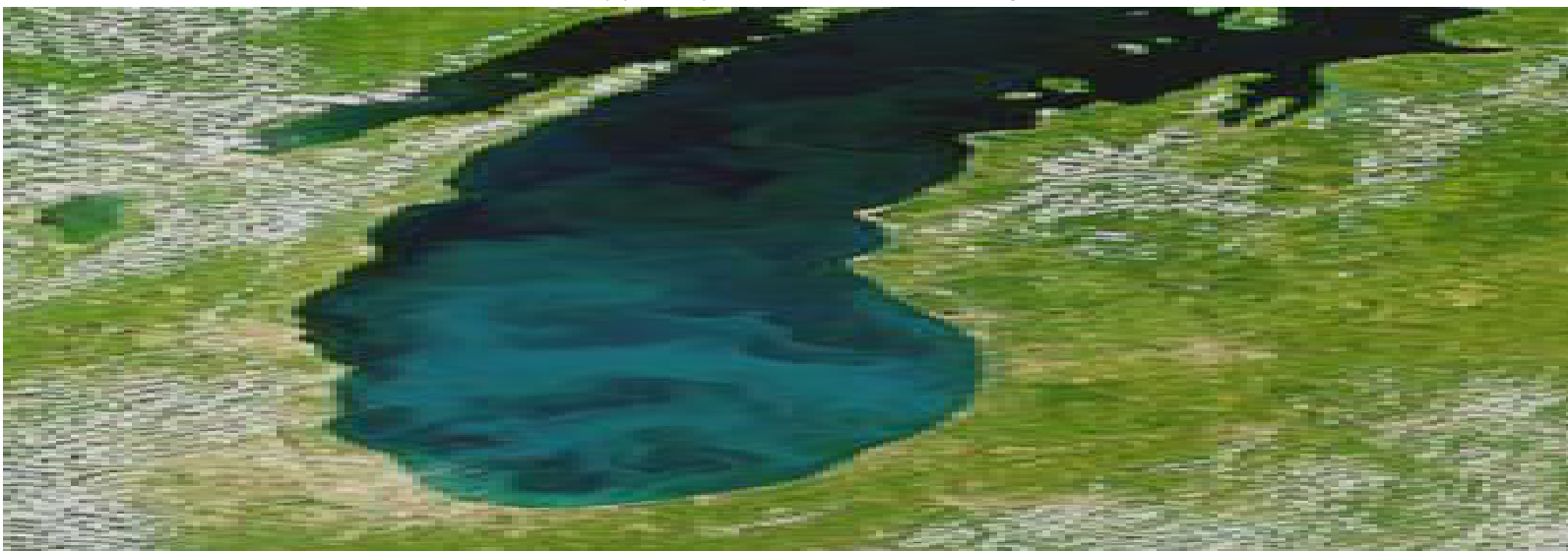
ILLINOIS

May 23, Saturday: Our Massachusetts travelers [Henry Thoreau](#) and Horace Mann, Jr. spent an additional day in [Chicago](#). And, from the diary of Henry Taylor the Minnesota recruit to the Union forces:



May 23 – St. Anthony, 7 p.m. Put up at "St. Charles."

Mann: "I walked around most all day yesterday and saw considerable of Chicago...."



Chicago in 1858

[Thoreau](#) and Mann had their supper on the Mississippi riverboat *Itasca*¹¹⁶ tied up at the dock at Dunleith (now East Dubuque, [Illinois](#)).¹¹⁷



The prevailing shade tree in Chicago the cottonwood.... Sewers or main drains fall but 2 feet in a mile.... Water milky.

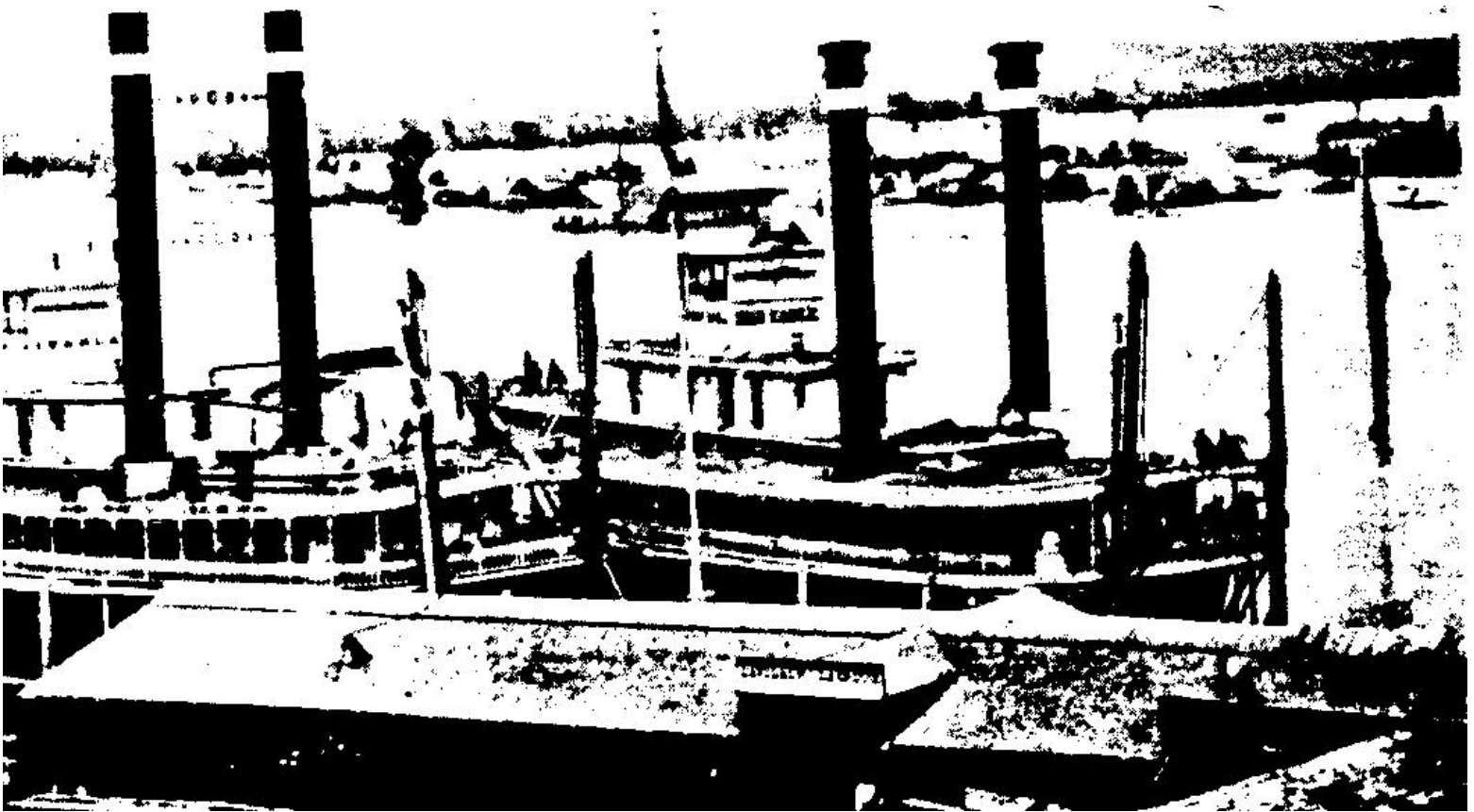
116. The *Itasca* was a larger sized 230-foot by 35-foot paddle-wheel steamboat built in 1857 at the Cincinnati Boatworks. It normally boarded 200 to 300 passengers, and made regular trips to St. Paul. "Itasca" is a name coined in Minnesota to refer to the "true source" of the Mississippi River, coined because discovering the "true source" of this mighty stream in this or that little rivulet has been found by some in these parts to be of overwhelming interest. The steamboat *Itasca* burned in 1870.

117. Notice, please, that this is precisely the scenic steamboat adventure which had been so highly recommended in the pages of the New York [Daily Times](#) on June 14, 1854:

Perhaps you have beheld such sublimity in dreams, but surely never in daylight walking elsewhere in this wonderful world. Over one hundred and fifty miles of unimaginable fairy-land, genii-land, and world of visions, have we passed during the last twenty-four hours.... Throw away your guide books; heed not the statements of travelers; deal not with seekers after and retailers of the picturesque; believe on man, but see for yourself the Mississippi River above Dubuque.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



The War Eagle and the Itasca at the St. Paul levee in 1867

“Chicago to Dunleath.... Distances on the prairie deceptive.” In Minnesota, it had been raining but then the weather cleared and the citizenry of Minneapolis and St. Anthony threw an alcoholic picnic on Nicollet Island



in the Mississippi for its brave soldier boys in new blue. Here is the press dispatch the Head Quarters



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

First Reg. M.V. at Fort Snelling sent to a Minnesota newspaper:¹¹⁸



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

118. You are welcome to come play games with this famous regiment if you like. Its get-togethers are held on a weekend in June, at Fort Snelling National Monument.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

...Dame Nature was weeping over the impending fate of those poor infatuated rebels who by their madness have brought disgrace on themselves and the country to which the ingrates belong; but now the clouds have cleared away and the heavens seem to predict a glorious future for us of the North and West – the land of the bold and free.

...In good spirits we all started "oph" – flags flying, "drums a beating" – for the scene of the day's festivity.... The suspension bridge is a magnificent structure – well worthy of attention – spanning the "Father of Waters." Above the falls of St. Anthony the visitor has a fine view of the river, and, if inclined to calculation might form some idea of the vast amount of power that is running to waste.

We had dinner in the grove on Nicollet Island, a beautiful place for such purposes. The ladies and gents who had the affair in charge deserve great praise for the manner in which they discharged their duties.– The tables were supplied with plenty to have fed two regiments, and the materials were all of the choicest kind: sandwiches, bread – as white as the fair hands that made it – and butter as delicious as the lips of the ladies who passed it around; but why particularize when everything was excellent – sweet milk and beer as drinkables. So much beer was furnished that after we had drank all we wished there were sixty kegs untapped.

Before partaking of the dinner our Colonel gave the command to "uncover," and a benediction was invoked by a venerable clergyman of Minneapolis. Owing to the distance between us I did not hear a word he said. After dinner Col. Gorman, in behalf of the regiment, returned thanks to the citizens and committee in his usual happy style. It was responded to by Col. Aldrich of Minneapolis. After complimenting the officers and men, he said, "success would surely attend our arms. – We were engaged in a glorious and holy cause – the cause of freedom and humanity."

Three hearty cheers were given by our soldier boys for the ladies of St. Anthony and Minneapolis, which we sent back with a will by the citizens, including the ladies, the waving of whose scented pocket handkerchiefs seemed to load the air with perfume.

I think it was the happiest thing in the shape of a picnic that I ever attended. The day was fine; the ladies beautiful; the soldiers performed their evolutions gracefully, and everything passed off to the satisfaction of all concerned.

...Tomorrow we go to St. Paul to receive our regimental flag.



Footbridge to Nicollet Island for regimental picnic (and for Thoreau's botanizing)

May 24: From the diary of Henry Taylor the recent Minnesota recruit to the Union forces:



May 24 - Took buss for Fort Snelling via Minnehaha Falls. Was sworn into the U.S. Army at 2 p.m. to serve three years or during the war. Ho, Ho, for the wars!

Horace Mann, Jr. was carrying a hundred dollars in gold coins, which he had obtained in [Chicago](#) despite the current panic in the banks. The *Itasca* first crossed the river to Dubuque, then steamed past Cassville to Prairie du Chien.



Up river, -the river, say sixty rods wide, or three-quarters of a mile between the bluffs.... The birds are kingfishers, small ducks, swallows, jays, etc....

Land on the shore often with a plank.... Load some 9 or 10 cords of wood at a landing. 20 men in

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

10 minutes. Disturb a bat which flies aboard.



Steamboat “wooding” at night

The steamer whistles, then strikes its bell about 6 times funereally & with a pause after the 3rd & You see the whole village making haste to the landing — commonly the raw stony or sandy shore. The postmaster with his bag, the passengers, & almost every dog & pig in the town of commonly one narrow street under the bluff & back yards at angles of about 45° with the horizon.

This was the tourist package tour that had become known nationwide as the “Fashionable Tour” and it had been taken by, among others, Millard Fillmore and Anthony Trollope and Clara Barton. [Henry Thoreau](#) was amused to read in a tourist puff that the Mississippi flows from the pine to the palm. The journey had been being puffed by James M. Goodhue, the editor of the Minnesota Pioneer, for at least the past nine years:

Who that is idle would be caged up between walls of burning brick and mortar, in dog-days, down the river, if at less daily expense, he could be hurried along through the valley of the Mississippi, its shores studded with towns, and farms, flying by islands, prairies, woodlands, bluffs – an ever varied scene of beauty, away up into the land of the wild Dakota, and of cascades and pine forests, and cooling breezes? – Why it is an exhilarating luxury, compared with which, all the fashion and tinsel and parade of your Newports and Saratogas, are utterly insipid.... A month in Minnesota, in dog-days, is worth a whole year anywhere else; and, we confidently look to see the time, when all families of leisure down South, from the Gulf of Mexico along up, will make their regular summer hegira to our Territory, and when hundreds of the opulent from those regions, will build delightful cottages on the borders of our ten thousand lakes and ornament their grounds with all that is tasteful in shrubbery and horticulture, for a summer retreat.



[At Prairie du Chien] The redwing blackbird is the prevailing bird till the Mississippi River; on the river, pigeons, kingfishers, crows, jays, etc., with swallows (the white-bellied).

[NOTE: From this point forward I will be embellishing the record of [Thoreau](#)’s visit to Minnesota with ancient representations of human figures as they were pounded into the flat limestones of southwest Minnesota, and recorded in Gorton Allen Lothson’s THE JEFFERS PETROGLYPH SITE (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society, 1976).

I have inserted these at random in order to emphasize a point, that whatever benefit you may be deriving from reading about Thoreau’s visit to Minnesota, what he himself most hoped for was encounters with the originary inhabitants of this area, encounters which would help him figure out what it took to be a human being.]

119.This particular puff is dated July 22, 1852.



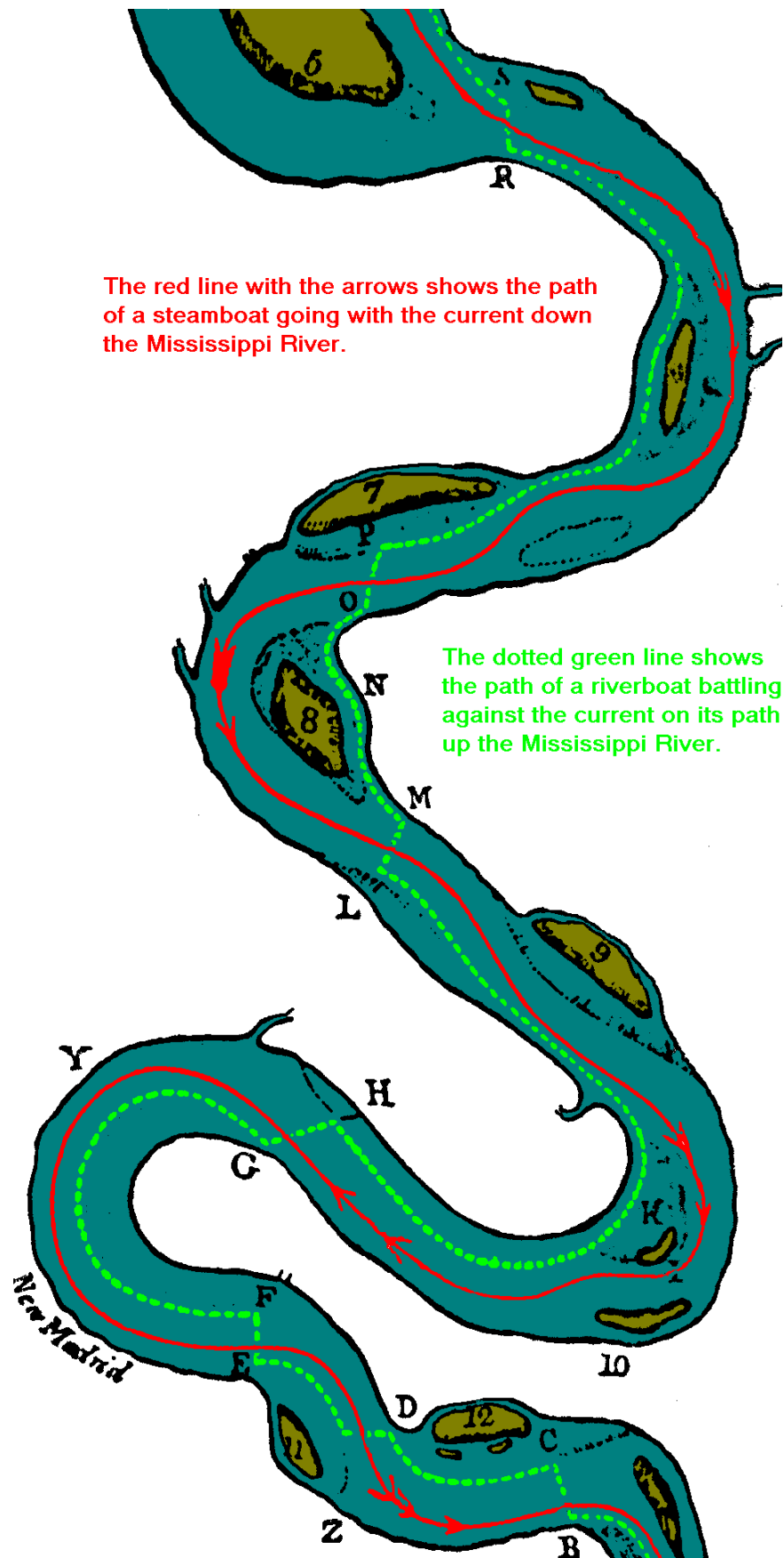
1862

It was perhaps in this year that [Waldo Emerson](#) jotted the following into his journal:

Thoreau's page reminds me of Farley, who went early into the wilderness in Illinois, lived alone, & hewed down trees, & tilled the land, but retired again into newer country when the population came up with him. Yet, on being asked, what he was doing? said, he pleased himself that he was preparing the land for civilization.

HERMITS
ILLINOIS

The North Side [Unitarian](#) Church in [Chicago](#) asked [Robert Collyer](#) to be their Minister in Charge. (During the Civil War he would be following the troops.)



The red line with the arrows shows the path of a steamboat going with the current down the Mississippi River.

The dotted green line shows the path of a riverboat battling against the current on its path up the Mississippi River.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

August 22: A second day of attacks by braves upon “the soldiers’ house,” Fort Ridgeley.

WHITE ON RED, RED ON WHITE

Killing would be going on at Rappahannock Station / Waterloo Bridge during this day and the three following days, not letting up until the 25th.

President Abraham Lincoln wrote his former political opponent, the newspaper editor Horace Greeley, whose perpetual public carping was getting on his nerves, and laid it on the line. Look here, it’s not about those negroes, he said, who care about them? — it’s about us white people and the strength of our united government. It might as well have been the white-man’s-white-man Hinton Rowan Helper himself who was delivering these lines!

If I could save the Union without freeing any slave, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would also do that.

(It’s often supposed nowadays that this Honest Abe from [Illinois](#) was the friend of the black man, but what I say is, if this is what it is to be a friend then Americans of color really don’t need any enemies.)

September 30, Saturday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack in regard to his upcoming lecture.

1863

In [Chicago](#), the Mercy Hospital was created, as the 1st hospital in [Illinois](#).

[John Wells Foster](#) became Lecturer in Geology in the (Old) University of Chicago, a Baptist mission school forwarded in 1856 by Senator Stephen A. Douglass across from his Chicago estate (the present University of Chicago would not be formed as a Baptist institution of higher learning, with funding by John D. Rockefeller, until after the financial collapse of this Baptist institution in 1886 after major conflagrations in 1871 and 1874; however, there would be some institutional continuity as the new Baptist institution of this name would recognize the alumni of its predecessor institution, and some physical continuity as one stone from a foundation of a demolished structure would be incorporated into an arch between two of the new buildings). This (Old) University of Chicago would of course, to pad his CV and thus honor themselves, honor its Lecturer [John Wells Foster](#) with its LL.D. Doctor of Laws degree (in Chicago, as we are aware, one hand washes another).

May 5, Tuesday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack, laying plans for a future lecture.¹²⁰

The second boat to take Dakotas into exile was the *Northerner*, towing three barges. There was no doctor and no interpreter aboard. While on the river, no drinking water was made available, and the Dakotas had to scoop up filthy river water to drink. At low-water spots they all had to disembark and walk, once for most of a day, entirely without food. Eventually, because of water levels in the rivers and other problems, part of the exodus was by cattlecars on the railroad, at sixty Dakotas per car. The 1,300 survivors, including the former members of the “Hazelwood Republic of Christian Indians,” were taken down the Mississippi River to St. Louis and up the Missouri River to Crow Creek to Fort Thompson SD “where they were told to make homes.” It appears that the Union soldiers who were guarding them on this trip, poorly officered recent recruits, were quite free to rape and murder. Their death rate averaged 8% per year after they had exited Minnesota, mostly from pulmonary [consumption](#). The prisoner diet consisted of musty hardtack and briny salt pork, issued uncooked. The bodies of the prisoners were receiving no medical attention although their souls were receiving constant missionary ministration. Crow Creek was a barren area and nothing had been provided for their safety or for their sustenance. Their numbers quickly fell from 1300 to 1000. Gabriel Renville, who was what one white observer described as

“a fine specimen of the ‘Noble red man’”

wrote in the Dakota language of this period that



Amid all this sickness and these great tribulations, it seemed doubtful at night whether a person would be alive in the morning. We had no land, no homes, no means of support, and the outlook was most dreary and discouraging. How can we get lands and have homes again, were the questions which troubled many thinking minds, and were hard questions to answer.

