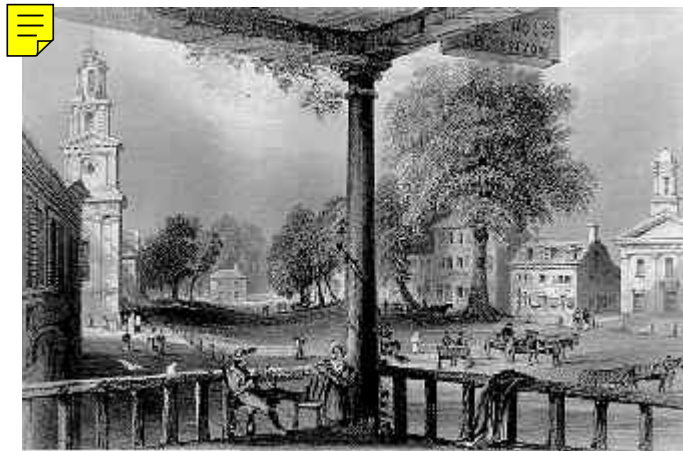


**NONOTUCK (NORTHAMPTON), AND OF COURSE FLORENCE TOO,
WITH APPROPRIATE ATTENTION PAID TO ITS MOST ILLUSTRIOUS
AND FAMOUS CITIZEN, SOJOURNER TRUTH**



"I know histhry isn't thrue, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histhry iv Greece or Rome that'll show me th' people fightin', gettin' dhrunk, makin' love, gettin' married, owin' th' grocery man an' bein' without hard coal, I'll believe they was a Greece or Rome, but not befur."



— Dunne, Finley Peter,
OBSERVATIONS BY MR. DOOLEY,
New York, 1902



FLORENCE MA

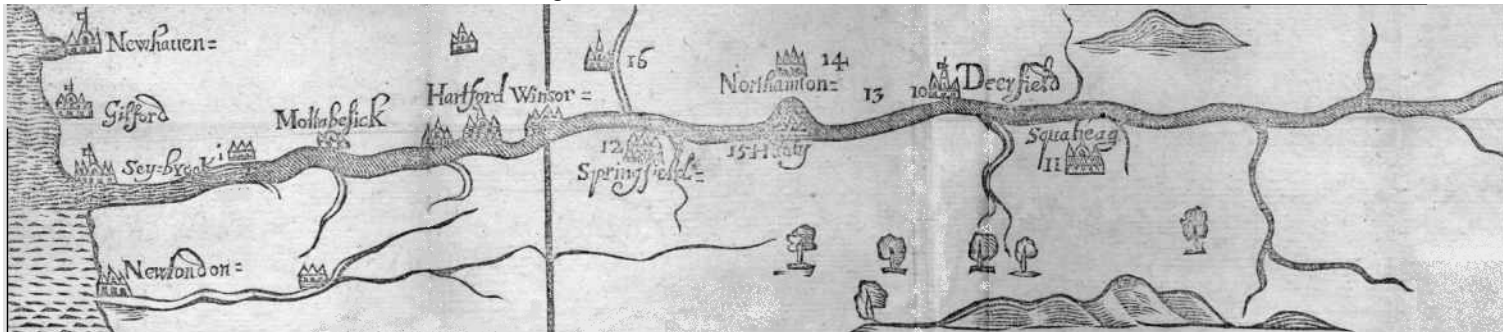
NORTHAMPTON

1653

The land for [Northampton](#) was bought of its native inhabitants by John Pynchon.

1654

What had been, on the Connecticut River at the “oxbow,” the Native American village of *Nonotuck* or “Middle of the River,” had suddenly become, with the arrival of the 1st white settlers, a rather different sort of town from what it had been before. —But it was not yet renamed [Northampton](#) in honor of an undistinguished town in the midlands of Old England.



1655

At the new white settlement on the oxbow of the Connecticut River, the 1st white-folks meetinghouse was erected, and there it was determined that the town’s name needed to be changed from Nonantum to [Northampton](#).



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1656

There was a [witchcraft](#) trial in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts.



1658

The 1st court was held in [Northampton](#). The 1st ferry service began there, across the Connecticut River. The Reverend Eleazar Mather was selected as the town's minister.

1661

June 18: The 1st Church of [Northampton](#) was organized.

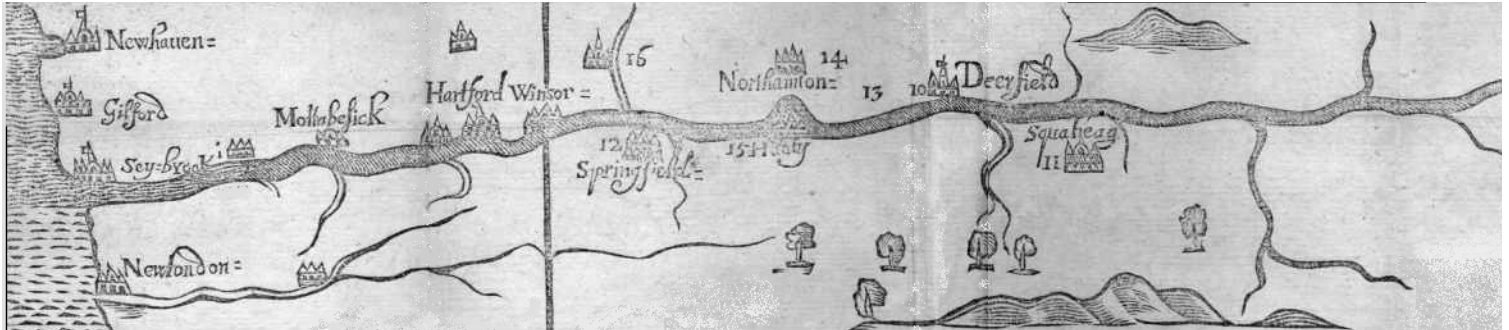
1662

A cemetery was begun on Bridge Street in [Northampton](#).

FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

During a Nonotuck ([Northampton](#)) plantation survey, Mount Holyoke¹ and Mount Tom were named respectively after Elizur Holyoke and Rowland Thomas.



1664

The 1st school was begun in [Northampton](#).

1669

The Reverend Solomon Stoddard was called to become the minister in [Northampton](#).

1675

Early in the year: Mary Parsons was again accused of [witchcraft](#) in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts. She was tried and acquitted.

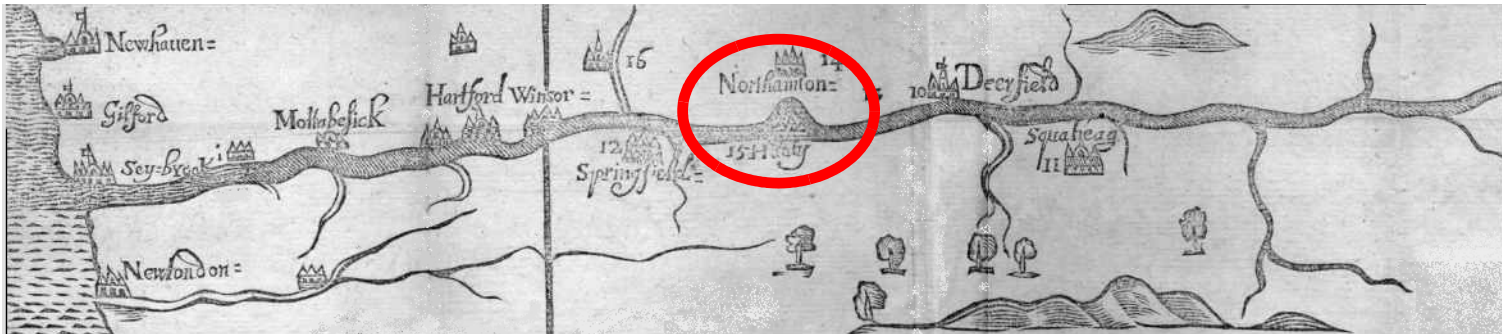


1. "Mount" Holyoke is a brushy hill 960 feet high.

FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

It was in about this year that the regicide Edward Whalley died in hiding in the Connecticut River valley, in the district known as “the Hadley MA honey-pot,” inside the ox-box of the Connecticut River near present-day [Northampton](#), in the house of Mr. Russell the minister, and was buried in a tomb just without the house’s cellar wall. His son-in-law Major-General William Goffe, also involved in the execution of Charles I in 1649, survived to hide on after him alone.



Refer to [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s “The Gray Champion” (TWICE-TOLD TALES, 1837, 1851), in which Goffe makes an appearance:

WALDEN: I have occasional visits in the long winter evenings, when the snow falls fast and the wind howls in the wood, from an old settler and original proprietor, who is reported to have dug Walden Pond, and stoned it, and fringed it with pine woods; who tells me stories of old time and of new eternity; and between us we manage to pass a cheerful evening with social mirth and pleasant views of things, even without apples or cider, –a most wise and humorous friend, whom I love much, who keeps himself more secret than ever did Goffe or Whalley; and though he is thought to be dead, none can show where he is buried. An elderly dame, too, dwells in my neighborhood, invisible to most persons, in whose odorous herb garden I love to stroll sometimes, gathering simples and listening to her fables; for she has a genius of unequalled fertility, and her memory runs back farther than mythology, and she can tell me the original of every fable, and on what fact every one is founded, for the incidents occurred when she was young. A ruddy and lusty old dame, who delights in all weathers and seasons, and is likely to outlive all her children yet.



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

September 19: During September, bands of warriors had been roaming the valley of the Connecticut River. The military garrison at Hadley MA had been growing, and provisions for these troops needed to be sent from the individual villages. On this day, while Captain Thomas Lathrop with 80 men were riding convoy for a wagon train from Deerfield loaded with threshed wheat on its way to the mill just north of the Hadley garrison, the convoy needed to traverse a narrow, swampy thicket with a brook, near what is now [Northampton](#). During the extended period of time that it took to get the heavily laden carts across the brook, the soldiers had tossed their rifles atop the loads. Some were gathering the grapes that grew alongside the brook. Hundreds of warriors lay in concealment. When they opened fire, the captain fell immediately and only 7 or 8 of the whites would escape; not one of the Deerfield men who were driving the carts would survive. Captain Moseley and his troop of 60 soldiers were close enough to hurry to the scene. In among the corpses, one of the wounded, Robert Dutch of Ipswich, had been able to successfully play dead:



Captain Mosely came upon the Indians in the morning; he found them stripping the slain, amongst whom was one Robert Dutch, of Ipswich, who, having been sorely wounded, by a bullet that raised his scull, and then mauled by the Indian hatchets, was left for dead by the savages, and stript by them of all but his skin; yet, when Captain Mosely came near, he almost miraculously, as one raised from the dead, came towards the English, to their no small amazement; by whom being received and clothed, he was carried off to the next garrison, and is living, and in perfect health at this day.

For approximately six hours, neither side could gain the upper hand. Finally a troop of 100 Connecticut soldiers with a band of Mohegans arrived on the scene, whereupon the ambushers faded into the forest. The surviving soldiers straggled back to Deerfield and that night would be taunted by warriors who from a safe distance would wave items stripped from English corpses.² The surviving soldiers returned the next day to dig a mass grave. The sluggish stream would be known as Bloody Brook. Shortly afterward, Deerfield would be abandoned and would be torched by Phillip's warriors. In the town of South Deerfield MA a stone shaft marks the edge of the swampy area in which this ambush occurred.

"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"

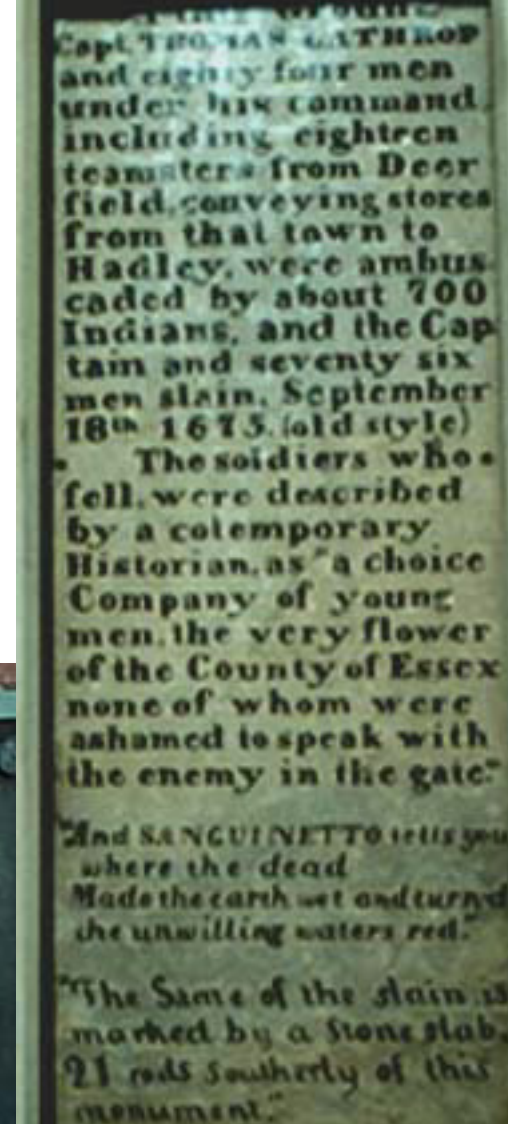
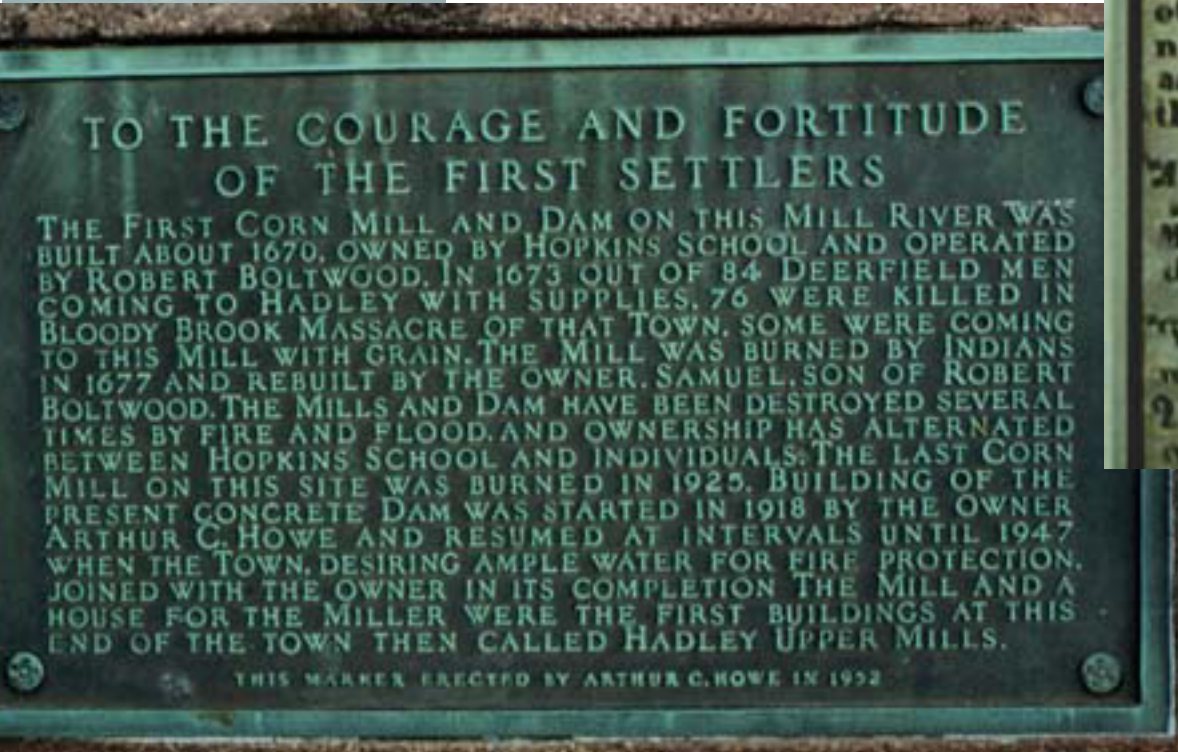
(However, Samuel Sewall has it in his diary that "Sept. 13. Saturday, was that lamentable fight, when Capt. Latrop with sixty-four killed.")

2. Among the corpses was that of Samuel Crumpton of Salem. His widow Jane Crumpton would remarry with Captain Richard More and help him keep his tavern.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON



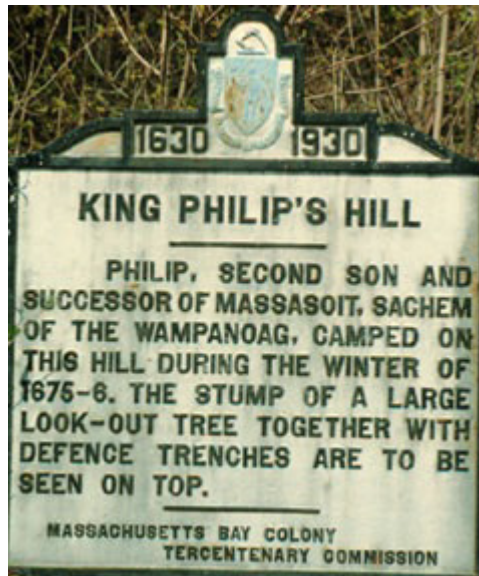


FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1676

February 14, Monday: [Mistress Mary Rowlandson](#) sat in the native encampment and waited out her period of affliction, with her sick child upon her knees.



[CAPTIVITY AND RESTAURATION](#)

Sachem [Metacom](#), back from his failed diplomatic mission among the *Mohawk* to the west, led the remaining [Wampanoag](#) warriors in a desperate raid on [Northampton](#).

In Boston, the Massachusetts Council was in debate over the probable effectiveness and cost of a proposal to defend the city by the erection of a defensive wall of stone or wood eight feet in height all the way across from the Charles River to the bay.

[“KING PHILLIP’S WAR”](#)

1677

The white people surrounded their meetinghouse in [Northampton](#) with a palisade.



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1679

We have a record that in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts during this year, a complaint of [witchcraft](#) was filed and some formal step such as petition or deposition was taken towards prosecution, but we have no record of anything further.



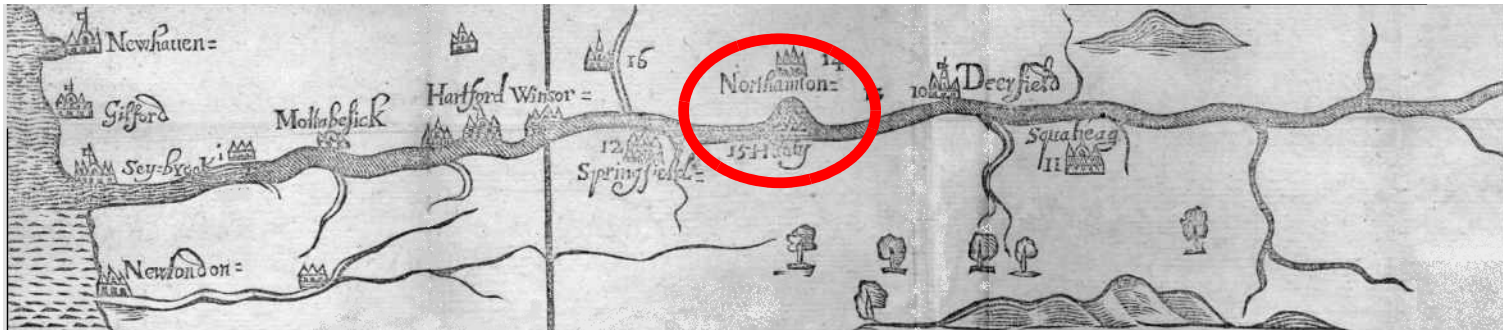
William Goffe, regicide who had been living in secrecy for some years in the home of the Reverend John Russell of Hadley MA in the district known as “the Hadley honey-pot,” inside the ox-box of the Connecticut River near present-day [Northampton](#), died at about this point after outliving his father-in-law Edward Whalley by some four years. At the neck of the ox-bow had lived a pastor Russell who helped them. Refer to [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s “The Gray Champion” (TWICE-TOLD TALES, 1837, 1851), in which Goffe makes an appearance:

[WALDEN](#): I have occasional visits in the long winter evenings, when the snow falls fast and the wind howls in the wood, from an old settler and original proprietor, who is reported to have dug Walden Pond, and stoned it, and fringed it with pine woods; who tells me stories of old time and of new eternity; and between us we manage to pass a cheerful evening with social mirth and pleasant views of things, even without apples or cider, –a most wise and humorous friend, whom I love much, who keeps himself more secret than ever did Goffe or Whalley; and though he is thought to be dead, none can show where he is buried. An elderly dame, too, dwells in my neighborhood, invisible to most persons, in whose odorous herb garden I love to stroll sometimes, gathering simples and listening to her fables; for she has a genius of unequalled fertility, and her memory runs back farther than mythology, and she can tell me the original of every fable, and on what fact every one is founded, for the incidents occurred when she was young. A ruddy and lusty old dame, who delights in all weathers and seasons, and is likely to outlive all her children yet.

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NORTHAMPTON

The corpses of the two fugitives have since been located in an unmarked grave close to the foundation of the Reverend John Russell's house.



The Angel of Hadley



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1703

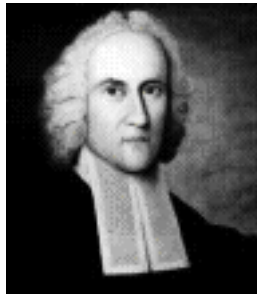
Fall: The Reverend Solomon Stoddard of [Northampton](#) urged the use of dogs “*to hunt Indians as they do Bears.*” Dogs could catch those too quick for the townsmen, and this was a legitimate form of warfare because the natives “*act like wolves and are to be dealt with as wolves.*”³

1723

→ October 31: It was on this very date, most likely, that the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) was posting his “Spider” letter to the Honorable Paul Dudley, Associate Justice of the Superior court of Massachusetts, and Fellow of the Royal Society of London, who had been was a frequent contributor to the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society. Edwards copied out this letter of his most carefully, presumably because he was intending for it to be published.

1724

The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) entered upon a 2-year Tutorship at Yale College.



The bulk of his work in Natural Theology would be completed before he would go off to [Northampton](#) to assist his grandfather, the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, in the ministry there in 1726:

- **“Of Insects”**
Part of the “Spider Papers” 1st published by Serano Dwight in his LIFE OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS, Edwards gives the background of how he became interested in the life and characteristics of the “flying” spider.
- **“Of Atoms”**
1st published in THE LIFE OF PRESIDENT EDWARDS, by Serano Dwight. He argued for God’s existence because of the existence of “solid matter.”

3. Sheldon, DEERFIELD, Volume I, page 290



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

- **“Beauty of the World” and “Wisdom in the Contrivance of the World”**

These are part of Edwards’s writings on “Natural Philosophy.” Edwards returned time and time again to the fact that it is God, and his Grace and Glory that are the only reason for creation and all the beauty contained in it.

- **“Of Being”**

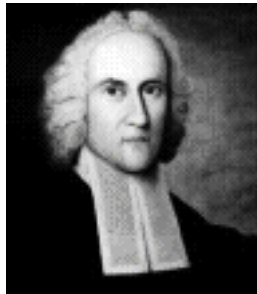
Written as both a defense of the Revivals in colonial New England, and a warning of false profession and religion, THE RELIGIOUS AFFECTIONS ranks as one of the most powerful works ever written. It has been said that, “if one can read Religious Affections, and still be convinced they belong to Christ, they most assuredly must be.” Edwards’s objective was to distinguish between true and false religion by showing the marks of a saving work of the Holy Spirit in men. In his preface, he stressed the importance of using “our utmost endeavours clearly to discern ... wherein true religion does consist” because “till this be done, it may be expected that great revivings of religion will be but of short continuance.”

- **“The Mind”**

A series of entries made at various times, “The Mind” is a collection of thoughts on no longer extant manuscripts. Serano Dwight originally published “The Mind” in 1829. This series of articles presumably constituted the outlines of a book that Edwards wanted to publish that was to be entitled “The Natural History of the Mental or Internal World.”

1726

The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) became Associate Minister in [Northampton](#) under his popular grandfather, the Reverend Solomon Stoddard.



READ A BIOGRAPHY

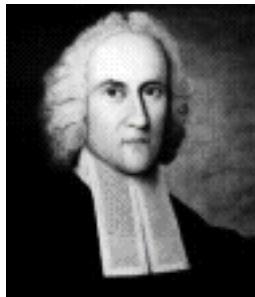


FLORENCE MA

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1729

February: Upon the death of the Reverend Solomon Stoddard, the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) became full pastor of the 1st Church of [Northampton](#).



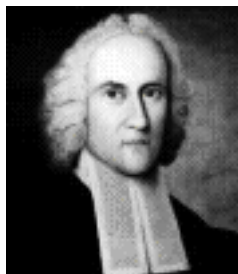
READ A BIOGRAPHY

1730

[Northampton](#) divided itself forever into a Northampton and a Southampton.

1734

The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) preached on “Justification by Faith” and revival broke out in [Northampton](#).



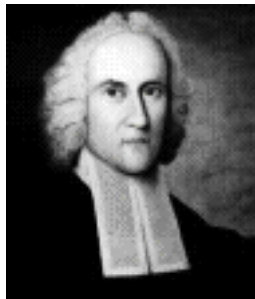


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1737

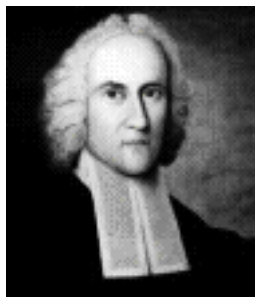
The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) published “A Faithful Narrative of the Surprising Work of God,” defending the [Northampton](#) revival.



A first courthouse was constructed in [Northampton](#), and a replacement for its old meetinghouse. While constructing the new meetinghouse a group of local men consumed 69 gallons of rum, 36 pounds of sugar, and several barrels of cider — in one week.

1741

In Enfield, Connecticut, the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) preached about “Sinners in the Hands of an Angry God.”



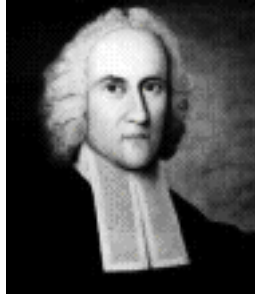
He would shortly be penning, in his private journal, that he “*doubted not, the Millennium began when there was such an Awakening at [NORTH-HAMPTON](#) 8 years past.*”



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After hearing the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) deliver “The Distinguishing Marks of a Work of a Spirit of



God,” and graduating from Yale College, [Samuel Hopkins](#) continued his studies with the Reverend [Edwards](#) at [Northampton](#), Massachusetts. He would become a Calvinist pastor, first in Great Barrington, Massachusetts and later in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

1742

The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) published his credo, SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT REVIVAL OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND. The next year the Reverend Charles Chauncy of the Presbyterian First Church of [Boston](#) would publish a censorious rebuttal, SEASONABLE THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND, which would lengthily disapprove of shepherds such as the Reverend Edwards who, in dealing with their flock, “aimed at putting their Passions into a Ferment.”

READ A BIOGRAPHY

After studying with the Reverend [Edwards](#) at [Northampton](#), Massachusetts, [Samuel Hopkins](#) was licensed to preach. He would become a Calvinist pastor, first in Great Barrington, Massachusetts and later in [Newport, Rhode Island](#).

1743

The Reverend Charles Chauncy of the Presbyterian First Church of [Boston](#) published a rebuttal to the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#)’s credo of the preceding year, SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING THE PRESENT REVIVAL OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND. This censorious tract he entitled SEASONABLE THOUGHTS ON THE STATE OF RELIGION IN NEW ENGLAND. The problem was that shepherds such as the Reverend [Edwards](#) of [Northampton](#), in dealing with their flock, “aimed at putting their Passions into a Ferment.”



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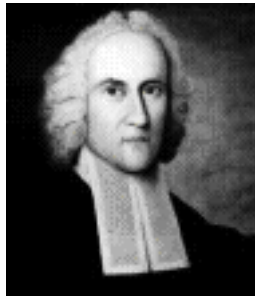
1744

The Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) was expelled from the pulpit of the 1st Church at [Northampton](#).

READ A BIOGRAPHY

1750

By a 20-2 margin the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) was dismissed as pastor of the Church in [Northampton](#).



READ A BIOGRAPHY

1767

Joseph Hawley and Seth Pomeroy⁴ of [Northampton](#) were invited to represent their community at a “Provincial Congress” that was being organized.

4. This Seth Pomeroy of [Northampton](#) would serve as a general during the Battle of Bunker Hill.



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1775

April 21: A company of Minute Men under the command of Captain John Allen set out on their march from their homes in the vicinity of [Northampton](#), toward the sea.

A “Revolutionary Extra Edition” of the [Salem Gazette, or Newbury and Marblehead Advertiser](#) was put out onto the street by Ezekiel Russell, in which the regular army found itself accused of “circumstances of cruelty not less brutal than what our venerable ancestors received from the vilest of savages in the wilderness.” Russell evidently had not heard of, or preferred not to tell of, the hatchet murder and mutilation by a Concordian of one of the wounded soldiers after the engagement!

Likewise the [Essex Gazette](#) was declaring “We have the pleasure to say, that, notwithstanding the highest Provocations ... not one Instance of Cruelty ... was committed by our victorious Militia; but listening to the merciful dictates of the Christian Religion, they ‘Breathed higher Sentiments of Humanity’,” relying evidently on the exculpatory tale that people were telling one another, that the [Concord](#) man who had dispatched the wounded soldier after the engagement at the [Old North Bridge](#) over the [Concord River](#) had supposedly not been a member of the militia with a shoulder weapon but supposedly had only been a local handyman running around afterward with his trusty hatchet.⁵

1778

[Northampton](#) again separated itself, this time into a Northampton and a Westhampton.

1785

[Northampton](#) again separated itself, this time into a Northampton and an Easthampton.

5. A subtle bit of truth-telling worthy of a William Jefferson Clinton!

It all depends on what “is” means!





FLORENCE MA

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1786

[Northampton](#)'s 1st newspaper, the Hampshire Gazette, began operations.

September 8, Friday: In the previous month about 1,500 men had assembled under arms at [Northampton](#), Massachusetts and prevented the sitting of a court. Since there was a session of the Court of Common Pleas scheduled to sit in [Concord](#) on Tuesday, September 12th, the Governor ordered the artillery companies of Roxbury and Dorchester to march upon Concord under General Brooks "to support the court on Tuesday next." Did these people suppose that revolution meant revolution? If a spirit of insurrection was in the air — well, it was going to be dealt with more firmly in Concord than it had been in Northampton!

[Concord](#), from its central situation and importance in the county, was also the theatre of many interesting events during the insurrection of 1786, known as "Shays' Insurrection." In common with other towns, it felt, with great severity, the pressure of the times immediately succeeding the revolutionary war. The large drafts on the town for men and money to carry on that war, the scarcity of money and the depreciation in value of that received for public service, the decay of business, the increase of public and private debts, and the numerous law-suits arising therefrom, the introduction of profligate manners and the want of confidence in government, with other existing evils, were grievances (as they were then generally called), which produced great public and private embarrassment. There were a few persons in this, and many in other towns in the county, who were inclined to join in such an appeal to arms as would, in their opinion, compel the government to grant relief. A great majority of the inhabitants of Concord lamented the existing evils, but their proceedings were constitutional, conciliatory and highly commendable. Interesting and able instructions, given to the representatives in 1782, 1784 and 1786, express the sentiments of the town on the subjects which then agitated the community, and are found in the town records.

A convention of delegates from a majority of the towns in the county of Middlesex was held in Concord, August 23, 1786, "to consult on matters of public grievance under which the people labor." This convention was called by Captain John Nutting, of Pepperell, chairman of a convention of committees from Groton, Pepperell, Shirley, Townsend and Ashby, which had met at Groton the 29th of the previous June. Concord was represented in the convention by Messrs. Isaac Hubbard, David Brown, Jonas Lee, Joseph Chandler, and Samuel Bartlett; and, to guard them against any rash proceedings, the town instructed them, "to oppose every unconstitutional measure that may be proposed by said convention, strictly to adhere to the rules prescribed by the constitution of this commonwealth; in particular, to oppose any instructions in favor of paper money being emitted; and that they endeavour to take every measure to encourage industry, frugality, and good economy through the country." John Merriam and Timothy Jones were delegates from Bedford; Simon Tuttle and



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Thomas Noyes from Acton; Samuel Farrar and Samuel Hoar from Lincoln; and Thomas Hutchins and Asa Parlin from Carlisle. After the objects of the meeting had been considered, ten articles of grievance voted and an address to the public adopted and ordered to be published, the convention adjourned to meet again on the first Tuesday in October. There were several in this convention who took an active part in the subsequent opposition to government.

These proceedings did not meet the entire approbation of the people of Concord. They were aware that some of these sentiments were highly improper, and, if carried into effect, would lead to open rebellion. On the 22d of August, conventions had been held in the counties of Hampshire and Berkshire whose proceedings were similar to those in Middlesex; and about 1,500 men had actually assembled under arms at [Northampton](#), and prevented the sitting of the court there. The Court of Common Pleas, which was to sit in Concord on the 12th of September following, had been mentioned by the Middlesex convention as one of the public grievances. And though there was good ground to believe the people of this county were more averse to rebellion than some others, yet disturbance was anticipated.

September 8th, the Governor ordered that the artillery companies of Roxbury and Dorchester be called upon to march to Concord, "to support the court on Tuesday next, to be under the command of General Brooks." Such other companies as the exigencies might require were to be ordered from the county of Suffolk.