The Dakotas would be held at Crow Creek for three years before being moved to another temporary site on the Niobrara River in Nebraska until 1881. Most Skyman and Eastman are now in Canada, but some are still living in this vicinity and I have heard one of them term their ancestor a blanket Indian.¹²¹ You can read the sad story in the Granite Falls [Tribune](#) of November 8, 1910: “Indian Tells of Outbreak.”¹²²

120. Stimpert, James. A GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CHARLES WESLEY SLACK MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: 1848-1885. Kent State University, Library, Special Collections

121. Here is a typically unsympathetic and cursory white account of difficulties between “blanket Indians” and “farmer Indians”:

“The result, in brief, of this civilization scheme was this: After the chase was over the ‘blanket Indians’ would pitch their tents about the homes of the ‘farmer Indians’ and proceed to eat them out of house and home, and when the ruin was complete, the ‘farmer’ with his wife and children, driven by necessity, would again seek temporary subsistence in the chase. During their absence the ‘blanket Indians’ would commit whatever destruction of fences or tenements their desires or necessities would suggest. In this way the annual process continued, so that when the ‘farmer Indian’ returned to his desolate home in the spring to prepare again for a crop, he looked forward to no different results for the coming winter. It will thus be seen that the civilization scheme was an utter failure.”

(Note that the above reveals that the derogation ‘blanket Indian’ has reversed its denotation in the intervening centuries.)

122. Sorry, but due to the utter lack of attention paid by local historians to non-white history, I have been forced to supplement what little reliable information exists with gleanings from a mass of anecdotal unattributed inconsistent storytelling such as is found in Hughes, Thomas: INDIAN CHIEFS OF SOUTHERN MINNESOTA, CONTAINING SKETCHES OF THE PROMINENT CHIEFTAINS OF THE DAKOTA AND WINNEBAGO TRIBES FROM 1825 TO 1865. Minneapolis MN: Ross & Haines, 2d edition 1969.

The material deserves much better treatment than has been given to it, or that I can give it.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 11, Monday: Making plans for a future lecture, the Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack.

May 13, Wednesday: Making plans for future lectures, the Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote again from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack.

June 15, Monday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote again from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack, this time a letter containing various musings on his lectures and on the emancipation movement in general.

June 26, Friday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote again to Charles Wesley Slack, this time a letter containing various musings on freedom of the press in [Chicago](#).

October 26, Monday: By this date the Union invasion into southwestern Louisiana had halted, in the Sunset area, and General Banks had abandoned his agenda to invade [Texas](#) by land, opting instead to attempt a landing at the Mexican border, near Brownsville.

The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote from [Chicago](#) to Charles Wesley Slack, describing his current thoughts about leaving his church in Chicago and taking up the direction of Slack's church in downtown [Boston](#), the 28th Congregational Society that was holding its Sunday meetings at the Boston Music Hall.

UNITARIANISM

November 2: [Boston](#) opened its grander, newer music hall.

November 5, Thursday: Charles Eliot Norton (1827-1908) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack to make arrangements for a sermon engagement.¹²³

Charles Wesley Slack wrote to Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) in [Chicago](#) in an attempt to respond to his reservations about becoming the pastor of the 28th Congregational Society that held its Sunday meetings at the music hall in downtown [Boston](#).

UNITARIANISM

November 24: The Reverend Robert Collyer wrote again to Charles Wesley Slack, this time with further explanation about his leaving [Chicago](#) for Boston.

December 8, Tuesday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack while making plans for his impending relocation from [Chicago](#) to [Boston](#) to become pastor of the 28th Congregational Society that held its Sunday meetings at the Boston Music Hall.

UNITARIANISM

December 27, Sunday: Mark Dexter wrote to Charles Wesley Slack in an attempt to persuade him that the Unity Church in [Chicago](#) needed the ministerial attentions of the Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) more than did his 28th Congregational Society that was holding its Sunday meetings in the Boston Music Hall in downtown [Boston](#).

UNITARIANISM

123. Stimpert, James. A GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CHARLES WESLEY SLACK MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: 1848-1885. Kent State University, Library, Special Collections



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1864

January 5, Tuesday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack describing the fear he felt at the thought of leaving his Unity Church in [Chicago](#) in order to become a [Unitarian](#) leader in [Boston](#).¹²⁴

March 17, Thursday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack about expenses, expressing reservations about leaving his Unity Church in [Chicago](#) in order to become a [Unitarian](#) leader in downtown [Boston](#).

April 6, Wednesday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote to Charles Wesley Slack about plans for him to visit [Chicago](#).

August 13-20: The Emperor [Napoléon III](#) created Gioachino Rossini as a grand officer in the Legion of Honor.

People began to kill each other in a place known as Deep Bottom / Fussell's Mill / Bailey's Creek (they would continue to kill each other in this vicinity of [Illinois](#) until the 20th).

August 14-15: There was fighting at Dalton, [Illinois](#).

124. Stimpert, James. A GUIDE TO THE CORRESPONDENCE IN THE CHARLES WESLEY SLACK MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION: 1848-1885. Kent State University, Library, Special Collections

1865

John Jones –a [Chicago](#) businessman and abolitionist of color who before the Civil War had been agitating for the repeal of the Black Laws that obligated black Americans to prove that they were free in order to enter [Illinois](#), but once they were in state these laws barred them not only from visiting white homes, but from owning any property or merchandise, or entering into any contracts, at whose home John Brown had stayed– at about this point had his portrait painted by Aaron E. Darling.

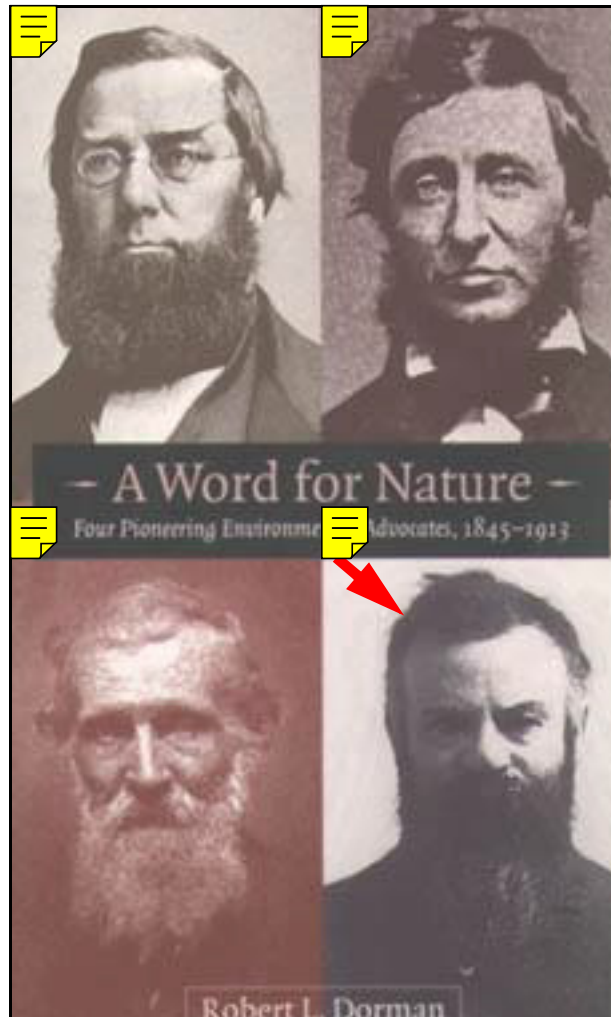


[Illinois and Michigan Canal](#) revenues would top \$300,000 for each of the next two years. [Illinois](#) passed an enabling act to use the [Illinois and Michigan Canal](#), this goose that was laying the golden eggs, as a diversion for the city of [Chicago](#)'s sewage.

John Wesley Powell resigned his commission in the war and took a position at [Illinois](#) Wesleyan University in Bloomington (in the following year he would move to Illinois State Normal, next door).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

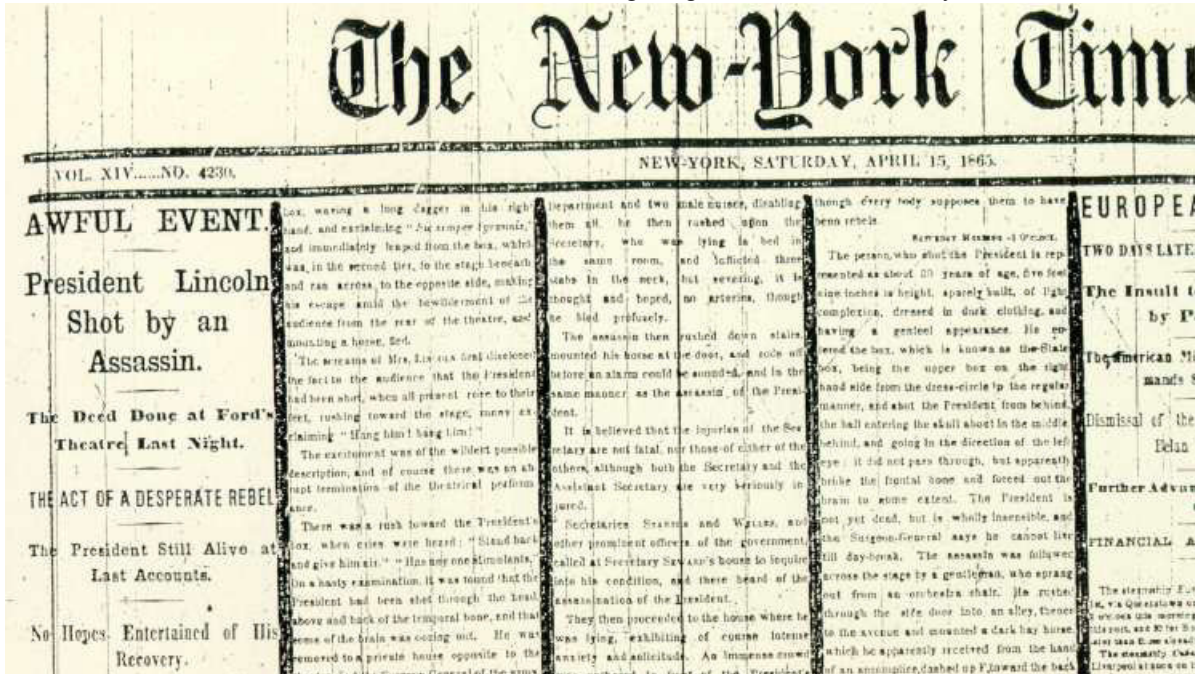


CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

April 15, 7:22AM: The [Boston Evening Transcript](#) reported that an informant named Borland had claimed to have seen the well-known actor John Wilkes Booth at Edwards's shooting gallery near the [Parker House](#), practicing firing a pistol "in various difficult ways such as between his legs, over his shoulder and under his arms."

Abraham Lincoln, who had in 1830 been constructing a log cabin in Macon County, [Illinois](#), died:




Vice President Andrew Johnson, a Tennessee Democrat, was sworn in to succeed him as president.¹²⁵ That evening Frederick Douglass would speak at a memorial meeting in Rochester NY.

May 4: The remains of Abraham Lincoln were laid to rest in Oak Ridge Cemetery outside Springfield, [Illinois](#). (In 1871 the corpse would move.)

125. Shortly after this assassination, the President's admirer Phineas Taylor Barnum would position a cabin replica in his American Museum in New-York, for display with "a playbill of Ford's Theater picked up in President Lincoln's box on April 14th."

December 25: In a typical expression of midwestern good humor, [Chicago](#)'s Union Stock Yard opened on [Christmas Day](#).

1866

 Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, General George G. Meade watched as 10,000 war veterans paraded.

In Salem, [Illinois](#), General William T. Sherman delivered an address.

An editorial in the Nashville, Tennessee [Banner](#) urged citizens not to celebrate the 4th.

In Portland, Maine a firecracker started one of the worst fires ever to occur on Independence Day.

1867

[Chicago](#) livestock dealer Joseph McCoy purchased land in Abilene, Kansas, constructed pens with loading chutes and scales, and promised Texas ranchers \$40 per head for cattle the ranchers were able to sell for only \$4 per head at home.

Edward Payson Weston, who on a bet had walked for ten days from Boston to Washington DC to attend the inauguration of Abraham Lincoln in 1861, at this point walked from Portland to [Chicago](#) in 26 days.¹²⁶

[Chicago](#)'s first water supply intake tunnel on the floor of Lake Michigan was completed. Considered a revolutionary feat of engineering, this brought international fame to its designer. The bet being made was that two miles out from shore, on the bottom of the lake, they were going to obtain water that was always going to be fresh and sanitary.

May 14, Tuesday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) wrote to Boston to inquire why it was that Charles Wesley Slack hadn't visited him while in [Chicago](#).

126. Always, while walking, he wore tight breeches, gloves, and a silk hat. –This of course does nothing to explain why he was intent upon attending the presidential inauguration in 1861, or why he was intent on going to Chicago in 1867. Later on he would walk across the North American continent and return, but unfortunately he would die before it would become possible to hike to Uranus.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In New-York, New York the cornerstone of a new Tammany Hall was laid.

At Washington's Rock, New Jersey the cornerstone for a monument to George Washington was laid.

In Portland, Maine the "Emancipation Proclamation" was read.

The [Illinois](#) State Association celebrated on the grounds of the Civil War battle field at Bull Run in Virginia.

In Washington DC, two members of the House of Representatives were arrested for violating a city ordinance prohibiting the setting off of firecrackers in the public streets.

Friends of Universal Suffrage met in South Salem, Massachusetts and Susan B. Anthony read the Declaration of the Mothers of 1848.

A freight train carrying a "large quantity of fireworks" on route to a celebration in Springfield, Massachusetts derailed near Charleston, South Carolina and the train was completely wrecked.

1868

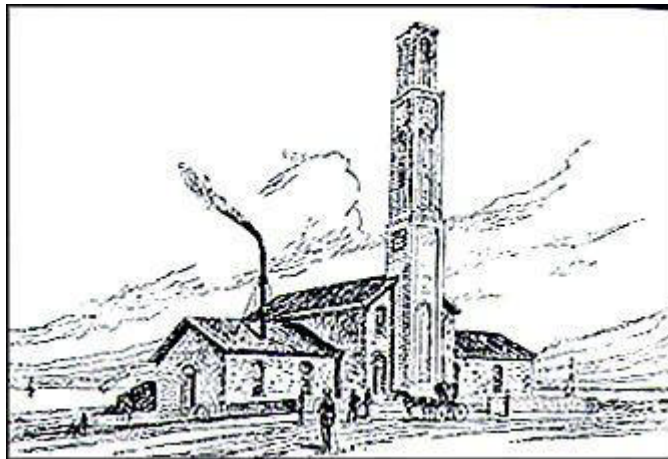
June: Cigar maker George Hull selected a block of Iowa gypsum as the raw material for the statue of a giant, and shipped it to [Chicago](#).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1869

The [Chicago](#) Water Tower was completed, supplying the city with water via the initial tunnel of what would be a twin-tunnel system extending two miles out into Lake Michigan.¹²⁷ Offshore, the clear take water entered an underwater shaft leading to the tunnel below the lake bed, with the intake shaft protected by a wooden crib. This initial tunnel contained a three-foot-wide, 138-foot-tall standpipe that equalized pressure in the mains throughout the city's water supply system.



This structure, which would be one of the few to survive the Great Fire of 1871, would go out of service in 1906 and now stands as a monument to Chicago's past. Coal-fired steam engines drew water from the tunnel beneath Lake Michigan and poured 15,000,000 gallons of clean fresh (cross your fingers) take water per day

127. Two miles would prove not to be far enough — a bad design calculation, resulting in much death. Sixteen years later, in 1885, a particularly heavy storm would cause untreated sewage in the Chicago River, and in the “near-land” polluted areas of Lake Michigan, to be flushed out to and beyond this intake point for the city's drinking water. When that would occur, outbreaks of [typhoid fever](#) and [cholera](#) would destroy approximately 11-13% of Chicago's population. The city would be, in effect, **decimated**.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

into the city's mains.



Gerrit Smith published his address to a [temperance](#) convention in [Chicago](#), and a letter to [prohibition](#) foe John Stuart Mill. A national Prohibition Party was founded.

January 1: [Chicago](#)'s first vehicular tunnel was opened below the Chicago River at Washington Street. Construction started on a tunnel at LaSalle Street.

1871

Edmund Davis took in Mrs. Sarah D. Dennis as a partner in the patent medicine business conducted under the name “[Perry Davis](#) & Son.” They would relocate the manufacturing facility to 136 High Street, [Providence, Rhode Island](#).

ETHANOL
OPIATES



Losses in the great [Chicago](#) fire caused the complete liquidation of the assets of the Washington Providence Insurance Company of [Providence](#). The business would need to be revived through the infusion of new capital.

The [Yearly Meeting School](#) of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) received \$17,732.75 from the city of [Providence](#) for a plot of land that had been cut off from the school grounds by an extension of Thayer Street. This money would be spent on an addition to Alumni Hall.

September 19: President Abraham Lincoln’s corpse moved from its grave in Oak Ridge Cemetery outside Springfield, [Illinois](#) to a more conveniently worshipful venue. Phineas Taylor Barnum was not involved in this event.

October 8-10: The Great [Chicago](#) fire left 300 Chicagoans dead and 90,000 homeless. One of the buildings destroyed in the four-square-mile area of the burnover was the Palmer House Hotel, which when it had opened the previous year, had promoted itself as the 1st fireproof building in the city. Property losses were estimated at \$200,000,000. Consult James Goodsell's HISTORY OF THE GREAT CHICAGO FIRE:

GREAT CHICAGO FIRE

The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) had returned to Chicago after his visit to England and to his duties at the North Side [Unitarian](#) Church. On this day Unity Church, and its parsonage, were consumed.



1872

Aaron Montgomery Ward established the nation's 1st mail-order business at Clark and Kinzie Streets in [Chicago](#). His 1st catalog consisted of a single-sheet price list. He adopted as the company's slogan "Satisfaction Guaranteed."

February 13: Esther Carpenter Crandall died at Mendota, [Illinois](#).

1873

The [Chicago](#) Public Library opened with the donation of 8,000 books from city residents (the municipality's many private or subscription libraries had of course been consumed during the Great Fire of 1871). Queen Victoria and the people of Britain shipped them cartons of books.

1874

August 27: Twelve followers of John Wilcox left [Chicago](#) to start a community on Lake Champlain's Valcour Island.





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1876



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: There was a well-publicized celebration in [Concord](#) of the 100th birthday of the [Declaration of Independence](#). The trains out from Cambridge past Walden Pond were so crowded that two of the expected dignitaries, Mark Twain (who had just published *TOM SAWYER*) and William Dean Howells, were unable to board and would miss the oration by [Waldo Emerson](#), the ode by James Russell Lowell, and under the weight of all this profundity the spectacular collapse of the speakers' platform. It was unusually cold, the dinner tent was inadequate to the occasion, and a lot of the visitors would need to deal with the difficulties by getting drunk. The Boston [Daily News](#) would comment, about this fiasco, that "There is no difficulty now in understanding the hurried retreat of the British from Concord and Lexington." [Judge John Shepard Keyes](#) orated at Concord's 1850 Townhouse that "the hill extended beyond where we meet tonight to the road leading to the north bridge. In the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill was buried one of the British soldiers who died of wounds received in the fight at the bridge" (John S. Keyes Papers, Special Collections, Concord Free Public Library).

Centennial celebrations (many are three-day celebrations, 3-5 July) were occurring throughout the United States and abroad.

In Philadelphia at Fairmount Park, two separate celebrations included the German societies unveiling a statue of Baron Alexander von Humboldt and the dedication, including an address provided by John Lee Carroll, Governor of Maryland, of the Catholic Temperance Fountain. Meanwhile, Bayard Taylor's "National Ode, July 4, 1876," was read at Independence Square, while Susan B. Anthony and others belonging to the National Woman's Suffrage Association presented and read their Declaration of Rights for Women at the Centennial Celebration. In Philadelphia as well, General Sherman reviews the troops as they paraded.

In Washington DC, at the 1st Congregational Church, the poem "Centennial Bells," by Bayard Taylor was read by the poet.

The long-standing tradition of Navy vessels participating in July 4th celebrations in Bristol, Rhode Island, began in this year with the presence there of the sloop USS *Juniata*.

In Washington, 11 couples celebrated the 4th by getting married, while a committee of 13 members of Congress attended a celebration of the Oldest Inhabitants Association, and 300 artillery blasts were fired: 100 at sunrise, 100 at noon, and 100 at sunset.

In Richmond, Virginia, the US and Virginia flags were raised together on the Capitol, for the first time on the 4th in 16 years. The Richmond Grays, an African-American regiment, was in Washington celebrating.

In New Orleans, the monitor *Canonicus* fired a salute from the Mississippi River.

In Hamburg, South Carolina, black militiamen attempted to march in the parade and white townspeople killed some of them. (These white murderers would of course be found innocent by a white jury.)

In Montgomery, Alabama, the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read by Neil Blue, the oldest citizen of Montgomery and the only survivor of those who voted for delegates to the territorial convention which had



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

adopted the Constitution under which Alabama had been admitted into the Union in 1819.

In San Francisco, a mock engagement with the iron-clad Monitor occurred and there was a parade that stretched over 4 miles in length, boasting fully 10,000 participants. The city provided its citizens with a 1st public exhibition of electric light.

In [Chicago](#), at the Turners and Socialists celebration, a revised [Declaration of Independence](#) from the socialist's standpoint was distributed.

In Joliet and Quincy, [Illinois](#), the cornerstone of a new Court House was laid.

In Freeport, [Illinois](#) and [Chicago](#), the [Declaration of Independence](#) was read in both English and German.

In Evanston, [Illinois](#), a centennial poem "The Girls of the Period" was publicly read by Mrs. Emily H. Miller.

In Wilmette, [Illinois](#), a woman (Miss Aunie Gedney) read the [Declaration of Independence](#).

In Savannah, Georgia, a centennial tree was planted, accompanied by appropriate speeches.

In New-York, on the eve of the 4th, an Irish couple had named their baby American Centennial Maloney.

In Rochester, New York, a centennial oak was planted in Franklin Square.


In Utica, New York, 30 veterans of the [War of 1812](#) joined in a parade — along with a couple of Napoleon's soldiers for good measure.



1878

With the Unity [Unitarian](#) Church rebuilt after the Great [Chicago](#) Fire, the Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) again visited England, the land of his early struggles.

1879

Professor H.B. Roney estimated that there were about 5,000 "pigeoners" engaged in fulltime gathering of American Passenger Pigeons  *Ectopistes migratorius* for the market. Each gatherer, he estimated, was bringing about 60 to 90 dozen fresh bird carcasses to market per day, and grossing \$10 to \$40. In the [Chicago](#) market they were selling for \$0.50 to \$0.60 the dozen, whereas at the nesting sites they could be purchased from these pigeoners for \$0.35 to \$0.40 the dozen. Live pigeons were bringing \$1 to \$2 a dozen, presumably because of the guarantee of freshness.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

June: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) of [Chicago](#) accepted the pastorate of the [Unitarian](#) Church of the Messiah in New-York.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

September 25: Walt Whitman

“Specimen Days”

Early morning – still going east after we leave Sterling, Kansas, where I stopp’d a day and night. The sun up about half an hour; nothing can be fresher or more beautiful than this time, this region. I see quite a field of my yellow flower in full bloom. At intervals dots of nice two-story houses, as we ride swiftly by. Over the immense area, flat as a floor, visible for twenty miles in every direction in the clear air, a prevalence of autumn-drab and reddish-tawny herbage – sparse stacks of hay and enclosures, breaking the landscape – as we rumble by, flocks of prairie-hens starting up. Between Sterling and Florence a fine country. (Remembrances to E.L., my old-young soldier friend of war times, and his wife and boy at S.)

“Specimen Days”

THE SPANISH PEAKS — EVENING ON THE PLAINS

Between Pueblo and Bent’s fort, southward, in a clear afternoon sun-spell I catch exceptionally good glimpses of the [Page 864] Spanish peaks. We are in southeastern Colorado – pass immense herds of cattle as our first-class locomotive rushes us along – two or three times crossing the Arkansas, which we follow many miles, and of which river I get fine views, sometimes for quite a distance, its stony, upright, not very high, palisade banks, and then its muddy flats. We pass Fort Lyon – lots of adobie houses – limitless pasturage, appropriately fleck’d with those herds of cattle – in due time the declining sun in the west – a sky of limpid pearl over all – and so evening on the great plains. A calm, pensive, boundless landscape – the perpendicular rocks of the north Arkansas, hued in twilight – a thin line of violet on the southwestern horizon – the palpable coolness and slight aroma – a belated cow-boy with some unruly member of his herd – an emigrant wagon toiling yet a little further, the horses slow and tired – two men, apparently father and son, jogging along on foot – and around all the indescribable *chiaroscuro* and sentiment, (profounder than anything at sea,) athwart these endless wilds.

**“Specimen Days”****THE PRAIRIES AND GREAT PLAINS IN POETRY**
(After traveling [Illinois](#), Missouri, Kansas and Colorado.)

Grand as the thought that doubtless the child is already born who will see a hundred millions of people, the most prosperous and advanc'd of the world, inhabiting these Prairies, the great Plains, and the valley of the Mississippi, I could not help thinking it would be grander still to see all those inimitable American areas fused in the alembic of a perfect poem, or other esthetic work, entirely western, fresh and limitless – altogether our own, without a trace or taste of Europe's soil, reminiscence, technical letter or spirit. My days and nights, as I travel here – what an exhilaration! – not the air alone, and the sense of vastness, but every local sight and feature. Everywhere something characteristic – the cactuses, pinks, buffalo grass, wild sage – the receding perspective, and the far circle-line of the horizon all times of day, especially forenoon – the clear, pure, cool, rarefied nutriment for the lungs, previously quite unknown – the black patches and streaks left by surface-conflagrations – the deep-plough'd furrow of the “fire-guard” – the slanting snow-racks built all along to shield the railroad from winter drifts – the prairie-dogs and the herds of antelope – the curious “dry rivers” – occasionally a “dug-out” or corral – Fort Riley and Fort Wallace – those towns of the northern plains, (like ships on the sea,) Eagle-Tail, Coyote, Cheyenne, Agate, Monotony, [Kit Carson](#) – with ever the ant-hill and the buffalo-wallow – ever the herds of cattle and the cow-boys (“cow-punchers”) to me a strangely interesting class, bright-eyed as hawks, with their swarthy complexions and their broad-brimm'd hats – apparently always on horseback, with loose arms slightly raised and swinging as they ride.

“Specimen Days”**AMERICA'S CHARACTERISTIC LANDSCAPE**

Speaking generally as to the capacity and sure future destiny of that plain and prairie area (larger than any European kingdom) it is the inexhaustible land of wheat, maize, wool, flax, coal, iron, beef and pork, butter and cheese, apples and grapes – land of ten million virgin farms – to the eye at present wild and unproductive – yet experts say that upon it when irrigated may easily be grown enough wheat to feed the world. Then as to scenery (giving my own thought and feeling,) while I know the standard claim is that Yosemite, Niagara falls, the upper Yellowstone and the like, afford the greatest natural shows, I am not so sure but the Prairies and Plains, while less stunning at first sight, last longer, fill the esthetic sense fuller, precede all the rest, and make North America's characteristic landscape.

Indeed through the whole of this journey, with all its shows and varieties, what most impress'd me, and will longest remain with me, are these same prairies. Day after day, and night after night, to my eyes, to all my senses – the esthetic [Page 865] one most of all – they silently and broadly unfolded. Even their simplest statistics are sublime.

“Specimen Days”

PRAIRIE ANALOGIES — THE TREE QUESTION

The word Prairie is French, and means literally meadow. The cosmical analogies of our North American plains are the [Page 866] Steppes of Asia, the Pampas and Llanos of South America, and perhaps the Saharas of Africa. Some think the plains have been originally lake-beds; others attribute the absence of forests to the fires that almost annually sweep over them – (the cause, in vulgar estimation, of Indian summer.) The tree question will soon become a grave one. Although the Atlantic slope, the Rocky mountain region, and the southern portion of the Mississippi valley, are well wooded, there are here stretches of hundreds and thousands of miles where either not a tree grows, or often useless destruction has prevail'd; and the matter of the cultivation and spread of forests may well be press'd upon thinkers who look to the coming generations of the prairie States.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

"Specimen Days"

EARTH'S MOST IMPORTANT STREAM

The valley of the Mississippi river and its tributaries, (this stream and its adjuncts involve a big part of the question,) comprehends more than twelve hundred thousand square miles, the greater part prairies. It is by far the most important stream on the globe, and would seem to have been marked out by design, slow-flowing from north to south, through a dozen climates, all fitted for man's healthy occupancy, its outlet unfrozen all the year, and its line forming a safe, cheap continental avenue for commerce and passage from the north temperate to the torrid zone. Not even the mighty Amazon (though larger in volume) on its line of east and west – not the Nile in Africa, nor the Danube in Europe, nor the three great rivers of [China](#), compare with it. Only the Mediterranean sea has play'd some such part in history, and all through the past, as the Mississippi is destined to play in the future. By its demesnes, water'd and welded by its branches, the Missouri, the Ohio, the Arkansas, the Red, the Yazoo, the St. Francis and others, it already compacts twenty-five millions of people, not merely the most peaceful and money-making, but the most restless and warlike on earth. Its valley, or reach, is rapidly concentrating the political power of the American Union. One almost thinks it **is** the Union – or soon will be. Take it out, with its radiations, and what would be left? From the car windows through Indiana, [Illinois](#), Missouri, or stopping some days along the Topeka and Santa Fe road, in southern Kansas, and indeed wherever I went, hundreds and thousands of miles through this region, my eyes feasted on primitive and rich meadows, some of them partially inhabited, but far, immensely far more untouch'd, unbroken – and much of it more lovely and fertile in its unplough'd innocence than the fair and valuable fields of New York's, Pennsylvania's, Maryland's or Virginia's richest farms.

**"Specimen Days"****MISSISSIPPI VALLEY LITERATURE**

Lying by one rainy day in Missouri to rest after quite a long exploration – first trying a big volume I found there of "Milton, Young, Gray, Beattie and Collins," but giving it up for a bad job – enjoying however for awhile, as often before, the reading of Walter Scott's poems, "Lay of the Last Minstrel," "Marmion," and so on – I stopp'd and laid down the book, and ponder'd the thought of a poetry that should in due time express and supply the teeming region I was in the midst of, and have briefly touch'd upon. One's mind needs but a moment's deliberation anywhere in the United States to see clearly enough that all the prevalent book and library poets, either as imported from Great Britain, or follow'd and *doppel-gang'd* here, are foreign to our States, copiously as they are read by us all. But to fully understand not only how absolutely in opposition to our times and lands, and how little and cramp'd, and what anachronisms and absurdities many of their pages are, for American purposes, one must dwell or travel awhile in Missouri, Kansas and Colorado, and get rapport with their people and country.

Will the day ever come – no matter how long deferr'd – when those models and lay-figures from the British islands – and even the precious traditions of the classics – will be reminiscences, studies only? The pure breath, primitiveness, boundless prodigality and amplitude, strange mixture of delicacy [Page 867] and power, of continence, of real and ideal, and of all original and first-class elements, of these prairies, the Rocky mountains, and of the Mississippi and Missouri rivers – will they ever appear in, and in some sort form a standard for our poetry and art? (I sometimes think that even the ambition of my friend Joaquin Miller to put them in, and illustrate them, places him ahead of the whole crowd.)

Not long ago I was down New York bay, on a steamer, watching the sunset over the dark green heights of Navesink, and viewing all that inimitable spread of shore, shipping and sea, around Sandy hook. But an intervening week or two, and my eyes catch the shadowy outlines of the Spanish peaks. In the more than two thousand miles between, though of infinite and paradoxical variety, a curious and absolute fusion is doubtless steadily annealing, compacting, identifying all. But subtler and wider and more solid, (to produce such compaction,) than the laws of the States, or the common ground of Congress or the Supreme Court, or the grim welding of our national wars, or the steel ties of railroads, or all the kneading and fusing processes of our material and business history, past or present, would in my opinion be a great throbbing, vital, imaginative work, or series of works, or literature, in constructing which the Plains, the Prairies, and the Mississippi river, with the demesnes of its varied and ample valley, should be the concrete background, and America's humanity, passions, struggles, hopes, there and now – an *eclaircissement* as it is and is to be, on the stage of the New World, of all Time's hitherto drama of war, romance and evolution – should furnish the lambent fire, the ideal.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1880

The 10th edition of the Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#)'s THE DESTINY OF THE SOUL: A CRITICAL HISTORY OF THE DOCTRINE OF A FUTURE LIFE, a book that told people exactly what they wanted to hear, needed in this year to be reprinted. The reverend author departed from Denver to live his future life in [Chicago](#).

Spring: In this year or the following one, when there was a large nesting of American Passenger Pigeons [Ectopistes migratorius](#) in Benzie County MI, a Dr. Isaac Voorheis of Frankfort MI was able to make a total of \$650 on the [Chicago](#) market for live birds — not for eating but for use as trap-shooting targets. He had sprung his net trap on the birds a total of six times. With his most fortunate throw he had managed to collect 109 dozen and 8 live pigeons (a total of 1,316 targets for shotgun practice). The birds were being taken to the trap-shooting range by the schooner load.

1881

The Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) moved from [Chicago](#) to Portland. He would not remain there, but would return to [Boston](#). His THE SCHOOL OF LIFE would be published in this year in Boston. His A SYMBOLIC HISTORY OF THE CROSS OF CHRIST also would be published in this year.

HISTORY OF THE CROSS

[Horatio Alger, Sr.](#), the minister father of his cousin [Horatio Alger, Jr.](#), died in [Natick](#), Massachusetts.

January 8: John Gneisenau Neihardt was born near Sharpsburg, [Illinois](#), 3rd child of Nicholas Nathan Neihardt and Alice Culler Neihardt.

1884

May 1: Construction began in [Chicago](#) on the world's 1st skyscraper, the Home Insurance Building, which when completed would soar nine full stories into the heavens. Its architect was Major William Le Baron Jenney.

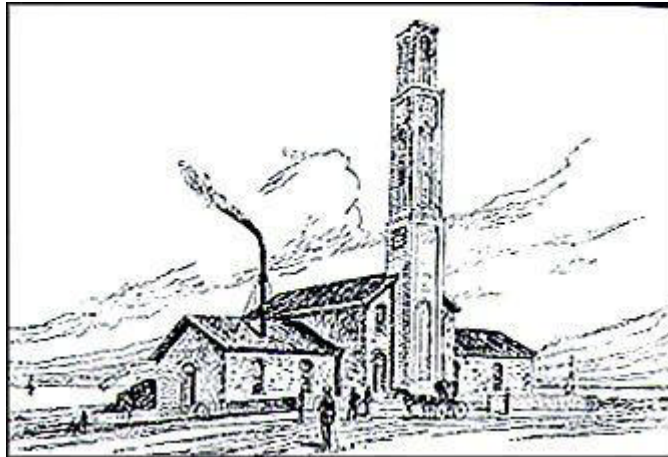
CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1885

The bacterial genus *Salmonella* was first described by Theobald Smith (*Salmonella typhimurium* would be found to be the cause of [typhoid fever](#)).

A particularly heavy storm caused untreated sewage in the [Chicago](#) River, and in the “near-land” polluted areas of Lake Michigan, to be flushed out to and beyond the intake point for the city’s water supply.



Outbreaks of [typhoid fever](#) and [cholera](#) would destroy approximately 11-13% of [Chicago](#)’s population, and E.S. Chesbrough would be called upon to design a new municipal sewage system.



The 9-story Home Insurance Building, the world’s first “skyscraper,” was completed on LaSalle Street. Its architect was Major William Le Baron Jenney and its construction led to the “[Chicago](#) Skeleton” form of construction and the big skyscrapers of later years.

1886

After being baptized as a [Baptist](#) and after marrying a Baptist reverend, [Prudence Crandall](#) Philieo had been living in [Illinois](#) and Kansas. At this point the Connecticut legislature attempted restitution for the events of 1832-1833 by offering this elderly lady the sum of \$400.⁰⁰ per year for life in compensation for her losses during the crisis 52 years before, in which their reaction had been to outlawed the education of out-of-state blacks and then jail her three times (before eventually reversing themselves). The Reverend Samuel J. May, Jr., the Reverend Samuel Joseph May's cousin, remarked "But what a peddling, wooden-nutmeg sort of action it is!"¹²⁸



128. A wooden nutmeg, in case you didn't know, is a kind of consumer fraud. Back when nutmegs were inordinately expensive, in the heyday of the Spice Trade, rural folks would sit around whittling fake nutmegs out of scraps of wood, to vend on the street.

May 3, day: At the M'Cormick Reaper factory in [Chicago](#), police attempted to intervene in a fight between employees who were striking for an 8-hour workday and "scab" strikebreakers, and two of the employees were killed.

Attention Workingmen!

MASS MEETING

TO-NIGHT, at 7.30 o'clock,

HAYMARKET, Randolph St. Bet. Desplaines and Halsted.

Good Speakers will be present to denounce the latest
atrocious act of the police, the shooting of our
fellow-workmen yesterday afternoon.

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Achtung Arbeiter!

CHICAGO

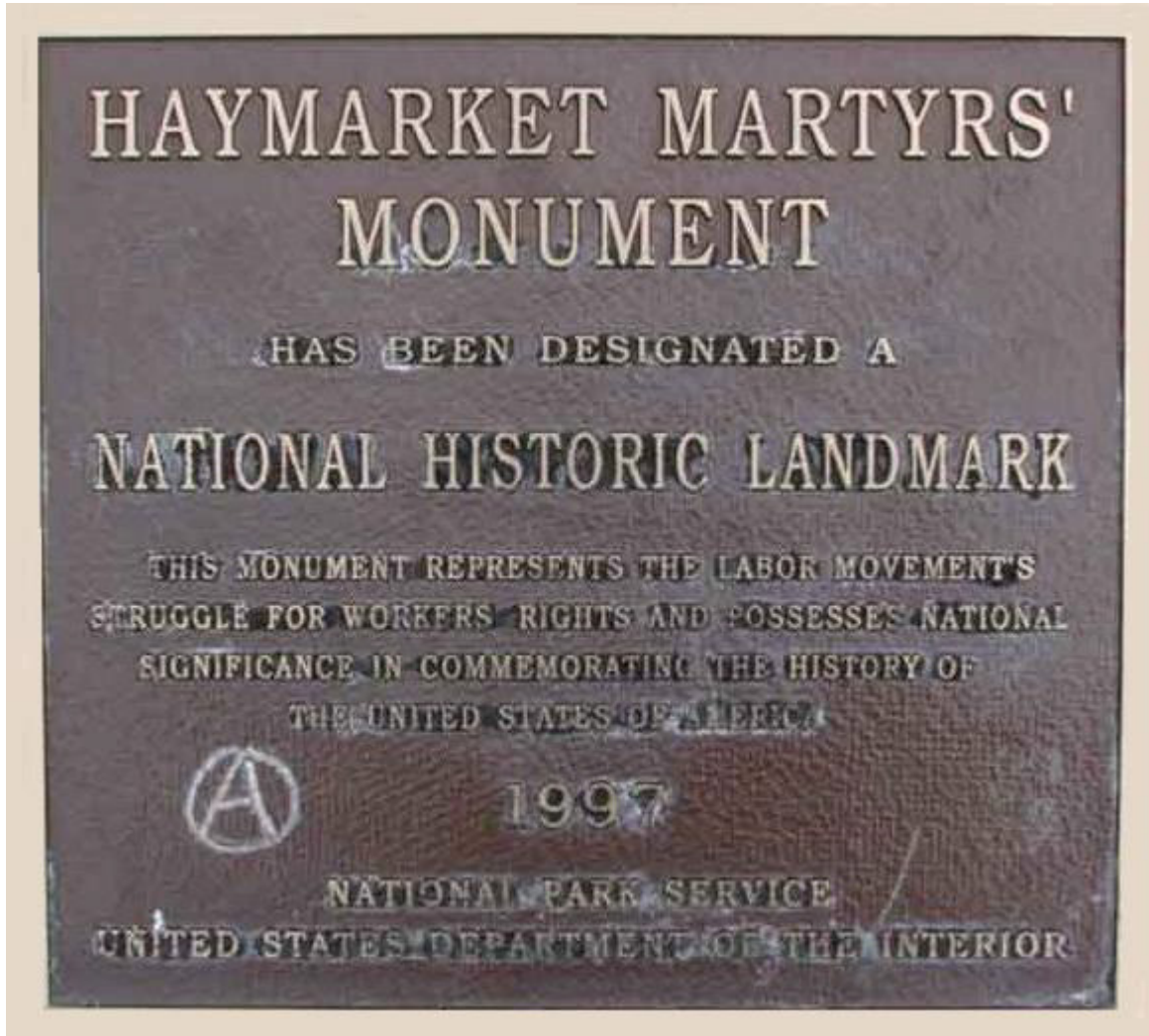
ILLINOIS

May 4: During a protest rally at Haymarket Square in [Chicago](#), about the police killings of the previous day, someone lobbed a bomb and the police opened fire. Many people were injured and there were at least 10 killed, including policemen. Eight of the activists would be singled out for prosecution and convicted of inciting to riot through “inflammatory speeches and publications.” One of the accused men would comment sarcastically to the trial judge that they ought to hang his wife and children with him — since in attending the Haymarket speeches these innocents had been doing exactly as much as he had. Four of these thought criminals would hang and another would commit suicide while awaiting execution.



After passions had cooled and it had come to be recognized that no link had been established between them

and the unknown person who had thrown the bomb, the surviving three eventually would receive full pardons.



When the four men would be [hanged](#), they would be hanged inside all-enveloping white shrouds with hoods, and short ropes would be used so that when they fell their necks would not snap, but they would hang there jerking, swinging from side to side and dying slowly by strangulation.

Those who know something about this sort of thing (I do, since I was trapped inside the Khomeini Revolution in Iran in 1977-1979) know that there is always the possibility of reverse responsibility. That is to say, just as it turned out to be SAVAK, the Shahanshah's secret police, who were responsible for the Rex Theater tragedy in Abadan in which so many innocent families were burned to death rather than the fundamentalist revolutionaries who were the prime suspects at the time, so also, in the case of the Haymarket incident, it is at least theoretically possible that it was a policeman who threw the dynamite that set off the incident, in an attempt to make the Chicago anarchists more culpable and therefore more vulnerable to police action. That possibility should at least have been the cause to some investigation, and most definitely it was not.

Since we have suicide bombers today and most of them seem to be Moslem, there is a detail of these 19th-Century circumstances to which we now should be paying careful attention. It is that in this American labor situation is the origin of the idea of the suicide bomber despite the fact that there were zero Moslems on the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

scene. Nitroglycerine had been around since the 1840s, and [Alfred Nobel](#) had figured out a way to make the substance stable enough to be carried and handled by mixing it with an inert filler material. It was being speculated that if every worker had a few pounds of dynamite in his pocket, every worker would be being treated with respect: dynamite as the great equalizer. In this year, therefore, the wife of Albert Parsons, an anarchist, suggested that since there were always unfortunates who were contemplating drowning themselves, there was a better course that might be made available to them: they be rendered useful to society, and make their deaths meaningful, by becoming suicide bombers. By their death as a sacrifice they could make themselves a force of protest on behalf of justice in an otherwise out-of-all-control labor situation. Perhaps, if enough workers could be persuaded to make themselves suicide bombers, killing themselves in conjunction with the police and capitalists who were oppressing them, she speculated, it would be possible to get the average workweek down from 60 hours to, say, 48 — so that laborers could have some time to feel the sunshine and smell the flowers:

We want to feel the sunshine
We want to smell the flowers;
We're sure God has willed it,
And we mean to have eight hours.

1887

November 11: Seven of the Haymarket anarchist thinkers were hanged.

According to a book review in the March 13, 2006 issue of [The New Yorker](#), http://www.newyorker.com/critics/books/articles/060313crbo_books, the memory of the recently deceased Emerson, and of Henry Thoreau, figured in the trial of these [Chicago](#) anarchists. A bomb had been thrown at a Farmer's Market for produce after the police had attempted to disrupt an anarchist speech. None of the men accused were suspected of having fashioned or thrown this bomb, or were even known to have had prior knowledge of the bomb's existence, but whoever had thrown the bomb evidently had sympathy for the Anarchist cause (unless an *agent provocateur* threw the bomb in an attempt to make the anarchists more guilty), and these activists likewise had sympathy for the Anarchist cause. The manner in which the memory of [Emerson](#) and [Thoreau](#) surfaced was as follows: an attorney for the defense offered that "if the anarchists deserved to hang for their violent words, then abolitionists like Emerson and Thoreau should have been executed in the eighteen-fifties."