At this critical period, a special town meeting was called on Saturday the 9th, when the riotous measures, which had taken place in other counties to suppress courts of justice, were "seriously and deliberately" discussed. The town voted that they were "alarming" and "declared their utter abhorrence of such riotous conduct." A committee, consisting of the Hon. Joseph Hosmer, [Rev. Ezra Ripley](#), Mr. Samuel Bartlett, Jonas Heywood, Esq., and Capt. David Brown, was chosen to prepare a circular letter to other towns in the county, "inviting their cooperation in acting as mediators between the government and the opposition, and in using their utmost endeavors to calm the people's minds," should they meet the next week to prevent the session of the court. After an adjournment of half an hour, the committee reported the following address, which was several times read and unanimously adopted.

"To the Town of _____"

"GENTLEMEN, "Alarmed at the threatening aspect of our public affairs, this town has this day held a meeting and declared unanimously, their utter disapprobation of the disorderly proceedings of a number of persons in the counties of Hampshire and Worcester, in preventing the sitting of the courts there. And apprehending the like may be attempted in this county, and probably attended with very dangerous consequences, we have thought it advisable to endeavour in conjunction with as many of the neighbouring towns, as we can give seasonable information to, by lenient measures, to dissuade from



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such rash conduct as may involve the state in anarchy and confusion, and the deprecated horrors of civil war. We conceive the present uneasiness of the people to be not altogether groundless; and although many designing men, enemies to the present government, may wish and actually are fomenting uneasiness among the people, yet we are fully persuaded, that the views of by far the greater part are to obtain redress of what they conceive to be real grievances. And since the method they have taken cannot fail of meeting the hearty disapprobation of every friend of peace and good order, we cannot but hope from what we know of the strenuous exertions which have been made by the towns around us, and in which those disorders above mentioned now exist, to purchase at the expense of blood our independence, and the great unanimity with which they have established our present government; and from what we know of the real grounds of their complaints; were lenient measures used, and a number of towns united to endeavour, by every rational argument, to dissuade those who may seem refractory from measures which tend immediately to destroy the fair fabric of our government, and to join in legal and constitutional measures to obtain redress of what may be found to be real grievances; they would be attended with happy effects. We have therefore chosen a committee to act in concert with the neighbouring towns, for the purpose of mediating between opposing parties, should they meet. And we cannot but hope, our united endeavours to support the dignity of government and prevent the effusion of blood, will meet with general approbation, and be attended with happy consequences.

"If the above should meet with your approbation, we request you to choose some persons to meet a committee in this town, chosen for that purpose, at the house of Captain Oliver Brown Innholder in Concord, on Monday evening or Tuesday morning next, that we may confer together and adopt measures which may be thought best calculated for the attainment of the ends above proposed. We are, gentlemen, with great esteem and friendship, your humble servants.

JOSEPH HOSMER, *Chairman,*
in behalf of the Town's Committee.

"Concord, September 9, 1786."

Copies of this address were immediately sent to the several towns in the county, and, notwithstanding the short notice, twenty-four were represented in the convention. Captain Duncan Ingraham of [Concord](#), was chosen to present the address to the Governor for his approbation. This was done the next day (Sunday) when, on account of the critical state of public affairs, a special session of the council was convened in [Boston](#). The proceedings of Concord were highly approved, and the address was copied by order of the Executive, and sent to Bristol county, with an urgent request that similar measures might be



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adopted there. In consequence of these timely proceedings, the orders to General Brooks for calling out the militia were countermanded; and much good was anticipated from the proposed mediation.

The following letter to the Hon. Joseph Hosmer from the Secretary of State, in relation to the proceedings of Concord is deemed worthy of preservation.

"Boston, September 10, 1786.

"DEAR SIR, - The address of the town of Concord, to the several towns in the county of Middlesex, does the town great honor; and I cannot but think, that the measures you have adopted will have a happy tendency to conciliate the minds of the people and be productive of great good. Your address came in a critical moment, which his Excellency communicated to the judges of the Supreme Judicial Court, and several gentlemen of the Senate and of the House of Representatives who were assembled, by the desire of the Governor, to consult on measures necessary to be adopted at this very alarming crisis of our affairs, who expressed their approbation, in the warmest terms, respecting the proceedings of your town. And be assured that the measures that were taken in the consequence thereof gave me the highest satisfaction; and as a convincing proof, I have set myself down this evening to express it to my good friend, Major Hosmer, whose goodness of heart I have long been acquainted with through very perilous times."

[Here follows a copy of the counter order to General Brooks above noticed.]

"It is the greatest grief to me to see people, who might be the happiest in the world, adopt measures to sap the very foundation of our excellent constitution. I am sensible that we are under great embarrassments and there are grievances, but in my humble opinion they are most of them really imaginary. If a little more industry and economy were practised by the community at large, they would be very happy; but there are some idle people going from county to county, inflaming the minds of many, filling their heads with stories of the most improbable nature, sowing sedition, and making every attempt to overthrow our excellent constitution. The stopping of the Courts of Common Pleas, in several counties, is but a small part of their infernal plan, which many worthy good people, who join these persons, are little aware of, but sooner or later they will be acquainted with it.

"I have not time to add further, except wishing that the gentlemen who shall meet at Concord on Tuesday, next, upon the subject matter of your address, may have divine direction in their deliberations.

"I am, Sir, with respect, your friend and humble servant.



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JOHN AVERY.

"Hon. JOSEPH HOSMER, Esq."

Notwithstanding these precautionary measures, about 100 men under arms from Groton and its neighborhood, commanded by Captains Job Shattuck of Groton, and Nathan Smith and Sylvanus Smith of Shirley, assembled at [Concord](#) about 5 o'clock on Monday afternoon, September 12 [actually Monday was September 11th]. They lodged that night in the court-house, barns and such temporary shelter as they could obtain, and on Tuesday took possession of the ground in front of the court-house, marked out their lines, and formed in columns around it, to prevent any but their own party from entering. About 2 o'clock, P.M., one of the party, acting as a sergeant, with two drums and fifes, went some distance, and in about half an hour returned at the head of about 90 men, armed and on horseback, from the counties of Hampshire and Worcester, left by one Wheeler of Hubbardstown and Converse of Hardwick, and joined the other party, which had increased to about 200.

The convention, invited by Concord, convened at the meeting-house on Tuesday morning, and was organized by choosing Isaac Stearns of Billerica, chairman, and Samuel Bartlett of Concord, secretary. It was opened with prayer by the [Rev. Ezra Ripley](#). A committee was appointed to confer with the people under arms, to know the purpose of their assembling; and another to wait on the justices of the courts to inform them of the objects of the convention and of the insurgents. In this manner, communication was opened between the different parties. The committee to confer with the armed men were unsuccessful in convincing them of the impropriety of their conduct. About one o'clock they received the following note.

"To the Honorable Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Court of Common Pleas for the county of Middlesex, &c.

"The voice of the people of this county is, that the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Court of Common Pleas shall not enter this court-house until such time as the people shall have a redress of a number of grievances they labor under at present, which will be set forth in a petition, or remonstrance, to the next General Court.

JOB SHATTUCK.

"Concord, September 12, 1786."

After the reception of this paper the committee used further arguments to dissuade from violence, and to contented with the opening and adjournment of the courts, which finally produced the following endorsement:

"Half past 3 o'clock.

"Since writing the within, it is agreed that the Court of Sessions may open and adjourn to the last Tuesday of November next, without going into the court-house.

JOB SHATTUCK."

The committee laid these communications before the justices of



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the courts, and stated the particulars of their conference with the insurgents; and it was recommended that they should suspend their session. While this subject was under consideration, the insurgents became impatient. Smith [would that be Captain Nathan Smith or Captain Sylvanus Smith?] beat round for volunteers and addressed the people, declaring that "any person who did not follow his drum and join his standard, should be drove out of town at the point of the bayonet, let them be court, town committee or what else." "I am going," he said, "to give the court four hours to agree to our terms, and if they do not, I and my party will compel them to it. I will lay down my life to *suppress* the government from all *tyrannical oppression*, and you, who are willing to join us in *this here affair*, may fall into our ranks." Few, however, joined his standard. His language was offensive even to his own party.

Two companies, one on horseback and another on foot, marched to Jones's tavern where the court was assembled, and halted and faced about towards the house in a menacing manner. They were informed that neither court would be open; and the party marched off to the main body. The court soon after left town; and the convention separated, after choosing a committee to lay their proceedings before the Governor, and adopting the following expression of their sentiments.

"This body cannot forbear to express their disagreeable and painful sensations, that their endeavors to dissuade from rash and unlawful measures have proved so ineffectual. They declare their utter abhorrence of the measures adopted by the body in arms, and are fully sensible of the high criminality of such opposition to established authority, which, if not speedily prevented, must unavoidably involve the commonwealth in calamities innumerable and inexpressible."

The insurgents increased during the day to about 300, nearly 200 of whom were armed with guns and the remainder with swords, clubs, etc. They generally looked wretchedly. "Almost all the muskets," says a contemporary writer, "were rendered useless by the rain, and the men by New England rum, so that probably, if occasion required, not above 30 or 40 men would have been procured capable of opposing any governmental measures."

They dispersed late on Tuesday night; and it was several weeks from that time before any new exertions were made in [Concord](#) in opposition to government. The discontented turned their attention to other counties. These events, however, produced great excitement among the people. All classes arranged themselves with, or in opposition of the government. Even the boys in the streets were seen with their hats labelled with "government," or "opposition." It was indeed a day of great anxiety.

The county convention, which met here, as already noticed, on the 23d of August, met again by adjournment of the 3d of October. Eighteen towns were represented. The following petition to the General Court was drawn up and signed by Samuel Reed, chairman,



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praying relief for seventeen specified articles of grievance. The first ten were the same as voted at the first meeting of the convention on the 23d of August. It specifies,

"That your petitioners, being chosen by their respective towns for the purpose of collecting the sentiments of those towns which they represent respecting their present grievances, and to seek relief in a peaceable, orderly, and constitutional way; viewing, with the greatest abhorrence and detestation, the late riotous proceedings of a rash and inconsiderable body of people, in opposing the sitting of the courts of justice, notwithstanding their leaders did falsely pretend to signify the 'voice of the people' in this county in so doing; and, having collected the sentiments of the several towns, which we here represent, do point out the following particulars as grievances, and pray the honorable court for redress, viz.

"1st. The sitting of the General Court in the town of Boston, which, for the reasons we we trust obvious to the honorable Court, is by no means adapted to expedite public business.⁶

"2d. That the Court of Common Pleas is so burthensome by reason of the extraordinary expense arising therefrom, without any considerable advantage to the people.

"3d. That lawyers are permitted to exact such exorbitant fees, to the great injury of many in the community.

"4th. That the salaries of several public officers are greater than the abilities of the people will admit of.

"5th. The want of a circulating medium has so stagnated business that, unless speedily remedied, it will involve the greater part of the community in a state of bankruptcy.

"6th. The taking of men's bodies, and confining them in jail for debt, when they have property sufficient to answer the demands of their creditors.

"7th. That the accounts of the United States are not settled, by which means we apprehend ourselves disproportionably burthened.

"8th. That greater duties, or imposts, are not laid on superfluities, imported from foreign nations.

"9th. The manner of electing jurors, as to their qualifications and pay. Serving as jurors has been esteemed as a burthen on the subject, which has been the means of filling our boxes with many men entirely unqualified for that business.

"10th. That such heavy taxes are laid on lands, and no encouragements given to agriculture and our own manufactures.

"11th. That our unappropriated lands are not disposed

6. The people wished the General Court should sit in the country; and Concord was, for several years about this time, talked of as the place of meeting.



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of towards the discharge of our domestic debt.

"12th. That the moneys arising from the imposts and excise are not appropriated towards the discharge of our foreign debt.

"13th. That the registering of deeds, under the present establishment, is far more expensive than is necessary, as the same might be done in the several towns.

"14th. That the duties on writs and executions should be exacted of the debtors.

"15th. The present fee table as it now stands, being higher, in some instances, than is necessary.

"16th. The present method of collecting excise, as the same might be collected in the several towns at much less expense to government.

"17th. That the thirtieth article in the bill of rights in the Constitution is not more strictly attended to - in admitting persons to hold seat in our legislature to enact laws, and at the same time to hold and exercise the judicial powers of government, as thereby our government becomes a government of men and not of laws.

"Your petitioners humbly beg your honors' attention to these, our grievances, and pray for a speedy redress and, as in duty bound, will ever pray.

By order of the committee,

SAMUEL REED, *Chairman.*"

The proceedings of this convention were taken into consideration by the town of [Concord](#) at a meeting held October 9th, when, after long deliberation, it was voted not to approve of them. A committee was chosen to draw up instructions to their representative, who reported at great length and with great ability, the reasons which governed them.

On the 31st of October the Supreme Court met at Cambridge, and it was anticipated that efforts would be made to oppose its proceedings; and about 3,000 of the militia marched thither for its protection. They were shortly dismissed. The chief justice, in his charge to the grand jury, spoke of the riotous proceedings of the insurgents in strong terms of disapprobation.

On the 28th of November the Court of Common Pleas was to sit in Cambridge; and though the leading insurgent of the 12th of September had been persuaded not to take any measure in opposition to government, his agreement was overruled in secret council with the leaders in Worcester county. On the 27th a party, headed by Oliver Parker marched to Concord, intending to proceed to Cambridge. Job Shattuck came in a secret manner; and after his arrival, went under cover of night, "to Weston to get intelligence of the Worcester forces; but though they had begun their march, they did not appear; and from want of cooperation the whole plan fell through. The insurgents at Concord, growing disheartened, scattered before any force could reach them."

Warrants were issued for apprehending the leading insurgents in Middlesex, and were committed to the sheriff. A military force volunteered to assist him, leaving [Boston](#) the 29th of November, and proceeding immediately to Concord. The militia of Concord



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stood ready to afford any assistance. A party of horse was despatched to secure the subjects of the warrants, and returned at night with Page and Parker prisoners. Not having succeeded in apprehending [Job] Shattuck - the principal leader, they proceeded to his house in Groton, and on their arrival found he had taken the alarm and fled to the woods. A search was made and after considerable exertion he was taken about 10 o'clock, a.m., November 30th. He received several wounds from his pursuers during his arrest, some of which were very dangerous, - a treatment which was generally censured. He was taken to Boston the next day and confined to prison where he received medical aid but he never entirely recovered the use of his limbs. In the following May he was tried at Concord, and condemned to be hanged. But the government treated him with leniency, as they did all those who unfortunately acted, as he did from mistaken views, and gave him a full pardon September 20, 1787.⁷ Ephraim Wood, Esq. obtained this pardon from the government.

After the apprehension of the opposing leaders in Middlesex, the insurrection was confined to other counties. Detachments of soldiers were made in January to suppress it. One from [Concord](#) marched to Worcester, Springfield, Hadley, Amherst, Petersham, back to Amherst, Hadley, [Northampton](#), Westhampton, Pittsfield, Farmington, Loudon, Sandersfield, Southwick, West-Springfield, back to Worcester and home. The officers of this company were Roger Brown, Captain; Amos Barrett, Lieutenant; and Jonas Heald of Acton, Ensign, and were attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Henry Woods, of Pepperell, and Lieutenant Colonel William Monroe, of Lexington. They left Concord, January 19th, and returned February 26th. On the 27th of January, the town voted "to provide the families of those soldiers that were gone with the necessaries of life, while absent, if asked for." A bounty was paid by subscription. All the militia marched as far as Marlborough; but, before they had been long absent, they were ordered back again. The people of this town took no further part in the insurrection.⁸

From the following instructions, given to the representative in May, 1787, it will be perceived that the town had not forgotten the critical state of the times. As it was the last time the town instructed its representative, it is thought proper to present them entire.

"To Mr. ISAAC HUBBARD,

"SIR, - The critical period in which you are appointed to represent this town in the General Court, points out to us the importance of a strict adherence to the principles of our constitution, while we express our sentiments on those measures we suppose necessary to be

7. Captain Job Shattuck died in Groton, January 13, 1819, aged 84 years. He had been a brave and successful officer in the French and Revolutionary Wars, and often affirmed that he looked on no act of his life with more satisfaction, than that to which I have adverted; though he is said to have felt grateful for the pardon at the time, and remarked, he "would always be a good subject afterward." Whatever the object of those acts might originally have been, the ultimate results were undoubtedly good. The people were thereby taught the necessity of a general union of the states, and of the speedy adoption of the federal constitution. They were induced to take such measures as gave the people confidence in the government and promoted the general posterity.

8. General Daniel Shays, the leader in the insurrection, died at Sparta, New York, September 29, 1825 aged 84. Notwithstanding his conduct in this affair, he was pardoned, and was afterwards a pensioner on government. (He was born in Hopkinton, Mass. 1747)



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adopted. With real sorrow we have seen, in the course of the year past, an attempt made by wicked and unreasonable men to destroy that constitution we have so lately established and to interrupt the execution of those laws, without which our lives, property and every thing dear and sacred would be insecure. We should be wanting in gratitude should we neglect, on this occasion to express our hearty approbation of the wise and spirited measures, adopted by the legislature for preventing the calamities which of late threatened this commonwealth, and for supporting the dignity and authority of our government, and for the effects which have happily followed those measures. We conceive it to be highly expedient, that a similar line of conduct should still be preserved in order to perfect peace and tranquillity among us.

"The happy privilege enjoyed by us of choosing annually our rulers, men from among ourselves, who must share equally with their brethren the weight and burthen which may be necessarily laid and who are responsible to their constituents for the faithful discharge of their duty, must greatly aggravate the folly and madness of those, who, under pretence of procuring a redress of grievances, have drawn the sword against their own government and laws; especially as our representatives, if they are men of ability and integrity, may remove every real grievance complained of. Many causes concur to render our present situation critical and distressing. The debts contracted in the late war, public and private, the decay of public faith and credit; the want of public and private virtue; the shameful neglect of economy, frugality and industry; an unbounded fondness for foreign luxuries, fashions, and manners, with a restless, impatient, and unreasonable jealousy of our rulers, are the causes of our present unhappiness; to remove which we conceive no effectual remedy can be applied, unless as a people we tread back the steps that have led us to our present unhappy situation.

"The want of confidence in public promises requires, that every exertion should be made, when promises are made by public bodies, that they should be held sacred and inviolable. To restore public and private virtue, those in higher stations (whose manners are readily copied by the lower classes of men), should set the example; and all orders endeavor to revive and practise that honesty and simplicity of manners, that have hitherto been the characteristic of the inhabitants of this state.

"There is certainly need of economy and prudence in the expense of government, as far as it consists with the preservation of the same; that every *encouragement be given to our own manufactures and that such further duties be laid on foreign luxuries as shall tend to stop*



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their importation. And that our government may be preserved and respected, it is necessary that the laws should be punctually executed. To provide some way for raising some supplies for the public expenses which shall be less burdensome on the landed interest, is an object we particularly recommend to you. And we especially instruct you to oppose the emission of paper money. When any matter of importance is to be transacted, respecting which the mind of your constituents is not known, you will have recourse to them for direction. And at the close of the session, or at the end of the year, in order that your constituents may have the fullest information of the doings of the legislature, as well as the reasons therefor, that you be ready to satisfy them. And in every respect, that you make the constitution of this commonwealth your rule, and the happiness and prosperity of this and the United States the end, in all measures adopted. By order of the committee,

"Concord, May 28, 1787 EPHRAIM WOOD, Chairman."

These instruction were drawn up by a committee, consisting of Messrs. Ephraim Wood, James Barrett, Samuel Bartlett, Jonas Lee, and Asa Brooks, and were attributed to the pen of Mr. Bartlett.⁹

1787

January 19: It had come to be punishment time. The soldiers of [Concord](#) set out to help sweep up the remaining insurrectionists of Shays' Rebellion. Concord had known how to deal with the losers in the last round, the Tories at the end of the Revolution: it had seized and redistributed their property and driven them into exile. Concord would know how to deal with the losers, in this round as well.

After the apprehension of the opposing leaders in Middlesex, the insurrection was confined to other counties. Detachments of soldiers were made in January to suppress it. One from [Concord](#) marched to Worcester, Springfield, Hadley, Amherst, Petersham, back to Amherst, Hadley, [Northampton](#), Westhampton, Pittsfield,

9. Samuel Bartlett, Esq., was the son of Roger Bartlett and Anna Hurd and born in [Boston](#), November 17, 1752. He was bred a goldsmith, and soon after commencing business removed to [Concord](#) in 1775, and was married the next year. While resident here he was an influential and useful man. In 1795 he was chosen register of deeds, and removed to Cambridge, where he died, September 29, 1821, age 69; having held that office until his death. Of his three sons, all born in Concord, Samuel [Bartlett, Jr.] was bred a mechanic; John [Bartlett] born May 23, 1784, graduated at Harvard College, in 1805 and is now [1835] minister at Marblehead; and Benjamin Dixon [Bartlett], born September 12, 1789, graduated at Harvard College in 1810, and is now [1835] settled as a physician in Maine.

[Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



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Farmington, Loudon, Sandersfield, Southwick, West-Springfield, back to Worcester and home. The officers of this company were Roger Brown, Captain; Amos Barrett, Lieutenant; and Jonas Heald of Acton, Ensign, and were attached to the regiment commanded by Colonel Henry Woods, of Pepperell, and Lieutenant Colonel William Monroe, of Lexington. They left Concord, January 19th, and returned February 26th. On the 27th of January, the town voted "to provide the families of those soldiers that were gone with the necessaries of life, while absent, if asked for." A bounty was paid by subscription. All the militia marched as far as Marlborough; but, before they had been long absent, they were ordered back again. The people of this town [Concord] took no further part in the insurrection.¹⁰

1792

[Northampton](#) became linked to Boston by regular service on a "Post Office and Stage" line.

1797

In the Swartekill neighborhood of the town of Hurley, now just north of Rifton in Ulster County NY (but now within the town boundaries of Esopus), Sojourner Truth was born a slave to Johannes Hardenbergh and was assigned the name "Isabella."

The infant Isabella's parents Betsy and James, two of the Hardenbergh family's seven slaves, also lacked a family name.

At various points in her life, to various persons, this citizen would be known as "Betsy," "Bell," "Mau Mau" (Mommy, in the local parlance of the immigrant country folk), "Isabella van Wagenen" — and, finally, she would become known to us all as our dear "Sojourner Truth" of [Northampton](#), Massachusetts and of Battle Creek, Michigan.

10. General Daniel Shays, the leader in the insurrection, died at Sparta, New York, September 29, 1825 aged 84. Notwithstanding his conduct in this affair, he was pardoned, and was afterwards a pensioner on government. (He was born in Hopkinton, Mass. 1747)

[Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835

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"It is simply crazy that there should ever have come into being a world with such a sin in it, in which a man is set apart because of his color – the superficial fact about a human being. Who could **want** such a world? For an American fighting for his love of country, that the last hope of earth should from its beginning have swallowed slavery, is an irony so withering, a justice so intimate in its rebuke of pride, as to measure only with God."



– Stanley Cavell, MUST WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY?
1976, page 141

1800



In this year and following years, Elbridge Gerry was having his tail whipped for real, in four successive unsuccessful tries for the Massachusetts governorship. Somehow or other, this guy had given machine politics a bad rep:



Instead of The Gerry, Caleb Strong of [Northampton](#) was elected governor of Massachusetts. He would serve in that capacity until 1807.



Residents of [Northampton](#) demanded that the dam on the South Hadley [Canal](#) be removed.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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1806

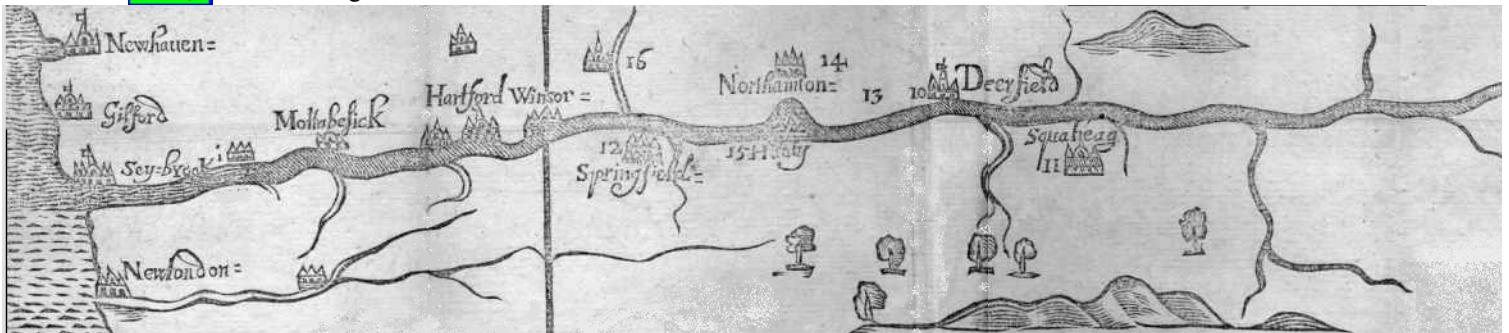
➡ After a special Mass at the 1st Church in [Northampton](#), celebrated by Cardinal Cheverus, two Irish immigrants, a Dailey and a Haligan, were [hanged](#) by the neck until they were dead.



Then they were found to have been innocent — having come here for refuge, they had in effect been murdered in cold blood by local authority.¹¹

1808

➡ The 1st bridge was thrown across the Connecticut River.

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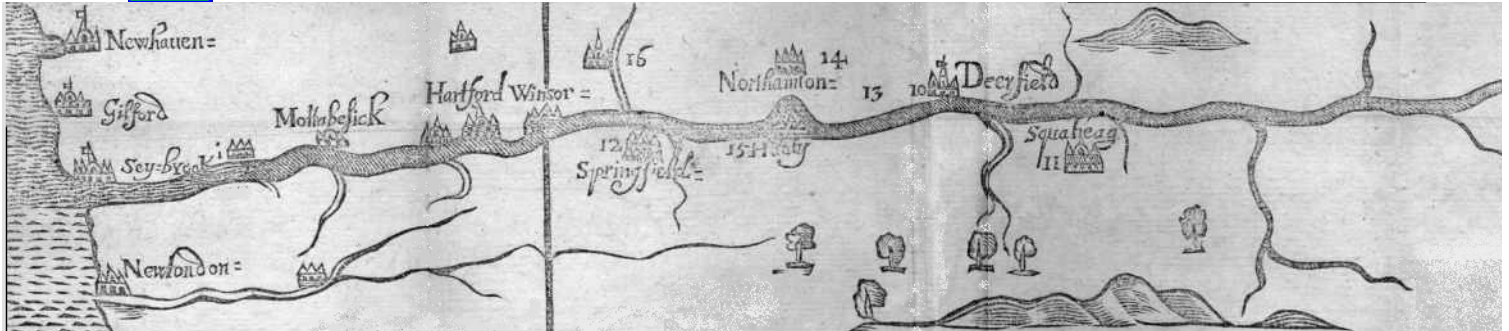
¹¹. Hey, this wouldn't be the last time!

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1809

➡ A woolen mill was created in the town of [Northampton](#).



1812

➡ In [Northampton](#), construction of the Old First Church.

1818

➡ Judge Samuel Howe and Elijah Mills organized a law school on Prospect Street in [Northampton](#).

1819

➡ At [Harvard Divinity School](#), the following gentlemen commenced their studies:

James Hayward
 John Prentiss
 Samuel Barrett
 Jonathan Farr
 James Diman Green
 George Rapall Noyes
 John Porter
 Charles Robinson



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In early years of the Divinity School, there were no formal class graduations as students would be in the habit of studying there for varying periods until they obtained an appropriate offer to enter a pulpit.

Josiah Bartlett, son of [Dr. Josiah Bartlett](#) of Charlestown, who had been born on November 20, 1796 and had graduated from [Harvard College](#) in 1816, graduated from [Harvard Medical School](#). He would soon begin the practice of medicine in [Concord](#).

Benjamin Barrett of [Concord](#), son of the farmer Peter Barrett, and Ephraim Buttrick of Concord, son of the farmer Samuel Buttrick, graduated from [Harvard](#). One of the requirements for the receipt of Buttrick's degree was a sheet (21 ¼ x 29 ¾ inches) titled "Application of Algebra to Conic Sections," which is still on file there. He would study for the law.

EPHRAIM BUTTRICK [of [Concord](#),] son of Samuel Buttrick, graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1819, admitted to the bar in September, 1823, and settled at East Cambridge.¹²

BENJAMIN BARRETT [of [Concord](#)], son of Peter Barrett, was born February 2, 1796, graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1819 and at the Cambridge Medical School [[Harvard Medical College](#)] in course, and settled in [Northampton](#).¹³



February 21, Sunday: In [Northampton](#), Massachusetts, Miriam Warner died at the age of 11.

A "PIOUS CHILD" TRACT

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

*1st day 21st of 2nd M / In the forenoon Meeting D Buffum was engaged in a very lively testimony – In the Afternoon – Anne Dennis appeared in a few words & Hannah was concerned in a lively appearance. –
To me it was a season of poverty, tho' a little life sprung up towards the close in the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

12. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#) Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)
13. Ibid.



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1823



The famous Henry Clay of Virginia, presidential candidate, visited [Northampton](#), Massachusetts (he could expect to meet there a bunch of friendly Southern slavemasters spending a pleasant season, while being waited upon hand and foot by their black slave domestic servants).



[Daniel Webster](#) was returned to the US House of Representatives from [Boston](#).



Benjamin Barrett of [Concord](#) graduated from [Harvard Medical School](#) and settled in [Northampton](#) as partner to Dr. David Hunt in the medical practice "Hunt & Barrett."

NEW "HARVARD MEN"

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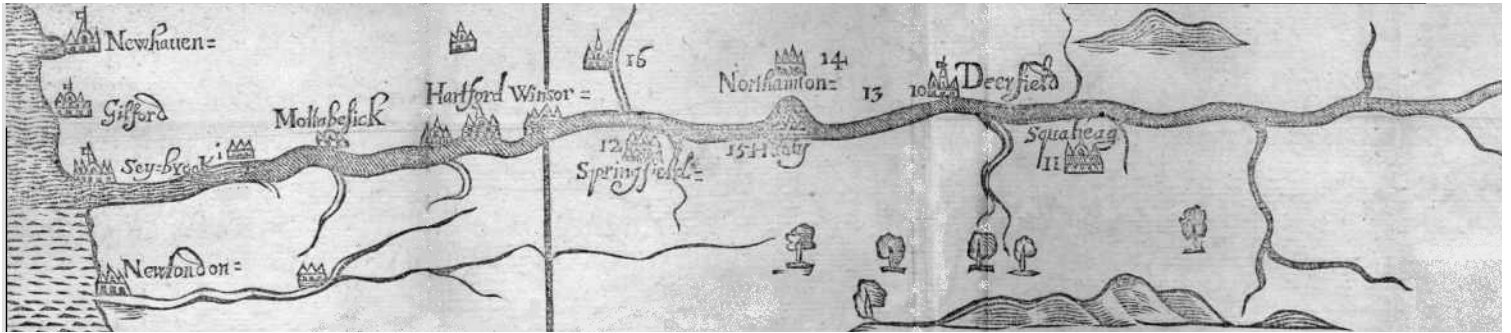
NORTHAMPTON



[George Bancroft](#) who had just returned from Germany to the United States and given up prospects of becoming a minister after a few tries at delivering sermons of a Sunday (instead choosing to tutor in Greek at his *alma mater*, [Harvard College](#)), published his POEMS.

BANCROFT'S POEMS

On Round Hill in [Northampton](#), this poetical tutor and a friend Joseph Cogswell began a school for boys (this Round Hill School, or its buildings, is now the Clarke School for the Deaf). In this institution the founders intended to put into practice the teachings of [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#) and Friedrich Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher.





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1824



[Karl Theodor Christian Friedrich Follen](#)'s brother August Adolf Ludwig Follen (1794-1855) had been leading radical student political groups at Giessen and Heidelberg, and after having been imprisoned at Berlin for agitation (1819-1821) had taught in Aarau, Switzerland (1821-1827) and become a member of the Grand Council at Zürich. His politically active brother's works included the song *Freye Stimmen frischer Jugend* (1819), the novel *MALAGYS UND VIVIAN* (1829), the poem *Harfen-Grüsse aus Deutschland und der Schweiz* (1823), and the epic poem *Tristans Eltern* (1857). Karl, when the assassination of Kotzebue placed him and his friend Karl Sand under suspicion in the Holy Alliance of Austria, Prussia, and Russia, had been twice arrested and tried for conspiracy in that murder. He had fled first to France and then to the canton of [Basel](#) in [Switzerland](#), and from there during this year he continued on to New-York, where he chose to be known as [Charles Follen](#). Aided by letters of introduction from [the Marquis de Lafayette](#), he would establish himself in Massachusetts society. He would become headmaster of the Round Hill School in [Northampton](#).

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Massachusetts, and would get married with a daughter of one Boston's most prominent families, Eliza Lee Cabot.

While teaching French and miniature painting to the boys at the Round Hill Academy, [Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#) got married with a 24-year-old lady, Caroline Lee Whiting. In this year, publication of his *A MANUAL OF FRENCH PHRASES, AND FRENCH CONVERSATIONS: ADAPTED TO WANOSTROCHT'S GRAMMAR ...* (Boston: Richardson and Lord, J.H.A. Frost, Printer).



In extreme old age, Walt Whitman would reminisce for one last time about this period, and that alleged manly kiss from [Lafayette](#):

“Memoranda”

It must have been in 1822 or '3 that I first came to live in Brooklyn. Lived first in Front street, not far from what was then call'd “the New Ferry,” wending the river from the foot of Catharine (or Main) street to New York City.

I was a little child (was born in 1819,) but tramp'd freely about the neighborhood and town, even then; was often on the aforesaid New Ferry; remember how I was petted and deadheaded by the gatekeepers and deckhands (all such fellows are kind to little children,) and remember the horses that seem'd to me so queer as they trudg'd around in the central houses of the boats, making the water-power. (For it was just on the eve of the steam-engine, which was soon after introduced [Page 1283] on the ferries.) Edward Copeland (afterward Mayor) had a grocery store then at the corner of Front and Catharine streets.