Perhaps the next civil war would pit capital against labor; in the meantime, the establishment and the anarchists fought over the memory of the last one. The anarchists venerated John Brown, the visionary terrorist who had attempted to launch a slave revolt, and Brown's eldest son sent a box of Catawba grapes to each of them in prison. A lawyer for the defense argued that if the anarchists deserved to hang for their violent words, then abolitionists like Emerson and Thoreau should have been executed in the eighteen-fifties. On the other side, Lincoln's eldest son thought their crimes unforgivable, and the lead prosecutor opened the trial by likening them to secessionists: "The firing upon Fort Sumter ... was nothing compared with this insidious, infamous plot," he claimed.

Perhaps this jury and this judge would have hanged for thought crime — if only they could have — also Emerson and Thoreau.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1889

The 1st American skyscraper soared into [Chicago](#) skies, standing a proud 10 stories tall.

Hull House was opened by Jane Adams. Miss Adams helped hundreds of [Chicago](#) immigrants and others gain a place of self-respect in society (in 1931 her efforts would be recognized with the Nobel Peace Prize).

1890

In New-York, former factory worker Emma Goldman and Russian immigrant Alexander Berkman attended a memorial meeting for [Chicago](#)'s Haymarket martyrs. German exile Johann Most addressed the meeting, inspiring the couple.

1892

The first elevated trains began operation in [Chicago](#) (count on the Windy City to put the train on a pedestal).

During this year and the following one, Frederick Douglass would be serving as Commissioner of the Haitian exhibit at the World's Fair in [Chicago](#).

Construction began on what would come to be known as [Chicago](#)'s [Sanitary and Ship Canal](#), by which the direction of flow of the Chicago River would be reversed. The new canal would cut through a low point in the "regional" continental drainage division which separated the watershed basin drained by the north and east flowing Chicago River from the watershed basin drained by the south and east flowing system of the Des Plaines and [Illinois](#) Rivers. This reversal of the Chicago River was at that time the largest municipal earth-moving project ever attempted. The first portion of this, finished in 1900, would be 28 miles in length, 24 feet in depth, and 160 feet in width. The untreated city sewage discharged into that new channel would begin to flow, not to the east into Lake Michigan where it could contaminate the municipal water supply of the city, but thereafter to the west, down the Des Plaines River to the Illinois River and into the Mississippi River, where it would instead, after a lag-time of about 2½ weeks, pollute the drinking water of St. Louis. This reversal of the flow of the river, polluting the municipal water supply of St. Louis rather than the municipal water supply of Chicago, would be complete by 1922 with the opening of the North Shore Channel and the Cal-Sag Channel, at an estimated overall cost of \$70,000,000. (Hey, it ain't cheap to float a problem downstream where it will instead afflict somebody else!)¹²⁹

September: The USS *Constellation* transported works of art from Europe to the Columbian Exposition in [Chicago](#).

¹²⁹. Fast forward to the Asian carp.

1893

Frederick Douglass completed his service as Commissioner of the Haitian exhibit at the World's Fair in [Chicago](#). The 125 pages of his original NARRATIVE of 1845 having been brought up to date and expanded in 1855 into a 350-page treatment, in this year it was again brought up to date and expanded, this time into a 600-page treatment.¹³⁰



130. Frederick Douglass's personal copy of the original edition of the 1845 clothbound NARRATIVE is to be found in the library taken from Cedar Hill and now preserved in separate moisture-controlled storage, Catalog #10995 (along with copies of the 1881 and the 1882 editions, and fragments of this 1893 edition).

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 1: The World's Columbian Exposition opened in Jackson Park in [Chicago](#). Commemorating the 400th anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus, the exposition would run for six months and attract 27,539,000 visitors (that's almost half the total number of human beings then alive in the USA; during this year for instance 6-year-old [John Robinson Jeffers](#) got an eyefull of the exhibits).

Reid's Yellow Dent Corn gained the grand prize as "the world's most beautiful corn" at the Exposition. Reid's corn would become a major force in Midwestern agriculture and an important parent to modern hybrids.

PLANTS

Featured at the Exposition was an extensive display of psychological apparatus arranged by Joseph Jastrow. Jastrow had replicated Francis Galton's Anthropometric Laboratory in London. For a small fee, the mental and physical qualities of the visitors could be measured. Should you be allowed to reproduce?¹³¹

PSYCHOLOGY

George Ferris had built his first "Ferris" wheel for this [Chicago](#)'s World's Fair.

Adelaide Johnson carved portrait busts of [Elizabeth Cady Stanton](#), [Susan B. Anthony](#), and Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) for the Court of Honor of the Woman's Building at the Exhibition.



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



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: The World's Fair continued in [Chicago](#), [Illinois](#) as a spanking new Liberty Bell was rung.

Auburn, New York, celebrated not only our nation's birthday but also the centennial anniversary of its settlement.

[Julia Ward Howe](#) read poetry to the crowd at Woodstock, Connecticut.

For the benefit of the citizenry of Cape May, New Jersey, former President William Henry Harrison delivered a patriotic oration on the rights and duties of citizenship.

At Castle Garden at the tip of Manhattan, a gunner delivered a 23-gun national salute, rather than the precise number of 21 rounds. Subsequently the man was sought out and taken into custody.

In Bridgeport, Connecticut, a bronze statue as ugly as Phineas Taylor Barnum was unveiled. This had been sculpted from life by Thomas Ball.



1894

A “Lincoln birthplace” log cabin was constructed for lease to amusement parks such as Coney Island. Eventually this hoax would be commingled with another similar hoax that had been offered as the birthplace of Jefferson Davis, and then chopped down to a size that would fit inside a marble edifice in Kentucky. (This creation, as far as authenticity is concerned, might as well have been assembled out of the Lincoln Logs that would be invented by Frank Lloyd Wright’s son John in 1920.)



"If Lincoln was alive today, he'd roll over in his grave."

— Gerald Ford





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Huntington, New York, a memorial to Captain Nathan Hale was unveiled.

In Highlands, New Jersey, a white-bordered flag denoting universal liberty and peace waved for the first time.

In Greensboro, North Carolina, Vice President Stevenson delivered a oration on the historic battlefield of Guilford Court House.

In Cleveland, Ohio a Soldiers and Sailors Monument was dedicated in the presence of Governor William McKinley.

At the state fair in [Illinois](#), the corner stone of an exposition building was laid.

In Montevideo, Minnesota, the Camp Release Monument commemorating the Dakota Conflict of 1862 was dedicated.



1895

November 28: The 1st automobile race in the United States was held along the [Chicago](#) lakefront from Chicago to Waukegan, 55 miles through the snow. There were 6 cars and the winning driver, J. Frank Duryea, managed to average 7.5 miles per hour.

1896

January 16, Thursday: [Charles Theodore Russell](#) died in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

The New-York Times announced that a new form of photography was being developed by a Professor Wilhelm Conrad Roentgen, one which could reveal hidden solids, penetrating through the flesh (and in addition through wood and paper). You could actually take photographs of the bones inside a living human being. “Men of science in this city are awaiting with the utmost impatience the arrival of English technical journals which will give them the full particulars of Professor Roentgen’s discovery of a method of photographing opaque bodies ... [promising a] transformation of modern surgery by enabling the surgeon to detect the presence of foreign bodies.”

The 1st college basketball game: Iowa vs [Chicago](#). It’s all been their fault.

July 8: William Jennings Bryan made his “cross of gold” speech at the Democratic Convention in [Chicago](#).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1898

February 21: Frances Willard's funeral train stopped in her home town of Churchville for a day before continuing on to Evanston, [Illinois](#), for the burial.

1900

[Chicago](#)'s 500-mile streetcar system, along with its elevated railway system, provides 260 million annual rides, or about 160 rides for each of the city's residents.

The flow of the [Chicago](#) River was reversed in order to control the waste waters entering Lake Michigan.

1902

June 16: Two supertrains began New York-to-[Chicago](#) service — the Pennsylvania Railroad's Pennsylvania Special versus the New York Central's Broadway Limited.

July 12: The Twentieth Century Limited set a train speed-record on a run between New York City and [Chicago](#).

1903

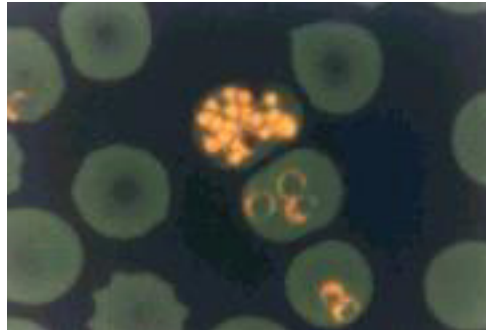
More than 600 people died in [Chicago](#) in a fire at the Iroquois Theater. The theater, considered fireproof, was presenting Eddie Foy in "Mr. Bluebeard" to a capacity matinee house with many children in the audience.

Based on their model constructed in 1901, Charles W. Hart and Charles H. Parr of Charles City, Iowa established the first factory dedicated exclusively to manufacturing gasoline-powered tractors. By 1950 there would be more such tractors than horses on American farms. By 2008 the production of grain would become so utterly dependent upon farm machinery fueled by nonrenewable fossil fuels that a spike in the commodities price of crude per barrel at the World Trade Mart in Chicago would be causing poor people in Haiti to descend upon town dumps in a frantic search for discarded food.

1904

Dr. Ernest Irons described sickled cells in Walter Noel's blood at [Chicago](#) Presbyterian Hospital. This was the first sickle cell disease report in western medical literature.


MALARIA



1905

The first Rotary Club in America was founded, and, just as you'd expect, in [Chicago](#).

1907

James H. Fleming announced that “for all practical purposes the close of the nineteenth century saw the final extinction of the [American Passenger Pigeon  *Ectopistes migratorius*] in the wild state and there remained only the small flock, numbering in 1903 not more than a dozen, that had been bred in captivity by Professor C.O. Whitman of [Chicago](#). These birds, the descendants of a single pair, had long before that ceased to breed.”

University of [Chicago](#) physicist Albert Abraham Michelson (1852-1931) became the first American to win the Nobel Prize in physics for his optical instruments of precision and the spectroscopic and meteorological investigations which he carried out with them.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1908

The first suspended-car roller-coaster opened, at [Chicago](#)'s Riverview Park.

The [Chicago](#) City Clerk conducted the 1st registration of vehicles in the city, recording 36,778 one-horse vehicles, 16,900 multi-horse vehicles, and approximately 375 auto-mobiles.

[Chicago](#)'s street-numbering system was revised (this revised naming scheme is still in use).

The [Chicago](#) Cubs won the world series.

1909

[George Smith Patton, Jr.](#) attained the post of Cadet Adjutant at the United States Military Academy – West Point and graduated 46th out of a class of 103. He was commissioned as a 2d Lieutenant in the Cavalry. He reported to the 15th Cavalry at Fort Sheridan, [Illinois](#).



Heaven help us! —He was still writing with pen in one hand and penis in the other:

The brave went down
Without disgrace they leaped to ruin's red embrace
They only heard fame's thunder wake
And saw the dazzling sun burst break
In smiles on glory's bloody face.

The Commercial Club of [Chicago](#) published a "Plan of Chicago" which amounted to the 1st comprehensive, even grandiose, plan of development ever proposed for an American city. The municipality outdid even Providence, Rhode Island by including plans not only for the beautification of the properties but also for the improvement of its citizenry. It proposed better living conditions for all residents, the reclamation of the lake front for the benefit of the general public, the expansion of park areas, etc.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Copenhagen, Denmark the 4th was celebrated as part of a National Exposition



with their Crown Prince and Princess as guests.

Norwich, Connecticut simultaneously celebrated our national birthday, the 150th anniversary of the town's incorporation, and the 250th anniversary of its settlement.

In Washington DC, in [Chicago, Illinois](#), and in Cleveland, Ohio, an emphasis on "Safe and Sane" celebrations resulted in no injuries ascribable to fireworks or other explosives (in each case this was the first time).



1910

Walter Brookins flew along [Chicago's](#) lakefront as 20,000 pairs of eyes raptly stared followed the progress of his light plane.

The original Comiskey Park, home of the [Chicago](#) White Sox, opened at 35th Street and Shields Avenue.

April 26: Oscar Hammerstein signed a pledge that for ten years he would not attempt to stage any of his productions in [Boston](#), [Chicago](#), New York City, or Philadelphia. The impresario did not, however, pledge to stay away from [Providence](#), [Rhode Island](#).

1911

February 27: The present [Chicago](#) City Hall building was dedicated. This is a twin building within a block bounded by Clark, LaSalle, Randolph, and Washington Streets. The architects of the structure were Holabird & Roche.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1912

November 30, Saturday: The Reverend [Robert Collyer](#) died at his home in New York City. He had almost reached 89 years of age. His obituary would soon appear on the front page, center, of the [New York Times](#).

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1912.

GES GROW

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**REV. ROBERT COLLYER
DEAD AT AGE OF 84**

Began Life as Blacksmith in England and Was Converted to Methodism in 1848.

CAME HERE AS A PREACHER

Later He Became a Unitarian, Served in Civil War, and Worked as Blacksmith to Build Up His Church.

The Rev. Dr. Robert Collyer, pastor emeritus of the Unitarian Church of the Messiah, died shortly before midnight last night at his home, 201 West Fifty-fifth Street. Dr. Collyer was stricken with paralysis on Nov. 1, and for the past month his vitality, notwithstanding his age, kept him alive. The paralysis affected his entire right side and his power of speech.

At the bedside when he passed away, were his son, Robert Staples Collyer, and Mrs. Robert Staples Collyer, and his physician, Dr. Robert H. Wylie.

Dr. Collyer last appeared at the Church of the Messiah the Sunday before he was stricken. Some hope was expressed last Friday that he might recover, as

TO-I

SUNDAY

CONCLUDED

I. Pictorial

Page.

1. "A Plot" by T.
2. Many Agitated Spectators
3. Circle Trotting, Studying the Situation, Bro
4. Where War and
5. Among the Seas
6. Before "Form" by
7. The Dies Pictorial
8. Mail in the Pub

II. News

III. and IV. Cab

Sporting

V. Magazine

Page.

1. Synthetic Chemicals
2. Seeking to Renew
3. German Missions
4. Worldwide Awake
5. Grimm's Fairy
6. A War Correspondent
7. New Four Flaps
8. New English Copy
9. Napoleon's Soldier
10. The Riddle of
11. What the Red
12. Curious

A memorial bust would be inscribed "A man of cheerful yesterdays and confident tomorrows" (this bronze is now at the 2d [Unitarian](#) Church in [Chicago](#)).



1914

At Clark and Addison Streets the gates of Wrigley Field, home of the [Chicago](#) Cubs, opened for the 1st time.

1915

July 24: Talaat sends instructions to Urfa, Der-el-Zor (Deir el-Zor), and Diyarbekir to bury the bodies of those fallen by the roadside and not throw them in ditches, lakes, or rivers.

Between this day and August 1st, the registration and classification of all prisoners from Sivas would be being carried out. This was done in accordance with a directive in general circulation.

When the *Eastland*, a Great Lakes excursion steamer, capsized in the [Chicago](#) River, of the 2,572 people aboard, 812 died.



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

1918

Conscientious objectors in [World War I](#) numbered more than 4,000.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE

The US law of conscription was encapsulated during 1918 in Selective Draft Law Cases, 245 US 366. There was less tolerance of conscientious objection than even during the US Civil War. At Alcatraz, 17 of these draft resisters would die of maltreatment.

MILITARY CONSCRIPTION



This is not a photograph of Alcatraz while it was being used to house the American COs who died of maltreatment, but of a British prison in use for the same purpose of the isolation and neutralization of attitudes

of conscientious objection, in this same period (I do not know of any Brits who died of maltreatment):



“In the course of one year of conscription, 64,693 made application to be excused from combatant status, and of this number, 3,989 desired exemption also from non-combatant duty. Of this number, 99 consented to be sent to France and to engage in reconstruction activities, 1,200 worked on farms, and in other ways their number was reduced to 503, who were given prison sentences.”

“A total of 1,461 [were found to be sincere]. Those found to be insincere numbered 103. The remaining cases

were disposed of by various means.” Here is a group of WWI conscientious objectors, photographed in prison:



In [Illinois](#) during this year, German-born American Robert Prager failed to stand during our national anthem. Stripped of most of his clothes, he was forced to kiss the American flag. He was bound with strips of cloth torn from an American flag and [lynched](#) before a cheering crowd of some 500 or more people. When those responsible were brought to trial, their defence was the “unwritten law” and the jury acquitted in less than an hour, characterizing what had happened as “patriotic murder.”

COLDBLOODED MURDER

September 24, day: Edward Wagner, newly settled in San Francisco from [Chicago](#), fell ill with [influenza](#). Public health officials had been downplaying the potential dangers posed by the flu. Dr. William Hassler, Chief of San Francisco’s Board of Health, had gone so far as to predict that the flu would not reach the city.

October 6, day: Indian forces entered Sidon.

Philadelphia posted what would be merely the 1st of several gruesome records for the month: 289 [influenza](#)-related deaths in a single day.

The US Congress approved a special \$1 million fund to enable the US Public Health Service to recruit physicians and nurses to deal with the growing [influenza](#) epidemic. US Surgeon General Rupert Blue set out to hire more than 1,000 doctors and 700 nurses with the new funds. The war effort, however, would make Blue’s task difficult. With many medical professionals already engaged in providing care for fighting soldiers, Blue would be forced to scour old-age homes and rehabilitation centers for medical recruits.

Soon, in New York City, 851 died of [influenza](#) in a single day. In Philadelphia, the city’s death rate for one single week would rise to 700 times higher than normal.

The crime rate in [Chicago](#) dropped by 43%. Authorities attributed the drop to the toll that [influenza](#) was taking on the city’s potential lawbreakers.

1919

In [Chicago](#), real estate broker Archibald Teller opened the first Fannie May candy store.

In [Chicago](#), 13 perished as the dirigible *Winged Foot Express* burned and crashed through the skylight of the Illinois Trust and Savings Bank.

1920

The present baseball era of the “lively ball” began. These new balls were of uniform size, had corked centers, and were wrapped in Australian yarn (the “corked bat” would for unknown reasons remain anathema). This first year of their use, Babe Ruth’s 1st year with the Yankees, the slugger hit all of 54 home runs. The “Black Sox” scandal erupted as eight member of the previous year’s [Chicago](#) White Sox were indicted for fraud on account of their loss to Cincinnati in the World Series.

1922

Louis Armstrong, a member of King Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band in [Chicago](#), was helping to create the Jazz Age.

To help reduce the stream of effluent entering Lake Michigan from the [Chicago](#) area of [Illinois](#), the flow of the Calumet River was reversed. (The catchy name Revir Temulac would not catch on.)

After finding little military interest in the .45-caliber “Trench Broom” he had invented in 1919, John T. Thompson decided to target civilian purchasers such as strike breakers and private detectives (his “Tommy Gun” would also become popular among [Illinois](#) gangsters).



1924

March 24: Pope Pius XI elevated Archbishop Joseph Hayes of New York City and Archbishop George W. Mundelein of [Chicago](#) as cardinals.

July 1: The US Congress had, by authorizing “the exchange of identification records with officers of the cities, counties, and states,” effectively enabled the merger of the two collections of citizen fingerprints, the federal Bureau of Criminal Identification collection in Leavenworth, Kansas and the collection of the International Association of Chiefs of Police in [Chicago, Illinois](#), to Washington DC, placing them under the administration of the federal Bureau of Investigation. By 1926, law enforcement agencies across the country would be contributing fingerprint cards to the Bureau of Investigation.



July 10, day: The Workers Party met in [Chicago](#), rejecting La Follette and nominating New York City’s William Z. Foster and Benjamin Gitlow.

1925

In Jamaica, the Great Depression, the rise of Rastafarianism, and racial fears increased concern over the use of [marijuana](#). The Panama Canal Zone Report concluded that there was no credible evidence that [cannabis](#) was habit forming or that it was having any “appreciably deleterious influence” on American soldiers in the Zone, and recommended that no action be taken. However, urban legends that associated horrible crimes with [marijuana](#) and [Mexicans](#) were given credence in a Surgeon General’s Report.

During the era of [prohibition](#), Sanka would be introduced and [coffee](#) consumption would reach new highs. By this year, in the United States, a widespread illicit liquor trade had become well established. “Speakeasies” had made their appearance, and consumption had increased particularly among women. A local businessman named Al Capone, none too smart, none too efficient, and not at all charismatic, was able to seize primacy in [Chicago](#)’s underworld due to opportunities offered by [prohibition](#) of the legal sale of alcoholic beverages.



In the midst of all this, a young graduate of Englewood Technical Prep Academy on the South Side of [Chicago](#), [Milton Sanford Mayer](#), matriculated at the University of Chicago.

1927

The city of [Chicago](#) was given \$750,000 to construct Buckingham Fountain as a memorial to Clarence Buckingham, whoever he was.

Toward the end of the year [Chicago](#)’s 1st municipal airport, later to be known as Midway Airport, became operational.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1928

September 20, day: Work began on the straightening of the south branch of the [Chicago](#) River between Polk and 18th Streets.

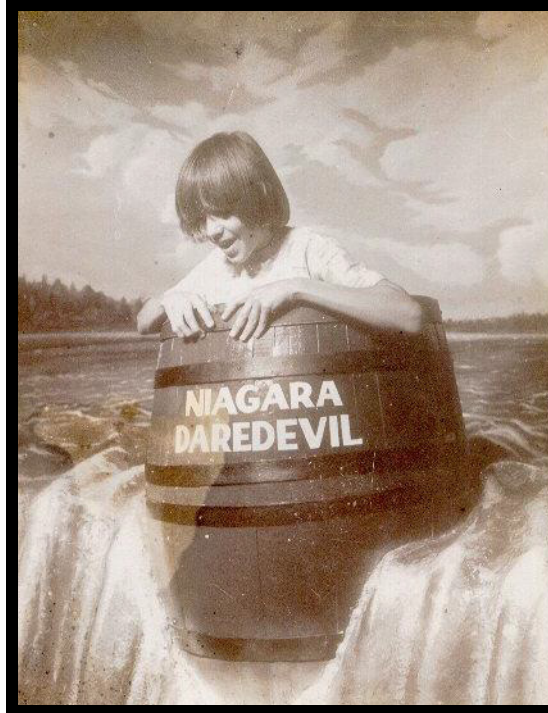
Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In New-York, the last celebration of the Tammany Society in its Fourteenth Street Hall (the historic Wigwam built in 1867 had been sold) was held and Governor Alfred E. Smith addressed the members of that society.

Edith Nourse Rogers, Republican Representative from the Fifth Massachusetts District, was the orator for a Boston ceremony held in Faneuil Hall.

In Hinsdale, [Illinois](#) the Memorial Building was dedicated to those who had served in this nation's wars.

Joseph Albert Jean "Smiling Jean" Lussier, a French-Canadian Québécois, inserted himself into a rubber ball and at 3:35PM went over the [Niagara Falls](#) according to the engineering principle of resiliency (rather than, as always before, according to the more conventional engineering principle of rigidity as exemplified in the wooden barrel or steel drum). Here's the way this came about: Lussier had been a worker in a grocery store in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1920 when Charles Stephens had gotten himself ripped to pieces and drowned in the Horseshoe Falls. Lussier had saved up \$1,500, and ordered from an Akron, Ohio rubber company a

rubber ball device of his own design 6 feet in diameter with inner and outer steel bands, with 150 pounds of hard rubber ballast at its bottom. This structure was intended to contain 32 innertubes for shock protection around the space left available in the middle for his 154-pound body. Lussier would take along enough bottled oxygen to keep himself alive for 40 hours in case his ball became trapped in eddies. Here's what happened: as the ball was carried in the river currents, before it had even gotten to the lip of the falls, the ballast bottom ripped out. The impact of the fall burst three of the inner tubes and twisted the metal of the frame Lussier had



bruises, but was intact. Here's what would happen afterward: to recoup his costs and make some money, Lussier would begin selling the tourists pieces of rubber off of his apparatus. When the apparatus was completely gone Lussier would begin to cheat a little bit, by purchasing pieces of rubber from a nearby tire store and passing them off as from his apparatus.¹³²



1929

John Graves Shedd presented the Shedd Aquarium as “a gift to the people of [Chicago](#).”

¹³². At the age of 61 years, in 1952, Lussier would begin to scheme to make himself the only person ever to conquer not only the Horseshoe Falls but also the American Falls. He would sketch a new ball device twice as big as the one he had brought to the [Niagara Falls](#) in New York in 1928. This 12-foot ball was to be built in 3 layers, cork surrounded by aluminium surrounded by rubber, and was to have in addition a number of internal braces. There was to be an outer ball and a separate inner one, that would be ballasted and mounted on roller bearings so as to remain upright at all times. This time he would plan not only for an oxygen supply but also for a radio link with the outside world. (Nothing would ever come of this scheme for a renewed fame, which is just as well, because no one has ever gone over the American Falls and survived.)

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Al Capone was a citizen who was not a prisoner of war and, incarcerated in this year and the following one for a total of eight months at Philadelphia's [Eastern State Penitentiary](#), would be allowed by the guards to decorate his cell with Persian carpets, antique furniture, and oil paintings. (His objets d'art would of course be in as poor taste as had been his [Chicago](#) rotgut whiskey.)



An article in the Philadelphia [Public Ledger](#) for August 20, 1929, described Capone's cell: "The whole room was suffused in the glow of a desk lamp which stood on a polished desk.... On the once-grim walls of the penal chamber hung tasteful paintings, and the strains of a waltz were being emitted by a powerful cabinet radio receiver of handsome design and fine finish..."



1930

In [Chicago](#), the Adler Planetarium opened, as a gift from local merchant Max Adler.

The Merchandise Mart was built for \$32,000,000 by Marshall Field.

December: Work was completed on the straightening of the south branch of the [Chicago](#) River between Polk and 18th Streets. The total cost of the project had been approximately \$10,200,000 (the cost to the city had been about \$3,322,000).



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1931

The Wickersham Commission acknowledged that [prohibition](#) was being so generally flouted that enforcement efforts had become largely ineffective. The Great Depression was strengthening the sentiment that the nation simply could not afford the expense of bringing this situation under control.

[Amphetamine](#), which had been around since 1887, was generally regarded as safe, and was available without prescription, would come into extensive use during the Great Depression and World War II in the US to raise blood pressure, enlarge nasal and bronchial passages, and stimulate the central nervous system. The important thing was efficiency in industries and in the military, regardless of how this was obtained.

Al Capone was found guilty of evading \$231,000 in income taxes and fined \$50,000 and sentenced by a [Chicago](#) federal court to eleven years in prison.

The Smith-Goodspeed BIBLE, a translation into modern speech. The Old Testament had been prepared under the editorship of J.M. Powis Smith and the New Testament had been prepared under the editorship of Edgar J. Goodspeed of the University of [Chicago](#). –*Just the thing for prison reading.*

1932

July 1: The federal-level Bureau of Investigation was renamed the United States Bureau of Investigation (USBI).

At the Democratic Party's national convention in [Chicago](#), Governor [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) was nominated for President of the United States of America.

1933

The first All-Star Game in baseball, played at Comiskey Park in [Chicago](#), attracted 47,595 fans. The first home run in All-star history was hit by Babe Ruth off pitcher Wild Bill Hallahan.

February 15: Anarchist Joseph Zangara shot from a crowd at United States President-elect [Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) in Miami. A woman near the assassin grabbed his arm and the shot wounded [Chicago](#) Mayor Anton J. Cermak. (Cermak would die March 6th. Zangara would be executed March 20th.)

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

May 27: The “Century of Progress” International Exposition opened in [Chicago](#). The theme of the exposition was the progress of civilization during the century of that metropolis’s corporate existence — this would be the 1st time in American history that an international fair would pay for itself. That it would pay for itself, however, seems to have been due rather largely to one person, Sally Rand, who got star billing at the “Streets of Paris” concession for her slow fan gyration wearing only ostrich plumes, performed to the strains of Debussy’s “Clair de Lune.”

Ohiyesa, or Doctor “Charles Alexander Eastman,” universally accepted as a credit to his race, would be awarded a medallion of recognition at this exposition. Indicative of the racism of the times, this medal celebrated “what an Indian could achieve.”



We do not have a record of the physician’s thoughts while this signal honor was being bestowed upon him by the white people who constituted one quartering of his pedigree and by the dominant white culture which constituted some proportion of his heritage. We do hope he had a chance, while he was on the grounds, to stop by the “Streets of Paris” concession and enjoy Sally Rand’s class act.

At this exposition George Fred Keck’s ultra-modern House of Tomorrow and Crystal House emphasized the use of glass throughout the home — the term “picture window” was right around the corner.

1934

The final apocalyptic battle was to begin at this point, [Chicago](#) preacher Nathan Cohen Beskin had been proclaiming in 1931. (Abanes, Richard. END-TIME VISIONS. NY: Four Walls Eight Windows, 1998, page 280). And in fact it was the end of the world for John Dillinger, who was gunned down from ambush by the FBI near the alley next to the Biograph Theater at 2433 N. Lincoln Avenue in downtown [Chicago](#).

MILLENNIALISM

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

July 9: American Airlines inaugurated sleeper service between New York City and [Chicago](#).

Herbert Jasper of Brown University and Hallowell Davis of Harvard University were independently engaged at this time in recording the electrical activity of the human brain. At the Emma Pendleton Bradley Home in East Providence, [Rhode Island](#), Jasper achieved the 1st tracing of such electrical activity.

PSYCHOLOGY

July 22: The whereabouts of John Herbert Dillinger, Jr. had been revealed by a female acquaintance, Ana Campanas, a brothel owner who was vulnerable because she was facing deportation. He was accosted by waiting Special Agents of the federal Division of Investigation as he exited the Biograph Theater in [Chicago](#) after a showing of the film "Manhattan Melodrama." When as anticipated he made the mistake of not instantly surrendering himself, this of course entitled them to gun him down. It was all very Hollywood and afterward people were able to dip the corners of their handkerchiefs in the blood.¹³³



You can see around the edges of his tombstone in Indianapolis where people have attempted to chip off pieces for a souvenir (the same thing that happened to the original tombstone for Thomas Jefferson).



133. Such artifacts have sold since, on the open market, along with suitable attestations signed by [Chicago](#) policemen, for as much as \$5,000. It's interesting, isn't it, that Americans were celebrating these gun-happy FBI agents for the very same reason that they were celebrating the gun-happy Dillinger?



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1936

In [Chicago](#), the 1st of the Oscar Mayer “Wienermobiles” rolled out of the General Body Company facility.

1937

In [Chicago](#), a labor strike at the Republic Steel plant resulted in ten workers being shot to death.

Just by coincidence, in this year [Chicago](#) became the home of the 1st US blood bank.

1938

October 9: The Yankees defeated the [Chicago](#) Cubs to win all four games of the World Series.

The altimeter was demonstrated in New York City.

1939

June 1: When the submarine *Thetis* sank in Liverpool Bay, England, 99 perished.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

WORLD WAR II



LOST AT SEA

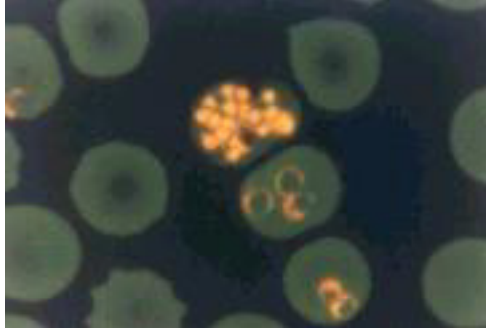
A brand-new Douglas DC-4 flew 40 passengers from [Chicago](#) to New York City, inaugurating service by that airframe between the two population centers.

1940

In a prison near [Chicago](#), 400 prisoners were infected with [malaria](#) in order to study the effects of new and experimental drugs to combat the disease (when Nazi doctors later went on trial at Nürnberg they would be able to cite this American [secret medical experiment](#) as a precedent in defense of their own conduct during the Holocaust).

During the 1940s the Journal of the American Medical Association was considering “race mixing” to be the greatest threat to our public health, in that it involved the spreading of a black-race inferiority, the susceptibility to sickle cell anemia. Irving Sherman discovered that sickled red blood cells refract light differently than normal cells. Linus Pauling separated normal hemoglobin and sickle-trait hemoglobin with electrophoresis, thus establishing the molecular basis of the sickle cell trait and demonstrating that it was

a recessive trait rather than a Mendelian dominant.



It isn't up to you, who you are. Society will tell you who you are, and you damn well better listen up, boy, if you know what's good for you. When I was a boy in southern Indiana in the 1940s, and associated with my mother's family there (the Mattoxes), there was a law against miscegenation and I was on the wrong side of the law. Everybody knew that these Mattoxes were tainted, racially mixed people, on account of the "Buff" Sharpe in our family history.¹³⁴ So in the public school I was warned to stay away from the little white girls, "they aren't for you." It didn't matter, who I thought I was, I was a nigger. If I had grown up there, and had married, there would have been a riot, for if I had married a white woman, that would have been against the law prohibiting miscegenation, whereas, if I had married a native American woman, that would have been outrageous, for I have blue eyes and my hair when young when sunbleached was quite blond. I was the poster child of Aryan America, which was considered to make me very, very dangerous. But then my mother and my sister and I moved to northern Indiana, where nobody knew us, and lived there under that Smith name, and the business about racial contamination disappeared from the context of our lives.

It was really remarkable, to be considered white in northern Indiana, and then to go down to southern Indiana for a visit to family and to re-enter a context in which one was considered to be a colored person. That was a mind-wrencher. One interesting piece of wisdom I derived from that is the following rule:

What you are does not depend at all on what **you** suppose you are. What you are is what the white man desires to suppose you to be. If the white man desires to consider you as white, then you are white and you'd better get used to it. if the white man desires to consider you as colored, then you are colored and you'd better get used to it. It is the white man in this society, and only the white man, who entitles himself to specify what the nature of reality is going to be.

None of our "progress" in civil rights during my lifetime has altered that societal rule by one jot or one tittle.

The interesting fact of that situation is that, when we went north, and by concealment corrected the situation for my mother and corrected the situation for my sister, this did nothing to rectify the situation for me. In the north my mother and my sister got along just fine. In the north they treated me, with my twisted spine and obscene ass, exactly the same way I had been treated in the south. The abuse was a constant and the only

134. "Buff," as a nickname, indicates a skin color close to beige, thus pointing at his Cherokee or half-Cherokee ancestry.

difference for me was in the excuse that they offered while subjecting me to this abuse. In southern Indiana the excuse for treating me bad was that I was a secret colored boy who had to be watched, guarded against, because otherwise I might trick someone into treating me white. (You know how tricky these colored people can be.) In northern Indiana they continued to treat me bad but without offering that particular excuse. I was just an “asshole,” or a “fatass,” or a “shitass,” or a slob, a jerk, a “Commie queer,” etc. What this taught me was that the nature of stigmatization is that it creates overlapping persecution markers:

A person who is marked for stigmatization acquires any number of overlapping categories of offensiveness. The “real reason” for the stigmatization may never be noticed within the swarm of buzzing overlapping categories of offensiveness which legitimate the abuse.

For instance, a black child might be persecuted not because he or she is black but because blacks are stupid and therefore he or she is stupid — and rightly to be discriminated against since opportunities cannot be taken away from bright people in order to offer them to stupid people who cannot make use of such opportunities. (I’ll limit myself to but one illustration, although there are countless other illustrations available.)

ASSLEY



“Everything in life is unusual until you get accustomed to it.”

— The Scarecrow, in *THE MARVELOUS LAND OF OZ*
(L. Frank Baum, 1904)



February 23: John Cromwell’s film *Abe Lincoln in Illinois* opened at New York City’s Radio City Music Hall.

July 11, Thursday: Frank Knox of *Illinois* took over as Secretary of the Navy.

Marshal Henri-Philippe Pétain replaced Albert François Lebrun as the head of the French Vichy Government.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1942

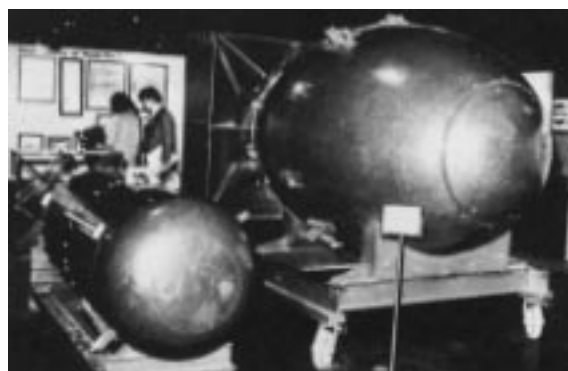
The [Chicago](#) Cubs became the first team in baseball to install an organ to help motivate and entertain fans.



Beneath a sports stadium in [Chicago](#), Enrico Fermi started an uranium/graphite reactor.

ATOM BOMB

[President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) allowed the British to participate in our Manhattan project (so called because most of the work was going on in great secrecy at a number of sites-with-cover-stories on Manhattan Island in New York City) to build the ultimate weapon — conditional of course upon their acceptance of his Operation Overlord invasion from England onto the mainland of Europe.¹³⁵



WORLD WAR II



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

December 2, Wednesday: United States Naval Operating Base, and United States Naval Air Facility, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, were established.

3:25PM: Professor Enrico Fermi had set up an atomic reactor at [Chicago](#)'s Stagg Field, and began to instigate its first nuclear chain reaction at 10AM by beginning to withdraw carbon rods from the mass. It was at 3:25PM that the pile went critical.

ATOM BOMB

Konstantinos Ioannou Logothetopoulos replaced Georgios Tsolakoglou as Prime Minister of Greece under [German](#) occupation.

At Stary Ciepielow the S.S. locked 13 Poles into a cottage and 10 others into a barn and burned them alive, on suspicion of having harbored Jews.

The New York [Times](#) did something which was for it quite unique. After the US Department of State had unofficially confirmed to leading rabbis that 2,000,000 Jews had already been exterminated and that 5,000,000 more were “in danger,” it devoted its lead OP-ED editorial in this issue, “The First to Suffer,” to the subject of the ongoing extermination of the European Jews. The anonymous author of this editorial was careful, however, to widen its appeal, by treating the Jews of Europe as if they were the canary in the mine, pointing up the fact that although Jews were the first to bear the brunt of this [Nazi](#) eugenicide program, other groups, such as “our own ‘mongrel’ nation” and even, were *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#) to win the war, the people of Japan, would also be at risk. This was a genre of reasoning with which even the most anti-Semitic reader of the newspaper could sympathize!

Why was the New York [Times](#) not giving more publicity during [World War II](#) to the fact that in Europe, Jews were being killed en masse in extermination centers? People at this paper certainly knew, knew very well. Max Frankel has offered an explanation of sorts in the newspaper's own pages. According to his account of the matter, this had been a judgment call by the paper's owners, that they really could not bring this information more forcefully before their readership without losing significant readership — due to the endemic anti-Semitic prejudice inherent in American culture:

[P]apers owned by Jewish families, like The Times, were plainly afraid to have a society that was still widely anti-Semitic misread their passionate opposition to [Adolf Hitler](#) as a mere parochial cause. Even some leading Jewish groups hedged their appeals for rescue lest they be accused of wanting to divert wartime energies. At The Times, the reluctance to highlight the systematic slaughter of Jews was also undoubtedly influenced by the views of the publisher, Arthur Hays Sulzberger. He believed strongly and publicly that Judaism was a religion, not a race or nationality — that Jews should be separated only in the way they worshiped. He thought they needed no state or political and social institutions of their own. He went to great lengths to avoid having The Times branded a “Jewish newspaper.” He resented other publications for emphasizing the Jewishness of people in the news. And it was his policy, on most questions, to steer The Times toward the centrist values of America's governmental and intellectual elites. Because his editorial page, like the American government and other leading media, refused to dwell

135. Joseph E. Persico's ROOSEVELT'S SECRET WAR (Random House, 2001).

on the Jews' singular victimization, it was cool to all measures that might have singled them out for rescue or even special attention.

1943

October 17, Sunday: Invasion for orchestra by Bernard Rogers was performed for the initial time, in New York.

[Chicago](#)'s 1st subway began to operate, on State Street.

Soviet troops broke the [German](#) lines around Kremenchug and took Loyev, south of Gomel.

The end, finally, for the armed merchant cruiser program of the [German](#) Navy. During [World War II](#) the Germans had been utilizing 10 armed merchant cruisers that would sneak up on unsuspecting commercial ships operating alone and when within close range — suddenly sink them. These raiders had collectively disposed of a grand total of 133 commercial ships. The 4,740-ton *Michel* (Schiff #28), the only one of the 10 not yet detected and destroyed, had itself sunk not less than 17 ships (it had been the ship, for instance, that had sunk the *Gloucester Castle*). On this day, off Chichi Jima in the Bonin Islands, Commander Hellmuth von Ruckteschell's *Michel* was struck by 4 torpedoes from Commander T.L. Wogan's USS *Tarpon* (SS-175) submarine — there was this tremendous explosion, and the vessel went under. The crew of 263 died.¹³⁶

1944

June 27, Tuesday: The Republicans met for three days in [Chicago](#), and nominated New York governor Thomas E. Dewey for President and Ohio governor John Bricker for Vice President.

The US Army captured Cherbourg in northern France.

136. At a first order of approximation there seems to be a remarkable similarity between fighting at sea and feeding fish.





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1945

December: [Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.](#) enrolled in the University of Chicago's MA program in anthropology. He would work as a reporter for the [Chicago](#) City News Bureau.

1946

At the University of [Chicago](#), [Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.](#)'s MA thesis "On the Fluctuations between Good and Evil in Simple Tales" was unanimously rejected by the anthropology faculty.

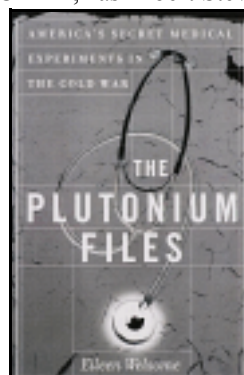
1947

October 1: The [Chicago](#) Transit Authority began local transit operations.

1949

The nations' first daytime TV soap opera, "These Are My Children," began broadcasting from [Chicago](#)'s NBC studios.

The US Army initiated a series of [secret medical experiments](#) upon the American public, as preparation for the impact of future NBC (Nuclear/Biological/Chemical) warfare. The government's public [Plutonium₂₃₉](#) poisoning tests had been dreamed up by the Manhattan Project's medical director, Dr. Stafford Warren, and cleared with Director J. Robert Oppenheimer, who had stipulated only that such experiments needed to be conducted, not at his project's Los Alamos facilities, but somewhere else. The reporter Eileen Welsome would eventually manage to identify one of the civilian guinea pigs, who had been referred to in government documentation under the code name "CAL-1," as Albert Stevens, who had been during the period of the



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

studies 58 years of age. He had been a house painter and because of his wife's asthma he had moved his family from Ohio to California in the 1920s. In 1945, when he was diagnosed with cancer, he was injected with [Pt₂₃₉](#) and then a few days later portions of his liver and spleen were removed. The doctor was collecting his urine and stools to measure, without his awareness, their Pt_{239} concentrations. Then analysis of his removed tissues showed that the diagnosis of cancer had been in error: he had been suffering from a gastric ulcer. Welsome would manage to identify another of the civilian guinea pigs, who was referred to in government documentation under the code name "CAL-3," as Elmer Allen, who in 1947 had been 36 years of age. He had been a railroad porter and his leg had been presumed to be cancerous and had been scheduled for amputation. On July 18, 1947, at the University of California Hospital at San Francisco, California three days before his leg was amputated, Allen had received a "hot" injection of [Pt₂₃₈](#) (considerably more radioactive than Pt_{239}) in the leg muscle so that, after amputation, they could send the limb to a laboratory for Pt_{238} measurements. (The test showed that about half the Pt_{238} had remained in the leg. Allen was the last of 18 people to be thus injected during the 1940s.) The institutions participating in this poison project included the University of Rochester, the University of California at San Francisco, California and the University of [Chicago](#), as well as the University of Cincinnati.