Presently we Whitmans all moved up to Tillary street, near Adams, where my father, who was a carpenter, built a house for himself and us all. It was from here I “assisted” the personal coming of Lafayette in 1824-5 to Brooklyn. He came over the Old Ferry, as the now Fulton Ferry (partly navigated quite up to that day by ‘horse boats,’ though the first steamer had begun to be used hereabouts) was then call'd, and was receiv'd at the foot of Fulton street. It was on that occasion that the corner-stone of the Apprentices' Library, at the corner of Cranberry and Henry streets — since pull'd down — was laid by Lafayette's own hands. Numerous children arrived on the grounds, of whom I was one, and were assisted by several gentlemen to safe spots to view the ceremony. Among others, Lafayette, also helping the children, took me up — I was five years old, press'd me a moment to his breast — gave me a kiss and set me down in a safe spot. Lafayette was at that time between sixty-five and seventy years of age, with a manly figure and a kind face.



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1825



William H. Day was born in New-York. His father would die and he would be adopted by a white reformer of [Northampton](#). He would attend school there, before being apprenticed to the print shop of a newspaper.


The geriatric general [Lafayette](#) visited [Northampton](#).

Through family political connections and the assistance of Senator [Sam Houston](#), the 19-year-old [Matthew Fontaine Maury](#) joined the Navy as a midshipman on board the frigate *Brandywine*, which in the second half of that year would be carrying the Marquis home to France.



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

 [Georg Heinrich Bode](#)'s ORPHIC POETRY was reviewed by Professor [Edward Everett](#) in the North American Review.



E. EVERETT ON BODE

(It has seemed plausible to suppose that this review may well have, in a later year, come to the attention of [Henry David Thoreau](#).)

[George Henry Bode](#) would be teaching classical languages at [George Bancroft](#)'s and Joseph Cogswell's Round Hill Academy in [Northampton](#) for three school years.

[Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#)'s A CLASSICAL FRENCH READER: SELECTED FROM THE BEST WRITERS OF THAT LANGUAGE, IN PROSE AND POETRY: PRECEDED BY AN INTRODUCTION DESIGNED TO FACILITATE THE STUDY OF THE RUDIMENTS OF THE FRENCH, AND ATTENDED WITH NOTES EXPLANATORY OF IDIOMS, ETC. THROUGHOUT THE WORK: COMPILED FOR THE USE OF THE ROUND HILL SCHOOL (Boston: Published by Richardson & Lord; H. Ferry, printer, Northampton). Also, his TADEUSKUND, THE LAST KING OF THE LENAPE. AN HISTORICAL TALE (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.; Printed by Hilliard and Metcalf), a fictionalized account of the



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Paxton massacres on the Pennsylvania frontier in 1763.

TADEUSKUND.

CHAPTER I.

How reverend was the look, serenely ag'd
He bore, this gentle Pennsylvanian sire,
Where all but kindly fervours were assuag'd,
Undimmed by weakness' shade or turbid ire;
And though amidst the calm of thought entire,
Some high and haughty features might betray
A soul impetuous once, 'twas earthly fire
That fled composure's intellectual ray,
As Ætna's fires grow dim before the rising day.
CAMPBELL.

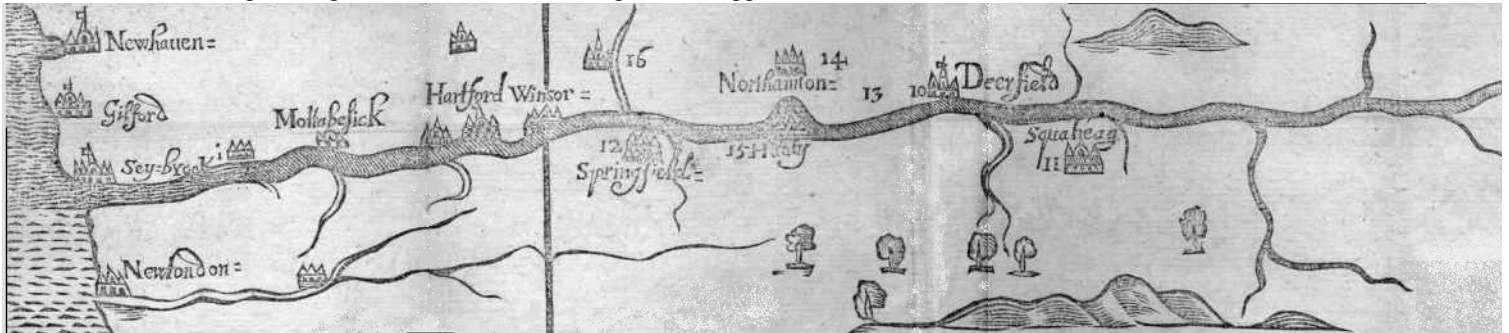
As a landscape painter, collecting subjects for the exercise of his art, roams over the plains of ancient Ausonia ; copying, here, bounding waterfalls or smoky cottages ; there, ruinous temples, or rank poplars, shadowing the brow of beetling rocks ; and, at last, in his composition, unites objects and forms, which, though never seen together, still bear the stamp of truth, in their individual faithfulness to nature ; so has the author of the following tale endeavoured to collect such traits and scenes in the history and aspect of his country, as may, in their fictitious arrangement, give a representation of truth, from which he has endeavoured never to depart.

It was in the month of October, 1762, when, as the sun was retiring below the western hills, an old man, after a long journey, reached the banks of the Delaware. His dress indicated that he belonged to the society of *Friends* ; his features wore an expression of

[Hentz](#)'s "Some observations on the Anatomy and Physiology of the Alligator of North America" appeared in the Transactions of the American Philosophical Society.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FLORENCE MA****NORTHAMPTON****1826**

A hut was erected at the top of Mount Holyoke, above the Connecticut River near [Northampton](#), as a convenience for tourists. This was one of the first evidences of a new fad, for people to make pleasant holiday atop these gentle rounded mountaintops of the Appalachian Chain.



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In this year Thomas Cole was one of the founders, with Asher Brown Durand, of the National Academy of Design (Durand would be its president, 1845-1861). Cole made his home in the village of Catskill NY, on the west bank of the Hudson River. From there he frequently journeyed through the Northeast, primarily on foot, making pencil studies of the landscape. He used these sketches to compose pictures in his studio during the winter. One of Cole's most effective landscape paintings, "The Ox-Bow" (Metropolitan Museum of Art of New York City), would be the result of pencil studies that he made in Massachusetts. Cole's scenes of the



Hudson River valley, reverently recorded, echoed the loneliness and mystery of the North American forests. Cole could paint direct and factual landscapes recorded in minute detail, but he was also capable of producing grandiose and dramatic imaginary vistas using bold effects of light and chiaroscuro. When the human figure appears in his works, it is always subordinate to the majesty of the surrounding landscape. Actually he wouldn't paint the above "Oxbow" painting of the vicinity of [Northampton](#) until the oxbow was gone, a couple of decades later (1846), and in this year was depicting the folk hero and 'sang collector Daniel Boone sitting

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before his log cabin:



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 [Heinrich Heine](#)'s *DIE HARZREISE* (THE HARZ JOURNEY).

Edward Everett.

The 2d American edition of [Edward Everett](#)'s English translation of [Professor Philip Karl Buttmann](#)'s *GRIECHISCHE SCHUL-GRAMMATIK*, titled GREEK GRAMMAR FOR THE USE OF SCHOOLS, FROM THE GERMAN OF PHILIP BUTTMANN (Boston: Cummings, Hilliard, and Company), prepared by [George Bancroft](#) and [George Henry Bode](#) at the Round Hill School in [Northampton](#).

(At the Concord Free Public Library, under Accession # 10443, is [Henry David Thoreau](#)'s personal copy, presented to the library by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#) in 1874. On the front free endpaper is inscribed "D.H. Thoreau / Cambridge / Mass 1833.")¹⁴


AS STUDIED BY THOREAU

14. During this year Professor Buttmann was issuing his *ÜBER DIE ENTSTEHUNG DER STERNBILDER AUF DER GRIECHISCHEN SFÄRE*.



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 [Nicholas Marcellus Hentz](#) and his wife the novelist Mrs. Caroline Lee Whiting Hentz relocated from [Northampton](#), Massachusetts to Chapel Hill, where he would be a professor of modern languages at the University of [North Carolina](#).



The white citizens of Newbern, Targorough, and Hillsborough, [North Carolina](#) were becoming fearful of [servile insurrection](#). The white citizens of Newbern, upon learning that perhaps 40 of their [slaves](#) had assembled in a nearby swamp for unknown purposes, surrounded that swamp and proceeded to kill every last one of them.

W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: We find in the planting colonies all degrees of advocacy of the trade, from the passiveness of Maryland to the clamor of Georgia. Opposition to the trade did not appear in Georgia, was based almost solely on political fear of insurrection in Carolina, and sprang largely from the same motive in Virginia, mingled with some moral repugnance. As a whole, it may be said that whatever opposition to the slave-trade there was in the planting colonies was based principally on the political fear of insurrection.

 May 1, Monday: The Rensselaer field expedition on the [Erie Canal](#) needed to stand by for a day due to the large quantity of baggage and bedding that was being loaded onto their canal boat, the *LaFayette*.

Jonas Wheeler of [Concord](#) died at the age of 37.

JONAS WHEELER, son of Jotham Wheeler, was born February 9, 1789, and graduated [at [Harvard College](#)] in 1810. He read law with Erastus Root, Esq., of Camden, Maine, and settled in the profession in that town. He was justice of the peace, Colonel in the militia, delegate to form the constitution, a representative and a member of the Senate of Maine, of which he was President the two last years of his life. He died May 1, 1826, aged 37.¹⁵



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At the Round Hill School in [Northampton](#), [George Bancroft](#) and [George Henry Bode](#) signed the preface to the 2d edition of [Edward Everett](#)'s English translation of [Professor Philip Karl Buttmann](#)'s BUTTMANN'S GREEK GRAMMAR.



15. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;....](#). Boston MA: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: John Stacy, 1835
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study. On July 16, 1859 he would correct a date mistake buried in the body of the text.)

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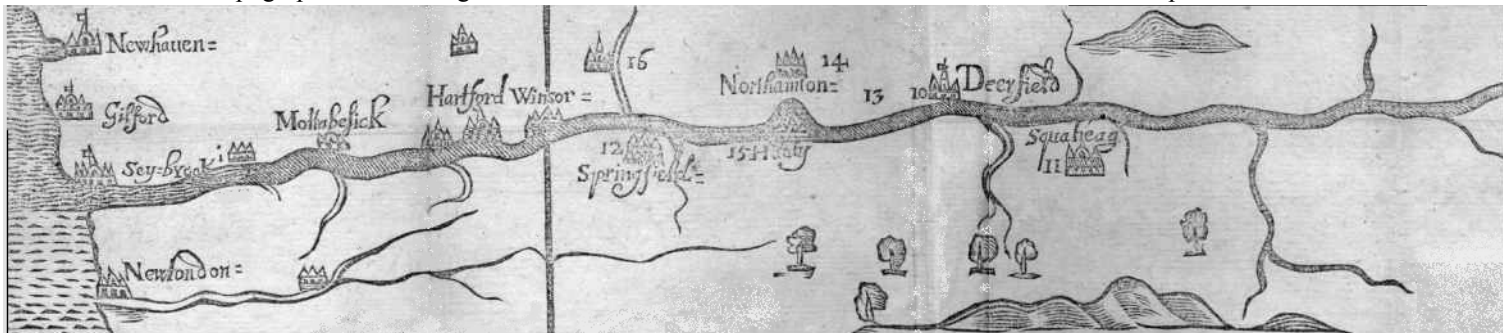
NORTHAMPTON

➡ November: During this month of the next, Isabella's (Sojourner Truth's) manual labors as a slave came to an end and her all too similar manual labors as a free woman began, when the disappointed slave took up her infant Sophia and "walked away from" John Dumont of New Paltz NY, leaving her Diana, age about 8, her Peter, age about 6, and her Elizabeth, age about 2, to the care of her slave husband, Tom. She would explain later that, in her fuddled slave brain, she had known that "running" away was a wrong thing, but "walking" away had never seemed quite so total. One hypothesis would be that in her reduced circumstances, she was considering that she would be unable to care for more than the infant she took with her, and another hypothesis would be that she was considering that punishment would be much more severe were she to attempt to deprive the white man of all those financial assets at one stroke, rather than merely the physical presence of one infant incapable for the time being of doing work. The legal fact would be that her children Diana and Peter, having reached working age, were indentured servants currently obligated to perform valuable services.

Eventually, Mau Mau Isabella would be able to reunite with her daughter Elizabeth Gedney in their own home at 31 Park Street in [Florence](#), a district of [Northampton](#). But that would be in 1846 ➡ after much water had gone over the dam.

1827

➡ During this year or the following one, Captain Basil Hall, a British visitor, would be creating a matter-of-fact topographical rendering of the Oxbow feature of the Connecticut River south of Northampton.



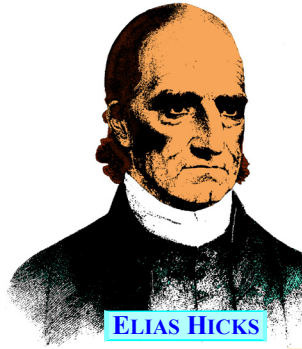
Captain Hall would be reporting to the Europeans that "the most striking circumstance in the American character ... was the constant habit of praising themselves, their institutions, and their country."

The landscape artist Thomas Cole, inspired by this topography, would paint a "View from Mount Holyoke, [Northampton](#), Massachusetts, After a Thunderstorm," also known as "The Oxbow." (Although the river would eat through this picturesque neck of land and shorten itself on March 4, 1840, this would fail to impact anyone's appreciation of this beautiful-postcard picture — people viewing the image would simply presume that such a natural feature would be still in existence!)

1828

→ When the Reverend William Adam was challenged in his direction of the educational effort at Rammohan Roy's school in Calcutta by those who experienced his teaching as dry, stilted, and boring (which, clearly, it was), he did the same thing he would do in April 1843 → when he would be in charge of the educational branch of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#): he withdrew totally. This man had a thin skin — if you didn't want him he didn't want you.

Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and Rammohan Roy (who was at this time becoming an advocate of trial by jury, and was founding the reforming Hindu society *Brahma Sabha*) were in contact with each other by letter. The two leaders, one [Quaker](#) and the other Hindu, had much impressed each other with their writings and works. The attitude of Friend Elias was that religion was not an opinion at all, it was a relationship or a study. The attitude of the rajah would not be so readily summarized, but was utterly congruent with this.



ELIAS HICKS

*"To be a Christian
is to be Christ-
like."*



"Oh, I quite agree."

Which is to say, Rammohan Roy did not any more accept Hindu scriptures as authoritative, than did [Elias Hicks](#) accept the BIBLE as superior to the inspiration with which it was read and studied — he discarded many ritual practices as distractions from the life of the spirit. He neither dwelled on reincarnation, *karman*, nor the effect of deeds done in previous lives. His movement would go through many rebirths, first as the *Brahmo Samaj* of [India](#) of 1866, then as the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj* of 1878, and as the *Naba Bidhan* "Church of the New Dispensation," and by now it has been quite absorbed into the general context of liberal Hindu society (an Indian name that might be familiar to you: Rabindranath Tagore would be a product of this tradition).

1830


→ Spring: Samuel Whitmarsh of New-York, a "Dry goods and Gents' furnishings" merchant who had amassed a considerable fortune, arrived in [Northampton](#). His first agenda was to construct for his family a fine mansion in the Fort Hill district of town, but he would soon elect a second career as a mulberry-tree grower and [silk](#) manufacturer, and experimenter with [sugar beets](#).

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY




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NORTHAMPTON

 September 20: Chauncey Wright was born in [Northampton](#) to Elizabeth Boleyn Wright and Ansel Wright, a grocer and constable.

James Hamilton, Jr. wrote to Van Buren, presumably in regard to the September 17th meeting at which moderates had accused nullifiers of an intention to split the union (Hamilton's phrase was that they had produced "a war whoop of disunion").


1832

 Samuel Whitmarsh of [Northampton](#) put in his order to receive the latest [silk](#) machinery.



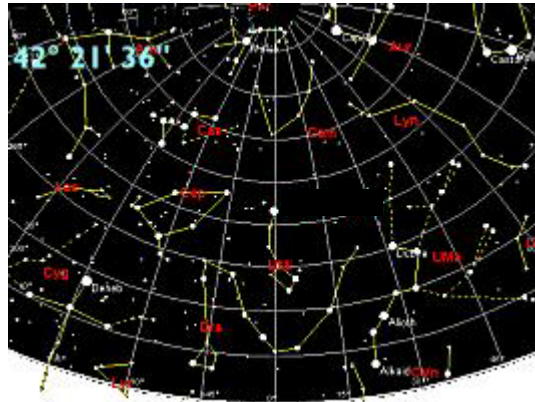
FLORENCE MA

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 August 28, Tuesday: On approximately this evening upon his return from his hiking near [Northampton](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) took a walk in Waltham, Massachusetts with his reverend uncle the Reverend [George Ripley](#) just after sunset, and in his journal he commented on it as a walk “[b]y the light of the Evening star”! Well



now, obviously, barring a supernova, and barring the surreptitious use of a military night-scope device or perhaps the surreptitious use of the light-gathering power of a pair of 50-power binoculars, no-one can walk by the light of the stars,



so here we have an Emersonian and therefore valuable trope in which Venus is considered as if it were Luna or Sol! Well now, if Emerson used this trope in his journal, he might well also have been using it in his unrecorded conversations, and he had unrecorded conversations with [Henry David Thoreau](#)! Therefore Thoreau could have heard Emerson considering Venus as if it were Luna or Sol! Therefore Thoreau may in the concluding chapter of [WALDEN](#) have merely been quoting Emerson! –*Mein Gott* the diligent scholar can



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traverse a great distance in this manner of scholarship!





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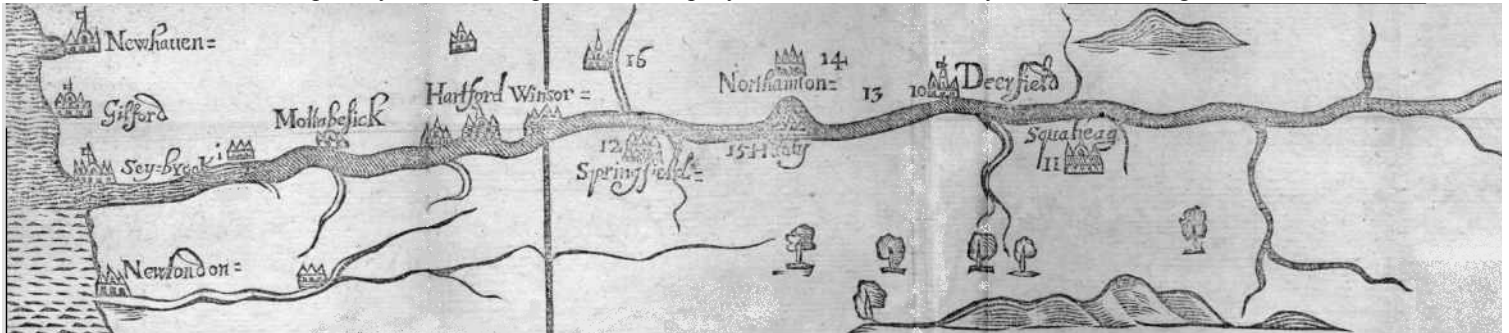
NORTHAMPTON

Tuesday Morning I engaged Mr Bartlett to bring me to Mrs Shepard's.... After spending three days very pleasantly at Mrs Shepard's, among orators, botanists, mineralogists, & above all, Ministers, I set off on Friday Morning with Thos Greenough & another little cousin in a chaise to visit Mount Holyoke. How high the hill may be, I know not; for, different accounts make it 8, 12, & 16 hundred feet from the river. The prospect repays the ascent and although the day was hot & hazy so as to preclude a distant prospect, yet all the broad meadows in the immediate vicinity of the mountain through which the Connecticut [sic] winds, make a beautiful picture seldom rivalled. After adding our names in the books to the long list of strangers whom curiosity has attracted to this hill we descended in safety without encountering rattlesnake or viper that have given so bad fame to the place. We were informed that about 40 people ascend the mountain every fair day during the summer. After passing through Hadley meadows, I took leave of my companions at Northampton bridge, and crossed for the first time the far famed Yankee river.... In the afternoon I set out on my way to Greenfield intending to pass the Sabbath with George Ripley.... By the light of the Evening star, I walked with my reverend uncle, a man who well sustains the character of an aged missionary.... After a dreamless night, & a most hospitable entertainment I parted from Greenfield & through an unusually fine country, crossed the Connecticut (shrunk to a rivulet in this place somewhere in Montagu).... From Mr Haven's garret bed I sallied forth Tuesday mornng [sic] towards Hubbardston, but my cramped limbs made little speed. After dining in Hubbardston I walked seven miles farther to Princeton designing to ascend Wachusett with my tall cousin Thomas Greenough if I should find him there, & then set out for home in the next day's stage. But when morning came, & the stage was brought, and the mountain was a mile & a half away - I learned again an old lesson, that, the beldam Disappointment sits at Hope's door. I jumped into the stage & rode away, Wachusett untrod.... Close cooped in a stage coach with a score of happy dusty rustics the pilgrim continued his ride to Waltham, and alighting there, spent an agreeable evening at Rev. Mr Ripley's Home he came from thence the next morning, right glad to sit down once more in a quiet wellfed family - at Canterbury.

We can see that Emerson made it as far as Princeton MA before he gave up his agenda to climb Mt. Wachusett.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**FLORENCE MA****NORTHAMPTON****1834**

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



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



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1835



After a series of lectures in Philadelphia and in New-York, the temperance lecturer Sylvester Graham moved to [Northampton](#).

[Professor Richard Harlan](#)'s MEDICAL AND PHYSICAL RESEARCHES, a collection of his previously published essays in medicine and natural history.





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➡ Reformers in [Northampton](#) began a local antislavery society, and soon ran afoul of the town's summer tourist trade, which catered to, among others, vacationing Southerner [slaveholders](#) — accompanied of course, it need hardly be mentioned, by their personal servants. One of the town's two newspapers would lead a violent opposition to this antislavery society, nor was the other newspaper at all friendly toward them. Just to make certain that they understood that their racial attitudes were not welcome among neighbors, their meetings would periodically be disrupted.

The death knell was rung for the recently dug [Blackstone Canal](#), as a railroad began to connect the town to other towns.



Construction of a couple of America's 1st railroad stations, a small doric Temple carrying the track through a colonnade in Lowell MA, and, in [Boston](#), the terminus of the Boston & Lowell RR. Boston's first powered railroad was the Boston and Worcester, a 45-mile track with four trains pulling "burthen" carriages per day each way (these "burthen" cars tolling that knell, of course, for the [Middlesex Canal](#)), plus each noon one mixed train containing passenger coaches as well.

➡ April 22, Wednesday: In [Northampton](#), Samuel Whitmarsh announced that he had "embarked in the [silk](#) business on a great scale." He decided upon a thinly settled region of farmlands and meadows some three miles west of the town along the Mill River south of Bear Hill.



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May 6, Wednesday: In [Northampton](#), Samuel Whitmarsh the wannabee [silk](#) manufacturer purchased 20 acres “in the Great Pastures, so called” near the Mill River for \$2,500.

In New-York, the 1st-day issue of James Gordon Bennett, Sr.’s [Herald](#) newspaper was being hawked for one penny (this would become the initial [Rupert-Murdoch-style](#) metropolitan daily to sacrifice all respectability and increase sales by actively stimulating the public taste for crime and vice, routinely devoting front-page coverage to tales of murder and rape and providing press coverage for such events as races and prizefights).

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

4th day Attended the Select Quarterly Meeting in the forenoon & the Meeting for sufferings in the Afternoon, & went out to Thos Howlands to lodge

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



June 4, Thursday: Franz Liszt arrived in Basel, where Marie d’Agoult had arrived within the last few days accompanied by her mother.

In [Northampton](#), Samuel Whitmarsh the wannabee [silk](#) manufacturer bought \$3,500 more meadowland for his mulberry seedlings. Money was going to grow on these trees.

There could be no better commentary on the now-put-foundations-under-your-air-castle advice that [Henry Thoreau](#) would give in [WALDEN](#), that some material he copied out of [Washington Irving](#)’s THE CRAYON MISCELLANY on this date or shortly thereafter.

[WALDEN](#): I learned this, at least, by my experiment; that if one advances confidently in the direction of his dreams, and endeavors to live the life which he has imagined, he will meet with a success unexpected in common hours. He will put some things behind, will pass an invisible boundary; new, universal, and more liberal laws will begin to establish themselves around and within him; or the old laws be expanded, and interpreted in his favor in a more liberal sense, and he will live with the license of a higher order of beings. In proportion as he simplifies his life, the laws of the universe will appear less complex, and solitude will not be solitude, nor poverty poverty, nor weakness weakness. If you have built castles in the air, your work need not be lost; that is where they should be. Now put the foundations under them.

Our guy was copying, none to accurately, into his college literary notebook, from the just-available Volume II, presumably from a copy purchased by the Institute of 1770. The none-too-exact extracts given below come from Volume Two, ABBOTSFORD AND NEWSTEAD ABBEY, announced on this day in the Boston [Daily Advertiser](#) as “just received” from the Philadelphia printer by Munroe & Francis, and hence deal with the fanciful architecture of the estates of [Sir Walter Scott](#) and [George Gordon, Lord Byron](#):

On the following morning, the sun darted his beams from over the hills through the low lattice window. I rose at an early hour, and looked out between the branches of eglantine which overhung the casement. To my surprise [Scott](#) was already up and forth, seated on a fragment of stone, and chatting with the workmen



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employed on the new building. I had supposed, after the time he had wasted upon me yesterday, he would be closely occupied this morning; but he appeared like a man of leisure, who had nothing to do but bask in the sunshine and amuse himself. [42-43]

I soon dressed myself and joined him. He talked about his proposed plans of Abbotsford; happy would it have been for him could he have contented himself with his delightful little vine covered cottage, and the simply, yet heart and hospitable style, in which he lived at the time of my visit. The great pile of Abbotsford, with the huge expense it entailed upon him of servants, retainers, guests, and baronial style, was a drain upon his purse, a task upon his exertions, and a weight upon his mind, that finally crushed him. [§] As yet, however, all was in embryo and perspective, and [Scott](#) pleased himself with picturing out his future residence, as he would one of the fanciful creations of his own romances. "It was one of his air castles," he said, "Which he was reducing to solid stone and mortar," – [... §] After passing by the domains of honest Lauckie, [Scott](#) pointed out, at a distance, the Eildon stone. There in ancient days stood the Eildon tree, beneath which Thomas the Rhymer, according to popular tradition, dealt forth his prophecies, some of which still exist in antiquated ballads. [§] Here we turned up a little glen with a small burn or brook whimpering and dashing alone it, making an occasional waterfall, and overhung, in some places, with mountain ash and weeping birch. We are now, said [Scott](#), treading classic, or rather fairy ground. This is the haunted glen of Thomas the Rhymer, where he met with the queen of fairy land, and this the bogle burn, or goblin brook, along which she rode on her dapple grey palfrey, with silver bells, ringing at the bridle. – [... §] [Scott](#) continued on, leading the way as usual, and limping up the wizard glen, talking as he went, but as his back was toward me, I could only hear the deep growling tones of his voice, like the low breathing of an organ, with [out] distinguishing the words, until pausing, and turning his face towards me, I found he was reciting some scrap of border minstrelsy about Thomas the Rhymer. This was continually the case in my ramblings with him about this storied neighbourhood. [43, 54, 55]

His mind was fraught with the traditionary fictions connected with every object around him and he would breath [sic] it forth as he went, apparently as much for his own gratification as for that of his companion.

"Nor hill, nor brook, we paced along,
but had its legend or its song."

His voice was deep and sonorous, he spoke with a Scottish accent, and with somewhat of the Northumbrian "burr," which, to my mind, gave a doric strength and simplicity to his elocution. His recitation of poetry was, at times, magnificent – [... §] Whenever [Scott](#) touched, in [t]his way, upon local antiquities and in all his familiar conversations about local traditions and superstitions, there was always a sly and quiet humor running at the bottom of his discourse, and playing about his countenance, as if he sport[e]d with the subject. It seemed to



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me as if he distrusted his own enthusiasm, and was disposed to droll upon his own humors and peculiarities, yet, at the same time, a poetic glean in his eye would show that he really took a strong relish and interest in them. "It was a pity," he said, "that antiquarians were generally so dry, for the subjects they handled were rich in historical and poetic recollections, in picturesque details, in quaint and heroic characteristics, and in all kinds of curious and obsolete ceremonials. They are are [sic] always groping among the rarest materials for poetry, but they have no idea of turning them to poetic use. Now every fragment from old time has, in some degree, its story with it, or gives an inkling of something characteristic of the circumstances and manners of its day, and so sets the imagination at work." - [§] For my own part I never met with antiquarian so delightful, either in his writings or his conversation, and the quiet subacid humor that was prone to mingle in his disquisitions, gave them, to me, a peculiar and an exquisite flavor. But he seemed, in fact, to undervalue every thing that concerned himself. The play of his genius was so easy that he was unconscious of its mighty power, and made light of those sports of intellect that shamed the efforts and labors of other minds[.] [55, 74-76]

The conversation of [Scott](#) was frank, hearty, picturesque, and dramatic. During the time of my visit he inclined to the comic rather than the grave, in his anecdotes and stories, and such, I was told, was his general inclination. He relished a joke, or a trait of humor in social intercourse, and laughed with right good will. He talked not for effect or display, but from the flow of his spirits, the stores of his memory, and the vigor of his imagination. He had a natural turn for narration, and his narratives and descriptions were without effort, yet wonderfully graphic. He placed the scene before you like a picture; he gave the dialogue with the appropriate dialect or peculiarities, and described the appearance and characters of his personages with that spirit and felicity evinced in his writings. Indeed, his conversation reminded me continually of his novels; and it seemed to me, that during the whole time I was with him, he talked enough to fill volumes, and that they could not have been filled more delightfully. [90-91]

He was as good a listener as talker, appreciated everything that others said, however humble might be their rank or pretensions, and was quick to testify his perception of any point in their discourse. He arrogated nothing to himself, but was perfectly unassuming and unpretending, entering with heart and soul into the business, or pleasure, or, I had almost said folly, of the hour and company. No one's concerns, no one's thoughts, no one's opinions, no one's tastes and pleasures seemed beneath him. He made himself so thoroughly the companion of those with whom he happened to be, that they forgot for a time his vast superiority, and only recollected and wondered, when all was over, that it was [Scott](#) with whom they had been on such familiar terms, and in whose society they had felt so perfectly at their ease. - [§] It was delightful to observe the generous mode in which he spoke



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of all his literary contemporaries, quoting the beauties of their works, and this, too, with respect to persons with whom he might have been supposed to be at variance in literature or politics. Jeffrey, it was thought, had ruffled his plumes in one of his reviews, yet [Scott](#) spoke of him in terms of high and warm eulogy, both as an author and as a man. [§] His humor in conversation, as in his works, was genial and free from all causticity. He had a quick perception of faults and foibles, but he looked upon poor human nature with an indulgent eye, relishing what was good and pleas[ant,] tolerating what was frail, and pitying what was evil. It is this beneficent spirit which gives such an air of bonhomie to [Scott](#)'s humor throughout all his works. He played with the foibles and errors of his fellow beings, and presented them in a thousand whimsical and characteristic lights, but the kindness and generosity of his nature would not allow him to be a satirist. I do not recollect a sneer throughout his conversation any more than there is throughout his works. - [...] Of his public character and merits, all the world can judge. His works have incorporated themselves with the thoughts and concerns of the whole civilized world, for a quarter of a century, and have had a controlling influence over the age in which he lived. But when did a human being ever exercise an influence more salutary and benignant? Who is there that, on looking [back] over a great portion of his life, does not find the genius of [Scott](#) administering to his pleasures, beguiling his cares, and soothing his lonely sorrows? Who does not still guard his works as a treasury of pure enjoyment, an armory to which to resort in time of need, to find weapons with which to fight off the evils and the griefs of life? For my own part, in periods of dejection, I have hail[e]d the announcement of a new work from his pen as an earnest of certain pleasure in store for me, and have looked forward to it as a traveller in a waste looks to a given spot at a distance, where he feels assured of solace and refreshment. When I consider how much he has thus contributed to the better hours of my past existence, and how independent his works still make me, at times, of all the world for my enjoyment, I bless my stars that cast my lot in his days, to be thus cheered and gladdened by the outpourings of his genius. I consider it one of the greatest advantages that I have derived from my literary career, that it has elevated me into genial communion with such a spirit." [91-94]

[Irving](#) again, speaking of [Byron](#).

I leaned over the stone balustrade of the terrace, and gazed upon the valley of Newstead, with its silver sheets of water gleaming in the morning sun. It was a Sabbath morning, which always seems to have a hallowed influence over the landscape probably from the quiet of the day, and the cessation of all kinds of week day labor. As I mused upon the mild and beautiful scene, and the wayward destinies of the man, whose stormy temperament forced him from this tranquil paradise to battle with the passions and perils of the world, the sweet chime of bells from a village a few miles distance, came stealing up the



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valley. Every sight and sound this morning seemed calculated to summon up touching recollections of poor Byron. The chime was from the village spire of Hucknall Torkard, beneath which his remains lie buried." [125]

[On pages 183-194, Irving has a chapter, "Robin Hood and Sherwood Forest."]

Four Approaches to the Writer's Estate

| Approach | "Old Money" | "New Money" | "Sweat Equity" | "Just Enough Money" |
|----------|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Writer | Lord Byron | Sir Walter Scott | Henry Thoreau | Virginia Wolff |
| Estate | Newstead Abbey | Abbotsford | Walden Pond | A Room of One's Own |
| Results | Bailout | Insolvency | Immortality | Feminism |

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THE CRAYON MISCELLANY



George Gordon, Lord Byron's Newstead Abbey




Sir Walter Scott's Abbotsford



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 September 11, Friday: In [Northampton](#), Samuel Whitmarsh the wannabee [silk](#) manufacturer bought \$7,500 more farmland, 90 acres including oil and grist mills and their water rights on the Mill River. Gotta spend money to make money.

Far away at sea, aboard the *Alert*, [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) met up again with the *Pilgrim*.

**AND NOW, FOR SOMETHING ENTIRELY DIFFERENT, A REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR:**

Friday, Sept. 11th. This morning, at four o'clock, went below, San Pedro point being about two leagues ahead, and the ship going on under studding-sails. In about an hour we were waked up by the hauling of the chain about decks, and in a few minutes "All hands ahoy!" was called; and we were all at work, hauling in and making up the studding-sails, overhauling the chain forward, and getting the anchors ready. "The *Pilgrim* is there at anchor," said some one, as we were running about decks; and taking a moment's look over the rail, I saw my old friend, deeply laden, lying at anchor inside of the kelp. In coming to anchor, as well as in tacking, each one had his station and duty. The light sails were clewed up and furled, the courses hauled up and the jibs down; then came the topsails in the buntlines, and the anchor let go. As soon as she was well at anchor, all hands lay aloft to furl the topsails; and this, I soon found, was a great matter on board this ship; for every sailor knows that a vessel is judged of, a good deal, by the furl of her sails. The third mate, a sailmaker, and the larboard watch went upon the fore topsail yard; the second mate, carpenter, and the starboard watch upon the main; and myself and the English lad, and the two Boston boys, and the young Cape-Cod man, furled the mizen topsail. This sail belonged to us altogether, to reef and to furl, and not a man was allowed to come upon our yard. The mate took us under his special care, frequently making us furl the sail over, three or four times, until we got the bunt up to a perfect cone, and the whole sail without a wrinkle. As soon as each sail was hauled up and the bunt made, the jigger was bent on to the slack of the buntlines, and the bunt traced up, on deck. The mate then took his place between the knightheads to "twig" the fore, on the windlass to twig the main, and at the foot of the mainmast, for the mizen; and if anything was wrong, — too much bunt on one side, clews too taught or too slack, or any sail abaft the yard, — the whole must be dropped again. When all was right, the bunts were triced well up, the yard-arm gaskets passed, so as not to leave a wrinkle forward of the yard — short gaskets with turns close together.

From the moment of letting go the anchor, when the captain ceases his care of things, the chief mate is the great man. With a voice like a young lion, he was hallooing and bawling, in all directions, making everything fly, and, at the same time, doing everything well. He was quite a contrast to the worthy, quiet, unobtrusive mate of the *Pilgrim*; not so estimable a man, perhaps, but a far better mate of a vessel; and the entire change in Captain T_____'s conduct, since he took command of the ship, was owing, no doubt, in a great measure, to this fact. If the chief officer wants force, discipline slackens, everything gets out of joint, the captain interferes continually; that makes a difficulty between them, which encourages the crew, and the whole ends in a three-sided quarrel. But Mr. Brown (the mate of the *Alert*) wanted no help from anybody; took everything into his own hands; and was more likely to encroach upon the authority of the master, than to need any spurring. Captain T_____ gave his directions to the mate in private, and, except in coming to anchor, getting under weigh, tacking, reefing topsails, and other "all-hands-work," seldom appeared in person. This is the proper state of things, and while this lasts, and there is a good understanding aft, everything will go on well.

Having furled all the sails, the royal yards were next to be sent down. The English lad and myself sent down the main, which was larger than the *Pilgrim*'s main top-gallant yard; two more light hands, the fore; and one boy, the mizen. This order, we always kept while on the coast; sending them up and down every time we came in and went out of port. They were all tripped and lowered together, the main on the starboard side, and the fore and mizen, to port. No sooner was she all snug, than tackles were got up on the yards and stays, and the long-boat and pinnacle hove out. The swinging booms were then guyed out, and the boats made fast by geswarps, and everything in harbor style. After breakfast, the hatches were taken off, and all got ready to receive hides from the *Pilgrim*. All day, boats were passing and repassing, until we had taken her hides from her, and left her in ballast trim. These hides made but little show in our hold, though they had loaded the *Pilgrim* down to the water's edge. This changing of the hides settled the question of the destination of the two vessels, which had been one of some speculation to us. We were to remain in the leeward ports, while the *Pilgrim* was to sail, the next morning, for San Francisco. After we had knocked off work, and cleared up decks for the night, my friend S_____ came on board, and spent an hour with me in our berth between decks.

THE REPORT FROM OUR SAILOR DANA, CONCLUDED:

The *Pilgrim*'s crew envied me my place on board the ship, and seemed to think that I had got a little to windward of them; especially in the matter of going home first. S_____ was determined to go home on the *Alert*, by begging or buying; if Captain T_____ would not let him come on other terms, he would purchase an exchange with some one of the crew. The prospect of another year after the *Alert* should sail, was rather "too much of the monkey." About seven o'clock, the mate came down into the steerage, in fine trim for fun, roused the boys out of the berth, turned up the carpenter with his fiddle, sent the steward with lights to put in the between-decks, and set all hands to dancing. The between-decks were high enough to allow of jumping; and being clear, and white, from holystoning, made a fine dancing-hall. Some of the *Pilgrim*'s crew were in the forecastle, and we all turned-to and had a regular sailor's shuffle, till eight bells. The Cape-Cod boy could dance the true fisherman's jig, barefooted, knocking with his heels, and slapping the decks with his bare feet, in time with the music. This was a favorite amusement of the mate's, who always stood at the steerage door, looking on, and if the boys would not dance, he hazed them round with a rope's end, much to the amusement of the men.

A "pinnace":




A "long-boat":





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 September 25, Friday: Samuel Whitmarsh exchanged the properties he had put together in [Northampton](#) for New-York financing in the amount of \$40,000, forming a stock association to be known as the Northampton [Silk](#) Company.

Juan Alvarez Mendizabal replaced Miguel Ricardo de Alava Esquivel as Prime Minister of Spain.

An autopsy on the body of Vincenzo Bellini showed “an acute inflammation of the large intestine, complicated by an abscess of the liver.” The cause of death was amoebic dysentery.

In [Newport, Rhode Island](#), Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 25th of 9 M / This day our Sister E R Nichols to fetch
her little daughter Elizabeth who has been our pleasant inmate
& companion thro' the Summer*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

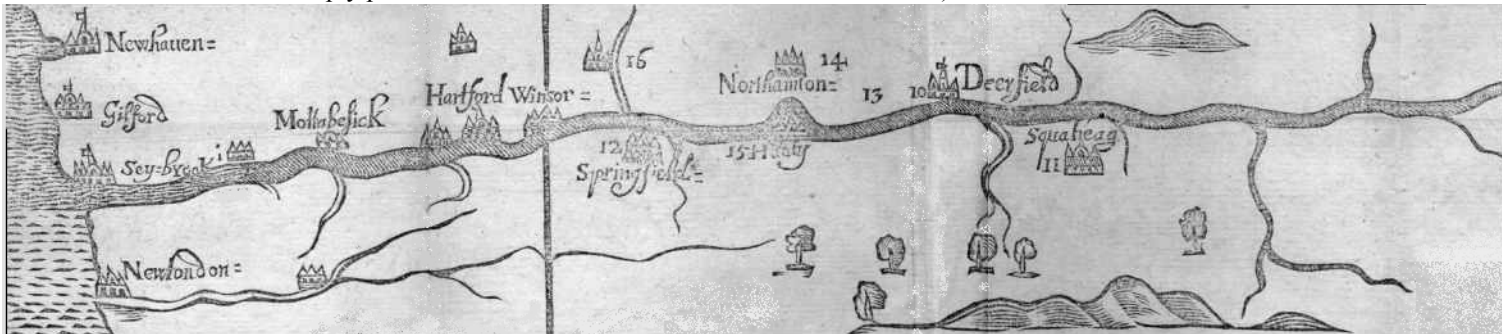
FLORENCE MA

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1836



Returning from [Italy](#) temporarily to the United States, Thomas Cole painted his “View from Mount Holyoke, [Northampton](#), Massachusetts, After a Thunderstorm,” also known as “The Oxbow.” This painting is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New-York. (Cole’s vision, it would appear, had been inspired by a matter-of-fact topographic rendering which had been created in 1827/1828 by Basil Hall, a British visitor. Although the Connecticut River would eat through this picturesque neck of land and shorten itself on March 4, 1840, this would fail to impact anyone’s appreciation of this beautiful-postcard picture — people viewing the image would simply presume that the natural feature was still in existence!)





He also painted in this year five-count'em-five just huge canvases for a series entitled "The Course of Empire." These paintings are allegories on the progress of mankind based on the Count de Volney's *Ruines, ou méditations sur les révolutions des empires* (1791).

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A second series, called “The Voyage of Life” (begun in 1839), would depict a symbolic journey from infancy



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to old age in four scenes. Shortly before he would die, Cole would begin still another series, “The Cross of the World,” which would be of a religious nature.

➡ April: Samuel Whitmarsh was back in [Northampton](#) from his tour of European [silk](#) manufactories. Many of the *Morus multicaulis* cuttings he had purchased in Europe began to arrive, and he was able to plant 100 acres. His firm pressed the old oil mill on the Mill River into temporary use as a factory, housing the new machinery until a 4-story brick structure could be erected.

➡ June: The [Northampton](#) Silk Company began to advertise that it was paying cash for cocoons and for raw [silk](#) delivered at its “Oil Mill Place.” Depending on quality, Samuel Whitmarsh would be willing to pay between \$3 and \$5 per bushel of cocoons.

➡ July: [Daniel Webster](#) toured the silk manufactory in [Northampton](#) and was highly gratified. He would receive a gift of a [silk](#) vest.¹⁶

1837

➡ Formation of the Beet Sugar Company of [Northampton](#), to pioneer in [sugar beets](#) raised by free farmers as an alternative to the [sugar cane](#) raised on the slave plantations in the British West Indies.

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY



16. The Mayor of New-York, Philip Hone, considered that a person of gravitas such as Webster ought to have appeared “in the only dress in which he should appear — the respectable and dignified suit of black.” Quite to the contrary, however, Webster the man was seen to be something of a peacock: “I was much amused a day or two since meeting him in Wall Street, at high noon, in a bright blue Satin Vest, sprigged with gold flowers, a costume incongruous for Daniel Webster, as Ostrich feathers for a Sister of Charity, or a small Sword for a judge of Probates.” —May we hypothesize that the vest Mayor Hone sighted Webster in on Wall Street, supposed by him to be of satin, might instead have been this vest of silk with which the good folks in Northampton had gifted him during the summer of 1836?



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The [Northampton](#) Silk Company began producing more than 60 pounds of [sewing silk](#) thread per week, “superior to the majority of Italian silk” it was said. However, during the financial panic of this year, there would be a moderate rightsizing of Samuel Whitmarsh’s workforce — a rightsizing affecting in no way their ability to continue to produce “a full supply of Black and Blue Black and colored Sewing Silk put up neatly in half pound papers.” It was still common, in the investment craze, for a *Morus multicaulis* shoot that changed hands one week for 12½ cents to change hands again in the following week to some more eager investor for 50 cents to a dollar. At this time the shoots were even being forced in hothouses. Every plot of ground belonging to the company was planted thick with mulberry shoots.

1838

Trial fields of [sugar beets](#) were being grown in [Northampton](#) and in Oberlin, Ohio. (No attempts to grow either beets or sorghum for sugar in the US would be profitable on any scale until after our Civil War had removed the competition of the slave plantations.)

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

Early Spring: Early in this spring, [David Lee Child](#) visited [Northampton](#) to size up the area for the creation of sugar from [sugar beets](#), in order to provide a source of sugar which was untainted by involvement in slavery,¹⁷ and to lecture on the manufacturing process he hoped to use in a factory on downtown Masonic Street. He leased about an acre of rich alluvial soil and planted some of his crop.

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

May: [David Lee Child](#) and [Lydia Maria Child](#) settled in [Northampton](#) to raise [sugar beets](#) as an alternative sweetener to slavery-produced [cane sugar](#). The Sugar Beet Company had guaranteed David’s salary and expenses. Day after day the husband and wife would begin weeding the rows before dawn while “all the world, except the birds, are asleep.” Their next-door neighbor was a man who had made his money in slave auctioning in Charleston SC, named Thomas Napier, who had of course become a Sunday School teacher in the local Congregational Church — where he of course told the white children that it was God who had consigned the black race to perpetual [slavery](#). The noise of this deacon’s prayers would come through the one window in the little residence of the Childs to disturb them, so David would sing and play his accordion in an attempt to drown it out. When Napier’s sister visited him, she brought with her a personal slave named Rosa, and the Childs attempted to persuade Rosa to flee. They discovered that at one point in her life’s trajectory Rosa had been guaranteed her freedom in writing, but that the document in question was unlocatable. They discovered also that in order for Rosa to flee, she would be forced to abandon her children and all other close relatives and friends, and that she could not even bear to consider such a loss. —Nor would Maria get any better results when she visited downtown hotels and confronted visiting slavemasters in the lobbies with what she described as “candor and courtesy,” attempting to argue slavery with them.

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

17. Unfortunately, it would be demonstrated eventually to be the case that Americans wanted purity only when it didn’t cost extra. After enormous labors David would have to file for bankruptcy. [Lydia Maria Child](#)’s patience would be exhausted, and for a decade she would live separately while consoling herself in the company of a series of young men.



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August 1, Wednesday: Completion of the process of emancipation of all slaves in the British West Indies under six years of age, and the binding of all other slaves there as apprentices for the term of 5 to 7 years (later this would be reduced to 2 years) to be followed by emancipation, which had begun on August 1, 1834 under conditions of the Abolition Act of August 28, 1833. As a condition of their cooperation the white “owners” of these black and red “slaves” had received some £20,000,000 in compensation.

“EMANCIPATION IN THE ... INDIES...”: Parliament was compelled to pass additional laws for the defence and security of the negro, and in ill humor at these acts, the great island of Jamaica, with a population of half a million, and 300,000 negroes, early in 1838, resolved to throw up the two remaining years of apprenticeship, and to emancipate absolutely on the 1st August, 1838. In British Guiana, in Dominica, the same resolution had been earlier taken with more good will; and the other islands fell into the measure; so that on the 1st August, 1838, the shackles dropped from every British slave. The accounts which we have from all parties, both from the planters, and those too who were originally most opposed to the measure, and from the new freemen, are of the most satisfactory kind. The manner in which the new festival was celebrated, brings tears to the eyes. The First of August, 1838, was observed in Jamaica as a day of thanksgiving and prayer. Sir Lionel Smith, the governor, writes to the British Ministry, “It is impossible for me to do justice to the good order, decorum, and gratitude, which the whole laboring population manifested on that happy occasion. Though joy beamed on every countenance, it was throughout tempered with solemn thankfulness to God, and the churches and chapels were everywhere filled with these happy people in humble offering of praise.”

Therefore, [David Lee Child](#) had issued a handbill calling upon his neighbors in [Northampton](#) — to celebrate with him this freeing of the slaves of the British West Indies. On this morning he found a copy of his handbill nailed to his own door, with the word “persons” struck out and replaced by the word “NIGGERS.” Locally, support was stronger for the American Colonization Society, which believed that although blacks were inherently inferior and should forever be refused citizenship, “we” should find a way to kindly ship them all back where they came from — this sort of repulsive attitude represented, not the right nor the center, but the extreme far left of acceptable political opinion. As an expression of this sort of attitude toward race, even the town tax list itself was racially segregated, with the names and assessed taxes of black residents listed only after all names and assessments of white residents had been listed.

In [New Bedford](#), on this anniversary of the emancipation of the slaves of the British West Indies, there was an ad trumpeting a “commemoration of the anniversary of the abolishment of slavery in the British West Indies.” On that occasion, the Reverend Orange Scott addressed the group at the Methodist Chapel on Elm Street in Fairhaven; the meeting being sponsored by the Young Men’s Anti-Slavery Society.

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

4th day 1st of 8th M 1838 / We rode to [Portsmouth](#) & attended the Select Quarterly which was a time of Some favour tho’ the life was low in the forepart of it – Mary Shove opened the service in a short lively & I thought pertinent testimony – She was followed by John Meader powerfully & pertinently – & Elizabeth



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*Wing in supplication
Ths buisness was gone thro' & pretty well conducted & some
feeling remarks were made on the State of the Church on reading
the Answers to the Queries. –
We dined at Susanna Hathaways after which we went down to the
Farm where Uncle Stanton lived on a little buisness & then came
home before dark. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Winter: The Childs' sugar beet business in [Northampton](#) encountered a severe crisis during the late winter while [David Lee Child](#) was refining his first batch of sugar in the factory downtown. They discovered that some processing equipment which David had bought in France was rusting on the New-York dock because the Illinois Company, which had guaranteed payment, had refused to pay a bill of more than \$300 due on its delivery. For awhile [Lydia Maria Child](#) considered making candy out of the [sugar beets](#) to earn the money to get this new equipment out of hock, but finally she would have to go to Boston alone to find paid employment.

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

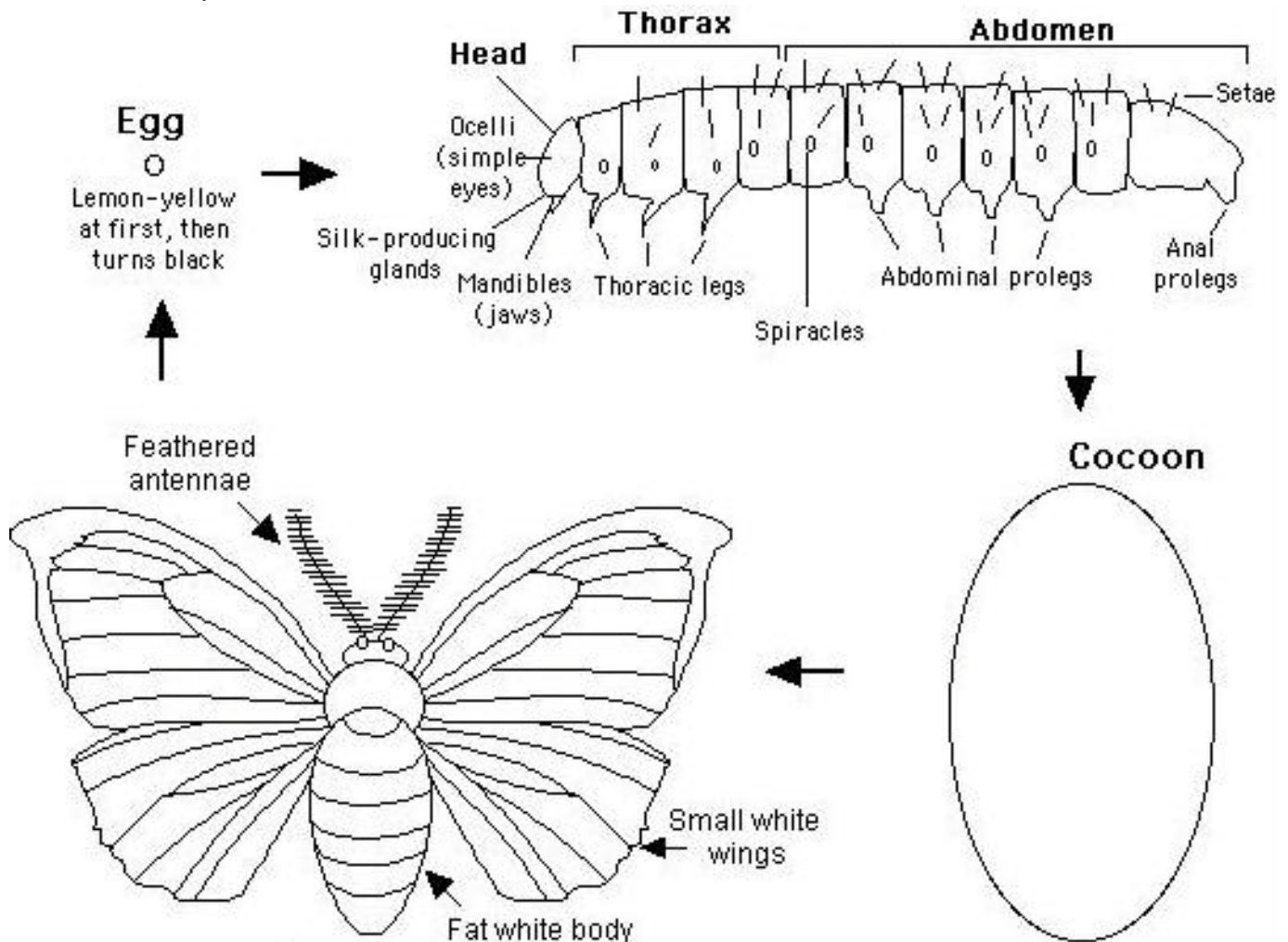
1839

The 1st public library was created in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts.

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March 28, Thursday: A financial reappraisal of the Northampton Silk Company's assets and liabilities led to the withdrawal of Samuel Whitmarsh and his factory manager and the incorporation of an entirely new management team. When this concern went bankrupt, it took with it the capital that [David Lee Child](#) was counting on to underwrite his [sugar beet](#) business. Although after this event Whitmarsh would be being sued by four of his creditors and would be being described locally as having "neither cash nor credit to buy a barrel of flour," he would promptly secure new investment funding in England for the foundation of a new [silk](#) factory, this time in Jamaica.¹⁸



May 20: The remaining assets of the Northampton Silk Company that had been so heavily invested in by Samuel Whitmarsh were sold to a group of the stockholders for a mere \$40,000. Some [silk](#) manufacturing continued. The company leased 20 acres of its old farmed-out mulberry-bush hill acreage to [David Lee Child](#) for experiments with [sugar beets](#).

18. This [Northampton](#) enterprise also would founder, when its vital shipment of imported silkworms would arrive dead. However, during this year Samuel Whitmarsh became a published author and an expert and a reputed authority on the manufacture of [silk](#)!

Whitmarsh, Samuel. EIGHT YEARS EXPERIENCE AND OBSERVATION IN THE CULTURE OF THE MULBERRY TREE AND IN THE CARE OF THE SILK WORM. WITH REMARKS ADAPTED TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM OF PRODUCING RAW SILK FOR EXPORTATION. Northampton MA: J.H. Butler, 1839.

**SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY**



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SWEETS WITHOUT SLAVERY

December: In the ongoing effort to eliminate human slavery from the world by exploring various ways in which white people might more readily do without slaves without in any way inconveniencing themselves, [David Lee Child](#) won a premium of \$100 from the Massachusetts Agricultural Society for his beet sweetener. The Sugar Beet Company again guaranteed his salary and expenses. [Lydia Maria Child](#)'s father Convers Francis agreed to move to [Northampton](#) and live with them and thus help with expenses.

A world that obtained its sweetness out of [sugar beets](#) grown by free farmers would not need to have slavers arriving every month or so from Africa, with new crops of black slaves to use up in the [sugar cane](#) fields. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Alexander*, master Hill, flying the Stars and Stripes on its one and only known Middle Passage, which vessel of US registry had sailed out of Principe during October 1839 and was at this point arriving in Cuban waters. There would be no need for the Portuguese [negreiros](#) either, slave ships such as the *Maria Segundo*, master Figuera, on one of its ten-count-'em-ten known Middle Passage voyages, Mocambique with a cargo of 580 enslaved Africans, presently arriving at a port of Cuba. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Flor de' Loanda*, master J.J. Lopez, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of the Congo River with a cargo of 320 enslaved Africans and was presently arriving at the port of Macae, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Felicidade*, master J. de Almeida, on one of its nine known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola and was presently arriving at a port of Cuba. **Well, this does go on and on, doesn't it?** In a world of economic justice there would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Idalia*, flying the Portuguese flag, under its master J. Romeiro, which had sailed out of Angola during September 1839 on its one and only known Middle Passage, and was at this point delivering its cargo of 244 enslaved Africans into the [barracoon](#) at the port of Ponta Negra, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Ligeiro*, master unknown, on one of its four known Middle Passage voyages, out of Benguela with a cargo of 321 enslaved Africans, presently arriving at the port of Paranagua, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Animo Grande*, master F. Silveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, which had sailed out of Quelimane during October 1839 with a cargo of 590 enslaved Africans and was presently arriving at Campos, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Aucorinha*, master J. F. Silveira, on its one and only known Middle Passage, which had sailed out of Angola during November 1839 with a cargo of 280 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at the port



of Sao Sebastiao, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *General Cabreira*, master J.P. de A. Kansia, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola with a cargo of 127 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Doze de Outubro*, master J.F. da Cruz, on one of its five known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Angola during November 1839 with a cargo of 263 enslaved Africans, and was presently arriving at the port of Ilha Grande, Brazil. There would be no need for a *negrero* such as the *Fortuna de Africa*, master J.A. Passagem, on one of its three known Middle Passage voyages, which had sailed out of Quelimane, and was presently off-loading its cargo of 429 enslaved Africans into the barracoon at the port of Macae, Brazil. **A world of economic justice would be a sweet world indeed. Sometimes David and Maria dreamed of this. They were dedicating their lives in Northampton to make it be so.**

THE MIDDLE PASSAGE



INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

1840

Early in the year [John Adolphus Etzler](#) had returned from the West Indies to New-York. Undoubtedly to meet and suitably impress other reformers, he would there attend the Fourier Society of New York's annual celebration of the French philosopher-utopist Charles Fourier's birthday. There he would make the acquaintance of a Fourierist socialist and humanitarian, C.F. Stollmeyer, also a recent German immigrant, who was at that time reading Albert Brisbane's *THE SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN* for publication. Stollmeyer was to become not only the publisher of *The New World*, but also a primary disciple of Etzler. This *SOCIAL DESTINY OF MAN*, seconded by the writings and lectures of such men as Dana McClean Greeley, Horace Greeley, Parke Godwin, and the Reverend William Henry Channing, would stimulate the rise of several Phalansterian Associations, in the middle and western states, chiefest of which would be "The North American Phalanx" in Monmouth County, New Jersey.

ASSOCIATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

ONEIDA COMMUNITY

MODERN TIMES

UNITARY HOME

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)'s "Practical Christians" began to publish a gazette, the *Practical Christian*, for the "promulgation of Primitive Christianity." He would write in *HISTORY OF THE HOPEDALE COMMUNITY, FROM ITS INCEPTION TO ITS VIRTUAL SUBMERGENCE IN THE HOPEDALE PARISH* that this year would initiate "a decade of American history pre-eminently distinguished for the general humanitarian spirit which seemed to pervade it, as manifested in numerous and widely extended efforts to put away existing evils and better the condition of the masses of mankind; and especially for the wave of communal thought which swept over the country, awakening a very profound interest in different directions in the question of the re-organization of society; — an interest which assumed various forms as it contemplated or projected practical results." There would be, he pointed out, a considerable number of what were known as [Transcendentalists](#) in and about [Boston](#), who, under the leadership of the [Reverend George Ripley](#), a [Unitarian](#) clergyman of eminence, would plan and put in operation the Roxbury Community, generally known as the "[Brook Farm](#)" Association. A company of radical reformers who had come out from the church on account of its alleged complicity with Slavery and other abominations, and hence called Come-Outers, would institute a sort of family Community near [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Other progressives, with George W. Benson at their head, would found the Northampton Community at the present village of [Florence](#), a suburb of [Northampton](#).



One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York *Tribune* to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother



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Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had "a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.



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According to the dissertation of Maurice A. Crane, “A Textual and Critical Edition of [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s The Blithedale Romance” at the University of Illinois in 1953, various scholars have fingered Zenobia as:

- Mrs. Almira Barlow
- [Margaret Fuller](#)
- [Fanny Kemble](#)
- [Mrs. Sophia Willard Dana Ripley](#)
- Caroline Sturgis Tappan

while various other scholars have been fingering Mr. Hollingsworth as:

- Bronson Alcott
- Albert Brisbane
- [Elihu Burritt](#)
- Charles A. Dana
- [Waldo Emerson](#)
- Horace Mann, Sr.
- William Pike
- the Reverend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), or maybe
- the Reverend William Henry Channing, or maybe
- the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)

Hawthorne should really have told us more than Zenobia’s nickname, and should really have awarded Hollingsworth a first name more definitive than “Mr.”? Go figure!

Lest we presume that an association of this William Henry Channing with Hollingsworth is utterly void of content, let us listen, as Marianne Dwight did, to the reverend stand and deliver on the topic of “devotedness to the cause; the necessity of entire self-surrender”.¹

He compared our work with ... that of the crusaders.... He compared us too with the [Quakers](#), who see God only in the inner light,... with the Methodists, who seek to be in a state of rapture in their sacred meetings, whereas we should maintain in daily life, in every deed, on all occasions, a feeling of religious fervor; with the perfectionists, who are, he says, the only sane religious people, as they believe in perfection, and their aim is one with ours. Why should we, how dare we tolerate ourselves or one another in sin?

1. Reed, Amy L., ed. LETTERS FROM BROOK FARM, 1844-1847, BY MARIANNE DWIGHT Poughkeepsie NY, 1928.



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In this year Sojourner Truth (still as Isabella Van Wagenen) would have been approximately 43 years old. This was the year of freedom for Diana, her 1st child. (A process of mandatory indenture had been utilized in New York State to effectively extend the condition of servitude of young slaves, after they had on the 4th of July

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1827 received their formal [manumission](#) papers.)



Here is an interesting piece of information reflecting upon the current project in [Northampton](#), to belatedly

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create a town statue of Sojourner Truth: At some point during this decade, in Europe, Charles Cumberworth created a statuette, now lost, representing the quite unusual topic of a black female at a fountain. This topic for sculpture was remarkable in that:¹⁹



[T]he age-old status of the slave combined with the newer concept of race created an extremely powerful cultural formation that rendered the African American virtually the embodiment of what was **not** classically sculptural.... Simply to represent black slaves in sculpture was in a sense to emancipate them. Before 1860 there are no known images whatsoever of African Americans, slave or free, in marble or bronze, the more permanent and prestigious materials of the sculptor's art.

Very possibly it was this little thing that had been done in the 1840s in “baser” artistic materials in Europe, strange and singular as it must have been, which inspired Harriet Beecher Stowe to make up what she would make up in April 1863 while in the pay of The Atlantic Monthly, to wit, that Sojourner had been the inspiration of William Wetmore Story's famed “Libyan Sibyl” statue.²⁰



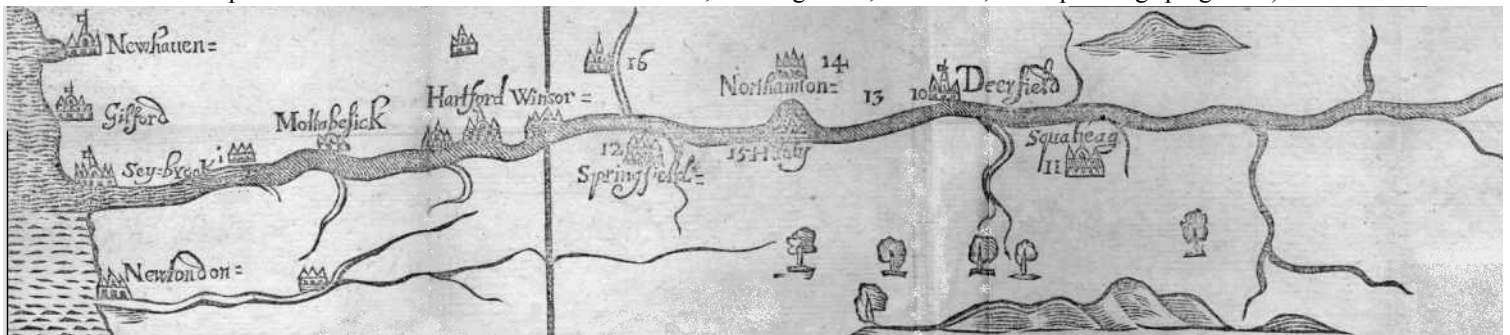
19. Kirk Savage. *STANDING SOLDIERS, KNEELING SLAVES: RACE, WAR, AND MONUMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA*. Princeton NJ: Princeton UP, 1997

20. Harriet Beecher Stowe also intimated that Sojourner Truth was out of Africa — and that she was dead!

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[Northampton](#)'s [Unitarian](#) minister would be, for a brief period, the Reverend John Sullivan Dwight,²¹ who was ordained in this year. (But he would soon discover the region to be uncongenial for religious reform, and follow the [Reverend George Ripley](#) to [Brook Farm](#). Of course, he would be wise to recognize when he had bitten off more than he could chew: Northampton had been the town of the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#), and one of its two Congregational churches was still named after him. The Tappan brothers—Arthur Tappan, Lewis Tappan, Benjamin, William, Charles, and John—had grown up in this vicinity. One of the oldest towns in the region, a bastion of New England Federalism priding itself on its conservatism, the town was dominated by the Whig party. When [Lydia Maria Child](#) lived here, while her husband [David Lee Child](#) was attempting to grow slavery-fighting [sugar beets](#), she called this region a “Desert where no water is” in the “iron-bound Valley of the Connecticut.” Referring to the self-righteous religious attitude which she encountered while there, she opinioned that “Calvinism sits here enthroned, with high ears, blue nose, thin lips and griping fist.”)



March 4, Wednesday: The picturesque ox-bow of the Connecticut River was breached in a flood, and the peninsula on the east bank known as “the Hadley honey-pot,” that once had sheltered the regicides Major-General William Goffe and Lieutenant-General Edward Whalley, became first an island and eventually an irregular peninsula of the west bank at the confluence of the Mill River with the Connecticut (driving by there on the interstate, look for the “Oxbow Marina”). The local newspaper, the [Hampshire Gazette](#), reported:

The prospect from the summit of Mt. Holyoke will also be marred, for this graceful turn of the river afforded one of the most delightful scenes which met the eye,

21. Bear tradition in mind here: the Reverend [Timothy Dwight](#), president of Yale College, had been the grandson of the Reverend [Jonathan Edwards](#) of [Northampton](#).