January 16: The television dramatic anthology "ABC Television Players" premiered, fed to New York City from [Chicago](#) via coaxial cable.

July 3: Bomber 44-86292, the [Enola Gay](#), was retrieved from storage and Colonel Paul W. Tibbets, Jr. piloted it to Orchard Place Army Air Field (now O'Hare International Airport) near [Chicago](#).



There the aircraft was formally accepted by the Smithsonian Institution, for the National Air Museum.

WORLD WAR II

1950

[Chicago](#)'s population peaked at 3,620,962.

1951

In [Chicago](#), the Dearborn Street subway opened.

In [Japan](#), intravenous use of [opiates](#) was spreading among economically marginal and delinquent youths, and in result an Awakening Drug Control Law was passed.

[Japan](#)'s gross national product was US\$14.2 billion, which was 4.2% of the USA's, half of West Germany's, and a third less than Britain's.

[Japanese](#) *sumotori* wrestlers toured Honolulu, Los Angeles, San Francisco, and [Chicago](#) with boxer shorts under their loincloths to avoid charges of indecent exposure.

The famed cherry grove along the Arakawa River near [Tokyo](#) that had been the parent stock for Washington DC's initial cherry trees had fallen into decline during [World War II](#). Japan requested help in restoring the grove in the Adachi Ward, and our National Park Service shipped budwood from descendants of those same trees back to Tokyo in an effort to restore the original site.



January 10: An Avro jetliner flew from [Chicago](#) to New York City in one hour and 42 minutes.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1955

April: Richard J. Daley was elected Mayor of [Chicago](#) for the 1st time. He would get himself reelected in 1959, 1963, 1967, 1971, and 1975 and would die in his office, a winner.

O'Hare International Airport opened.

June: Upon my graduation from High School, my mom and my little sister Carolyn Jane Smith drove me to the outskirts of Wabash, Indiana and left me standing by the side of the road with a suitcase to begin hitchhiking to see my father Benjamin Bearl Smith in Los Gatos, California. I had, in an old cloth ammo pouch tied around his waist under his shirt, \$1,200 which I had saved out of my years of high school work. I had been accepted at a subsidiary school of the University of [Illinois](#), on work scholarship in their cafeteria, with the prospect of later transferring to their main campus in Urbana, but I passed that up because Dad had written promising to sent me to Stanford University — which he pointed out was near Los Gatos so that his son by his previous marriage would be able to live with him and his wife Dorrit Smith, and also pointed out, was considerably more prestigious than the University of Illinois. Of course, actually my dad had no intention whatever of making good on such a pledge, this being merely autopilot behavior for him, routinely following along in his customary suck-'em-in manner of operation.

ASSLEY

1956

August 10: In [Chicago](#), the Congress Expressway opened. (On January 10, 1964 this would be renamed the Dwight D. Eisenhower Expressway.)



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1957

Edward Dahlberg's *THE SORROWS OF PRIAPUS*. Some of the material expurgated from this volume would be included by Irving Rosenthal in the [Chicago](#) literary journal *Big Table*, which also published in that issue pieces by John Burroughs, Jack Kerouac, and Gregory Corso. Since this issue of this magazine would be seized by the Post Office as offensive, its relatively less known authors would derive a certain sort of notoriety. Through Rosenthal, Dahlberg would be able to meet Allen Ginsberg.



1958

The last streetcar ran in [Chicago](#), signaling the demise of what had once been the largest streetcar system in the world.

December 1, day: Fire broke out at [Chicago](#)'s Our Lady of the Angels, killing 90 students and three nuns.

The Territorial Assembly of Ubangi-Shari voted to accept the offer of autonomy with close association to France, and renamed itself the Central African Republic.

Martial law and curfews were lifted in Jordan.

Adolfo López Mateos replaced Adolfo Ruiz Cortines as president of [Mexico](#).

Arnold Schoenberg's unfinished oratorio *Jacob's Ladder*, to his own words, for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

1959

[Chicago](#)'s comedy showcase "Second City" was founded on North Wells Street in a former Chinese laundry.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1960

November 5: [Chicago](#)'s new \$237,000,000 Northwest Expressway opened, providing a direct connection between the Congress Expressway and O'Hare International Airport. (This would be renamed the John F. Kennedy Expressway on November 29, 1963.)

1962

[Illinois](#) became the 1st American state to revise its criminal code along the lines suggested in The Model Penal Code of the American Law Institute to omit from the list of criminal offenses oral genital contact, anal intercourse between consenting adults in private, and sexual acts with animals. Since that point Connecticut, New York and Kansas have also made some revisions in this area but according to California Penal Code paragraph 286, "Sodomy-Punishment,"

Every person who is guilty of the infamous crime against nature, committed with mankind or with any animal, is punishable by imprisonment in the state prison of not less than one year.

Under Islamic law, the penalty for bestiality is the same as for homosexuality, which is to say, execution. Bestiality has however been removed entirely from the list of criminal sexual offenses in [Germany](#), France, Belgium, [Italy](#), Portugal, Holland, and Russia, where such cases are now dealt with under indecency and animal cruelty regulations and are therefore unlikely to involve a prison sentence. In countries such as Great Britain which have not updated their laws, the penalty is normally still life imprisonment but a legal precedent has been set which would free a woman who may have been under coercion.

December 15: In [Chicago](#), the Dan Ryan Expressway opened.

[China](#) released 78 sick and wounded Indian prisoners at Waling.

In the first elections under a new constitution for Southern Rhodesia, the apartheid Rhodesian Front Party won a majority of seats.

Chaconne for piano by Sofia Gubaidulina was performed for the initial time, in Gnesin Hall, Moscow. The 1st half of the program was dedicated to her works.

Bohor for four-track tape by Iannis Xenakis was performed for the initial time, in Paris. Although the work was dedicated to Pierre Schaeffer, this was to cause a break between the two.

New works for organ were performed for the initial time, at the dedication of the Aeolian-Skinner organ in Philharmonic Hall (Avery Fisher Hall), New York: Pange lingua by Virgil Thomson, Hymn and Fuguing Tune no.14 for organ by Henry Cowell, and Shimah B'Koli op.89 for organ by Vincent Persichetti.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1964

October 24: In [Chicago](#), the Southwest Expressway opened. (This would be renamed the Adlai E. Stevenson Expressway on September 1, 1965.)

1965

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- J.C.R. Licklider's LIBRARIES OF THE FUTURE.
- The IBM International Business Machines Corporation shipped its 1st System/360, its first integrated circuit-based, or third generation, computer.
- The DEC Digital Equipment Corporation shipped its 1st PDP-8, a "minicomputer."
- At the University of Pennsylvania, the 1st computer science PhD was granted, to Richard L. Wexelblat.
- The ARPA Advanced Research Projects Administration sponsored study of the idea of a "cooperative network of time-sharing computers."
- Introduction of the CTSS Compatible Time-Sharing System operating system allowed several users simultaneously to use, or share, a single computer.
- Computer TX-2, at the Lincoln Laboratory of the MIT Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and computer Q-32, at the SDC System Development Corporation of Santa Monica, California, were linked to one another directly, without packet switches.
- NASA RECON was developed.
- At the SDC System Development Corporation of Santa Monica, California, ORBIT was developed.
- Papert, Feurzeig, Bobrow, et al first implemented LOGO.
- The CDC Control Data Corporation founded the Control Data Institute, to provide computer-related education. It would be during the late 1960s that the PLATO "learning system" would be being developed at the University of [Illinois](#) and marketed by CDC for "computer-aided instruction." The system would be based entirely on the idea of communication of established fact without the possibility of interpretation or selection, and without the possibility of argument or backtalk to the trainer, and thus would be by design entirely useless or counterproductive for any serious research purpose. Originally commissioned by the US Armed Forces for the training of soldiers, the system involved such sophisticated and unforgiving tracking of student attitudes that, when Congress would begin to become aware of its implications, it would promptly and very properly be defunded as dangerously "Big Brotherish."¹³⁷
- In a paper delivered at a national conference of the Association for Computing Machinery, Theodore Nelson went public with his concept of "hypertext." This would become a buzzword, despite the fact that the only thing that made this crutch necessary was the outworn storage metaphor known as "filesystem" according to which chunks of computer storage were being analogized with individual physical sheets of paper filed away inside physical manila folders inside the physical metal drawers of an office filing cabinet.¹³⁸

137. This sorry backward repressive system has in fact been one of the most serious inspirations for our "Stack of the Artist of Kouroo" research contexture — a negative inspiration, something against which we have needed to plot and to counter-design in every particular.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1966

March 26: Anti-[Vietnam](#)-war protests were staged in New York, Washington, [Chicago](#), Philadelphia, Boston, and San Francisco.

May 2: Defense Secretary [Robert Strange McNamara](#) privately reported that the North [Vietnamese](#) were infiltrating 4,500 soldiers per month into the South.

The [Chicago](#) Civic Center was dedicated.

July 12: On [Henry Thoreau](#)'s birthday, there was a race riot in [Chicago](#).

1967

January 16: In [Chicago](#), the McCormick Place was destroyed by fire.

August 15: [Chicago](#)'s Picasso statue (the "Chicago Picasso" as it is usually called), was unveiled in the Civic Center Plaza.

December 2: The New York Central's Twentieth Century Limited train made its final run between New York City and [Chicago](#).

1968

In [Chicago](#), the James W. Jardine Water Purification Plant opened north of Navy Pier.

138. The Kouroo Contexture is based not on Ted Nelson's click-buttons offering stupid blind hypertext leaps but instead on click-buttons offering hypercontext switching. In hypertext, you click on a button and "go to" somewhere else (in programming, the "go to" is one of the first things you learn to avoid). In hypercontext it is very different: you click on a button in order to alter the database view you are taking of the data in question, by replacing the context in which the data had been appearing with a specified other, different context for that same data.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

August 28, day: Thus far in the year, there have been 221 student protests against the US presence in [Vietnam](#), at 101 colleges and universities. During the Democratic national convention in [Chicago](#), 10,000 antiwar protesters were confronted on downtown streets by 26,000 police and national guardsmen, who on this day began to riot. The brutal crackdown had full live coverage on network TV and we all watched the batons rise and fall as 800 defenseless demonstrators were being whacked at. In this riot the police and national guardsmen injured 100 citizens and arrested 175. The United States of America was experiencing a level of social unrest unseen since its [Civil War](#) era a hundred years before.

The Czechoslovak National Assembly declared the invasion of the country illegal and demanded the withdrawal of troops.

In Guatemala City, the pro-Communist Rebel Armed Forces of Guatemala attempted to kidnap US ambassador John Mein. Mein broke loose and ran and was shot dead by his kidnappers.

Police battled student demonstrators in front of the National Palace in [Mexico City](#).

1969

In [Chicago](#), the world's 1st commuter rail service along an expressway median opened, along the median of the Dan Ryan Expressway.

1970

February 20: Judge Hoffman sentenced [World War II conscientious objector](#) Dave Dellinger and four other members of the Chicago 7 to prison for having, during the police riot the outside the [Chicago](#) Democratic Convention, violated the Anti-Riot Act of 1968. "Hey, guys, you're not **cops** — we cannot allow you to **riot like cops!**"

1971

[Kurt Vonnegut, Jr.](#) was awarded an MA by the University of [Chicago](#) in recognition for his CAT'S CRADLE's contribution to the field of cultural anthropology. "**Now** will you guys sign off on my dissertation?"

July 30, Friday midnight: The [Chicago](#) Union Stockyard offed its last pig and went out of business.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1972

In [Chicago](#) the “Shakman Ruling,” handed down by US District County Judge Abraham Marovitz, prohibited the firing of a public employee for declining to participate in compulsory, coerced political activities. In 1983, a final ruling was delivered by the US District Court outlining specific actions and restrictions concerning public hiring.

1973

The Cambridge buildings of [The Riverside Press](#) were demolished.

In [Chicago](#), the construction of the world’s tallest building, the Sears Tower, reached its topmost, 110th, story. The building was not yet, however, ready for use. (The building would lose its “world’s tallest” title in 1996, as more and more considerably taller towers have been erected on the Asian continent. It continues however to be tallest, for North America.)

1974

In [Chicago](#), the 110-story Sears Tower was ready for occupancy.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1976

The General Electric Nuclear Power Division in San Jose, California scheduled me an interview for a position at their [liquid-sodium cooled, weapons-grade plutonium fast breeder nuclear power reactor](#) on the Clinch River. This was definitely not something that I had requested or suggested — **no way** did I desire to get involved in the manufacture of bomb material (what I was already doing was already quite bad enough thank you). I was not able to let on that this was the case with me — because to let slip even a hint of this would have been to destroy my cover story that I was just a regular guy who loved the atom every bit as much as everybody around me who was also sucking at this teat — so although I needed under the situation to prepare materials for presentation and then show up for the interview, in the course of my self-presentation I deliberately pushed competence to the very margin of insolence. I knew very well that were these visiting GE managers to “offer” their position to me, then there could be ways that my current managers could hand me off, obliging me to “accept” this sort of work assignment and relocate to Oak Ridge, Tennessee.

It was at this point that the American public, or, at least, the segment of the American public that cares to know about such things, learned from [Science Trends](#), a newsletter published in the National Press Building in Washington DC, about the US Army [secret medical experiments](#) that had been going on from 1949 to 1969 in San Francisco, [Chicago](#), and Rochester as part of the Manhattan Project, that had “involved the injection of relatively massive quantities of [bomb-grade plutonium](#) into the veins of 18 men, women, and children.” The article in [Science Trends](#) implied falsely, however, that this had been an isolated incident and was past history, concluding that:

Whether injecting the key ingredient of the atomic bomb into unsuspecting patients can be equated with Nazi wartime experiments is a matter which is today considered moot.

Biological warfare tests had also been being conducted in American cities and states by releasing bacteria and chemicals from sprayers, automobiles, and airplanes. Millions of citizens had unwittingly been breathing in the US Army’s test agents. The intent had been to discover whether infectious microorganisms would spread and survive and how vulnerable the country might be to an attack with lethal germs. Army spokesmen began to point out that the test bacteria they had been utilizing, which included *Serratia marcescens*, had been considered harmless. But evidently they had determinedly ignored reports that had been appearing in the medical literature for years prior to those tests, indicating that even these bacteria were dangerous for people who already were in a weakened condition. They had even ignored their own evidence that in one of their tests in 1950 they had killed an unsuspecting San Francisco civilian.

Of course I had to wonder, learning belatedly about the existence of these tests, since in my childhood my spine



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

had collapsed due to a microbial infection contracted while I was living outside of Clay City, Indiana, only a few miles downwind from the biological warfare facility in Vigo, Indiana. **Probably, I concluded, my microbial infection and the germ war plant a few miles upwind were entirely unrelated. There would have been no point to infecting me, I told myself, as I was not the enemy.**

It remains a fact, however, that the Vigo facility had become totally contaminated, so contaminated that production was interrupted, and therefore had been able to deliver only a few palletloads of test germ bombs to England before the collapse and surrender of Germany, and it is a fact, also, that a few miles away, at that same time, my spine had collapsed as the muscles in the small of my back had become paralyzed. You don't

ASSLEY

suppose — no, it's too far-fetched.

December 20, day: [Chicago](#) Mayor Richard J. Daley died in his office at the age of 74.

December 27: In accordance with our nation's tradition of honoring dead white men, the [Chicago](#) Civic Center was renamed the Richard J. Daley Center.

1978

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

- Apple Computer demonstrated its 1st working prototype Apple II disk drive at the Consumer Electronics Show, in Las Vegas.
- Ward Christianson and Randy Seuss began building the Computerized Bulletin Board System, in [Chicago](#).

February: A news item relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- The 1st major microcomputer bulletin board, run by Ward Christianson and Randy Seuss, went on-line, in [Chicago](#).

1979

[Chicago](#)'s 1st woman mayor, Jane M. Byrne, took office.

October 29: In [Chicago](#), the State Street Mall opened.

1981

In [Chicago](#), “Spider” Dan Goodwin climbed both the Sears Tower and the John Hancock Center. Well, that doesn’t sound like much — but unlike all others he did this, you see, on the **outsides** of the buildings.

1983

Harold Washington was elected [Chicago](#)’s 2d African-American mayor (the 1st one had been Jean-Baptiste Pointe du Sable).

**1984**

March 15: The FBI’s GREYLORD investigation into judicial misconduct in Cook County, [Illinois](#) yielded its initial conviction, which happened to be a mere former Deputy Traffic Court Clerk. Other convictions would, however, follow. Eventually, 82 judges, lawyers, clerks, and police officers would plead guilty or be found guilty.

September 3: The North-Northwest rapid transit line which ran alongside the Kennedy Expressway near [Chicago](#) was extended out to O’Hare International Airport.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1985

The [South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty](#). Multilateral agreement among the nations of the South Pacific.

My mother Mildred Geraldine Mattox Smith Turner was by this point living in a doublewide during the winters, with her husband Wilson Turner the fisherman, at a pond in Kissimmee, Florida near Orlando and Disney World. The pond was about a third the size of Walden Pond. She had had a number of ministrokes, and had had the operation that cleans the goop out of one's artery into the brain and leaves a long scar up the side of the neck. I visited her, and come Sunday she put the arm on me to attend her church there. This was one of those megachurches that have what looks like a Broadway stage, with a state of the art sound and light system, instead of an altar or pulpit. Their "worship" was entertaining, but I had had a swiftie pulled on me. In his sermon, the blow-dry preacher told a joke about the USMC and then asked if there were any ex-Marines in the pews, "Would you please stand," and all of a sudden Mom starts to give me the elbow, I was supposed to stand up. A bunch of guys stood up, in this huge audience in this huge auditorium, and the preacher honored them and called for a round of applause. I was mortified. If there is anything in my life that I am ashamed of, it is that when given the choice of USMC or prison, I caved and put on that uniform. —But my mom, bless her pointy head, had set this up with her pastor in advance.

On the way back toward the doublewide on the pond, we passed through beautiful downtown Kissimmee and I viewed their town monument, which was an erection made up of a rock from every state in the US of A. We passed a high-rise office building (well, high-rise for Kissimmee), and Mother announced that that was where the atheists had their office. From the back seat, I went "Huh?" and she explained that there was this bunch of atheists, who were always trying to cause trouble, and agitate, and prevent people from praying, and mock God, and they had an office with a lot of initials in the name of it. But she couldn't remember the initials. So I suggested "Maybe you mean the ACLU?" and she went "That's it, the ACLU."

One of my more horrible memories, which I will insert here because I don't remember exactly in what year it happened, is of sitting at the kitchen table there in that doublewide, staring out at the necks and heads of the cormorants cruising around in that pond and listening idly to her tell me about a recent neighborhood happening. "See that raft over on the other side," she pointed out, "there were some niggers, lived over there. One day one of them drowned," and on like that. I gradually began to pay attention, and learned that my mother and her fisherman husband had recently sat at that kitchen table, right next to a telephone, and watched a preadolescent black child drown about a hundred yards away — and learned that it had not occurred to either her or her husband to reach out and pick up the telephone and dial 911. They had witnessed a drowning as if it had been a TV drama. Now, my mother was a warm and affectionate and sensitive person who cared deeply about other people and I don't believe that would have been possible, had the child in question been white. Understand, also, that my mother was not entirely white (in public school I had repeatedly been warned to stay away from the white girls). Understand, also, that my family of origin was not Southern, but was from Brazil, Indiana and Olney, [Illinois](#). White righteousness was precious to them, and for that reason, among other reasons, my family of origin was intensely religious. —Being religious was our way of being righteous. —Being righteous was our way of being white. —Being white was our way of being safe. Being safe, and white, and righteous, and religious, meant condemning other people to Hell for their wickedness. Being safe, and white, and righteous, and religious, is a strange animal: In my case, my family of origin's being safely white and righteous and religious had on the day after my high school graduation meant taking me and my twisted spine to the edge of town with a suitcase and dumping me by the side of the road as a so-called atheist.


Well, back from this general reminiscing about undated events, to things that for sure did happen during this particular year of 1985: During contract talks this year, extending into the following year, the labor council



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

representing workers at the Department of Energy's Fernald, Ohio production facility for the fabrication of [uranium atomic cores](#) demanded disclosure of all human studies involving Uranium and Plutonium, as well as information about toxic releases to the environment, use of atomic workers as experimental subjects, and the confiscation and destruction of human bodies.

(This is the plant that I didn't know about because it was operating under a cover story, that was only a few miles downwind of where my family and I had lived  on Wyscarver Road in Sharonville, Ohio in the 1965-1968 timeframe.)