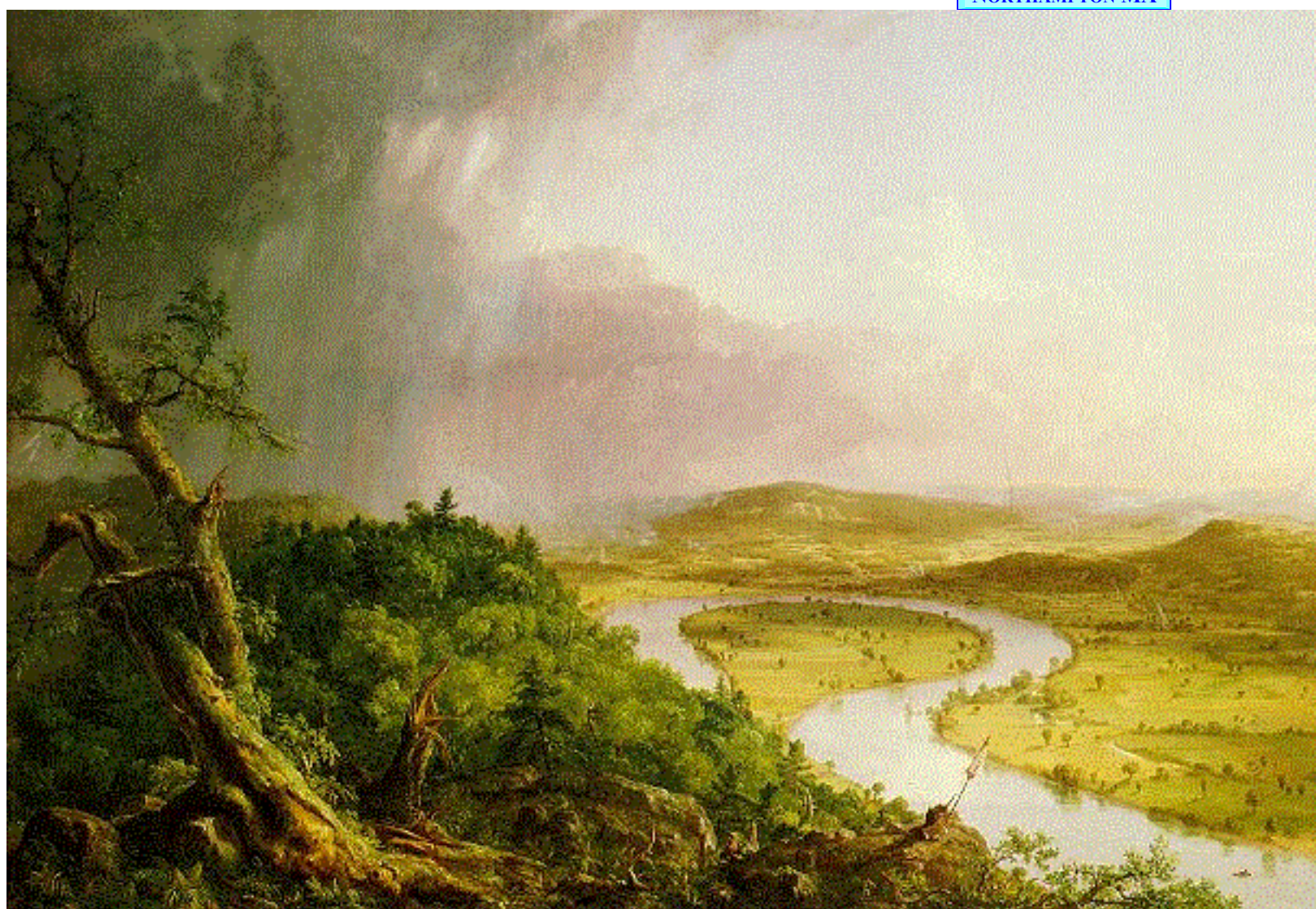


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at that distinguished place of public report.

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Here's what had happened. As a first-order approximation, the meanders of rivers gradually enlarge themselves until eventually they eat through their necks. This is a natural and indeed inevitable process, named after the Meander River in present-day Turkey. Secondly, however, all the intrinsic activities of civilization are such as to heighten flooding, due to forest removal, field plowing, paving, placement of obstructions such as bridges in riverbeds, construction of levees along the banks of floodplains, etc., while none of these activities of civilization seem to be such as to lessen such flooding in any way. In this situation, the level of the river had been raised artificially at the Ox-Bow by the presence of detrius from upstream bridges, washed away in the previous days of the flood. Also, when the waters of the river inundated the fields of the river bank they flowed along the furrows of a plowed field²² at a place where the neck was all of 25 rods wide, rather than at the narrowest point of the neck. As soon as the river had cut a new more direct channel, the jam of ice and of bridge spans in the bow was avoided and the level of the river fell some six to eight feet.

In this same year a steel engraving of the previous view of the oxbow from Mount Holyoke was being published in England, with no indication that this depicted beautiful curve was simply no longer in existence:



March 18: The first “For Sale” signs went up at the Northampton [Silk](#) Company — but, it would turn out, at the asking price there would be no nibbles.

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22. [Henry Thoreau](#)'s considered opinion in regard to the plow was that it was a more fatal weapon than the rifle. This was not, we may now have occasion to consider, mere hyperbole, but here, for point in contrast, is the Brunswick, which was at that time in use by the British Army:



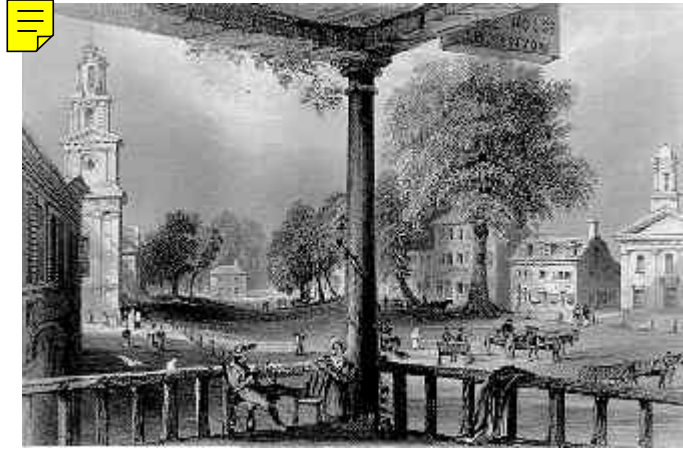
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)

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May: At this point both of the Childs were back in [Northampton](#), where [David Lee Child](#) was once again cultivating slavery-fighting [sugar beets](#).

During this year a steel engraving of a bucolic Northampton scene was being published in London, but this undoubtedly was not the scene from the front porch of the Child residence:



Early June: Early in the month [David Lee Child](#) leased 20 acres of old farmed-out mulberry land from the failed [silk](#) factory and the family moved into a house just across from this field. This hill land would prove to be no good for [sugar beets](#) while David was scheming to add another 100 acres just like it to his holdings.

[NORTHAMPTON MA](#)

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY



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November: At the Chardon Street Chapel in [Boston](#), a continuation of the 1st meeting of the Convention of Friends of Universal Reform, that had begun during March. Attending “to discuss the origin and authority of the ministry” were, among others, the [Reverend George Ripley](#) from [Brook Farm](#) and David Mack from the [Association of Industry and Education](#), plus at least four other future members of that [Northampton](#) association. [Waldo Emerson](#)’s report of this is on the following screen.



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[go to the following screen]

In the month of November, 1840, a Convention of Friends of Universal Reform assembled in the Chardon Street Chapel, in [Boston](#), in obedience to a call in the newspapers signed by a few individuals, inviting all persons to a public discussion of the institutions of the Sabbath, the Church and the Ministry. The Convention organized itself by the choice of Edmund Quincy, as Moderator, spent three days in the consideration of the Sabbath, and adjourned to a day in March, of the following year, for the discussion of the second topic. In March, accordingly, a three-days' session was holden, in the same place, on the subject of the Church, and a third meeting fixed for the following November, which was accordingly holden, and the Convention, debated, for three days again, the remaining subject of the Priesthood. This Convention never printed any report of its deliberations, nor pretended to arrive at any **Result**, by the expression of its sense in formal resolutions, – the professed object of those persons who felt the greatest interest in its meetings being simply the elucidation of truth through free discussion. The daily newspapers reported, at the time, brief sketches of the course of proceedings, and the remarks of the principal speakers. These meetings attracted a good deal of public attention, and were spoken of in different circles in every note of hope, of sympathy, of joy, of alarm, of abhorrence, and of merriment. The composition of the assembly was rich and various. The singularity and latitude of the summons drew together, from all parts of New England, and also from the Middle States, men of every shade of opinion, from the straitest orthodoxy to the wildest heresy, and many persons whose church was a church of one member only. A great variety of dialect and of costume was noticed; a great deal of confusion, eccentricity, and freak appeared, as well as of zeal and enthusiasm. If the assembly was disorderly, it was picturesque. Madmen, madwomen, men with beards, Dunkers, Muggletonians, Come-Outers, Groaners, Agrarians, Seventh-day-Baptists, [Quakers](#), Abolitionists, Calvinists, [Unitarians](#), and Philosophers, – all came successively to the top, and seized their moment, if not their **hour**, wherein to chide, or pray, or preach, or protest. The faces were a study. The most daring innovators, and the champions-until-death of the old cause, sat side by side. The still living merit of the oldest New England families, glowing yet, after several generations, encountered the founders of families, fresh merit, emerging, and expanding the brows to a new breadth, and lighting a clownish face with sacred fire. The assembly was characterized by the predominance of a certain plain, sylvan strength and earnestness, whilst many of the most intellectual and cultivated persons attended its councils. Dr. William Henry Channing, Edward Thompson Taylor, Bronson Alcott, Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, Mr. Samuel Joseph May, [Theodore Parker](#), [Henry C. Wright](#), Dr. Joseph Osgood, William Adams, Edward Palmer, [Jones Very](#), Maria W. Chapman, and many other persons of a mystical, or sectarian, or philanthropic renown, were present, and some of them participant. And there was no want of female speakers; Mrs. Little and Mrs. Lucy Sessions took a pleasing and memorable part in the debate, and that flea of Conventions, Mrs. Abigail Folsom, was but too ready with her interminable scroll. If there was not parliamentary order, there was life, and the assurance of that constitutional love for religion and religious liberty, which, in all periods, characterizes the inhabitants of this part of America.

SWEETS
WITHOUT
SLAVERY

Winter: It was proving to be impossible to render this year's poor crop of [Northampton sugar beets](#) into sweetener. Sometimes you can raise a beet's sugar content from 8% to like 20% or more, and sometimes you can't — this depends on soil and weather as well as on the variety of the beet and the care taken during cultivation. Whatever the reason and whatever their need, there would be no income for [Lydia Maria Child](#) and [David Lee Child](#).

1841

Clinton Roosevelt's SCIENCE OF HUMAN GOVERNMENT envisioned a new basis for human society: a disciplined and tightly structured network of local communities. Charles Sears, a follower of Albert Brisbane, would be attempting to implement the economy-of-scale concepts of Charles Fourier.



With Nathan Starks, he founded a Fourierist group in Albany, New York. The North American Phalanx, a secular Utopian community, was initiated near Red Bank in Monmouth County, New Jersey (and would endure there until 1856) by Brisbane, with Horace Greeley and Park Goodwin. For \$14,000, they would purchase 673 acres in Monmouth from Hendrick Longstreet and Daniel Holmes on January 1, 1844. Settlement of the men would begin over 6 months, with women and children following during Spring 1845.

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FRUITLANDS

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE



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January 7, Thursday: The startup of local supra-familial communes and social utopias was at this point all the rage. William Lloyd Garrison wrote to George W. Benson asking where he intended to settle his family: “What say you to a little social community among ourselves? Brother Chase is ready for it, and I think we must be pretty bad folks if we cannot live together amicably within gun-shot of each other.”²³

Communal and Utopian Startups

| Period | Startups |
|-----------|----------|
| 1841-1845 | 47 |
| 1846-1850 | 13 |
| 1851-1855 | 14 |

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EAGLESWOOD

BROOK FARM

HOPEDALE



January 7: There is a total disinterestedness and self abandonment [sic] in fretfulness and despondency, which few attain to. If there is no personality or selfishness, you may be as fretful as you please. I congratulate myself on the richness of human nature, which a virtuous and even temper had not wholly exhibited. May it not whine like a kitten or squeak like a squirrel? Some times the weakness of my fellow discovers a new suppleness, which I had not anticipated.

CAT

Spring: George W. Benson relocated his family to [Northampton](#).

23. Brother Chase presumably would have been Samuel Chase, the husband of Elizabeth Buffum Chase?



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April: [Lydia Maria Child](#) and [David Lee Child](#) were offered an annual salary of \$1,000 to relocate to New-York and there put out the American Anti-Slavery Society's weekly newspaper, the National Anti-Slavery Standard. Under the circumstances, after this utter collapse of their adventure in [sugar beet](#) cultivation in [Northampton](#), although they were reluctant, they would be forced to accept.



However, from this year into 1843, it would be [Maria](#) alone who would be serving successfully as editor of the National Anti-Slavery Standard. She and [David](#) would for propriety and in accordance with expectations be listed together on the masthead — but in fact the husband had stayed behind in Massachusetts still expecting to found a sugar beet industry. “Such as I am, I am here,” she would write in her initial editorial, “ready to work according to my conscience and my ability; providing nothing but diligence and fidelity, refusing the shadow of a fetter on my free expression of opinion, from any man, or body of men and equally careful to respect the freedom of others, whether as individuals or societies.”

April 1, Thursday: Public auction in [Northampton](#) of one four-story brick factory, like new, loaded with like-new [silk](#) machinery. Also, a sawmill and wood factory, five frame dwelling houses, and 405 acres of fine land thickly planted with somewhere between 3,000,000 and 4,000,000 (nobody was counting anymore) surviving young mulberry trees. The sum of \$22,250 would allegedly be realized in this auction, or a little more than half what had been the buying price in 1839, which had been less than half of what the package had cost to put together at its inception back in 1834. However, the most compelling theory, since there is no legal record to substantiate this assertion of a sale, would be that there had been no satisfactory bid made at the auction, so that one had to be faked in order to prevent further depreciation in the perceived value of the properties.

September 14, Tuesday: The Trustees of the Northampton [Silk](#) Company sold their properties for \$20,000 in cash to Joseph Conant of [Northampton](#), George W. Benson and William Coe of Brooklyn CT, and Samuel L. Hill of Windham CT, and the new owners took a \$15,000 mortgage with Charles N. Talbot for operating capital.

Son of a Rhode Island Quaker, Friend Samuel L. Hill left the Religious Society of Friends when he married a non-Quaker, becoming a Baptist — and then eventually he left



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the church entirely.



October: The family of the Reverend William Adam arrived in [Northampton](#).

1842

Dr. Benjamin Barrett of [Northampton](#) was chosen to the Massachusetts legislature.

[David Lee Child](#) placed an article about hydropathy in the [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#).
Such treatments were already available in [Northampton](#).²⁴



David Ruggles, a Lispenard Street grocer and bookseller, enters the annals of black New York history as an abolitionist. In 1834 he had been the 24-year-old organizer (with Henry Highland Garnet) of the Garrison Library and Benevolent Association. Sharing the concerns of Peter Williams, Jr., for boys like Isabella's son Peter, Ruggles published a pamphlet citing the danger of their "being led into idle and licentious habits by the allurements of vice which surround them on every side." He countered the temptations of evil by operating an informal employment agency and setting up a bookstore in his grocery to satisfy young men's "mental appetites." As the main agent of the Vigilance Society, he moved the reading room to the society's offices in the late 1830s. Until Ruggles's eyesight began to fail in the early 1840s, he remained at the forefront of the city's antislavery forces. The head of the Vigilance Society, he was the key figure in New York City's underground railroad and took care of fugitive slaves from the South such as [Frederick Douglass](#) and his fiancée Anna Murray, in 1838. In 1842, the antislavery author and editor of the New-York [National Anti-Slavery Standard](#), [Lydia Maria Child](#), suggested that Ruggles move to her base, [Northampton](#), where he soon joined the Northampton Association and met Sojourner Truth. Acquaintance with Ruggles

24. Hydropathy should not be confused with hydrotherapy. It involved, characteristically, a dominance by a demanding therapist who would require devotion to the regime and moral transformation, in addition to various rigorous and somewhat challenging water-related rituals. In other words, just the sort of regime that could be well calculated to make a sufferer want very much to get better quick — and get the hell out of there.



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in Massachusetts in the 1840s and exchanges about her son with the Reverend Peter Williams in 1839 were her closest encounters with New York's prominent black men. These notable men, who have become synonymous with the history of black New York, were for the most part ministers, and they held their own views about what was and was not appropriate in religion and in women. They would have been embarrassed by Isabella, who lived with the white prophets and cultists who were so common a feature of the era.



UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

February 15: The Reverend William Adam was elected Treasurer of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), and Joseph Conant was elected its President. During this month the Reverend Adam was helping issue a "Preliminary Circular" describing the plan for the Association, which evidently caused Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack and David Mack to change their minds about papers they had just signed with [Brook Farm](#), and come to [Northampton](#) to reside instead. The focus of the Northampton association was going to be upon an early version of the Socialist dream of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need," in that each participant would contribute according to his or her ability, without recourse to any patriarchal hierarchy or racial division of labor, and would receive according to his or her individual need, in a spirit which was referred to as "equal brotherhood." (Although the ideology of this association has been portrayed by some as Fourierist, by others as "middle class," by others as "Transcendentalist," and by others as "extreme perfectionist" and as "nonresistant," their contemporary, the newspaper editor of Concord, New Hampshire, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers, would categorize them merely as "a peculiar body, and of peculiar individual character." The Northampton Association of Education and Industry was so advanced in its racial thinking that it even accepted as a member the white widow of a black man.²⁵)

Cass advised Webster that, since the Quintuple Treaty obligated its signers to board and search commercial vessels on the high seas in a manner objectionable to the USA, altering the hitherto recognized law of nations, he had on his own responsibility sent a warning to M. Guizot, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, that this was something that we might be prepared to go to war over:

"SIR: The recent signature of a treaty, having for its object the suppression of the African slave trade, by five of the powers of Europe, and to which France is a party, is a fact of such general notoriety that it may be assumed as the basis of any diplomatic representations which the subject may fairly

25. Otohiko Okugawa's "Annotated List of Communal and Utopian Societies, 1789-1919," published as part of the *DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN COMMUNAL AND UTOPIAN HISTORY* (editor Robert S. Fogarty, Westport CT, 1980, pages 173-233), listed some 119 communal societies established in the USA between 1800 and 1859, not counting those that existed only in "plan and prospectus." This list of 119 is known, however, to be incomplete; see Dare, Philip N., *AMERICAN COMMUNES TO 1860*, for a more recent take. Evidence of previously unknown communities continues to turn up from time to time. This decade of the 1840s would turn out to be the key decade for the trend, with at least 59 new communities being formed, most of which would last no longer than two years.



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require."

The United States is no party to this treaty. She denies the Right of Visitation which England asserts. [quotation from the presidential message of December 7, 1841] This principle is asserted by the treaty.

"... The moral effect which such a union of five great powers, two of which are eminently maritime, but three of which have perhaps never had a vessel engaged in that traffic, is calculated to produce upon the United States, and upon other nations who, like them, may be indisposed to these combined movements, though it may be regretted, yet furnishes no just cause of complaint. But the subject assumes another aspect when they are told by one of the parties that their vessels are to be forcibly entered and examined, in order to carry into effect these stipulations. Certainly the American Government does not believe that the high powers, contracting parties to this treaty, have any wish to compel the United States, by force, to adopt their measures to its provisions, or to adopt its stipulations ...; and they will see with pleasure the prompt disavowal made by yourself, sir, in the name of your country, ... of any intentions of this nature. But were it otherwise, ... They would prepare themselves with apprehension, indeed, but without dismay—with regret, but with firmness—for one of those desperate struggles which have sometimes occurred in the history of the world."

If, as England says, these treaties cannot be executed without visiting United States ships, then France must pursue the same course. It is hoped, therefore, that his Majesty will, before signing this treaty, carefully examine the pretensions of England and their compatibility with the law of nations and the honor of the United States. SENATE DOCUMENT, 27th Congress, 3d session, II. No. 52, and IV. No. 223; 29th Congress, 1st session, VIII. No. 377, pages 192-5.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE



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Spring: Frances Birge arrived at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) and described it as “in a wilderness.” Her concept of wilderness was “A pine grove and ravine were west of it, and the land on the east was covered with mulberry bushes.” Much later, [Frederick Douglass](#) would characterize the site selected by the Association as having been “decidedly unpromising.” He had noted the poorness of the soil, which had hardly been able to support “stubby oaks and stunted pines.”

The most hopeful thing I saw there was a narrow stream meandering through an entangled valley of brush and brier, and a brick building which the communists had now converted into a dwelling and factory. The place and the people struck me as the most democratic I had ever met.

In this spring there would be a rise in the Mill River that must have caused this city girl Frances Birge to suspect that the end of the world was at hand, for it was so sudden that it sent the community’s pigs swimming for their lives.

The Sunday worship meetings of the Association were held in a pine grove in a natural amphitheater, beneath a pine that seems to have towered to about 150 feet (if you are interested in looking at it, this spot is now directly to the rear of the [Florence](#) Congregational Church).

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April 8: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke in Milford MA.



Some 41 persons, half of them children, registered as members of the new [Association of Industry and Education](#) at its first official meeting at Boughton's Meadows near [Northampton](#). The Reverend William Adam became Secretary instead of Treasurer as the institution shaped up according to the following schedule:

Northampton Association of Industry and Education

| Name | Origin | Category | New Titles | Status |
|-----------------------|---------------|-------------------|---|---------|
| Reverend William Adam | India | abolitionist | Secretary | Present |
| George W. Benson | Brooklyn CT | abolitionist | Director of Stock Company | Present |
| Erasmus Darwin Hudson | Torrington CT | abolitionist | ???? | Present |
| Joseph Conant | Mansfield CT | silk manufacturer | President, Committee for Accommodations | Present |
| Earl Dwight Swift | Mansfield CT | silk manufacturer | Director of Stock Company | Present |
| Theodore Scarborough | Brooklyn CT | farmer | Director of Stock Company | Present |



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Northampton Association of Industry and Education

| Name | Origin | Category | New Titles | Status |
|----------------|----------------|-----------------|---|---------------|
| Hiram Wells | Mansfield CT | mechanic | Board for Admitting New Members, Committee for Accommodations | Present |
| Samuel L. Hill | Willimantic CT | abolitionist | Treasurer | Absent |
| Hall Judd | Northampton | abolitionist | Board for Admitting New Members | Absent |
| David Mack | Cambridge MA | abolitionist | Board for Admitting New Members | Absent |
| Samuel Brooks | Northampton | farmer | Board for Admitting New Members | Absent |



FLORENCE MA

NORTHAMPTON

Since it seemed that the new association was to be based upon no particular creedal declaration, no mandatory statement of “faith,” the members of this association would be denigrated and derided by the general public as “Nothingarians.”

Membership

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
| June 1843 | 113 |
| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

[Helen Louisa Thoreau](#)'s advertisement appeared in the local gazette:

SCHOOL FOR YOUNG LADIES.

HELLEN L. THOREAU will open a school for Young Ladies on MONDAY, May 2d. Terms—English Branches with Plain and Ornamental Needle-work.....\$4 00
French 2 00
Drawing and Painting in Water Colors..... 2 00
Oil Painting..... 8 00
Music on the Pianoforte..... 8 00

Scholars from a distance can be accommodated with board in the family with the Teacher at \$2,00 per week
Apply at J. THOREAU'S
Concord, April 8th, '42. Sw—14.



May: The membership of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) was up from 41 to 65, which created a housing problem that would temporarily need to be handled by situating some of the new members in the 4-story brick structure which had been in use as a wool warehouse. Pine partitions were set up across the interiors, but there was still [silk](#) machinery on the 2d floor, the 3d floor was entirely taken up by such machinery and by the community store, and the basement was in use as the community's laundry.

Membership

| | |
|-------------|-----|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
| June 1843 | 113 |
| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

May 25: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) wrote David Mack a letter which indicated that he had seriously considered enlisting in the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) after his departure from [Brook Farm](#).

Late May: The women workers at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) met separately and entered into a pact to vote as a block to force the elimination of the differing pay scales for male and female adult workers. The investors countered by making a wage offer of 5 cents per hour for anyone over age 17, which would in effect have equalized wages by paying the men at the women's rate so this proposal had to be voted down — voted down, indeed, by a wide margin. The question of wage rates was then postponed until the end of the accounting period, on the grounds that then all the persons concerned would know how much or how little community income there was to be argued over.



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Early summer: Early in the summer, Erasmus Darwin Hudson led a movement of equal treatment for all at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) which would eventually lead to disregarding the fact that different individuals had made differing levels of financial investment in the supporting assets of this community outside [Northampton](#). He was supported in this by Hall Judd and opposed by George W. Benson. The Reverend William Adam initially supported this but then joined with Benson. At some point during this debate the members voted by majority rule to reduce their working hours from 12 per day to 11.

August 24: In this period it was rather difficult to get employees in Massachusetts, as so many people were departing for prospects farther to the west in this developing nation of ours, and regarded as more attractive. After a protest against the 12-hour workday, the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) was formally transferred into the hands of George W. Benson and David Mack.

September: In Cambridge, Massachusetts, while printing the circular advertising the [Association of Industry and Education](#), the printer James D. Atkins became persuaded to bring himself and his family into that association. In a sense, the [Northampton](#) enterprise could be conceived to have originated in an attempt to reform capitalism from within, by using the model of the joint stock company to construct, within an economy based on wage labor and private profit, a new and real form of cooperative community of work.²⁶ By way of contrast, the Reverend [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), in his famous 1840 essay "The Laboring Classes," had opined that the inequity and instability produced by the American confrontation between labor and capital would have to be resolved in a class warfare, that is, by revolution.



"The commercial capitalism of the eighteenth century developed the wealth of Europe by means of slavery and monopoly. But in so doing it helped to create the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century, which turned round and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery, and all its works. Without a grasp of these economic changes the history of the period is meaningless."



— Eric Williams, *CAPITALISM AND SLAVERY*. Chapel Hill: U of North Carolina P, 1944, page 210

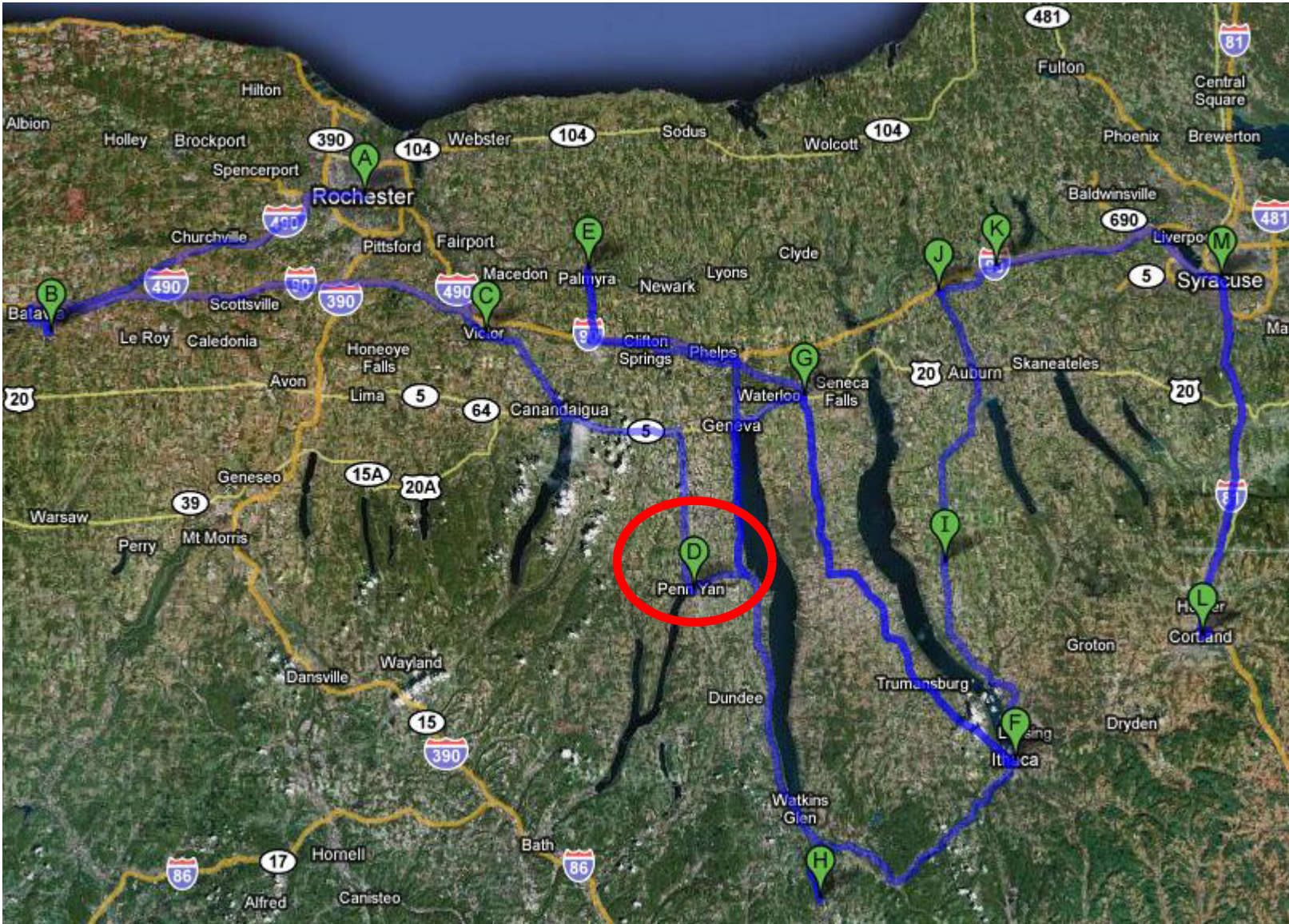
26. While this James D. Atkins was the association's [silk](#) dyer, work in that department would sometimes be slack because of lack of supplies. On Mondays he would occasionally go down and help Sojourner Truth wring out the laundry. Doesn't this make an interesting picture for the period? —Where else would one have been able to witness an adult white male helping a black person accomplish a woman's chore? —And grok this, voluntarily!

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September 6: The Hampshire Gazette copied a report from a Hartford newspaper about a sample of sewing silk produced at the Association of Industry and Education outside Northampton, which was being said to be “the most splendid specimen of American excellence in reeling, spinning and dying silk that we have ever seen.”

Frederick Douglass, Abby Kelley, and John A. Collins lectured in Penn Yan, New York.



October: Reducing work to 11 hours per day 6 days per week seems to have been the final straw persuading some invested members (Joseph Conant, Earl Dwight Swift, and someone named Chaffee) that the Association of Industry and Education could not be a going concern, and causing them (wisely, it would turn out) to separate their assets and their efforts while yet they could, into a discrete new nearby competing commercial entity in Northampton.



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November: William Lloyd Garrison and others had helped the blinded and ill David Ruggles to move to [Northampton](#) to recuperate, and in this month there was a specially convened meeting of the admissions board of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) that invited this black man to “come amongst us and remain with us as a member, without being admitted until better acquainted.” (This clause “without being admitted until better acquainted” would seem to have rapidly become a moot issue.)



End of the year: The [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) at this point had 83 members:

Membership

| | |
|--------------------|-----------|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
| June 1843 | 113 |
| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

1843

Former Quaker (disowned) [William Bassett](#) inquired about taking up a membership in the [Association of Industry and Education](#), where he had friends.

These [Northampton](#) communists received an award of a diploma, from the American Institute of New York, for a piece of raw [silk](#), and another award, 2d-best, for [sewing](#)-silk. In the course of one year the association would grow from 102 to 180 members. The old oil mill would be put back into production as a grist mill, which may or may not have been a good idea but may be utilized as something of an illustration of the impulsiveness and the diffuseness of effort which would come to characterize this group of people, who we will discover to be constantly abandoning their current tasks to rush off into any newer and disparate and more interesting and more hopeful projects and agendas that were coming over their thought-horizon.

In this year and the following one, Dr. Benjamin Barrett of [Northampton](#) would be serving in the Massachusetts senate.



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January 14, Saturday: The investors in the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) made their wage proposal, honoring the women's insistence upon equality of pay of course only by cutting the men's rate to the women's rate. (Yet even this would not enable the association to do more than pay the interest on its loans. There would never be any retirement of loan balances and there would never be any dividend for the shareholders.)

| Age and Gender | Prevailing Local Wages | Association Wages |
|----------------|------------------------|---|
| 6-11 | 2 cents/hour | 1 cent/hour plus free room and board |
| 12-15 | 3 cents/hour | 3 cents/hour plus free room and board |
| 16-17 | 5 cents/hour | 4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board |
| women 18-19 | 6 cents/hour | 4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board |
| men 18-19 | 10 cents/hour | 4 1/2 cents/hour plus free room and board |
| women 20+ | 6 cents/hour | 6 cents/hour plus free room and board |
| men 20+ | 10 cents/hour | 6 cents/hour plus free room and board |

January 20, Friday: At the first annual meeting of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), a very extended meeting which would continue until February 1st, the struggle which seemed to be going on endlessly in [Northampton](#) was in regard to the wage scale. What was happening was that, despite the clear stipulation in their foundational document that those who had invested more funds would own proportionally more votes, the voters were attempting to impose a restriction upon the investors to but one voice per person. Laboring members of the community who had brought no equivalent amounts of capital were beginning to insist upon actual equality not only in the deliberations but also in the decisions. The association they said ought to become a true community, taking from each according to his or her ability and rendering unto each according to his or her need.



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February 1, Wednesday: [Frederick Douglass](#) was attending the annual meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society in Princeton MA, which would be going on during this day and the following one.



Conclusion of the marathon first annual meeting of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), which had begun on January 20th and had continued indefinitely because of the controversy over the wage scale. Despite the clear stipulation in their foundational document that those who had invested more funds would own proportionally more votes, the investors had become restricted to but one voice per person. Laboring members of the Association who had brought no equivalent amounts of capital had succeeded in obtaining actual equality not only in the deliberations but also in the decisions, and this would definitely interfere with further needed capital investment. The idea of paying “wages” for work had been entirely superseded by a system of allowances for the expenses of subsistence. The Association had transformed itself into a true community, or extended family, taking from each according to his or her ability and rendering unto each according to his or her need — which in real-world terms meant of course that it was doomed to soon perish. The historian Arthur Bestor has referred to this as a “coup,” which it was in the sense that shooting yourself in your own foot is a “coup de pie.”

In this period large areas of woodland were being logged in the vicinity of [Northampton](#) and in fact to this point lumber had remained despite all grand schemes the primary moneymaker for the Association. These local woodlands were, however, well on their way toward depletion.

Spring: An illiterate [Maryland](#) black man, Stephen C. Rush, no known relation to US Secretary of the Treasury Richard Rush, hearing by word of mouth of the George Latimer case of October 1842, fled to freedom in [Northampton](#). He would promptly learn to read and write courtesy of the [Association of Industry and Education](#).

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April: When the Reverend William Adam was challenged in his direction of the educational effort by those who experienced his teaching as dry, stilted, and boring (which, clearly, it was), he did the same thing he had done in 1828 → when he had been in charge of Rajah Rammohan Roy's school in Calcutta: he withdrew totally, both as director of education and as secretary of the community. This man had a thin skin! David Mack and Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack had suddenly to assume responsibility for the [Association of Industry and Education](#)'s educational arm, and implement a considerably altered curriculum. Corporal punishment was to be forbidden. In the future, instead of long hours of classroom study, during the summer the children were to be taken into the woods and meadows to learn their botany and zoology from 7AM until noon. Although this sounds a whole lot like playing in the water, they would be allowed to "build the different geographical formations, miniature islands, capes, promontories, peninsulas, and isthmuses" along the bank of the mill pond. And, they would expedition by carriage to Mount Holyoke to collect mineral specimens. Then, during the winter months, from 7AM until noon the students were to learn "sewing, braiding straw, knitting [silk](#) and beaded purses and other useful things" while being read to out of "[Shakespeare](#)'s plays, Scott's novels, Prescott's HISTORY OF THE CONQUEST OF MEXICO, Undine and many other ... books." Each afternoon and evening, from 1PM until sunset, of course, occupied all children in useful factory labor at the Cocoonery — learning by doing. All this was so popular in the surrounding community of [Northampton](#) that a boarding school was begun, to accommodate children from outside the Association group at a tuition level of \$100 per annum (this didn't include the cost for the student of books, stationery, or clothing). Not only would this regimen prove popular among the parents, but also, a review of reports made by the students later in their lives indicates that the children also appreciated this regimen while it lasted.²⁷



27. But by 1846 this more lenient schedule had, due to financial pressures, disappeared, and the children of the community were reduced to laboring all day six days a week in the Cocoonery and receiving instructions only after their supper until their bedtime.



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May: Sophia Foord arrived at the [Association of Industry and Education](#). We have a record by her that one ex-slave had been residing temporarily at the Association, and that another one (presumably Stephen C. Rush) was being expected to arrive shortly. The term used by Foord was “rail road under ground.” At about this time members of the Association were being overcome with horror as they observed men and boys bathing naked in the Mill River outside [Northampton](#), and laying plans to construct a decent bathhouse ASAP.

[UNDERGROUND RAILROAD](#)



FLORENCE MA

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~~Isabella~~ [^] ~~Van Wagenen~~ —> Sojourner Truth

June 1 (Pentecost Thursday): [Joseph Smith, Jr.](#) “got married with” Elvira Anie Cowles.

Go East, 46-year-old black woman, go East: Isabella²⁸ experienced a command to “go east” and testify, adopted the monicker Sojourner Truth, and departed New-York with but an hour’s notice, with two York shillings in her pocket, carrying her worldly belongings in a pillowcase, to move on foot through Long Island and Connecticut, testifying to whatever audiences she was able to attract. —It is the life of a wandering evangelist, is mine. In the course of attending Millerite meetings to testify, she would accommodate to a number of the apocalyptic tenets of that group.



28. Isabella Bomefree van Wagenen, “Bomefree” being the name of her first husband which by virtue of enslavement she had been denied, and “van Wagenen” being the name of the white family which she assumed and used for a number of years. (“Wagener” was a consistent misspelling perpetrated by the printer of the first version of her NARRATIVE in 1850.)



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As [Louisa May Alcott](#) has reported in later life, on this same day quite another journey was taking place:

On the first day of June, 1843, a large wagon, drawn by a small horse and containing a motley load, went lumbering over certain New England hills, with the pleasing accompaniments of wind, rain and hail. A serene man with a serene child upon his knee was driving, or rather being driven, for the small horse had it all his own way. Behind a small boy, embracing a bust of Socrates, was an energetic looking woman, with a benevolent brow, satirical mouth and eyes full of hope and courage. A baby reposed upon her lap, a mirror leaned against her knee, a basket of provisions danced about her feet, and she struggled with a large, unruly umbrella, with which she tried to cover every one but herself. Twilight began to fall, and the rain came down in a despondent drizzle, but the calm man gazed as tranquilly into the fog as if he beheld a radiant bow of promise spanning the gray sky.

The Consociate Family of Bronson Alcott was on its way from Concord to “Fruitlands” on Prospect Hill in Harvard, Massachusetts, in the district then known politely as “Still River North” and impolitely as “Hog Street,” with its prospect of Wachusett and Mount Monadnock and its prospect of “ideals without feet or



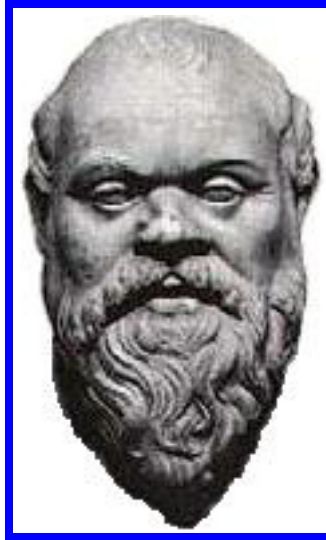
hands” (an apt phrase said to have been created by [Waldo Emerson](#),²⁹ who himself, if anyone ever metaphorically lacked them, metaphorically lacked feet and hands and other essential body parts), ideals such as “a family in harmony with the primitive instincts of man.” In her fictional account of the journey, Louisa May Alcott invented an additional child and placed it on her father’s knee, obviously where she would have wanted to be, and made it a “serene” child, what she never was but longed to be. The bust of [Socrates](#) actually rode between the father Bronson, who was holding the reins, and Charles Lane, on the wagon’s bench. There was no room in this wagon for William Lane or for Anna Alcott, who for all 14 miles of the journey had to

29. But we may note that in Bronson Alcott’s journal for Week 45 in November 1837, Alcott had himself termed himself “an Idea without hands.”

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walk alongside it.



At this point the [Association of Industry and Education](#) had 113 members, a large proportion of whom were children:

Membership

| | |
|------------------|------------|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
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| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

Having had enough after less than two months of attempting to teach almost entirely without teaching supplies and without adequate classroom space, Sophia Foord threatened to resign as teacher at the Association. (Promises would be made that would keep her teaching while efforts were made to convert a barn into classrooms, but the problem eventually would be resolved by the need of the community to use its children as a cheap source of incessant factory labor. After Miss Foord left [Northampton](#), she became tutor to the children of the Chase family (Elizabeth Buffum Chase) of Valley Falls, [Rhode Island](#); “she taught botany; she walked with the children over the fields ... and made her pupils observe the geographical features of the pond and its banks, and carefully taught them to estimate distances by sight.”)

Railroad service to [Concord](#) began. Preliminary earthmoving crews, and then crossties and rails crews, had reached Concord at the rate of 33 feet per day, filling in Walden Pond’s south-west arm to give it its present

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shape. 1,000 Irishmen were earning \$0.⁵⁰ or \$0.⁶⁰ for bonebreaking 16-hour days of labor. [Waldo Emerson](#) was elated because he much preferred riding in the railroad coach to riding in the stage coach which offered a “ludicrous pathetic tragical picture” (his comment from April 15, 1834; I don’t know whether he meant that he felt that he presented a ludicrous pathetic tragical appearance while riding on the stage coach or that the view from the stage coach window presented him with a ludicrous pathetic tragical perspective). He found, however, that when a philosopher rides the railroad “Ideal Philosophy takes place at once” as “men & trees & barns whiz by you as fast as the leaves of a dictionary” and this helps in grasping the real impermanence of matter: “hitherto esteemed symbols of stability do absolutely dance by you” and we experience “the sensations of a swallow who skims by trees & bushes with about the same speed” (June 10, 1834). By this time, with the railroad actually in Concord, Emerson had decided that “Machinery & [Transcendentalism](#) agree well.”³⁰



“[The railroad will] only encourage the common people to move about needlessly.”

— [Arthur Wellesley, Duke of Wellington](#)



Our national birthday, the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)’s 39th birthday.

In the Moravian community of Lititz, Pennsylvania, a town annual tradition of lighting their Spring Park with candles for the 4th of July, a tradition that is going on to the present day, began with this year’s celebration of our nation’s birthday.

In Boston, Charles Francis Adams, son of President John Quincy Adams, delivered an oration in Faneuil Hall. (This was the first celebration in this historic building.)

When a group from the [Association of Industry and Education](#) desired to hold an Independence Day antislavery meeting in the town of [Northampton](#) itself, they were denied access not only to the town meetinghouse but also to any and all of the local churches. Their speaker William Lloyd Garrison therefore

30. EMERSON’S JOURNALS AND MISCELLANEOUS NOTEBOOKS 4: 277, 4:296, 8:397.



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proceeded to deliver his lecture to the crowd in the main street of the town — from atop a stump.

In Washington DC, the cornerstone of Temperance Hall was laid (if you are gonna lay a cornerstone to [temperance](#), for sure the day to stage the celebration is the day that the culture is devoting to public [drunkenness](#)).

Water was officiously let into the extension of the [Chesapeake and Ohio Canal](#) created by an aqueduct above the Potomac River.

In Poughkeepsie, New York, due to a holiday firecracker “carelessly thrown by a boy,” God caused a church to be burned to the ground.



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[Frederick Douglass](#) was in the Town Hall of Kingston, Massachusetts at the annual meeting of the Plymouth County Anti-Slavery Society. This was the period of the “Hundred Conventions,” in which Douglass was lecturing in conjunction with John A. Collins, Charles Lenox Remond, Jacob Ferris, James Monroe, George Bradburn, William A. White, and Sydney Howard Gay. During the month of July Douglass would be in Middlebury, Vermont and then in Ferrisburgh, Vermont with Collins, Bradburn, and Gay, before winding up by himself again, at the end of the month with a lecture in Syracuse NY:

BONDAGE: In the summer of 1843, I was traveling and lecturing, in company with William A. White, Esq., through the state of Indiana. Anti-slavery friends were not very abundant in Indiana, at that time, and beds were not more plentiful than friends. We often slept out, in preference to sleeping in the houses, at some points. At the close of one of our meetings, we were invited home with a kindly-disposed old farmer, who, in the generous enthusiasm of the moment, seemed to have forgotten that he had but one spare bed, and that his guests were an ill-matched pair. All went on pretty well, till near bed time, when signs of uneasiness began to show themselves, among the unsophisticated sons and daughters. White is remarkably fine looking, and very evidently a born gentleman; the idea of putting us in the same bed was hardly to be tolerated; and yet, there we were, and but the one bed for us, and that, by the way, was in the same room occupied by the other members of the family. White, as well as I, perceived the difficulty, for yonder slept the old folks, there the sons, and a little farther along slept the daughters; and but one other bed remained. Who should have this bed, was the puzzling question. There was some whispering between the old folks, some confused looks among the young, as the time for going to bed approached. After witnessing the confusion as long as I liked, I relieved the kindly-disposed family by playfully saying, “Friend White, having got entirely rid of my prejudice against color, I think, as a proof of it, I must allow you to sleep with me to-night.” White kept up the joke, by seeming to esteem himself the favored party, and thus the difficulty was removed. If we went to a hotel, and called for dinner, the landlord was sure to set one table for White and another for me, always taking him to be master, and me the servant. Large eyes were generally made when the order was given to remove the dishes from my table to that of White’s. In those days, it was thought strange that a white man and a colored man could dine peaceably at the same table, and in some parts the strangeness of such a sight has not entirely subsided.

Waldo Emerson visited Fruitlands and observed some 100 feet of shelving, needed for their library of some 1,000 volumes contributed by Charles Lane, almost all of which were treatises on mysticism.³¹

[Margaret Fuller](#) would write of the events of this day, in her SUMMER ON THE LAKES, IN 1843:

A little way down the river is the site of an ancient Indian

31. When the colony collapsed Waldo Emerson would purchase some of these volumes, those which are now in the collection of Houghton Library of [Harvard College](#). The remainder of the volumes would be taken by [Thoreau](#) to New-York and sold, with the proceeds being sent to Charles Lane.



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village, with its regularly arranged mounds. As usual, they had chosen with the finest taste. When we went there, it was one of those soft, shadowy afternoons when Nature seems ready to weep, not from grief, but from an overfull heart. Two prattling, lovely little girls, and an African boy, with glittering eye and ready grin, made our party gay; but all were still as we entered the little inlet and trod those flowery paths. They may blacken Indian life as they will, talk of its dirt, its brutality, I will ever believe that the men who chose that dwelling-place were able to feel emotions of noble happiness as they returned to it, and so were the women that received them. Neither were the children sad or dull, who lived so familiarly with the deer and the birds, and swam that clear wave in the shadow of the Seven Sisters. The whole scene suggested to me a Greek splendor, a Greek sweetness, and I can believe that an Indian brave, accustomed to ramble in such paths, and be bathed by such sunbeams, might be mistaken for Apollo, as Apollo was for him by West. Two of the boldest bluffs are called the Deer's Walk, (not because deer do *not* walk there,) and the Eagle's Nest. The latter I visited one glorious morning; it was that of the fourth of July, and certainly I think I had never felt so happy that I was born in America. Woe to all country folks that never saw this spot, never swept an enraptured gaze over the prospect that stretched beneath. I do believe Rome and Florence are suburbs compared to this capital of Nature's art.

The bluff was decked with great bunches of a scarlet variety of the milkweed, like cut coral, and all starred with a mysterious-looking dark flower, whose cup rose lonely on a tall stem. This had, for two or three days, disputed the ground with the lupine and phlox. My companions disliked, I liked it.

Here I thought of, or rather saw, what the Greek expresses under the form of Jove's darling, Ganymede, and the following stanzas took form.

Ganymede to his Eagle. Suggested by a Work of Thorwaldsen's.

Composed on the height called the Eagle's Nest, Oregon, Rock River, July 4th, 1843.

Upon the rocky mountain stood the boy,
A goblet of pure water in his hand;
His face and form spoke him one made for joy,
A willing servant to sweet love's command,
But a strange pain was written on his brow,
And thrilled throughout his silver accents now.

"My bird," he cries, "my destined brother friend,
O whither fleets to-day thy wayward flight?
Hast thou forgotten that I here attend,
From the full noon until this sad twilight?
A hundred times, at least, from the clear spring,



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Since the fall noon o'er hill and valley glowed,
I've filled the vase which our Olympian king
Upon my care for thy sole use bestowed;
That, at the moment when thou shouldst descend,
A pure refreshment might thy thirst attend.

"Hast thou forgotten earth, forgotten me,
Thy fellow-bondsman in a royal cause,
Who, from the sadness of infinity,
Only with thee can know that peaceful pause
In which we catch the flowing strain of love,
Which binds our dim fates to the throne of Jove?

"Before I saw thee, I was like the May,
Longing for summer that must mar its bloom,
Or like the morning star that calls the day,
Whose glories to its promise are the tomb;
And as the eager fountain rises higher
To throw itself more strongly back to earth,
Still, as more sweet and full rose my desire,
More fondly it reverted to its birth,
For what the rosebud seeks tells not the rose,
The meaning that the boy foretold the man cannot disclose.

"I was all Spring, for in my being dwelt
Eternal youth, where flowers are the fruit;
Full feeling was the thought of what was felt,
Its music was the meaning of the lute;
But heaven and earth such life will still deny,
For earth, divorced from heaven, still asks the question *Why?*

"Upon the highest mountains my young feet
Ached, that no pinions from their lightness grew,
My starlike eyes the stars would fondly greet,
Yet win no greeting from the circling blue;
Fair, self-subsistent each in its own sphere,
They had no care that there was none for me;
Alike to them that I was far or near,
Alike to them time and eternity.

"But from the violet of lower air
Sometimes an answer to my wishing came;
Those lightning-births my nature seemed to share,
They told the secrets of its fiery frame,
The sudden messengers of hate and love,
The thunderbolts that arm the hand of Jove,
And strike sometimes the sacred spire,
And strike the sacred grove.

"Come in a moment, in a moment gone,
They answered me, then left me still more lone;
They told me that the thought which ruled the world
As yet no sail upon its course had furled,
That the creation was but just begun,



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New leaves still leaving from the primal one,
But spoke not of the goal to which
My rapid wheels would run.

"Still, still my eyes, though tearfully,
I strained To the far future which my heart contained,
And no dull doubt my proper hope profaned.
"At last, O bliss! thy living form I spied,
Then a mere speck upon a distant sky;
Yet my keen glance discerned its noble pride,
And the full answer of that sun-filled eye;
I knew it was the wing that must upbear
My earthlier form into the realms of air.

"Thou knowest how we gained that beauteous height,
Where dwells the monarch, of the sons of light;
Thou knowest he declared us two to be
The chosen servants of his ministry,
Thou as his messenger, a sacred sign
Of conquest, or, with omen more benign,
To give its due weight to the righteous cause,
To express the verdict of Olympian laws.

"And I to wait upon the lonely spring,
Which slakes the thirst of bards to whom 't is given
The destined dues of hopes divine to sing,
And weave the needed chain to bind to heaven.
Only from such could be obtained a draught
For him who in his early home from Jove's own cup has quaffed
"To wait, to wait, but not to wait too long.
Till heavy grows the burden of a song;
O bird! too long hast thou been gone to-day,
My feet are weary of their frequent way,
The spell that opes the spring my tongue no more can say.

"If soon thou com'st not, night will fall around,
My head with a sad slumber will be bound,
And the pure draught be spilt upon the ground.
"Remember that I am not yet divine,
Long years of service to the fatal Nine
Are yet to make a Delphian vigor mine.
"O, make them not too hard, thou bird of Jove!
Answer the stripling's hope, confirm his love,
Receive the service in which he delights,
And bear him often to the serene heights,
Where hands that were so prompt in serving thee
Shall be allowed the highest ministry,
And Rapture live with bright Fidelity."

The afternoon was spent in a very different manner. The family whose guests we were possessed a gay and graceful hospitality that gave zest to each moment. They possessed that rare politeness which, while fertile in pleasant expedients to vary the enjoyment of a friend, leaves him perfectly free the moment



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he wishes to be so. With such hosts, pleasure may be combined with repose. They lived on the bank opposite the town, and, as their house was full, we slept in the town, and passed three days with them, passing to and fro morning and evening in their boats. To one of these, called the Fairy, in which a sweet little daughter of the house moved about lighter than any Scotch Ellen ever sung, I should indite a poem, if I had not been guilty of rhyme on this very page. At morning this boating was very pleasant; at evening, I confess, I was generally too tired with the excitements of the day to think it so.

The house –a double log-cabin– was, to my eye, the model of a Western villa. Nature had laid out before it grounds which could not be improved. Within, female taste had veiled every rudeness, availed itself of every sylvan grace.

In this charming abode what laughter, what sweet thoughts, what pleasing fancies, did we not enjoy! May such never desert those who reared it, and made us so kindly welcome to all its pleasures!

Fragments of city life were dexterously crumbled into the dish prepared for general entertainment. Ice-creams followed the dinner, which was drawn by the gentlemen from the river, and music and fireworks wound up the evening of days spent on the Eagle's Nest. Now they had prepared a little fleet to pass over to the Fourth of July celebration, which some queer drumming and fifing, from, the opposite bank, had announced to be "on hand." We found the free and independent citizens there collected beneath the trees, among whom many a round Irish visage dimpled at the usual puffs of "Ameriky."

The orator was a New-Englander, and the speech smacked loudly of Boston, but was received with much applause and followed by a plentiful dinner, provided by and for the Sovereign People, to which Hail Columbia served as grace.

Returning, the gay flotilla cheered the little flag which the children had raised from a log-cabin, prettier than any president ever saw, and drank the health of our country and all mankind, with a clear conscience.

Dance and song wound up the day. I know not when the mere local habitation has seemed to me to afford so fair a chance of happiness as this. To a person of unspoiled tastes, the beauty alone would afford stimulus enough. But with it would be naturally associated all kinds of wild sports, experiments, and the studies of natural history. In these regards, the poet, the sportsman, the naturalist, would alike rejoice in this wide range of untouched loveliness.

Then, with a very little money, a ducal estate may be purchased, and by a very little more, and moderate labor, a family be maintained upon it with raiment, food, and shelter. The luxurious and minute comforts of a city life are not yet to be had without effort disproportionate to their value. But, where there is so great a counterpoise, cannot these be given up once for all? If the houses are imperfectly built, they can afford immense fires and plenty of covering; if they are small, who cares, – with, such fields to roam in? in winter, it may be borne; in summer, is of no consequence. With plenty of fish, and



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game, and wheat, can they not dispense with a baker to bring "muffins hot" every morning to the door for their breakfast?

A man need not here take a small slice from the landscape, and fence it in from the obtrusions of an uncongenial neighbor, and there cut down his fancies to miniature improvements which a chicken could run over in ten minutes. He may have water and wood and land enough, to dread no incursions on his prospect from some chance Vandal that may enter his neighborhood. He need not painfully economize and manage how he may use it all; he can afford to leave some of it wild, and to carry out his own plans without obliterating those of Nature.

Here, whole families might live together, if they would. The sons might return from their pilgrimages to settle near the parent hearth; the daughters might find room near their mother. Those painful separations, which already desecrate and desolate the Atlantic coast, are not enforced here by the stern need of seeking bread; and where they are voluntary, it is no matter. To me, too, used to the feelings which haunt a society of struggling men, it was delightful to look upon a scene where Nature still wore her motherly smile, and seemed to promise room, not only for those favored or cursed with the qualities best adapting for the strifes of competition, but for the delicate, the thoughtful, even the indolent or eccentric. She did not say, Fight or starve; nor even, Work or cease to exist; but, merely showing that the apple was a finer fruit than the wild crab, gave both room to grow in the garden.

A pleasant society is formed of the families who live along the banks of this stream upon farms. They are from various parts of the world, and have much to communicate to one another. Many have cultivated minds and refined manners, all a varied experience, while they have in common the interests of a new country and a new life. They must traverse some space to get at one another, but the journey is through scenes that make it a separate pleasure. They must bear inconveniences to stay in one another's houses; but these, to the well-disposed, are only a source of amusement and adventure.

The great drawback upon the lives of these settlers, at present, is the unfitness of the women for their new lot. It has generally been the choice of the men, and the women follow, as women will, doing their best for affection's sake, but too often in heartsickness and weariness. Beside, it frequently not being a choice or conviction of their own minds that it is best to be here, their part is the hardest, and they are least fitted for it. The men can find assistance in field labor, and recreation with the gun and fishing-rod. Their bodily strength is greater, and enables them to bear and enjoy both these forms of life.

The women can rarely find any aid in domestic labor. All its various and careful tasks must often be performed, sick, or well, by the mother and daughters, to whom a city education has imparted neither the strength nor skill now demanded.

The wives of the poorer settlers, having more hard work to do than before, very frequently become slatterns; but the ladies, accustomed to a refined neatness, feel that they cannot degrade themselves by its absence, and struggle under every disadvantage



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to keep up the necessary routine of small arrangements. With all these disadvantages for work, their resources for pleasure are fewer. When they can leave the housework, they have not learnt to ride, to drive, to row, alone. Their culture has too generally been that given to women to make them "the ornaments of society." They can dance, but not draw; talk French, but know nothing of the language of flowers; neither in childhood were allowed to cultivate them, lest they should tan their complexions. Accustomed to the pavement of Broadway, they dare not tread the wild-wood paths for fear of rattlesnakes! Seeing much of this joylessness, and inaptitude, both of body and mind, for a lot which would be full of blessings for those prepared for it, we could not but look with deep interest on the little girls, and hope they would grow up with the strength of body, dexterity, simple tastes, and resources that would fit them to enjoy and refine the Western farmer's life. But they have a great deal to war with in the habits of thought acquired by their mothers from their own early life. Everywhere the fatal spirit of imitation, of reference to European standards, penetrates, and threatens to blight whatever of original growth might adorn the soil. If the little girls grow up strong, resolute, able to exert their faculties, their mothers mourn over their want of fashionable delicacy. Are they gay, enterprising, ready to fly about in the various ways that teach them so much, these ladies lament that "they cannot go to school, where they might learn to be quiet." They lament the want of "education" for their daughters, as if the thousand needs which call out their young energies, and the language of nature around, yielded no education. Their grand ambition for their children is to send them to school in some Eastern city, the measure most likely to make them useless and unhappy at home. I earnestly hope that, ere long, the existence of good schools near themselves, planned by persons of sufficient thought to meet the wants of the place and time, instead of copying New York or Boston, will correct this mania. Instruction the children want to enable them to profit by the great natural advantages of their position; but methods copied from the education of some English Lady Augusta are as ill suited to the daughter of an Illinois farmer, as satin shoes to climb the Indian mounds. An elegance she would diffuse around her, if her mind were opened to appreciate elegance; it might be of a kind new, original, enchanting, as different from that of the city belle as that of the prairie torch-flower from the shop-worn article that touches the cheek of that lady within her bonnet. To a girl really skilled to make home beautiful and comfortable, with bodily strength to enjoy plenty of exercise, the woods, the streams, a few studies, music, and the sincere and familiar intercourse, far more easily to be met with here than elsewhere, would afford happiness enough. Her eyes would not grow dim, nor her cheeks sunken, in the absence of parties, morning visits, and milliners' shops. As to music, I wish I could see in such places the guitar rather than the piano, and good vocal more than instrumental music.



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The piano many carry with them, because it is the fashionable instrument in the Eastern cities. Even there, it is so merely from the habit of imitating Europe, for not one in a thousand is willing to give the labor requisite to insure any valuable use of the instrument.

But out here, where the ladies have so much less leisure, it is still less desirable. Add to this, they never know how to tune their own instruments, and as persons seldom visit them who can do so, these pianos are constantly out of tune, and would spoil the ear of one who began by having any.

The guitar, or some portable instrument which requires less practice, and could be kept in tune by themselves, would be far more desirable for most of these ladies. It would give all they want as a household companion to fill up the gaps of life with a pleasant stimulus or solace, and be sufficient accompaniment to the voice in social meetings.

Singing in parts is the most delightful family amusement, and those who are constantly together can learn to sing in perfect accord. All the practice it needs, after some good elementary instruction, is such as meetings by summer twilight and evening firelight naturally suggest. And as music is a universal language, we cannot but think a fine Italian duet would be as much at home in the log cabin as one of Mrs. Gore's novels.

The 6th of July we left this beautiful place. It was one of those rich days of bright sunlight, varied by the purple shadows of large, sweeping clouds. Many a backward look we cast, and left the heart behind.

Our journey to-day was no less delightful than before, still all new, boundless, limitless. Kinmont says, that limits are sacred; that the Greeks were in the right to worship a god of limits. I say, that what is limitless is alone divine, that there was neither wall nor road in Eden, that those who walked, there lost and found their way just as we did, and that all the gain from the Fall was that we had a wagon to ride in. I do not think, either, that even the horses doubted whether this last was any advantage.

Everywhere the rattlesnake-weed grows in profusion. The antidote survives the bane. Soon the coarser plantain, the "white man's footstep," shall take its place.

We saw also the compass-plant, and the Western tea-plant. Of some of the brightest flowers an Indian girl afterwards told me the medicinal virtues. I doubt not those students of the soil knew a use to every fair emblem, on which we could only look to admire its hues and shape.

After noon we were ferried by a girl (unfortunately not of the most picturesque appearance) across the Kishwaukie, the most graceful of streams, and on whose bosom rested many full-blown water-lilies, – twice as large as any of ours. I was told that, *en revanche*, they were scentless, but I still regret that I could not get at one of them to try. Query, did the lilyed fragrance which, in the miraculous times, accompanied visions of saints and angels, proceed from water or garden lilies?

Kishwaukie is, according to tradition, the scene of a famous battle, and its many grassy mounds contain the bones of the



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valiant. On these waved thickly the mysterious purple flower, of which I have spoken before. I think it springs from the blood of the Indians, as the hyacinth did from that of Apollo's darling.

The ladies of our host's family at Oregon, when they first went, there, after all the pains and plagues of building and settling, found their first pastime in opening one of these mounds, in which they found, I think, three of the departed, seated, in the Indian fashion.

One of these same ladies, as she was making bread one winter morning, saw from the window a deer directly before the house. She ran out, with her hands covered with dough, calling the others, and they caught him bodily before he had time to escape. Here (at Kiskwaukie) we received a visit from a ragged and barefooted, but bright-eyed gentleman, who seemed to be the intellectual loafer, the walking Will's coffee-house, of the place. He told us many charming snake-stories; among others, of himself having seen seventeen young ones re-enter the mother snake, on the approach of a visitor.

This night we reached Belvidere, a flourishing town in Boon County, where was the tomb, now despoiled, of Big Thunder. In this later day we felt happy to find a really good hotel.

From this place, by two days of very leisurely and devious journeying, we reached Chicago, and thus ended a journey, which one at least of the party might have wished unending.

I have not been particularly anxious to give the geography of the scene, inasmuch as it seemed to me no route, nor series of stations, but a garden interspersed with cottages, groves, and flowery lawns, through which a stately river ran. I had no guide-book, kept no diary, do not know how many miles we travelled each day, nor how many in all. What I got from the journey was the poetic impression of the country at large; it is all I have aimed to communicate.

The narrative might have been made much more interesting, as life was at the time, by many piquant anecdotes and tales drawn from private life. But here courtesy restrains the pen, for I know those who received the stranger with such frank kindness would feel ill requited by its becoming the means of fixing many spy-glasses, even though the scrutiny might be one of admiring interest, upon their private homes.

For many of these anecdotes, too, I was indebted to a friend, whose property they more lawfully are. This friend was one of those rare beings who are equally at home in nature and with man. He knew a tale of all that ran and swam and flew, or only grew, possessing that extensive familiarity with things which shows equal sweetness of sympathy and playful penetration. Most refreshing to me was his unstudied lore, the unwritten poetry which common life presents to a strong and gentle mind. It was a great contrast to the subtleties of analysis, the philosophic strainings of which I had seen too much. But I will not attempt to transplant it. May it profit others as it did me in the region where it was born, where it belongs.

The evening of our return to Chicago, the sunset was of a splendor and calmness beyond any we saw at the West. The twilight



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that succeeded was equally beautiful; soft, pathetic, but just so calm. When afterwards I learned this was the evening of Allston's death, it seemed to me as if this glorious pageant was not without connection with that event; at least, it inspired similar emotions, — a heavenly gate closing a path adorned with shows well worthy Paradise.

August: The trusteeship of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) was transferred to George W. Benson and David Mack with a balance due of \$9,564.²⁸ on the various second mortgages — plus, since only about \$20,000.⁰⁰ of investment had been subscribed, a considerable liability on the originally agreed purchase price, approaching \$30,000.⁰⁰, to the previous owners of the facilities.

August 1, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to [John L. O'Sullivan](#) from Staten Island as the August issue of his magazine was making its rounds:

US MAG & DEM. REV.

Staten Island Aug. 1st

Dear Sir,

I have not got Mr. Etzlers book nor can I tell where it is to be found — the copy which I used in the spring was sent from England to Mr R W Emerson by Mr Alcott But you must not think too seriously of it— I believe my extracts are rather too favorable, beside being improved by the liberties I have taken. I dont wonder that you find much to object to in the remarks I sent you If I remember them they content me perhaps as little as they do yourself yet for the general tenor of them I suppose I should not alter it.

If I should find any notes on nature in my Journal which I think will suit you I will send them.—

I am at present Reading Greek Poetry— Would a translation—(in the manner of Prometheus Bound in the Dial which you may have seen of some old drama— be suited to your Review—?

Please send the Mss. to Wall st as soon as convenient. I expect to remain in this vicinity for some time and shall be glad to meet you in New York—

BRONSON ALCOTT

JOHN ADOLPHUS ETZLER



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A large assembly in [Northampton](#) welcomed the 10th anniversary of the [emancipation](#) of the slaves of the British West Indies. Would it have been this occasion that spurred a correspondent of Lewis Tappan's [Journal of Commerce](#) to write criticizing the sort of "Wild, insane, **brutal**" white men who could see their way clear to escort white "refined ladies" to "meet and associate with the vulgar unionists **of all colors** that make up these Associations." This correspondent noted that he himself had observed, at a community dining hall, "one of the accomplished and lovely daughters" of a member of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), seated directly across the table from "a large **male negro!!**"

In [New Bedford, Massachusetts](#), the first large-scale gala featuring a picnic and a parade seems to have taken place in this year, under the auspices of the Friends of Liberty.

[Frederick Douglass](#) completed his lecturing in Syracuse, New York and moved on toward Rochester.