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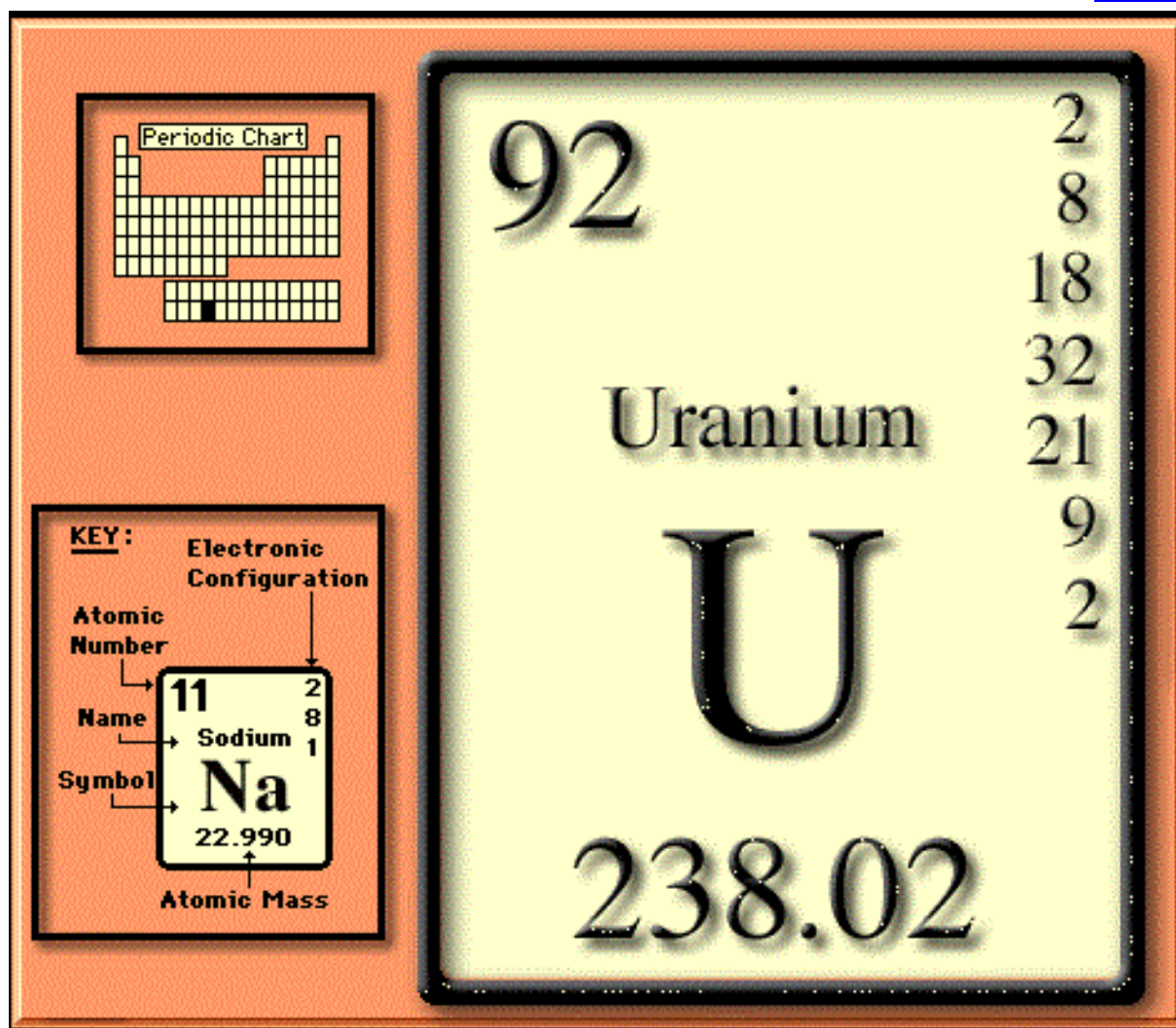
The response of the DOE officials was to contact AFL-CIO leadership and threaten to close the plant if labor there would refuse to honor its "national security obligations." The unions complied, backing off on their demands for information and, eventually, abruptly terminating their legal council that had been communicating these disloyal demands to the government.

After being thus summarily fired, the legal council presented a copy of the smoking-gun "Buchenwald" memo that had been written in 1950 by Joseph Hamilton, the scientist in charge of radiation experiments at the University of California, to reporter Matthew Wald of the New York [Times](#). (The New York [Times](#) would, however, do nothing whatever with this smoking-gun information. It was simply unthinkable, that our government had in secret been conducting harmful tests upon us, using us as expendable guinea pigs!

Who would be willing to believe such a thing?)

SECRET MEDICAL EXPERIMENTS

ASSLEY



May: The State of Illinois Center opened in [Chicago](#). The structure had been designed by Helmut Jahn and had cost \$173,000,000.

1986

On September 10, the [Chicago](#) Theater reopened after a four-year struggle to save it from extinction.

Along the [Chicago](#) Lake Shore Drive, the S-Curve was being straightened out. The reconstruction project would cost \$98,000,000 and would require four years to complete.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1991

The Harold Washington Library Center opened as the new main branch of the [Chicago](#) Public Library.

In [Chicago](#), Comiskey Park, the oldest ballpark in baseball, was demolished. A new White Sox ballpark, built on the south side of 35th Street, opened.

1992

The “Great [Chicago](#) Flood” occurred when 124 million gallons of [Chicago](#) River water poured through a crack in the 47-mile network of freight tunnels under the central business district.

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- The number of Internet hosts passed the round number of 1,000,000. The ISOC Internet Society was chartered. In response to the sort of question which one might imagine, Peter Deutsch commented that the Internet was six months from completion — and always would be. The IAB was reconstituted as the Internet Architecture Board and became part of the Internet Society. Rick Gates initiated the Internet Hunt.
- Cameroon, Cyprus, Ecuador, Estonia, Kuwait, Latvia, Luxembourg, Malaysia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Thailand, and Venezuela connected to the NSFNET.
- The University of Nevada provided “Veronica,” a gopherspace search tool.
- The World Bank came online.
- A programming team at NCSA (National Center for Supercomputing Applications) at the University of [Illinois](#) began to focus its attention on the Web.
- Novell purchased Digital Research for US\$80 million.
- Creative Labs’ Sound Blaster 16, a 16-bit stereo PC sound card with Advanced Signal Processor.
- Commodore’s Amiga 600: 4096 colors, stereo sound, full preemptive multitasking operating system (Workbench 2.05), PCMCIA slot, and Motorola 68000 CPU for a base price of \$500.
- Hewlett-Packard’s LaserJet 4 laser printer.
- Seiji Ogawa and University of Minnesota researchers unveiled imaging techniques for brain activity.
- Bell Labs reported a novel “Fullerene” compound of carbon and potassium that superconducted at a transition temperature 50% higher than any other molecular superconductor.
- Two general-purpose software components provided automatic on-line retry, enabling other software programs to tolerate faults without shutting down processing.
- Bell Labs and a Japanese telecommunications laboratory tested an in-line 9000-kilometer optically amplified fiber-optic system that had zero errors at a transmission rate of 5,000,000,000 bits/second.
- A near field scanning optical microscopy technique developed at Bell Labs enabled a magneto-optic data storage technique producing data densities of 45,000,000,000 bits/square inch.
- A real-time text-to-speech synthesis system, the Voice English/Spanish Translator, recognized one language as it was spoken and less than a second later “spoke” translated sentences.



- Designers unveil a graphic chip set for personal computers and workstations that provided photographic-image quality based on true-color resolution generated by nearly 17 million hues.
- Eric Betzig, Ray Wolfe, Mike Gyorgy and Jay Trautman, with Pat Finn, developed a magneto-optic data storage technique that could squeeze 45 billion bits of data into a square-inch of disk space.
- Silicon Graphics acquired Mips Computer in a \$400M stock swap.
- Sun Microsystems launched the SPARCstation 10 family of workstations.
- IBM invested \$100M in Groupe Bull. It released OS/2 Version 2.0 and shipped over 1,000,000 units. It made the IBM PC Co. its subsidiary.
- Compaq announced several new lines of PCs and became a price trendsetter. Its low-price strategy was very successful. It entered the Japanese market with aggressively priced PCs — as much as 50% lower than Japanese PC prices. IBM followed Compaq's strategy and introduced aggressively priced PCs.
- Sears and IBM formed a new venture, Advantis, to compete in the value added network service market.
- Wang Laboratories filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection.
- The DEC Digital Equipment Corporation announced its next-generation computer architecture — the RISC-based Alpha. Ken Olsen resigned from DEC after 25 years at the helm.
- The Intel Corporation named its next microprocessor Pentium instead of 586.
- Hewlett-Packard shipped the LaserJet 4, a 600X600 dots per inch laser printer.
- Novell was to acquire the UNIX Systems Laboratory, including Univel, from AT&T, for \$350M.
- Microsoft introduced Windows for Workgroup. It introduced Windows 3.1 and shipped nearly 10,000,000 units. The core of Apple's lawsuit versus Microsoft Windows was dismissed.
- For the Boston Computer Museum's 1992 Computer Bowl, televised by the show "Computer Chronicles," the West Coast team of five industry panjandrums showed up with bottles of "Jolt" cola laden with caffeine because they had given a lackluster performance in the previous year. Five mavens from East Coast computer firms, overdressed and "playing smug," entered with the slightest of nods to the applause of the audience and faced these five Silicon Valley types. Then Microsoft's wonder child, Bill Gates known to his underlings as "The Bill," haltingly and woodenly read off a question about the 1937 article "As You May Think," in the Atlantic Monthly, by presidential weapons adviser Vannevar Bush. Went The Bill:

What word do we now use, to describe the historic proposal made in this article?

But the two teams of industry panjandrums and mavens, hands poised over their buzzer buttons, merely sat and stared at each other. Finally, to break the silence, one of the contestants hazarded a guess—a wrong guess—and my wife, who is not a computer wizard, shouted at his televised image in outraged disbelief. "**Hypertext**, you yokels, what's **wrong** with you?" The moderator, Stuart Cheifet of the "Computer Chronicles" TV show, had to inform these two elite panels of the expected answer.

1993

News items relating to the development of ELECTRIC WALDEN technology:

- IBM introduced the F series of the AS/400, its 1st workstations based on the PowerPC chip. It announced OS/2 for Windows, which upgraded the Windows environment to OS/2. Its storage



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

- division, Adstar, became a subsidiary. It sold its Federal Systems division (\$2.2B in yearly revenue) to Loral for \$1.6B. The company reported its worst year in history with a loss of \$4.97B on revenues of \$64.5B, its chairman, John Akers, resigned, and after the most executive search publicity ever, Louis Gerstner would become new Chairman and CEO.
- The InterNIC was created by the NSF to provide specific Internet services: directory and database services (AT&T), registration services (Network Solutions Inc.), and information services (General Atomics/CERFnet).
 - The US White House came online (<http://www.whitehouse.gov/>): [President William Jefferson Clinton](mailto:president@whitehouse.gov): president@whitehouse.gov, Vice-President Al Gore: vice-president@whitehouse.gov, [First Lady Hilary Rodham Clinton](mailto:root@whitehouse.gov): root@whitehouse.gov.
 - Worms of a new kind found their way around the Net — WWW Worms (W4), joined by Spiders, Wanderers, Crawlers, and Snakes.
 - Internet Talk Radio began broadcasting.
 - The United Nations came online.
 - The US National Information Infrastructure Act.
 - Bulgaria, Costa Rica, [Egypt](#), Fiji, Ghana, Guam, Indonesia, Kazakhstan, Kenya, Liechtenstein, Peru, Romania, the Russian Federation, Turkey, Ukraine, UAE, and the Virgin Islands connected to the NSFNET.
 - Personal Video System: Bell Labs unveiled the Personal Video System Model 70. It enabled people to see one another in the corner of their computer screens while discussing business, sharing software, and revising documents.
 - Lucent Technologies EO Personal Communicator 440: Based on the Bell Labs-developed Hobbit microprocessor, this hand-held device combined the features of pen-based personal computers, telephones, and fax machines.
 - Kicha Ganapathy headed a team of virtual reality researchers creating three-dimensional “you-are-there” games, travel tours and training simulations.
 - Nintendo rereleased the Nintendo Entertainment System with an improved cartridge slot.
 - Marc Andreessen and colleagues at the National Center for Supercomputing Applications at the University of [Illinois](#), having had experience with an early Web browser named ViolaWWW, wrote a new Web browser named Mosaic, and Tim Berners-Lee’s creation began to take the Internet by storm; the World Wide Web (“WWW” or “W3”) began to proliferate at a 341,634% annual growth rate of service traffic, while Gopher growth was reduced to a mere 997% rate of annual growth (!) Later, the NCSA implementation team would found the Netscape Company and author the 1st commercial browser, “Navigator.”
 - Novell unveiled NetWare 4.0.
 - Lotus announced Notes 3.0.
 - Motorola started shipping the 1st PowerPC microprocessor.
 - Pentium-based systems started shipping.
 - The EPA’s Energy Star Initiative was unveiled and most PC vendors supported the program with announcements of energy-efficient PCs.
 - General Magic, an Apple spin-off, debuted Telescripts, a communications-intensive operating system for PDAs. Apple shipped its Newton MessagePad — its 1st Personal Digital Assistant. John Sculley left Apple after 10 years at the helm.
 - AT&T acquired McCaw Cellular for \$12.6B.
 - Compaq introduced the Presario, a PC family targeted for the home market.
 - Novell transferred the UNIX trademark to X/Open, which took up the task of certifying that an operating system was UNIX compliant.

- Sun Microsystems licensed NextStep and made a \$10M investment in NeXT.



"I liked the idea that a piece of information is really defined only by what it's related to, and how it's related. There really is little else to meaning. The structure is everything.... The brain has no knowledge until connections are made between neurons. All that we know, all that we are, comes from the way our neurons are connected."



– Tim Berners-Lee, *WEAVING THE WEB: THE ORIGINAL DESIGN AND ULTIMATE DESTINY OF THE WORLD WIDE WEB*
BY ITS INVENTOR (1999)



1994

[Chicago](#) hosted the opening ceremonies and 1st game of the 1st World Cup Soccer championship in the United States.

Historic [Chicago](#) Stadium was demolished.

1995

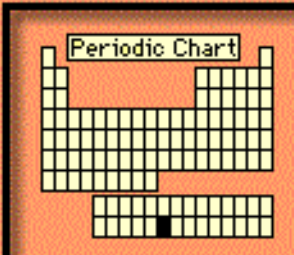
An extended heat wave contributed to the deaths of more than 700 [Chicago](#) residents.

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

I learned during this year something it would have been important for me to have known in 1965, → when I left active duty with the USMC and went to work for Procter & Gamble in Cincinnati. What happened was, in this year President Bill Clinton's Advisory Committee on Human Radiation Experiments released to the general public (anyone who could bear to read and mentally retain such news) the information it had obtained about hundreds of [secret medical experiments](#) the government had had conducted upon its citizens with [Plutonium](#).

Periodic Chart



KEY:

Atomic Number

Name

Symbol

11

Sodium

Na

22.990

Electronic Configuration

2

8

1

Atomic Mass

94

Plutonium

Pt

~239

2

8

18

32

24

8

2

We learned from documentation about experimentation that had been done under the Department of Energy's predecessor agencies, the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) and before that the "Manhattan Project" which had in 1945 produced the 1st atomic bomb, about many American civilians whose lives had been molested due to "arrogance and paternalism on the part of government officials and the biomedical community."

What I learned was that in all likelihood the man whom I had replaced at the Cincinnati Toilet Goods Plant had been volunteered by P&G for secret experiments in the guise of medical treatment, resulting in his death from radiation effects — resulting, that is, in his official murder.

ASSLEY



Mr. Procter

Mr. Gamble



He had been a middle-aged mulatto man who had been diagnosed with terminal cancer of the throat (unfortunately, my memory has not retained his name), and when I showed up to learn to replace him as the newby “Job Study Engineer” in the Pack Bottles Department on the second floor of the plant, he told me that because his health care plan could not take care of the entire cost of such a treatment for cancer, the company had offered to send him on company time for free radiation treatments they had arranged with a kind doctor at the University of Cincinnati. He told me that this doctor had commented that he might as well go on and continue to smoke during the radiation treatment if he liked. It was all hell, learning about his job from him, because he was constantly blowing his Camel smoke in my face, and the rising columns of smoke from his ever-present cigarettes were making my eyes smart as I leaned over his shoulder to learn from him what he was doing. —Then one day he stopped coming to work. I didn’t suspect anything at that time, 1965,¹³⁹ and only learned three decades later, during this year 1995, that the medical center he was being sent to at the University of Cincinnati had been one of the prime contractors with the US government in its experiments with the lethality of massive doses of Pt, and that people of color, like him, had been its prime targets of opportunity.

139. What kind of idiot am I, that I suspected nothing at the time? Well, to defend myself, I had a lot of things on my mind at the time, such as how to handle the situation when I first was forced to shed my suit coat in the summer heat of Cincinnati, and they noticed with shock that this guy they had hired had a deformed spine. Looking back, however — how could I possibly have failed to notice there was something very fishy about this whole deal — that a patient with a cancer pronounced to be terminal, a patient who has been given but a few months to live, who is told that he needs to get his affairs in order and say his good-byes, is **never ever** subjected to damaging radiological or chemical procedures? —That a patient who is undergoing therapy for throat cancer is **never ever** told that it is OK for him to continue to smoke?

The doctor he mentioned was probably, we now know, [Dr. Eugene L. Saenger](#), who has been characterized by expert witnesses before Congress as “dirty as Mengele.” Dr. Saenger was not doing this sort of dirty business on his own initiative, of course, but was like the original [Dr. Josef Mengele](#) on government contract — and he was not deviating one iota from the instructions that our government had given to him, which had been to find out for our weapons effectiveness program exactly how much [Pu](#) it takes to kill a person and how long it takes.



Dr. Eugene L. Saenger of the University of Cincinnati?

Here is a partial transcript of testimony before the House of Representatives Subcommittee on Energy and Power which had been provided on January 18, 1994 by Dr. David Egilman of Braintree MA, a professor at [Brown University](#):

My name is David Egilman. I'm a practicing physician in Braintree, Massachusetts. I practice internal medicine and occupational medicine. I'm also on the Faculty of Brown University and a member of the Center for Community Responsive Care in Boston.... The worst experiments that were conducted,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

in my opinion, were those that resulted in the deaths of their participants. Those were conducted at the University of Cincinnati between 1961 and 1972. They defined the purpose of their experiments in their first report to the funding agency, the Defense Department. "These studies are designed to obtain new information about the metabolic effects of total body and partial body irradiation, so as to have a better understanding of the acute and sub-acute effects of irradiation in the human." In another report they went on "The humans they wanted to know about the effects in were military personnel who might be irradiated during a war." They went on to describe the doses they were going to give – doses of 100 to 300 rads, eventually doses up to 600 rads were anticipated. 600 rads is lethal to almost everyone who would have received it under the conditions of this experiment. It would have killed everyone who would have received it. The doses that they **did** give to some of the individuals were enough, in anticipation by the researchers, to kill half of the people, the LD 50 was the dose.

Now the selection of subjects is very important. They were uneducated, average education 4th grade. Low intelligence. They had brain dysfunction, because of their underlying disease. They could not follow simple instructions. They were specifically selected because they had tumors, cancers, that were resistant to therapy. They picked patients whose cancers were not going to be treatable with the radiation. For, you see, in the 30s and 40s this had been tried for cancer therapy. And they knew by 1960 which cancers would respond and which would not. They wanted patients with cancers that would not respond, because then it wouldn't confuse the purpose of the experiment, which was to find out what effects the radiation would have on soldiers. If it actually treated the cancer, you would have some confusion between the cell necrosis, the cell death from the treatment and the effects of the radiation.

62 of 88 patients were black. If this was a cancer study, it is the first one that excluded affluent white people at its inception.

Now the methods: Because they were studying the effects of radiation to predict them on soldiers, the effects were known, nausea and vomiting. Treatment for nausea and vomiting was specifically denied these patients. This is just inhumane. Some of these patients had stage 4 severe nausea and vomiting, that went on for days and longer. And treatment for vomiting was available. Despite the fact that they specifically selected those whose cancers would not be treated, the patient was told he was to receive treatment to help his disease. Other effective treatments that were available for some of the cancers at the time, not cures, but palliative treatments were available, for the gastro-intestinal cancers, 5FU, which is still used today for that same tumor, were denied the patients with that type of cancer.

And what were the results. Radiation sickness and death. The study participants, the researchers themselves, in 1973, said that 8 of the victims died as a result of the radiation. I have reviewed the data of the individual patient records, the summaries provided by the researchers, I've only reviewed a few



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

of the actual charts, as did the junior faculty committee. at the University of Cincinnati, which should get credit for having first discovered this and stopped it in 1971, and, in our opinion, more than 20 of the patients died as a results of the experiments.

Now let me turn to plutonium injections, and make just a few comments, since you've heard a lot already. First, plutonium is not just a substance [which] causes cancer, it is an acute toxin. It can make you suffer, just from having it injected. Acutely, right away. The doses injected were potentially lethal, and I've reviewed the summary of the diagnoses. In my opinion, there is no way that physicians at that time could have thought that those patients were terminal. 12 of 18, in my opinion, were clearly not terminal. Maybe 3 of those are questionable, 9 of 18 were definitely not terminal. And they were not terminal by what physicians knew was terminal then – injured knee is not a terminal disease.

Unfortunately I must say that the research was meaningless from a scientific standpoint. This is ICRP, [referring to slide] the radiation standard for protection developed in 1972. They knew about the experiments and referenced them. And they said because they were so poorly done and full of errors that the data from these 18 people were not meaningful in developing the radiation protection standard. So while these people may be heroes [reference to earlier testimony], because this won't happen, again, unfortunately, the science in, it was not science, that it didn't provide us meaningful information.

As you heard no medical follow-up care was planned and none was performed. The injection of lethal plutonium into healthy individuals, showed a reckless disregard for human life, by physicians, unfortunately, and others....

When is a serial killer not a serial killer? Suppose some dude is in the habit of asking people to go fishing with him, and when he gets them out on his boat, he spits in their faces and tells them that he is about to kill them and shoots them in the back of the head, chortling gleefully, and dumps their bodies in the water. He's a serial killer, right? When we catch this dude, he's a goner, right?