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Abraham Lincoln's 1st child, Robert Todd Lincoln, was born.



September: Erasmus Darwin Hudson and Martha Turner Hudson withdrew from the Association of Industry and Education outside [Northampton](#) (but their son would elect to remain).

During this month, according to the Liberator, Nathaniel Peabody Rogers visited the NAIE in Northampton for a week but did not enlist:

I think it is my duty rather to stay amid the great community, destitute of communion as it is, and go for communityzing the whole.

October: Two days of heavy rain caused such a rise in the Mill River near [Northampton](#) that the entrance to the old oil mill's power canal was washed out, and the canal bank was breached in several places. It was feared that the sawmill, standing in the midst of the flow, would be washed downstream. The members of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) spent a frantic Sunday evening carrying stuff from the brick factory building itself to higher ground.



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October 13-14: At the National Convention of Silk Growers and Silk Manufacturers, held in New-York, the Reverend William Adam reported that the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) had been able to raise 44 pounds of [silk](#) from 5 acres of mulberry bushes, for an average yield of 8.8 pounds per acre.

October 15: [John Foster](#) died at the place that had for 22 years been his home, at Stapleton near Bristol, England.

Despite determined opposition, a new constitution was adopted by the Stock Company of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#), according to which contrary to the previous document all members were to have equal say in the decision-making process regardless of the fact that the members had different amounts of money invested. Despite inequality of investment, any net profits were to be distributed equally to all participants, and any dividends were to be proportional only to the number of hours a person had actually labored. This new constitution was to go into effect at the beginning of the next calendar year. The work week was set at 60 hours, with allowances for disability, but since “all were interested in all,” the enforcement of this work week would be social rather than by the cutting of allowances for failure to work. At the end of each accounting period any surplus would be reallocated without taking into account the differing levels of investment which had been created the community. There would be no more of this business of “votes to Dollars.” In a spirit of true Christianity, stockholders were in effect seeing their investments confiscated by majority rule. The rewards of association should go not to those who already had the most but, in the phrase of the disowned Quaker [William Bassett](#), to those “that **needed most**.” Bassett, who had once been the manager of a shoe factory employing 150 laborers, could not have sounded more like a communist had he been a devotee of Marx and Engels: “I could not reconcile with my ideas of justice the inequality that existed between the employer and the employee.... [I] became convinced that the evils which I saw and deplored were inherent in the system and that no remedy could be provided but in **its** subversion.”



And in fair days as well as foul we walked up the country — until from Merrimack it became the Pemigewasset that leaped by our side — and when we had passed its fountain-head the wild Amonoosuck whose puny channel we crossed at a stride guiding us to its distant source among the mountains until without its guidance we reached the summit of agiocochook.
But why should we take the reader who may have been tenderly nurtured — through that rude country — where the crags are steep and the inns none of the best, and many a rude blast would have to be encountered on the mountain side.

October 28: The Industrial Community of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) outside [Northampton](#) also voted to accept the new constitution, thus effectively merging the two previous governing bodies (the Stock Company of members who were primarily investors and the Industrial Community of members who were primarily laborers) into one democratic assembly. This new constitution was to go into effect at the beginning of the next calendar year.



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Late in the year: While traveling and testifying through southern New England, Sojourner Truth had met the



abolitionist George W. Benson of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), who had introduced her to William Lloyd Garrison of the antislavery movement. After a period of itinerant preaching she was near Springfield MA and, after considering spending the winter months at the intentional community of the Shakers at Enfield and the intentional community of Fruitlands at Harvard, Massachusetts, at the suggestion of some Second Adventists friends in Springfield she turned up one day at the Association.

During this winter, not only in the fields of the Association at [Northampton](#) but across New England, many of the recently introduced and carefully nurtured mulberry trees were dying. During this winter, also, and into this fatal spring in which the mulberries were refusing to come into leaf, James Boyle of the Association was preparing his book SOCIAL REFORM, heavily informed not only by Fourierism but also by perfectionism and nonresistance. For this new “Divine Order of society” he was, guess what, using the name “Association.”



The Association consisted of “Friends of a Reorganization of Society that shall Substitute Fraternal Cooperation for Antagonistic Selfishness; a Religious Consecration of Life and Labor, Soul and Body, Time and Eternity, in Harmony with the Laws of God and of Life, instead of Fragmentary, Spasmodic Piety.”³² It would probably be early in 1844 when Truth would reach there. Unfortunately, due to the excessive wage demands and the voting restrictions placed upon capitalists and the problems with the mulberry seedlings, the financial prospects of the association would already have collapsed well prior to her arrival, so the only phase in which she would be able to participate would be the mopping-up phase.

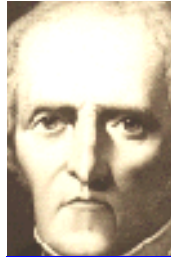
32. The FRSSFACASRCLLSBTEHLGLFSP (don’t try to pronounce this at home).



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December: At a Fourierist convention in Worcester held for the purpose of “reorganizing” humans into groupings “in which all may have a **common interest**,” George W. Benson of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) at [Northampton](#) and 14 others founded a new society to be designated “the Friends of Social Reform.” Then there was a week-long series of lectures on “associationism.”



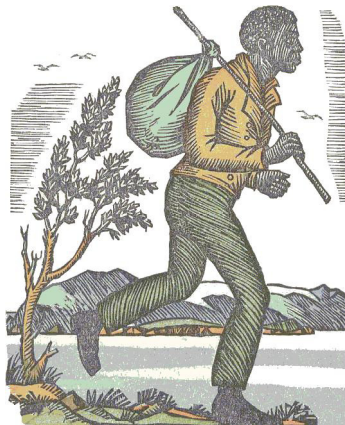
FOURIERISM

COMMUNITARIANISM

1844

After being [disowned](#) as a [Quaker](#) on account of his abolitionist activities, [William Bassett](#) joined the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Florence](#), Massachusetts. Describing his disownment by the Lynn MA monthly meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), he commented that he was being “cast out of one of the ‘little cabins’ of sectarianism” into “Christianity itself.”

A fugitive [slave](#), Basil Dorsey, came to shelter at the Association in [Northampton](#).



UNDERGROUND RAILROAD

January 2: The new constitution of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) having been allowed to come into effect, some investing members withdrew as they had warned, taking their capital with them. The Reverend William Adam was among those who withdrew at this point, wisely, as it would turn out. This [Northampton](#) community’s investment was down from \$20,000 to \$17,000 while the debt had risen to around \$30,000.



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January 15: The Reverend William Henry Channing reported to The Present that there had been a Fourierist convention in Boston's Amory Hall, the Convention for the Reorganization of Society called by David Mack, [Henry C. Wright](#), and others, which had created a new "Friends of Social Reform" society and had chosen [William Bassett](#) of Lynn as its president, and as its vice-presidents the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#)'s George W. Benson, Brook Farm's [Reverend George Ripley](#), [Hopedale](#)'s [Reverend Adin Ballou](#), and James N. Buffum of Lynn:

"It is a pleasure to express gratitude to Charles Fourier,
for having opened a whole new world of study, hope and action."

In consequence of this rethinking, [Brook Farm](#) would be changing its name from the "Brook-Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education" to the "Brook-Farm Association, for Industry and Education."



The local evangelist for this sort of Fourierism would be Charles A. Dana, who was being referred to at [Brook Farm](#) as "The Professor." It would be he who would lead them down the primrose path, of constructing a magnificent central "*phalanstère*" edifice in order to achieve the true Fourierist economy of scale, a massive structure which could therefore be destroyed by one disastrous fire accident on one unfortunate night — the primrosy path which would lead to their group's utter collapse and dissolution.

One of the debates of the 18th Century was what human nature might be, under its crust of civilization, under the varnish of culture and manners. [Jean-Jacques Rousseau](#) had an answer. [Thomas Jefferson](#) had an answer. One of the most intriguing answers was that of Charles Fourier, who was born in Besançon two years before the Shakers arrived in New York. He grew up to write twelve sturdy volumes designing a New Harmony for mankind, an experiment in radical sociology that began to run parallel to that of the Shakers. Fourierism (Horace Greeley founded the New-York [Tribune](#) to promote Fourier's ideas) was Shakerism for intellectuals. [Brook Farm](#) was Fourierist, and such place-names as Phalanx, New Jersey, and New Harmony, Indiana, attest to the movement's history. Except for one detail, Fourier and Mother Ann Lee were of the same mind; they both saw that humankind must return to the tribe or extended family and that it was to exist on a farm. Everyone lived in one enormous dormitory. Everyone shared all work; everyone agreed, although with constant revisions and refinements, to a disciplined way of life that



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would be most harmonious for them, and lead to the greatest happiness. But when, of an evening, the Shakers danced or had "a union" (a conversational party), Fourier's Harmonians had an orgy of eating, dancing, and sexual high jinks, all planned by a Philosopher of the Passions. There is a strange sense in which the Shakers' total abstinence from the flesh and Fourier's total indulgence serve the same purpose. Each creates a psychological medium in which frictionless cooperation reaches a maximum possibility. It is also wonderfully telling that the modern world has no place for either.

January 20: Attempts had been made by this point, by the [Association of Industry and Education](#), to entice Bronson Alcott to come to [Northampton](#) and assume the headmastership of its school: "If Mr. Alcott should come ... we have it in contemplation of hiring ... a large house adjoining our premises for the better accommodation of the Educational Department." (Nothing would come of this, so the position would be offered to the Reverend Samuel Joseph May, but nothing would come of that either.)

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April 28, Sunday: At an evening antislavery meeting in the [Northampton](#) town hall, the fugitive from justice [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke for all of three hours. (Presumably it was during one of the lectures on or about this date, that the stone was hurled at him which is now in the possession of the Stetson family of Northampton.) There were performances by the Hutchinson Family Singers. (Possibly also this was what caused the Boston [Atlas](#) to



report that during the visit by the Hutchinson family to this community made up of “all colors, from jet black

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to pure white,” the young singer Abby Hutchinson “was gallanted to her hotel by one of its members, and he



a huge **black man!**”) During this month, however, Samuel L. Hill, David Mack, Hall Judd, and Hiram Wells were coming dangerously close to declaring their [Association of Industry and Education](#) a hopeless failure, and perhaps were restrained only by an optimistic report from George W. Benson that not only was he attracting additional “pledges” of financing but also that in fact 17 new families were due to arrive within the next few months.

June: In [Northampton](#), George W. Benson made a kind offer to buy out the [Association of Industry and Education](#) and convert its facilities into a private manufacturing corporation — but 26 members, a large majority, would decline this salvation.









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Summer: James Boyle's book SOCIAL REFORM, heavily informed not only by Fourierism but also by perfectionism and nonresistance, was published. For this new "Divine Order of society" he was using the name "Association," but the book was not an advocacy of the practical mix of sentiments which had created the [Association of Industry and Education](#) of which he was then a member as this association had never explicitly embraced any of the principles, or even the mindset, of Fourierism. His message was being well received at [Brook Farm](#) — but not at home. The Hutchinson Family Singers, returning to their family farm in Milford NH from their visit to [Northampton](#), decided that for a trial period of one year they would convert their farm into a collective similar to the NAIE (rather than one similar to the Divine order of Fourierist society championed by Boyle and being implemented at Brook Farm).

According to page 80 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE (New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1988), [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s sick ambivalences and manly defenses are readily to be discerned:

In the summer of 1844, while the Hawthornes were still at the Old Manse, [Margaret Fuller](#), who was friends with them both, came to visit, and it was then that [Nathaniel](#) became most intimate with her. Throughout the month of July,  they went boating at dusk on the Concord, took moonlit walks through the woods, and conversed at length on a variety of subjects. ([Sophia Peabody Hawthorne](#) was occupied with the new baby, [Una Hawthorne](#).) And, surprisingly, given his reserve and shyness, it was Hawthorne who initiated many of their hours alone together. After Fuller moved to New York City that fall  and thence to Europe and Rome, she and Hawthorne never saw one another again; however, ten years after her death, Hawthorne in a long and famous passage in his Italian notebook ridiculed her husband and called her "a great humbug" with a "defective and evil nature."  This outburst seems inexplicable, given Hawthorne's previous friendliness, but it does make sense if one sees it as motivated by guilt and anger about his attraction to her. As Paula Blanshard has pointed out, "There is no possible way that anyone can accuse Margaret of being evil — if he is thinking of Margaret herself. But Hawthorne was not; he was thinking of what she represented to him." During the summer of 1849, when Fuller and her fellow republicans  fought their losing battle against the invading French,  capturing the attention and admiration of the American public, Hawthorne certainly noticed, and when he wrote THE SCARLET LETTER several months later,  he then too had in mind what Fuller represented: a female revolutionary trying to overthrow the world's most prominent politico-religious leader, a freethinking temptress who had almost subverted his right-minded thoughts and feelings.



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NORTHAMPTON

August: At some time during this month, after encountering [Frederick Douglass](#), [Waldo Emerson](#) would muse on the threat that dark persons might skulk in the night equipped with lucifer matches to destroy one's property and knives to shed one's blood. The white planters, it seems, were endangering us all, by permitting the presence of such outraged persons in this New World.

The planter does not want slaves: give him money: give him a machine that will provide him with as much money as the slaves yield, & he will thankfully let them go: he does not love whips, or usurping overseers, or sulky swarthy giants creeping round his house & barns by night with lucifer matches in their hands & knives in their pockets. No; only he wants his luxury, & he will pay even this price for it.



At some point during this month there was a meeting of the black citizens of [Northampton](#), presided over by the virtually blind masseur David Ruggles, with an address by the recently escaped slave Stephen C. Rush who at this point was learning to read and write. (There appears to be no record that afterward the more sultry and gigantic of these swarthy citizens of the town did any skulking through the night to destroy the property of white citizens with lucifer matches, or shed the blood of white citizens with knives. Go figure. :-)



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September: At some point during this period, Dolly Witter Stetson of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) would be writing to her husband James A. Stetson, who was on the road selling the [silk](#) that had been produced. Since a public performance of sorts by Sojourner Truth is instanced in this letter, I will include it arbitrarily here — as an illustration of how difficult it has been to chronologize the gradual onsets of various forms of Truth's public persona:

On Thursday Mr. Hammond's little child passed to the — land. It has been a great suffering, a long time — its flesh was all wasted off its body, the funeral was Thursday 4 o'clock p.m. — Mary Bryant composed a hymn which was sung by the young people at the funeral, another hymn selected by Mrs. Hammond was sung. Remarks were made by Mr. Boyle Mach and Bassett. Sojourn also spoke with feeling and sang something on the death of an infant — The services were said to be very solemn and inspire — it rained very fast and I did not go over — Each of the children belonging to the junior and infant class had bouquets of evergreen and flowers mingled which they had intended to have thrown into the grave upon the coffin but as it rained they put them into the coffin as they went to look at the corpse. Last evening after the funeral, two of Sojourner's daughters came from New York — [T]heir meeting was very affecting ... one of them came like the prodigal son having disobeyed her mother and had gone to live with a man who is a widower — and under promise of marrying her kept her to take care of his family and I do not know what more until she became afraid of him and he abused her shamefully some friends of Sojourners rescued her from his grasp and wrote up to see if she could come here. They said she could and her sister came to accompany her ... they are two fine looking negros as you every saw and are energetic like their mother.

There was a meeting in [Northampton](#) to protest the case of the Reverend Charles T. Torrey and the branded



hand case of Captain Jonathan Walker of Harwich MA, presided over by David Ruggles, with an address by Sojourner Truth on “the practical workings of slavery in the North.” This is likely to have been Truth's first public antislavery address as such.

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| Charles Torrey |
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| Daniel Drayton |
| Jonathan Walker |
| John Brown |



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October: Despite all their boasting that they had realized “net profit on capital investment in [silk](#) growing 37¹/₂ percent,” there had been such other expenses and losses incident to their operation that the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) had to take out yet another mortgage, for \$8,000.⁰⁰.

Winter: The [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) at this point had 120 members:

Membership

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
| June 1843 | 113 |
| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

December 23: Bronson Alcott having decided against the headmastership of the school at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#), an attempt was made to obtain the Reverend Samuel Joseph May “upon pleasant and agreeable terms.” This also would fail, presumably because of concern for the general financial situation of the Association, and the school would continue under the care of the Macks. By this point it had become clear that the failure to raise the additional \$25, 000 to complete the originary purchase transaction meant that none of the subscriptions to date obtained could be made to be binding. Upon this finding, many members would wisely cut their losses by withdrawing.

DAVID MACK
COMMUNITARIANISM



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1845

Erasmus Darwin Hudson attempted to persuade a black female slave to escape from her master while they were residing in a [Northampton](#) hotel. The slaveholder got wind of this and filed a complaint with the police, whereupon his slave, Linda, denied to the local police that she had been considering escaping from her owner. The legalities of this would drag on for years before Hudson would be convicted of attempting to alienate the affections of an enslaved person (or something, who knows what), fined, and, upon his refusal to pay any fine, temporary imprisonment.

In this year in this town, also, upon the occasion of a meeting of the black citizens, a ridiculing program poster would be circulated through the town by its white citizens.

On the basis of an engraving that had been created by William Henry Bartlett, a folk artist, Thomas Chambers, did a folksy “View from Mount Holyoke” replete with little white houses and sailboats, and a Frenchman who

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had never visited the US, Victor de Grailly, also did a painting of the Oxbow. (It didn't matter to either of these fantasizing gents, that some years earlier the actual Oxbow in its actual beauty had been destroyed.)

It was at about this point in time that George C. Ewing realized the potential of the great falls of the Connecticut River and the "Field" and conceived the idea of the planned industrial city that would become Holyoke.

The railroad reached all the way from Boston to Northampton:



In Northampton, the Smith Charities foundation was established. Attorneys Rufus Choate and [Daniel Webster](#) visited town in connection with the Smith will case.



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March: The Commonwealth of Massachusetts would soon be beginning a 50-cents-per-pound bounty on raw [silk](#) produced in the state, but by this point the [Association of Industry and Education](#) had entirely ceased to strip silk from its own mulberry-worm cocoons in [Northampton](#) and had begun to purchase its raw silk overseas. The Association at this point despite considerable desertions was managing to hold steady at 120 members by constant recruitment of new gullible recruits:

Membership

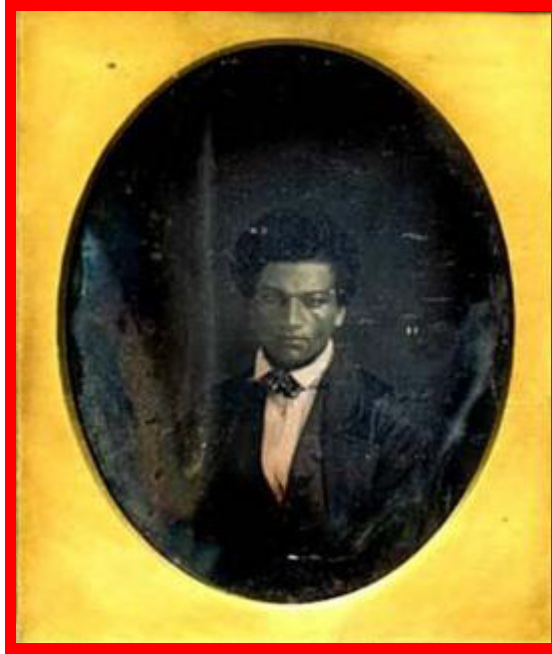
| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| April 1842 | 41 |
| May 1842 | 65 |
| End of 1842 | 83 |
| June 1843 | 113 |
| Winter 1844 | 120 |
| Spring 1845 | 120 |

During this month, with roughly only half of the Association's members being adults, David Mack proposed that silk production be maintained by requiring every child over six years of age to labor for 50 hours every week at the factory. (*Ou sont l'idealismus d'antan?*) Education had fallen by the wayside, out of the sheerest necessity under their load of capital debt. The family of James Kerr withdrew from the association, complaining that at night their children were far too exhausted by the constant labor to be able to do any real studying.

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June 12, Thursday: Frederick Douglass lectured at Albany NY's City Hall.



Sophia Foord withdrew as a member of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Florence](#), a suburb of [Northampton](#), Massachusetts. (Her name had been entered on the association's ledger as "Foorde." She had been with them for slightly longer than two years, teaching their children.)

Summer: The debt of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) amounted at this point to \$39,196. (The first public mention in America of the phrase "manifest destiny" might as well have meant "This idealistic little community is manifestly destined to go belly up.")

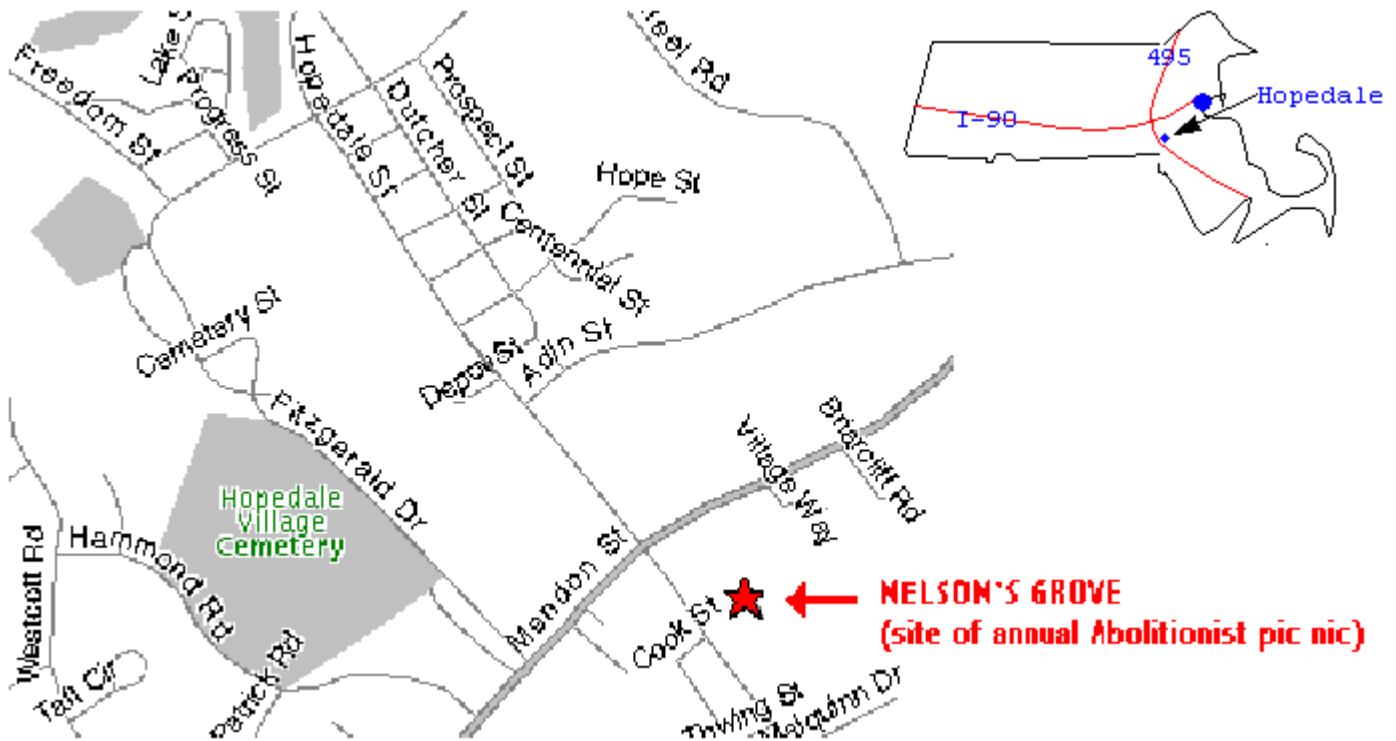
September 5: The family of Lucy Maria Kollock Brastow Mack and David Mack withdrew from the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#) in favor of the Wesselhoeft Water Cure of Brattleboro VT.

October 1: At the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#), George W. Benson withdrew in order to organize, with additional outside funding, a Bensonville Manufacturing Company that would use the use the NAIE's 4-story factory to loom not innocent [silk](#) but slavery-produced cotton.

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November: Erasmus Darwin Hudson, formerly of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) near [Northampton](#), while visiting the [Hopedale](#) community at Mendon near Worcester, met Robert Dale Owen. This idealistic reformer had at this point grown too old to sustain any optimism, and their topic of discussion would be not the idealistic community but the paternalistically operated factory village.





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1846

With the completion of the new rail link between Springfield MA and Greenfield, the town of [Northampton](#), in between these two cities, began to experience a great surge of economic activity. There were more new house starts in this year in the town than in any three years together since 1830. Things were booming again. It would be a good year in which a commercial enterprise that had the advantage of being well managed might purchase cheap the lands and equipment and physical plant of a failed idealistic social experiment. However, the Valentine & Sowerby Company of the town received a “2d-best” silver medal from the American Institute of New York for its [sewing-silk](#). (This private commercial enterprise was a direct local competitor of the [Association of Industry and Education](#). Is this the Grim Reaper knocking at the door, or what?) For the children of the Association their previous more lenient schedule of morning education and afternoon and evening labor had, due to financial pressures, disappeared, and they were reduced to laboring all day six days a week in the Cocoonery and receiving their instructions only after supper until their bedtime.

Communal and Utopian Startups

| Period | Startups |
|-----------|----------|
| 1841-1845 | 47 |
| 1846-1850 | 13 |
| 1851-1855 | 14 |

HOPEDALE

As this Association of Industry and Education broke up, Sojourner Truth would transit to being a housekeeper “in the role of guest” in the home of George Benson. Although Mau Mau chose not to dwell on this in her NARRATIVE, three of her offspring, Elizabeth Gedney, Sophia, and Jane, were with her in Northampton. David Ruggles made a present to Elizabeth, 21 years of age, of a shawl worth \$2.⁵⁰, a quite substantial amount of money, several days’ income, so he must have felt an attraction.



When Olive Gilbert began in this year to write down the illiterate Truth’s stories about herself, one editorial remark in her preparation of the narrative would be something to the effect that the young women were suffering themselves to be “drawn by temptation into the paths of the destroyer.”³³

33. David Ruggles would die, and Elizabeth Gedney would marry a man named Banks in Connecticut in 1850 and bear him a child.



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April: On the basis of the hydropathic regime that had seemed to have been of benefit to himself, which he had received by letters of instruction from Dr. David Wesselhoeft of Boston, David Ruggles of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) was preparing to open his own water-cure establishment near [Northampton](#).



June 29, Monday: The Bensonville Manufacturing Company of George W. Benson purchase the eastern side of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) properties for about \$30,500, thus liquidating a significant portion of that association's debt.

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Brevet Major General Zachary Taylor was anointed "general of the line."

August: David Ruggles of the [Association of Industry and Education](#) received investments totaling \$2,000 from various townspeople of [Northampton](#) to expand the facilities of his water cure establishment.



September: Attempts to dispose of the remainder of the [Association of Industry and Education](#)'s stock having proven to be quite fruitless, such attempts were finally abandoned. After mortgaging the remaining western side of their properties to Amherst College for \$10,000, the holdout members of the association were effectively assetless yet faced a residual paper debt of some \$40,000. Would any of these idealists be faced with Debtors' Prison?

NORTHAMPTON MA

November 7: In [Northampton](#), the [Association of Industry and Education](#) finally reached its decision to abandon. They voted to acknowledge that fact that as of November 1st, all "allowances for the subsistence of members" had had to be discontinued. In this strait, some members were insisting that their failure had been due to God's displeasure at certain other members having danced and played at cards, yet "the financial foundation had been insufficient from the beginning and the policy of continual expansion coupled with the complete lack of any effort to liquidate the debt could hardly have led to anything but failure."³⁴

34. McBee, Alice Eaton, IId. "From Utopia to Florence: The Story of a Transcendentalist Community in Northampton, Mass. 1830-1852." [Smith College Studies in History](#), Volume XXXII, [Northampton](#), 1947, page 64.



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Winter: At free black David Ruggles's water cure establishment near [Northampton](#), there was room for 30 to 40 patients (presumably, each and every one of these patients would have been lily white not only at the end of the water treatment but also at its inception):

“My mode of practice will not admit of an indifferent or evasive course on the part of the patient.”



1847

Dr. Benjamin Barrett of [Northampton](#) served as County Commissioner.

A rhetorical question: What good is an old black woman who cannot read or write? In this year Sojourner Truth of [Northampton](#), formerly associated with the now-collapsed [Association of Industry and Education](#), would have been reaching approximately 50 years of age, and would have been in need of “re-treading herself” into some new career possibility — hopefully this time one that did not involve too close contact with other people's soiled laundry.

Fall: The 30-year-old [Henry Thoreau](#) worked on “KTAADN,” on relationship to government, and, abstractly, on relationship to others. He firmly rejected, however, the advances of 45-year-old Sophia Foord, who had been living in the barn at the [Waldo Emersons](#) while tutoring the Emerson and Alcott children until she had become ill in October 1846 and had left Concord in March 1847.³⁵

“By the way have you heard what a strange story there was about Miss Ford, and Henry, Mrs. Brooks said at the convention, a lady came to her and inquired, if it was true, that Miss F. had committed, or was going to commit suicide on account of H_____ Thoreau, what a ridiculous story this is. When it was told to H_____ he made no remark at all, and we cannot find out from him any thing about it, for a while, they corresponded, and Sophia said that she recollected one day on the reception of a letter she heard H_____ say, he shouldn't answer it, or he must put a stop to this, some such thing she couldn't exactly tell what.”

35. Nevertheless, Ms. Sophia Foord or Ford, formerly associated with the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in [Northampton](#), would love Henry all her life from a distance, and would remain in contact with his friend and neighbor Louisa May Alcott to be kept up to date about this man she loved. The fact that she loved Thoreau all his life shows the Edward Dahlberg rendition –that Thoreau's refusal of Miss Foord's advances must have been “orgiastic and savage”– to be a superficial reading perhaps motivated more by Mr. Dahlberg's personal situation in the world than by a familiarity with the historical materials. We may note that Mr. Dahlberg was also troubled that Professor Kant had been guilty of [masturbation](#), or perhaps troubled at Professor Kant's having acknowledged that he masturbated.

Immanuel Kant embraced godhead, the universe, the abstract Man, and, as he himself confessed, [masturbated](#)!



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– per an undated, unprovenanced letter by Maria Thoreau

AUNT MARIA THOREAU

SOPHIA FOORD

MARY MERRICK BROOKS

SOPHIA E. THOREAU

1848

In Rochester, [canal](#) boat builder Ezra Jones, partner of Seth C. Jones, retired, and Ambrose Cram was taken into the firm as a partner.

The [New Haven and Northampton Canal Company](#) was supplanted by the railroads.

NORTHAMPTON MA

The last of the properties of the [Association of Industry and Education](#), namely the old oil mill, the 4-story brick factory structure, its associated machine shops, and the establishment store, were disposed of for the round sum of \$10,000 by Joseph C. Martin and Hall Judd to the last treasurer of the Association, Friend Samuel L. Hill. George W. Benson would be a particular friend to two of the forlorn black people who had been thus cut loose in a white-dominated rural society, Sojourner Truth and Basil Dorsey. He would help Truth obtain housing for herself, and would enable Dorsey to take over the “teaming,” which is to say, the driving of draft animals, for his surviving cotton factory.

Nell Painter’s photos of the [silk](#) mill in [Florence](#), and of the house on one of Sojourner Truth’s two lots there, do not have the appearance, to my eye, of period Daguerreotypes. Having been quite unable to find either in the local [Northampton](#) libraries or the college libraries **any** images contemporary with Truth’s sojourn in Florence during that very early period of Daguerreotypy (I did come across a very rough sketch of the original oil mill that stood at that dam on the Mill River), I had driven past these addresses but had refrained from snapping present photos – it appeared to me that the structure now on that south lot of hers must be of later construction or at the very least quite extensively renovated, and I don’t know that those outbuildings surrounding the core factory structure were in place before it was shifted from [silk](#) to [cotton](#) processing.

Summer: William Lloyd Garrison was being treated at David Ruggles’s water cure establishment near [Northampton](#).



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1850

Holyoke was incorporated and the first [cotton](#) mill there began operation. Settlement of the new city would proceed slowly over this decade. Several textile mills, some paper mills and a machine shop would be beginning production. The water power companies would be divesting themselves of their manufacturing assets.

Basil Dorsey, the team-master for the [cotton](#) factory in [Northampton](#), had at this point saved up some \$50.³⁶ It was hard for him to make a decent salary, however, among other reasons because he was fearful of going into any larger city in New England, where there were greater numbers of strangers. To be able to take merchandise into Boston without running afoul of the roving slavecatchers would be of great help to him. Therefore a collection was taken up, and the Southern white family from whom Dorsey had escaped was paid off with the accumulated \$50 savings plus this money collected locally, and eventually Dorsey would receive his [manumission](#) papers.

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



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April 15: It is a sad commentary on the state of historical scholarship, demonstrating that most of what we do is copy from one history book to another, that nowhere in the many, many accounts of Sojourner Truth's life had anybody, until very recently, "managed to discover" where her home had been in [Northampton](#). We didn't even know whether it was in an integrated area on the east of the Mill River or in a segregated shantytown to the west, on the river meadows. Yet when James "Jim" M. Parsons (87 Chesterfield Road, Leeds MA 01053, phone 413-584-9236) just recently took it upon himself to go and look into the registry at the local [Florence](#) courthouse, he needed but 15 minutes to find Truth's records in Book 133, pages 104 and 124, and in Book 175, pages 11 and 31. The home that Samuel L. Hill had enabled her to purchase on this date was in a new and obviously integrated neighborhood, and was at the corner of Park and Middle Streets, now 31 Park Street although the house itself has obviously long since been completely replaced. Truth, listed as Isabella von Wagener and signed with her mark, committed to pay \$300.⁰⁰ for Lot #11 on which the house stood. (Later



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she would add the lot next to it for an additional \$25.⁰⁰.