- Suppose, however, that he's wearing a white lab coat while he spits in their faces and tells them that he is about to kill them and shoots his victims in the back of the head, chortling gleefully, and dumps their bodies in the water. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner when we catch up with him?
- OK, suppose not only that he's got a white lab coat on, but that he actually is a licensed physician. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner, when we catch up with him?
- Suppose not only that he's a licensed physician wearing a white lab coat, but also, that he's under contract with the US government. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
- Suppose that, instead of inviting people out on his boat, he invites people into his lab at the University of Cincinnati, and invites them to sit in a special chair, and shoots them in the back of the head with one lead bullet of varying sizes and energies, in order to find out for our government the exact size and velocity of lead bullet to the back of the head, that it requires to produce assured death. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
- Suppose that, instead of shooting them in the back of the head with one lead bullet, he administers just millions and millions of little tiny neutron bullets all over their bodies, in order to find out for



- our government the exact dose and energy of neutron bullets, that it requires to produce assured death. Suppose that instead of spitting in their face and telling them that he's going to kill them, he pats their hands gently and tells them that he is going to try to cure them of life. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
- Suppose that, before administering just millions and millions of little tiny neutron bullets all over their bodies, he assures them that he is their health care provider, concerned to enhance their lives. Then, instead of dumping their bodies in the river, he has them incinerated and their ashes destroyed, so there could be no evidence of the levels of radiation to which they had been subjected, which had hastened their deaths. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
 - Suppose that, in killing people with his radiation experiments, he carefully selects only geriatrics who have only short lives remaining anyway, such as people maybe in their 70s, will likely be dead within a decade or so. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
 - Suppose that, in killing people with his radiation experiments, he carefully selects only people who supposedly would have only short lives remaining anyway, such as people who have been diagnosed with inoperable cancer who although they will not die right away, will likely be dead in six months or so. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
 - Suppose that, instead of shortening the lives of people with his radiation experiments as the US government desires, he cheats the federals out of their nickel, by attempting to select people who will benefit from radiation therapy, and suppose he tells these patients that he abides by the Hippocratic Oath "first, do no harm," and is going to try to prolong their lives and improve their quality of life, but suppose his judgment is not very good and inadvertently he actually is shortening these people's lives from a few months to a few weeks. Is he still a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can catch up with him?
 - Suppose that, instead of shortening the lives of people with his radiation experiments, he actually succeeds in selecting the right patients and the right dosages of radiation therapy, so that he somewhat lengthens these people's lives from a few months to a year or more. Is he still a serial killer, just because the government was paying him to be a serial killer and supposing that he was acting as a serial killer? Is he still a goner if we can ever catch up with him and hold him up to scrutiny — or is it our government that is a goner if we can ever catch up with it and hold it up to scrutiny?

At some point, I guess we can all agree, this dude has transited from being a serial killer to being a benefactor of humankind. At what step in the above analysis would this transition from serial killer to benefactor of humankind take place, between situation #1 and situation #2, or between situation #5 and situation #6, or between situation #9 and situation #10? At what point do we give him a gold medal rather than send him to the gas chamber? —In the case of [Dr. Eugene L. Saenger](#), his records of experimentation have subsequently been examined by a board of radiologists and oncologists and maybe even proctologists, for ethical irregularities, and he has been pronounced to be like Ivory Soap, 99⁴⁴/₁₀₀% pure. After killing 88 people, mostly poor and of color, he was allowed to retain his standing as an honored emeritus.¹⁴⁰

(I don't know whether this ethical board of radiologists and oncologists and maybe even proctologists took the Oath of Hippocrates, "first do no harm," into account. I am reminded instead of those letters that the king of France used to put out to his secret operatives, that could be produced to the local police upon reason to so, which declared in advance —in effect— that "It is for the good of the kingdom that this man has done what he has done.")

Yeah, right, 88 cancer patients died quickly rather than slowly — so that we all could enjoy life abundant in a squeaky-clean world free of the threat of war.

140. Not so the real [Dr. Josef Mengele](#), who in 1964 was retroactively stripped of his 1935/1938 accreditations by the Universities of München and Frankfurt.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

The year in which I had sat hunched over the shoulder of this job study engineer receiving secondhand his lethal dose of [Pu₂₃₈](#) was the year in which I had been fathering my first child, Cara Maria Meredith, who was born with multiple allergies and with a highly unusual big red semicircular mark on her forehead outside the hairline. When I saw my baby for the first time, at the hospital through the glass window, I sought out and interrogated the obstetrician, to be assured that no “spoon” had been used during Cara’s delivery. Had it been damaging for me or for my baby, for me to have been sitting in that way for eight hours a day five days a week at the Cincinnati Toilet Goods Plant of Procter & Gamble hunched over the shoulder of someone who was at the time being murdered with radiation by our government? Did my daughter receive her highly unusual outside-the-hairline birthmark due to radiation damage to my sperm? I simply don’t know, because I do not know with any level of assurance that the dose that Dr. Saenger was administering was given through exposure in his office, or was given by having the test subject ingest radioactive materials. Whether it was the one or the other would of course make a tremendous difference in the levels of radiation to which I in addition, by sitting close to this Job Study Engineer, was being exposed — was his body rendered radioactive, or was it not? Also, I am not myself able to calculate with any assuredness how much the high-energy neutron bullets emitted by Pu₂₃₈ are dissipated at the square of the distance in an average distance of two or three feet, passing through another person’s body before entering my own gonads. —And, we can be assured, nobody in the US government is ever going to be eager to tell us, even if we could ever be prepared to trust the word of such an agent. If somebody were to assure me that the dose Dr. Saenger was administering was given through exposure in his office, rather than by having the test subject ingest radioactive materials, how would I be able to know after they have destroyed all the evidence by disposing of the body, that they are telling me the truth?

After all, we do know that at least 18 US citizens have been experimented upon by the US government by injecting their bodies with radioactive Pt. We learned from [Science Trends](#) newsletter about some US Army [secret medical experiments](#) that had gone on from 1949 to 1969 in San Francisco, [Chicago](#), and Rochester as part of the Manhattan Project, involving “injection of relatively massive quantities of bomb-grade plutonium into the veins of 18 men, women, and children.” So, despite assurances that all Dr. Saenger was doing was subjecting his “patients” (experimental subjects) to irradiation — how can I know for sure that Dr. Saenger had not also been up to this testing by injection of radioactive materials?

1996

The Museum of Contemporary Art moved into the 1st new museum building constructed in [Chicago](#) in 60 years.

[Chicago](#) hosted the Democratic Party’s 1996 national convention.

October 24: A local [Illinois](#) newspaper obituary: “J. Lyndon Shanley, 86, professor emeritus of English at Northwestern University and [Henry David Thoreau](#) scholar, died Tuesday at Wagner Health Center in Evanston. Mr. Shanley, a scholar of English Renaissance literature, taught at the Evanston school from 1936 to 1978. He was known for his research on Thoreau’s [WALDEN](#), a book of philosophical observations.”

[TIMELINE OF WALDEN](#)

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

November 10: In [Chicago](#), Lake Shore Drive was relocated to the west. The new route created a “museum campus” that linked Soldier Field, the Adler Planetarium, the Shedd Aquarium, and the Field Museum.

November 15: In [Chicago](#), State Street reopened after a 10-month, \$24,500,000 renovation.

December 12: In beautiful downtown [Chicago](#), McCormick Place South opened, adding 840,000 square feet to the McCormick Place complexes.

Victor Ciorbea replaced Nicolae Vacaroiu as Prime Minister of Romania.

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts by act of its legislature adopted as its official state dessert the Boston Cream Pie that had been developed under the menu entry “Parker House Chocolate Cream Pie” at the [Parker House](#) in beautiful downtown [Boston](#):



In Baghdad, four men ambushed Uday Hussein, eldest son of Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein, firing 50 shots into his Porsche, 8 of which struck Uday. He would survive but be somewhat disabled for the remainder of his life (still fit enough to rape and videotape his rapes, he would be taken out by a Special Ops group in Mosul in 2003).

1997

[Chicago](#)’s City Council approved a resolution absolving Mrs. O’Leary’s cow of all blame for the Great Fire.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

1998

July: The Asian longhorned beetle was discovered in the quiet Ravenswood neighborhood of [Chicago](#), where old trees were dying.

1999



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: In Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Kodak co-sponsored a “Photo of the Century” ceremony in which a large number of people “born on the Fourth of July” (Nathaniel Hawthorne didn’t show up) were bunched up in front of Independence Hall to have their collective picture taken. Kodak film was used.

At Rittenhouse Square in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, “President McKinley” and “Theodore Roosevelt” delivered holiday orations more or less like orations that had occurred a century before, on July 4, 1899.

In Rockford, [Illinois](#), a granite war memorial was dedicated in Veterans Park.

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY

2006

November 3, Friday morning: During our own lifetimes, on November 2, 1965 outside the Pentagon in Washington DC, making a personal protest against war in [Vietnam](#), [Friend](#) Norman Morrison immolated himself, and, on this day almost 41 years to the day later, there was another such self-immolation, this one at the Millennium Flame sculpture on the Kennedy Expressway near downtown [Chicago](#). This time it was peace activist Malachi Ritscher and this time the self-immolator’s protest was against war in Iraq and Afghanistan. Perhaps we need to use this occasion take a look at the origins of [Quaker](#) self-martyrdom, something which goes way, way back –all the way back at least to Boston– for when [Friend](#) [Mary Dyer](#) traveled there from the safety of her [Aquidneck Island](#) home in the [Narragansett Bay](#) to preach yet again, after once already having been excused and warned by the Puritans only at the foot of the hanging tree on Boston Common, she had well known what fate she was choosing for herself.

While preparing to sacrifice himself Malachi put up the following Love-Is-Anti-Entropy message at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery99.htm>:

- mission statement -



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

My actions should be self-explanatory, and since in our self-obsessed culture words seldom match the deed, writing a mission statement would seem questionable. So judge me by my actions. Maybe some will be scared enough to wake from their walking dream state – am I therefore a martyr or terrorist? I would prefer to be thought of as a “spiritual warrior.” Our so-called leaders are the real terrorists in the world today, responsible for more deaths than Osama bin Laden.

I have had a wonderful life, both full and full of wonder. I have experienced love and the joy and heartache of raising a child. I have jumped out of an airplane, and escaped a burning building. I have spent the night in jail, and dropped acid during the sixties. I have been privileged to have met many supremely talented musicians and writers, most of whom were extremely generous and gracious.

Even during the hard times, I felt charmed. Even the difficult lessons have been like blessed gifts.

When I hear about our young men and women who are sent off to war in the name of God and Country, and who give up their lives for no rational cause at all, my heart is crushed. What has happened to my country? We have become worse than the imagined enemy – killing civilians and calling it “collateral damage,” torturing and trampling human rights inside and outside our own borders, violating our own Constitution whenever it seems convenient, lying and stealing right and left, more concerned with sports on television and ring-tones on cell-phones than the future of the world ... half the population is taking medication because they cannot face the daily stress of living in the richest nation in the world.

I too love God and Country, and feel called upon to serve. I can only hope my sacrifice is worth more than those brave lives thrown away when we attacked an Arab nation under the deception of “Weapons of Mass Destruction.” Our interference completely destroyed that country, and destabilized the entire region. Everyone who pays taxes has blood on their hands.

I have had one previous opportunity to serve my country in a meaningful way – at 8:05 one morning in 2002, I passed Donald Rumsfeld on Delaware Avenue, and I was acutely aware that slashing his throat would spare the lives of thousands, if not hundreds of thousands, of innocent people. I had a knife clenched in my hand, and there were no bodyguards visible; to my deep shame I hesitated, and the moment was past.

The violent turmoil initiated by the United States military invasion of Iraq will beget future centuries of slaughter, if the human race lasts that long. First we spit on the United Nations, then we expect them to clean up our mess. Our elected representatives are supposed to find diplomatic and benevolent solutions to these situations. Anyone can lash out and retaliate, that is not leadership or vision. Where is the wisdom and honor of the people we delegate our trust to?

To the rest of the world we are cowards – demanding Iraq to disarm, and after they comply, we attack with remote-control high-tech video-game weapons. And then lie about our reasons for invading. We, the people, bear complete responsibility for all that will follow, and it won’t be pretty.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

It is strange that most if not all of this destruction is instigated by people who claim to believe in God, or Allah. Many sane people turn away from religion, faced with the insanity of the "true believers." There is a lot of confusion: many people think that God is like Santa Claus, rewarding good little girls with presents and punishing bad little boys with lumps of coal; actually God functions more like the Easter Bunny, hiding surprises in plain sight. God does not choose the Lottery numbers, God does not make the weather, God does not endorse military actions by the self-righteous, God does not sit on a cloud listening to your prayers for prosperity. God does not smite anybody. If God watches the sparrow fall, you notice that it continues to drop, even to its death. Face the truth folks, God doesn't care, that's not what God is or does. If the human race drives itself to extinction, God will be there for another couple million years, "watching" as a new species rises and falls to replace us. It is time to let go of primitive and magical beliefs, and enter the age of personal responsibility. Not telling others what is right for them, but making our own choices, and accepting consequences.

"Who would Jesus bomb?" This question is primarily addressing a Christian audience, but the same issues face the Muslims and the Jews: God's message is tolerance and love, not self-righteousness and hatred. Please consider "Thou shalt not kill" and "As ye sow, so shall ye reap." Not a lot of ambiguity there. What is God? God is the force of life – the spark of creation. We each carry it within us, we share it with each other. Whether we are conscious of the life-force is a choice we make, every minute of every day. If you choose to ignore it, nothing will happen – you are just "less conscious." Maybe you are less happy (maybe not). Maybe you grow able to tap into the universal force, and increase the creativity in the universe. Love is anti-entropy. Please notice that "conscious" and "conscience" are related concepts.

Why God – what is the value? Whether committee consensus of a benevolent power that works through humans, or giant fungus under Oregon, the value of opening up to the concept of God is in coming to the realization that we are not alone, establishing a connection to the universe, the experience of finding completion. As individuals we may exist alone, but we are all alone together as a people. Faith is the answer to fear. Fear opposes love. To manipulate through fear is a betrayal of trust. What does God want? No big mystery – simply that we try to help each other. We decide to make God-like decisions, rescuing falling sparrows, or putting the poor things out of their misery. Tolerance, giving, acceptance, forgiveness.

If this sounds a lot like pop psychology, that is my exact goal. Never underestimate the value of a pep-talk and a pat on the ass. That is basically all we give to our brave soldiers heading over to Iraq, and more than they receive when they return. I want to state these ideas in their simplest form, reducing all complexity, because each of us has to find our own answers anyway. Start from here....

I am amazed how many people think they know me, even people who I have never talked with. Many people will think that I should



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

not be able to choose the time and manner of my own death. My position is that I only get one death, I want it to be a good one. Wouldn't it be better to stand for something or make a statement, rather than a fiery collision with some drunk driver? Are not smokers choosing death by lung cancer? Where is the dignity there? Are not the people who disregard the environment killing themselves and future generations?

Here is the statement I want to make: if I am required to pay for your barbaric war, I choose not to live in your world. I refuse to finance the mass murder of innocent civilians, who did nothing to threaten our country. I will not participate in your charade – my conscience will not allow me to be a part of your crusade. There might be some who say "it's a coward's way out" – that opinion is so idiotic that it requires no response. From my point of view, I am opening a new door.

What is one more life thrown away in this sad and useless national tragedy? If one death can atone for anything, in any small way, to say to the world: I apologize for what we have done to you, I am ashamed for the mayhem and turmoil caused by my country. I was alive when John F. Kennedy instilled hope into a generation, and I was a sorry witness to the final crushing of hope by Dick Cheney's puppet, himself a pawn of the real rulers, the financial plunderers and looters who profit from every calamity; following the template of Reagan's idiocracy. The upcoming elections are not a solution – our two party system is a failure of democracy. Our government has lost its way since our founders tried to build a structure which allowed people to practice their own beliefs, as far as it did not negatively affect others. In this regard, the separation of church and state needs to be reviewed. This is a large part of the way that the world has gone wrong, the endless defining and dividing of things, micro-sub-categorization, sectarianism. The direction we need is a process of unification, integrating all people into a world body, respecting each individual. Business and industry have more power than ever before, and individuals have less. Clearly, the function of government is to protect the individual, from hardship and disease, from zealots, from the exploitation, from monopoly, even from itself. Our leaders are not wise persons with integrity and vision – they are actors reading from teleprompters, whose highest goal is to stir up the mob. Our country slaughters Arabs, abandons New Orleansians, and ignores the dying environment. Our economy is a house of cards, as hollow and fragile as our reputation around the world. We, as a nation, face the abyss of our own design.

A coalition system which includes a Green Party would be an obvious better approach than our winner-take-all system. Direct electronic debate and balloting would be an improvement over our non-representative congress. Consider that the French people actually have a voice, because they are willing to riot when the government doesn't listen to them.

"Any people anywhere, being inclined and having the power, have the right to rise up, and shake off the existing government ..."
– Abraham Lincoln

With regard to those few who crossed my path carrying the extreme and unnecessary weight of animosity: they seemed by their



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

efforts to be punishing themselves. As they acted out the misery of their lives it is now difficult to feel anything other than pity for them.

Without fear, I go now to God – your future is what you will choose today.

Malachi had also put his own “blogobituary” on the internet, at <http://www.savagesound.com/gallery100.htm>:

Malachi Ritscher

- out of time -

Chicago resident Malachi Ritscher passed away last (day of week), a (tragic, baffling, mundane) death at the age of (subtract 1954 from current year). He was the modern day version of a “renaissance man,” except instead of attaining success in several fields, he consistently failed, and didn’t really worry too much about it. For example, his boxing record in Golden Gloves. The eldest son of Richard C. Ritscher, a music educator, he collected and played many exotic instruments, without mastering any. Most recently, he had been playing a vintage Conn C-Melody saxophone that once belonged to free-spirit Hal Russell. Malachi was best known for his live concert recordings, mostly of local jazz groups who couldn’t afford expensive studios. His license plates said AKG C 414, after his favorite microphones. Upwards of fifty recordings were eventually released commercially, with some acclaim for their natural sound. His archive of live recordings he had documented exceeded 2000 shows. Mostly he was just a big fan.

Also he was a film photographer, with a picture of a peregrine falcon chick published in a local Audubon magazine, and related video footage shown on local television news. He wrote poetry that was not published, painted watercolors in a quirky naive style, and participated passionately in the anti-war and free speech movement. He was arrested at a protest on March 20, 2003 and spent the night in jail, then became a member of the pending class-action suit against the City of Chicago. Arrested again two years later, he successfully sued the City of Chicago for false arrest on 1st Amendment/free speech grounds. One of his proudest achievements was an ultra-searing hot sauce recipe, which he registered under the name “Undead Sauce – re-animate yourself!” It was a blend of tropical peppers, which he grew indoors in 5-gallon buckets, and a few secret ingredients that gave it a unique flavor (pomegranate, pistachio, and cinnamon). Born Mark David Ritscher in Dickinson, North Dakota on January 13, 1954, he lived most of his life in the mid-west, ranging from small-town Madison, South Dakota to Chicago, where he moved in 1981, changing his first name to Malachi. As a child, he was intensely afraid of many things, especially heights; he spent the rest of his life trying to face his fears, without ever coming to terms with his fear of people. He dropped out of high school and married at the age of 17, a union that lasted almost 10 years. He became an ordained minister with the Missionaries of the New Truth in 1972, and had performed several weddings. He provided for his family with a variety of trade positions,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

eventually reaching Journeyman High-Voltage Technician status with the electric utility in Lincoln, Nebraska. He became a Licensed Stationary Engineer in 1987. He was a member of several unions throughout his career, including IBEW, IUOE, and SEIU. He was proud to be a dues-paying proletariat intellectual. After getting divorced, he relocated to Chicago to work with friends in an art-rock band, which inevitably led to forming a trio called "wantnot," recording and releasing a CD in 1990, with Malachi on bass and vocals, Mike Mansfield on guitar, and Janna Brooks on drums. The cover design received an award from the American Center for Design, which didn't increase sales. He also designed skateboard decks, flyers, and t-shirts, with similar commercial results.

He was a collector of several things: books, records, meteorites, butterfly knives, keris, glass eyes, fossil tully monsters, microphones, medium-base lightbulbs, and instruments, especially snare drums. He was a man of strong contrasts, and fierce loyalties. There was a joy of life, which balanced a suspicious misanthropy. Endless pondering of existential gray areas could be interrupted by a totally spontaneous act: jumping in his car to drive downtown and participate in the Sears Tower stair-climb (2003). When he read Goethe's words "Nowhere but in his own Montserrat will a man find happiness and peace," his first thought was to find out where it is, and then book a flight there. He had memorized Pi to the 1101 decimal place, and would recite it at will. He could shave with a straight razor. He loved cinnamon rolls. He loved the smell of turpentine. He also loved motorcycles, which he wisely avoided. In the words of Stephen Wright, he was a "peripheral visionary." His sense of humor was droll – he theorized that surprise and not tragedy was the most important element of comedy. His favorite joke was to walk into a room, sniff the air, and observe "it smells like snot in here." His favorite word was "ominous." His favorite two words were "Tahitian hiatus." He always carried his passport with him.

He owned and maintained several web-sites:

<http://www.savagesound.com>

<http://www.unwinnablewar.net>

<http://www.killthepresident.net>

<http://www.warwhores.us>

In addition, he was preparing

<http://www.publicparkingparty.org>

... to promote protection of residents' rights in Chicago.

A lover of literature, even more than music, he had always dreamed of being a writer. The handwritten manuscript of his "fictional autobiography," titled "Farewell Tour," was under consideration by publishers. It had a general theme of shared universal aloneness, and was controversial for seeming to endorse suicide after the age of fifty. His favorite classic authors were Proust and Shakespeare.

The metaphor for his life was winning the lottery, but losing the ticket. In the end, the loneliness was overwhelming. He was deeply appreciative for everything that had been given to him,



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

but acutely aware that the greater the present, the higher the price. He was a member of Mensa, and of Alcoholics Anonymous since 1990. For him, sobriety was virtually getting a second chance at life. He practiced a personal and private spirituality, seeking to connect across the illusion that separates us from each other. Reportedly, his last words were "rosebud ... oops."

Near his end, he was purchasing real estate in Vancouver with the intention of eventual emigration, unable to reconcile his conscience with his tax dollars financing an unjust war. He frequently took short trips to New York City and New Orleans, where he made more recordings of concerts. Europe seemed more civilized to him, and he experienced Paris and Amsterdam, Germany and Switzerland, as well as Madrid and Barcelona.

His family was far-flung, surviving parents Richard and Betty Ann, older sisters Carol and Susan, younger siblings Paul, Jon, and Ellen; nieces Laurel, Carol, Julia, Jessica, Marissa, and nephew Aaron. He had a son, from whom he was estranged (at the son's request), and two grandchildren. He had many acquaintances, but few friends; and wrote his own obituary, because no one else really knew him. He has a plot at Calvary Cemetery in Evanston, Illinois; and the epithet he chose is "I Dreamt That I Was Dreaming."

Bruno Johnson of Okkadisk will have the dubious honor of maintaining archives and dispersing collections.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

– Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST





CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Prepared: May 20, 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.



CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

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.