The most extensively realized attempt to perform Truth up to 1849 is NARRATIVE OF SOJOURNER TRUTH, A NORTHERN SLAVE EMANCIPATED FROM BODILY SERVITUDE BY THE STATE OF NEW YORK IN 1828 [Boston MA: 128 pages printed for the author, the author being identified only as "a lady," with a frontispiece woodcut of Truth and an unsigned preface by Garrison], recorded, shaped, and filled with scribal interpolations by Olive Gilbert. Gilbert, a friend of William Lloyd Garrison, had met Truth in the 1840s through the [Association of Industry and Education](#), a utopian community located in Massachusetts where Truth had gone to live, attracted by its diversified population of reformists. Gilbert shared with such other middle-class white women as Amy Post and [Lydia Maria Child](#) a desire to bring the voices of black women before an audience as part of their dedication to abolitionism; but in the voices of articulate black women like Harriet Jacobs and Sojourner Truth, these white experimenters in interracial shared authorship also found opportunities to express themselves. In a self-effacing act of generosity or shyness, Gilbert did not put her name into NARRATIVE in any capacity, not as scribe, compiler, editor, and certainly not as author. [pages 13-14] ... While the book was composed by Gilbert and by [Frances] Titus [the second edition, that is], Truth spoke much of it and collected most of its documentary materials. [page 21] ... Gilbert could not make up her mind about Truth, whose complexly shifting shadow scattered under her pen. On the one hand, Gilbert admired her "bright, clear, positive, and at times ecstatic" religion, which "is not tintured in the least with gloom." On the other hand, on a personal level, she saw that Truth "has set suspicion to guard the door of her heart," an alarming tendency in the subject of a biography. Truth's guarded interiorization disturbed Gilbert. [page 23] ... Gilbert was not interested in establishing Truth's **African** roots or antecedents, specifically or generically. She was interested only in their function in the moral tale of slavery and its effects. Abolitionists [white abolitionists, that is!] were, above all, interested in the stories of white people: the **American** stories of white enslavers. [page 30] ... When Truth's NARRATIVE appeared in 1850, Olive Gilbert had inserted into it some opinions critical of slave holidays taken fresh out of Frederick Douglass's 1845 NARRATIVE; thus in the critical scene in which the impetuous Isabella, who liked to sing and dance, walked toward Dumont's dearborn with the vision of Pinkster revelry before her eyes, she was framed by the words of the austere Douglass. [Stetson, Erlene and Linda David. GLORYING IN TRIBULATION: THE LIFEWORKE OF SOJOURNER TRUTH. East Lansing MI: Michigan State UP, 1994]

(At some point during this period Sojourner Truth traveled to Salem OH, making her headquarters the offices of the [Anti-Slavery Bugle](#) there. With the help of William Lloyd Garrison she was able to put out copies of her narrative BOOK OF LIFE.)



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

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

October 23: In the auditorium of Brinley Hall at 340 Main Street in Worcester, where the Commerce Office Building now stands, some thousand persons assembled and the first national women's rights convention was held. (The small meeting at Seneca Falls two years earlier had not been what you'd call a national one.) Lucy Stone, [Abby Kelley Foster](#), Elizabeth Oakes Smith, Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), Diana W. Ballou of [Cumberland](#), [Rhode Island](#), and Sojourner Truth of [Northampton](#) were present, as was William Lloyd Garrison.

READ ABOUT THIS MEETING

FEMINISM

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

I think it likely that it would have been at this point that [William J. Brown](#) met Frederick Douglass:



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



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Mr. Bibb tried hard to get the colored voters to vote the Liberty ticket. We made him understand it was not all gold that glitters. He left our quarters and went about his business, and the Law and Order party elected their candidates. I received six dollars for my work. Mr. Bowen employed me after election to go around and see if there were strangers that had been here long enough to vote, and see that their names were registered, and at the next election he would pay me. I collected quite a number who had never taken the trouble to register their names.

1851

[Jenny Lind](#), upon a visit to Paradise Pond in [Northampton](#), is supposed to have commented, according to Frances Cavanah's *JENNY LIND'S AMERICA* (Chilton Book Company, 1969), that "I think that Paradise Pond is well named. But ... I'd call all of it Paradise. The Paradise of America."³⁷ When an inquiry was made about this attribution, in 1988, Ellise Feeley of the Reference Department of the local public (Forbes) library commented matter-of-factly "If Jenny didn't say it she should have."



September 11, Thursday: The following attempt at humor had recently appeared in the [Northampton Courier](#): "Dr. Bran – his dignity and consistency. The people of Northampton were amused one day last week by seeing this philosopher of sawdust pudding trundled on a wheelbarrow from his house to the barber's house, he being infirm and unable to walk the distance.... The doctor stands a chance to recover and will be able before long to do without the wheelbarrow.... his best physician is the keeper of the hotel hard by his dwelling with whom he luxuriates on beef and mutton." The local newspaper had, it seemed, been mistaken about the seriousness of Graham's illness, as on this day he died. Having eaten healthily and abstained from merely recreational sex for all his life, Graham had given up the ghost at the advanced age of 57. (We trust that his life had at least **seemed** longer.) The Amherst newspaper would carry an obituary: "He has left behind him several works on physiology, hygiene, theology, etc., ably and powerfully possessed great clearness of perception and vigor of intellect." The Graham residence in Northampton would be made into a restaurant called Sylvester's, on

37. Jenny was in town to sing at the old First Church.



FLORENCE MA

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Pleasant Street, which you may now visit.

At this point [Henry Thoreau](#) was well into his “Night and Moonlight” preparations, for we can find an altered paragraph from the journal for this date in the sheaf of unfinished notes labeled “The Moon.” Possibly he made the emendations as he copied this into the sheaf which would after his death be accessed either by [Ellery Channing](#) or [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#) in the generation of the “Night and Moonlight” article in [The Atlantic Monthly](#) for November 1863. The additions from the journal version are indicated here in our standard markup coding, but note that Thoreau’s punctuation has also here obviously been “touched up,” at one point or another, by one editor or another:

After I have spent the greater part of a night abroad in the moonlight, I am obliged to sleep enough more the next night[^] *or perhaps the next day*, to make up for it—*Endymionis somnum dormire* (to sleep an Endymion sleep), as the ancients expressed it. And there is something gained still by thus turning the day into night. Endymion is said to have obtained of Jupiter the privilege ~~of sleeping~~ ^{*to be always young and sleep*} as much as he would. Let no man be afraid of sleep, if his weariness comes of obeying his ~~Genius~~ ^{*genius*}. *It depends on how a man has spent his day, whether he has any right to be in his bed even by night. So spend some hours that you may have a right to sleep in the sunshine.* He who has spent the night with the gods sleeps ~~more innocently~~ ^{*as innocently as*} by day ~~than the sluggard who has spent the day with the satyrss sleeps by night. He who has travelled to fairy land in the night sleeps by day more innocently than~~ he who is fatigued by the ~~merely trivial~~ ^{*ordinary*} labors of the day ~~sleeps by night.~~ ^{*Cato says, ‘The dogs must be shut up by day that they may be more sharp (acriores), more fierce and vigilant by night.’ So I might say of a moon- and star-gazer.*} That kind of life which sleeping we dream that we live awake, in our walks by night we waking, ~~dream that we~~ live; while our daily life appears as a dream.



September 11, Thursday: Every artizan learns positively something by his trade. Each craft is familiar with a few simple well-known well established facts—not requiring any genius to discover but mere use & familiarity. You may go by the man at his work in the street every day of your life.— & though he is there before you carrying into practice certain essential information—you shall never be the wiser. Each trade is in fact a craft a cunning a covering an ability—& its methods are the result of a long experience. There sits a stone-mason splitting Westford granite for fenceposts— Egypt has perchance taught New England something in this matter—His hammer—his chisels, his wedges—his shames? or half rounds—his iron spoon, I suspect that these tools are hoary with age as with granite dust. He learns as easily where the best granite comes from as he learns how to erect that screen to keep off the sun. He knows that he can drill faster into a large stone than a small one because there is less jar & yielding. He deals in stone as the carpenter in lumber— In many of his operations only the materials are different. His work is slow & expensive. Nature is here hard to be overcome. He wears up one or two drills in splitting a single stone. He must sharpen his tools oftener than the carpenter He fights with granite. He knows the temper of the rocks—he grows stoney himself—his tread is ponderous & steady like the fall of a rock. And yet by patience & art he splits a stone as surely as the carpenter or woodcutter a log. So much time & perseverance will accomplish. One would say that mankind had much less moral than physical energy—that every day you see men following the trade of splitting rocks, who yet shrink from undertaking apparently less arduous moral labors—the solving of moral problems. See how surely he proceeds. He does not hesitate to drill a dozen holes each one the labor of a day or two for a savage—he carefully takes out the dust with his iron spoon—he inserts his wedges one in each hole & protects the sides of the holes & gives resistance to his wedges by thin pieces of half round iron (or shames)—he marks the red line which he has drawn with his chisel—carefully cutting it straight—& then how carefully he drives each wedge in succession—fearful lest he should not have a good split. The habit of looking at men in the gross makes their lives have less of human interest for us. But though there are crowds of laborers before us—yet each one leads his little epic life each day. There is the stone mason who methought was simply a stony man that hammerd stone from breakfast to dinner—& dinner to supper & then went to his slumbers. But he I find is even a man like myself—for he feels the heat of the sun & has raised some



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boards on a frame to protect him. And now at midforenoon I see his wife & child have come & brought him drink & meat for his lunch & to assuage the stoniness of his labor—& sit to chat with him. There are many rocks lying there for him to split from end to end and he will surely do it—this only at the command of luxury since stone posts are preferred to wood—but how many moral blocks are lying there in every man's yard which he surely will not split nor earnestly endeavor to split.

There lie the blocks which will surely get split but here lie the blocks which will surely not get split—Do we say it is too hard for human faculties?— But does not the mason dull a basket-full of steel chisels in a day—& yet by sharpening them again & tempering them aright succeed? Moral effort—! difficulty to be overcome!!! Why men work in stone & sharpen their drills when they go home to dinner!³⁸

Why should Canada wild and unsettled as it is impress one as an older country than the states—except that her institutions are old. All things seem to contend there with a certain rust of antiquity—such as forms on old armor & iron guns. The rust of conventions and formalities. If the rust was not on the tinned roofs it was on the inhabitants.

2 P M to Hubbards meadow grove. The skunk cabbage's checkered fruit (spadix) one 3 inches long, all parts of the flower but the anthers left and enlarged.

Berdens cernua or Nodding Burr-Mary Gold like a small sunflower (with rays) in Heywood brook i.e. Beggar tick

Bidens Connata? without rays in Hubbards meadow— Blue-eyed grass still— Drooping neottia very common— I see some yellow butterflies and others occasionally & singly only The Smilax berries are mostly turned dark I started a great bittern from the weeds at the swimming place.

It is very hot & dry weather. We have had no rain for a week & yet the pitcher plants have water in them.— Are they ever quite dry? Are they not replenished by the dews always—& being shaded by the grass saved from evaporation? What wells for the birds!

The White-red-purple berried bush in Hubbards meadow whose berries were fairest a fortnight ago—appears to be the Viburnum nudum or withe-rod

Our cornel (the common) with berries blue one side whitish the other appears to be either the *C. sericea* or *C. Stolonifera* of Gray i.e. the silky or the red-osier *C. (osier rouge)* though its leaves are neither silky nor downy nor rough. This and the last 4 or 5 nights have been perhaps the most sultry in the year thus far—



38. [Thoreau](#) would later copy this into his early lecture “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” as:

[Paragraph 27] Each trade is a craft or cunning, and its methods are the result of a long experience. One is continually surprised to find how much his neighbors know that he does not. You may go by a man at his work in the street every day of your life, and though he is carrying into practice there certain essential information before your eyes—you may never be the wiser for it. Yet if you do attend to him, you will probably conceive an undue respect for his skill. Every artizan learns positively something by his trade—is familiar with a few well established facts, the knowledge of which implies no genius, but mere use and familiarity, and unless it is applied to his life—is trivial. There sits a stone-mason,¹ for instance, splitting granite for fence-posts before my window. Egypt perchance has taught New England something in this matter. His hammer, his chisels, his wedges, his shims² or half-rounds—his iron spoon—are hoary with age as with granite dust. He learns as surely where the best granite comes from, as how to erect that screen to keep off the sun. He knows that he can drill faster into a large stone than into a small one because there is less yielding to it. He deals with stone as the carpenter with lumber. In many of their operations only the materials are different. His work is slow and expensive, for Nature is here hard to be overcome. He must sharpen his tools far oftener than the carpenter. He fights with granite; knows the temper of the rocks; and grows stony himself; his tread is ponderous and steady like the fall of a rock, like the march of a grenadier.

[Paragraph 28] See how surely and resolutely he proceeds. He does not hesitate to drill a dozen holes, each one the labor of a day or two for a savage; patiently taking out the dust with his iron spoon, he inserts his wedges, one in each hole, and protects the sides of the holes, and gives resistance to the wedges with his shims;³ he marks with his chisel the chalk line which he has drawn between the holes, slowly cutting it straight;—and then how carefully he drives each wedge in succession, fearful lest he should not have a good split! He dulls a basket-ful of steel chisels in a day, and yet by sharpening and tempering them again he at last splits a stone as surely as the carpenter or woodcutter a log.

[Paragraph 29] And now I perceive that his wife and child have come and brought him his luncheon, and he stops and chats with them. So he has other things to interest him than stone-posts. But they have brought him also something strong to drink. Poor fellow! Did Egypt teach him that also? I fear it will undo him as surely as he undoes granite.

[Paragraph 30] There are many rocks lying there for him to split, and he will surely do it; and this only at the command of luxury—since stone posts are preferred to wood. But like you and me he has less moral than physical energy. How many moral blocks are lying in his yard, which he surely will not split, nor earnestly endeavor to split! Do we say it is too hard for human faculties? Why, men work in stone and sharpen their drills when they go home to dinner.

1. The stone-mason has not been identified.

2. The manuscript copy-text reads ‘shames (shams?—shims?)’. The PRACTICAL DICTIONARY OF MECHANICS (Philadelphia, 1874-77) defines “shim” under the heading “Stone-working” as “One of the plates in a jumper-hole to fill out a portion of the thickness not occupied by the wedges or feathers.” There is no listing for either “shame” or “sham.”

3. The manuscript copy-text reads ‘shams (?)’.



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1852

In London, [Lajos Kossuth](#) became an intimate of [Giuseppe Mazzini](#), and joined his revolutionary committee.

ITALY

[Thomas Mayne Reid, Jr.](#)'s THE YOUNG VOYAGEURS; OR, THE BOY HUNTERS IN THE NORTH. The author engaged in a plan for [Kossuth](#) to travel incognito across Europe as his man-servant "James Hawkins" under a Foreign Office passport "for the free passage of Captain Mayne Reid, British subject, travelling on the Continent with a man-servant."

In [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE there was talk of the reading of [THE DIAL](#):

Being much alone, during my recovery, I read interminably [page 677] in Mr. Emerson's Essays, the Dial, Carlyle's works, George Sand's romances, (lent me by Zenobia,) and other books which one or another of the brethren or sisterhood had brought with them. Agreeing in little else, most of these utterances were like the cry of some solitary sentinel, whose station was on the outposts of the advance-guard of human progression; or, sometimes, the voice came sadly from among the shattered ruins of the past, but yet had a hopeful echo in the future. They were well adapted (better, at least, than any other intellectual products, the volatile essence of which had heretofore tintured a printed page) to pilgrims like ourselves, whose present bivouac was considerably farther into the waste of chaos than any mortal army of crusaders had ever marched before. Fourier's works, also, in a series of horribly tedious volumes, attracted a good deal of my attention, from the analogy which I could not but recognize between his system and our own. There was far less resemblance, it is true, than the world chose to imagine; inasmuch as the two theories differed, as widely as the zenith from the nadir, in their main principles.

At some point during this year the proud author sat for his portrait in the studio of G.P.A. Healy at West Street and Washington Street in Boston. His new book was in part about "the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of [Blithedale](#)," an experiment in community which was "in spite of its Edenic pretensions, located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding 'New England metropolis'."



When "Wakefield" was published in 1836, most of Hawthorne's audience, like Hawthorne himself, would only have known of the conditions of urban life treated in the sketch by having read about them. Hawthorne takes advantage of the exoticism of a European metropolitan setting, just as Poe was to have done a few years later in "The Man of the Crowd" and "The Murders in



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the Rue Morgue." Yet by 1852, when *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE* was published, the urbanization of America was no longer an abstract possibility; it was, thanks to economic growth, industrial development, and large-scale immigration, an increasingly insistent reality. The intellectual and social movements represented by the Blithedale community were, in large measure, a response to these historic changes. The process of urbanization is therefore never entirely out of sight in *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*. Expressing the ideas implicit in the agrarian experiment, Coverdale offers several standard Transcendentalist criticisms of urban life. Driving through the streets of Boston, he describes "how the buildings, on either side, seemed to press too closely upon us, insomuch that our mighty hearts found barely room enough to throb between them" (3:11). Observing how the snow falling upon the city is blackened by smoke, and molded by boots, Coverdale makes it into a metaphor for the way in which human nature is corrupted by the "falsehood, formality, and error" (3:11) of city life. In addition, Coverdale identifies cities as the sources of the "selfish competition," which powers the "weary treadmill of established society" (3:19). Yet, although Coverdale will occasionally express the Juvenalian and Thoreauvian ideology of Blithedale, he implicitly recognizes, late in the book, that it may be futile to attempt to arrest the advance of urban civilization. When he observes a crowd at a village lyceum, it seems to him to be "rather suburban than rural" (3:197). The decline of authentic rusticity has been implied earlier when we learn that Blithedale, in spite of its Edenic pretensions, is located in an area of market gardens catering to the needs of the expanding "New England metropolis." From the very beginning of *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*, we know that the utopian experiment has failed and that Coverdale has returned to the urban existence he originally fled.

During this year [Kossuth](#) was fundraising practically everywhere in America, including in the First Church at [Northampton](#). He had a letter of introduction to the Motts of Philadelphia, and they invited him to dinner at their home. The Governor's advisers insisted that he call there only for an informal chat while refraining from breaking bread with any such notorious abolitionists — lest news of such an indiscretion get out and he be embarrassed. During his visit and chat, [Friend Lucretia](#) somehow formed the opinion that although this politician was afraid to say so, in his heart he would have to be opposed to human slavery in any form. (Madam Pulzysky, Kossuth's sister, also visited the Motts, and by way of contrast she was willing to argue the advantages of human slavery with them.)

What sort of man was this Kossuth? Utterly ruthless. Cold-blooded murder was not beyond him, when the result would prove useful. When he had needed to safeguard the royal gems of Hungary, for instance, including the crown of St. Stephen which was held to be necessary for the coronation of any true king of Hungary, he had had them buried at a spot on the banks of the Danube, and he had employed for this work "a detachment of prisoners who were shot after the concealment was complete." His plot was that this portable property was to be recovered later, packed in marmalade, and carried via Constantinople to "the well-known Philhellene" of Boston, [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#). However, when it came to be time, during this year, to dig up the jewels and pack them in marmalade for shipment to Boston, the man whom he would entrust to do this would betray his trust. —Eventually the jewels, including the crown of St. Stephen, would come into the control of the government of Austria.

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Kossuth somehow suborned the cooperation of [William James Stillman](#) in his abortive scheme to recover the jewels, and this American artist sailed off to Hungary on this wild-goose chase.

According to page 153 and pages 161-6 of Larry J. Reynolds's influence study *EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1988), virtually everything about [Henry Thoreau](#) during this period is to be accounted for in terms of the manifold influences upon him and upon the times, of European revolutionaries such as [Kossuth](#) here:



Faced with this threat of mental contamination, our guy allegedly has become literally obsessed with maintaining his self-concept and his self-satisfaction:

Thoreau, stirred by [Lajos Kossuth](#)'s visit and news of European affairs, returned to the manuscript of *WALDEN* and revised and expanded it throughout 1852. Although engaged by current events, Thoreau fought a spiritual battle to remain aloof, "to preserve the mind's chastity" by reading "not the Times" but "the Eternities." Imagining that he had won, he celebrated his victory in *WALDEN*.... Kossuth's visit to the United States and [Concord](#) brought to a head a struggle Thoreau had been engaged in for some time. During the years following the European revolutions of 1848-1849, Thoreau struggled to develop his spiritual side and rid himself of what he considered a degrading interest in current events. He also tried to communicate to [Waldo Emerson](#) and the world his own capacity for heroism. After the disappointing reception of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) in the summer of 1849, Thoreau had become uncertain about how to proceed with his life. Setting the third draft of [WALDEN](#) aside as unpublishable, he studied Hinduism, visited Cape Cod several times, took a trip to Canada, and began his Indian book project. The next year, 1851, he started to focus his energies, and, as Lewis Leary has said, these twelve months were a watershed in his life, a time of consolidation, of self-discovery, of preparation for some important new effort. "I find myself uncommonly prepared for **some** literary work....," he wrote in his journal on September 7, 1851. "I am prepared not so much for contemplation, as for forceful expression." Subsequently, 1852 became Thoreau's *annus mirabilis*, the year his months of living deliberately yielded a value of its own, he lavished upon it the care and craft that turned it into his richest literary achievement; he also wrote at this time most of his essay "Life



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without Principle," which, as Walter Harding has observed, "contains virtually all the fundamental principles upon which he based his life"; and, more important, he radically revised and reshaped WALDEN, changing it from a factual account of his life in the woods into the embryo of a profound spiritual autobiography, illuminated by the idea of spiritual renewal, shaped and informed by the cycle of the seasons.

The catalyst for the metamorphosis of [WALDEN](#) was [Thoreau's](#) desire to resolve, in writing if not in fact, the conflict he felt between the spiritual and the animal in himself. On the one hand, his recent communion with nature had yielded, as it had in his youth, transcendence – not of the world of material fact, but rather of the world of trivial fact. At times he achieved a state of pure spirituality in the woods. On August 17, 1851, for example, he recorded in his journal, "My heart leaps into my mouth at the sound of the wind in the woods. I, whose life was but yesterday so desultory and shallow, suddenly recover my spirits, my spirituality, through my hearing.... I did not despair of worthier moods, and now I have occasion to be grateful for the flood of life that is flowing over me." At such times, he reexperienced the ecstasy of his youth, when, as he put it, "the morning and the evening were sweet to me, and I led a life aloof from society of men." Despite these experiences, which he valued greatly, another aspect of Thoreau's personality cared about society, cared passionately about justice, about the actions of governments, about the fate of actual men in the nineteenth century. This part of him, however, he associated with his impure animal nature, and he sought to purge it.

Thoreau had no way of knowing whether the body was [Margaret Fuller's](#) or not, but she was surely on his mind, and her endeavor to convince others of the legitimacy of her "title" may have been as well. His description, which obviously contrasts with his earlier one, reveals the power and significance the facts possessed in his eyes. Here as always he cared too much about the human to dismiss its annihilation with convincing disdain.

During the last months of 1850 and all of 1851, [Thoreau](#) dedicated himself to living deliberately, to fronting what he called the essential. During these months, he spent many hours walking through the fields and woods of [Concord](#), recording his observations in his journal. At the same time, he read the newspapers and found himself engaged by what he found. The political news from Europe focused upon the failure of the republican movement, the reaction and reprisals, the futile attempts by exiles such as [Mazzini](#) and [Kossuth](#) to enlist aid in the struggle for a new round of upheavals. Austria, meanwhile, charged that the United States, especially its new Secretary of State [Daniel Webster](#), was encouraging anti-Austrian sentiment and intruding in the affairs of Europe. On November 17, 1850, Thoreau revealed both his disdain for the news of the day and his concern about its power to capture his attention: "It is a strange age of the world this, when empires, kingdoms, and republics come a-begging to our doors and utter their complaints



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at our elbows. I cannot take up a newspaper but I find that some wretched government or other, hard pushed and on its last legs, is interceding with me, the reader, to vote for it, – more importunate than an [Italian](#) beggar." At times the newspapers contributed to the problem he called "the village," which kept him from getting to the woods in spirit, although he walked miles into it bodily. One way he tried to overcome this problem was through the process of diminution, which can be seen in the following outburst of May 1, 1851: "Nations! What are nations? Tartars! and Huns! and Chinamen! Like insects they swarm. The historian strives in vain to make them memorable. It is for want of a man that there are so many men." Quoting from "The Spirit of Lodin," ... he claims to "look down from my height on nations, / And they become ashes before me." By adopting an Olympian point of view, Thoreau elevates himself and diminishes men both in size and importance. Like [Waldo Emerson](#) in the "Mind and Manners" lectures, he also reaffirms his belief that the regeneration of the self, the building up of the single solitary soul, is far more important than the activities of masses of men, be they parties, tribes, or nations.

Throughout 1851, as Thoreau continued to read the papers, he developed a loathing for them linked to that part of himself unable to ignore them. The news, he came to assert, could profane the "very *sanctum sanctorum*" of the mind:

I find it so difficult to dispose of the few facts which to me are significant, that I hesitate to burden my mind with the most insignificant, which only a divine mind could illustrate. Such is, for the most part, the news, – in newspapers and conversation. It is important to preserve the mind's chastity in this respect.... By all manners of boards and traps, threatening the extreme penalty of the divine law, ... it behooves us to preserve the purity and sanctity of the mind.... It is so hard to forget what it is worse than useless to remember. If I am to be a channel or thoroughfare, I prefer that it be of the mountain springs, and not the town sewers, – the Parnassian streams.

"I do not think much of the actual," he wrote himself. "It is something which we have long since done with. It is a sort of vomit in which the unclean love to wallow." During the writing of the 4th version of *WALDEN*, which coincided with Kossuth's tour of the country, [Thoreau](#) created a myth about himself as someone who had risen above the affairs of men, someone who felt the animal dying out in him and the spiritual being established.

In [WALDEN](#), the European revolutions of 1848-1849, the reaction and reprisals that followed, all the attention given in the newspapers to Kossuth's visit, to Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état*, to a possible war between France and Great Britain, all these go unmentioned, and the absence reveals how earnestly, perhaps even how desperately, Thoreau sought to diminish their importance to his life. In his journals we see his fascination with and antagonism toward the news of national and



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international affairs. He devotes half of his essay "Life without Principle," moreover, to a castigation of the news, telling the reader about its dangers, its foulness, its profanity – even mentioning Kossuth by name and ridiculing the "stir" about him: "That excitement about Kossuth, consider how characteristic, but superficial, it was!... For all the fruit of that stir we have the Kossuth hat."³⁹ In WALDEN, however, he purifies his book and his persona by ignoring contemporary world affairs. Characterizing himself (untruthfully) as one "who rarely looks into the newspapers," he claims that "nothing new does ever happen in foreign parts, a French revolution not excepted."

Thoreau's struggle to achieve an oriental aloofness from the affairs of men seems to have first become a serious endeavor for him in the summer of 1850, when [Emerson](#) asked him to go to Fire Island to retrieve the body and possessions of [Margaret Fuller](#). As Robert D. Richardson, Jr. has pointed out, "Death gave life a new imperative for Thoreau." Despite Fuller's rejections of his [DIAL](#) contributions in the early 1840s, Thoreau became her friend and admirer, and during her last summer in [Concord](#), he took her boat riding at dawn on the river. The task he faced at Fire Island thus could not have been pleasant, yet in his journal and in letters to others, he strove to project a philosophical serenity about what he found. In a letter to his admirer H.G.O. Blake, he wrote that he had in his pocket a button torn from the coat of [Giovanni Angelo](#), *marchése d'Ossoli*: "Held up, it intercept the light, – and actual button, – and yet all the life it is connected with is less substantial to me, and interests me less, than my faintest dream. Our thoughts are the epochs in our lives: all else is but a journal of the winds that blew while we were here." Thoreau had not known Ossoli, so his aloof serenity here comes easily; he had known Fuller though, and his attempt to rise above the fact of her death shows strain.

When Thoreau arrived at the site of the wreck, Fuller's body had not been found, but he stayed in the area and a week later learned that something once human had washed ashore. As he approached it, he saw bones, and in the draft of this letter to Blake he asserted, "There was nothing at all remarkable about them. They were simply some bones lying on the beach. They would not detain the walker there more than so much seaweed. I should think that the fates would not take the trouble to show me any bones again, I so slightly appreciated the favor." He recalled the experience in his journal some three months later, however, and there revealed the difficulty he had in dismissing what he had seen: "I once went in search of the relics of a human body....," he wrote, "which had been cast up the day before on the beach, though the sharks had stripped off the flesh.... It was as conspicuous on that sandy plain as if a generation had

39. The Kossuth hat was a black, low-crowned felt hat with left brim fastened to crown, having a peacock feather. The story of its "invention" by John Nicholas Genin (1819-1878) and its rise to high fashion is told in Donald S. Spencer's *LOUIS KOSSUTH AND YOUNG AMERICA — A STUDY IN SECTIONALISM AND FOREIGN POLICY, 1848-1852* (Columbia, London: U of Missouri P, 1977, pages 59-61). This proprietor of a hat shop on Broadway in New-York next to the American Museum, Genin, also designed a best-selling Jenny Lind Riding Hat.



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labored to pile up a cairn there.... It reigned over the shore. That dead body possessed the shore as no living one could. It showed a title to the sands which no living ruler could."

In the winter of 1851-1852, Thoreau's struggle to assure his own purity became obsessive. Sherman Paul has traced his dissatisfaction with himself to surveying, which [Thoreau](#) found trivial and coarsening. Mary Elkins Moller has speculated that Thoreau was also having sexual fantasies about Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) and felt ashamed of them. Whatever the truth of these views (and I think the second takes Thoreau's references to chastity too literally), the fact remains that Thoreau at this time was also struggling to escape from his interest in current events. Surprisingly, this private denouncer of the press had become a subscriber to Horace Greeley's Weekly Tribune, a fact that heightened the tension he felt about preserving his mind's chastity. On January 20, 1852, he wrote,

I do not know but it is too much to read one newspaper in a week, for I now take the weekly Tribune, and for a few days past, it seems to me, I have not dwelt in Concord; the sun, the clouds, the snow, the trees say not so much to me. You cannot serve two masters.... To read the things distant and sounding betrays us into slighting these which are then apparently near and small. We learn to look abroad for our mind and spirit's daily nutriment, and what is this dull town to me? ...All summer and far into the fall I unconsciously went by the newspapers and the news, and now I find it was because the morning and the evening were full of news to me. My walks were full of incidents. I attended not to the affairs of Europe, but to my own affairs in Concord fields.

Thoreau's quest for purity and serenity had become particularly difficult because of the excitement surrounding [Lajos Kossuth's](#) visit and the new interest [Waldo Emerson](#) had taken in things Thoreau considered trivial, including Kossuth. The gradual estrangement of the two men may have begun while Emerson was in England in 1847-1848, writing letters home for Lidian and Thoreau which were little more than catalogues of the great people he had met. Although we know this was his way of providing himself a record of his activities, it probably disappointed. After his return from Europe, Emerson had lectured throughout the country, praising England and its people, but when he engaged Thoreau in a conversation on the topic, Henry, not surprisingly, said that the English were "mere soldiers" and their business was "winding up." In the summer of 1851, Emerson, unaware of the new scope and grandeur of Thoreau's journal, unaware of the growth in his spiritual development, wrote off his friend as one who "will not stick." "He is a boy," Emerson added, "& will be an old boy. Pounding beans is good to the end of pounding Empires, but not, if at the end of years, it is only beans."

In a like manner, Thoreau at about this time began to see that



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his friend would continue to disappoint him. He bristles at Emerson's patronizing attitude; he disagreed with his treatment of [Margaret Fuller](#) in the MEMOIRS; and most of all he resented his new worldliness. In ENGLISH TRAITS (1856) Emerson, drawing on his lectures of 1848-1850, would celebrate the manners of the British aristocracy and assert that "whatever tends to form manners or to finish men, has a great value. Every one who has tasted the delight of friendship will respect every social guard which our manners can establish." For Thoreau, there was "something devilish in manners" that could come between friends, and writing of Emerson in the winter of 1851, he complained, "One of the best men I know often offends me by uttering made words – the very best words, of course, or dinner speeches, most smooth and gracious and fluent repartees.... O would you but be simple and downright! Would you but cease your palaver! It is the misfortune of being a gentleman and famous." As Joel Porte has observed, the failure of [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#) and Emerson's "manifest success" had probably contributed to Thoreau's bitterness.

A pushy little ultra-conservative mofo, the Reverend Francis Bowen had what was termed at the time "a remarkable talent for giving offense." Precisely while [Kossuth](#) was riding the crest of the wave of American political correctness, Bowen publicly denounced that revolutionary.

(*Nota Bene*: This differs from [Thoreau](#)'s reaction not merely as public denunciation differs from private distaste but also as cheap motivation differs from abundant reason.)

But this is all very easy to figure out, at least as far as Larry J. Reynolds is concerned. What has happened is merely that [Kossuth](#) has come between [Waldo Emerson](#) and [Thoreau](#)!

Wow, now that we understand that, it all becomes perfectly clear. Continuing to quote, from pages 166-70 of this extraordinarily confident EUROPEAN REVOLUTIONS AND THE AMERICAN LITERARY RENAISSANCE influence study:

In the early months of 1852, Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#) widened the separation between [Thoreau](#) and [Emerson](#) into a permanent gulf. As Thoreau spent more and more time communing with nature, trying to cleanse himself of what he called the "news," Emerson saw fit to criticize him for these efforts. Frustrated, Thoreau declared in his journal, "I have got to that pass with my friend that our words do not pass with each other for what they are worth. We speak in vain; there is none to hear. He finds fault with me that I walk alone, when I pine for want of a companion; that I commit my thoughts to a diary even on my walks, instead of seeking to share them generously with a friend; curses my practice even." Emerson, who would soon lecture on the "Conduct of Life" in Canada and then deliver his "Address to Kossuth" in [Concord](#), could not see the heroism in Thoreau's aloofness. Thoreau, meanwhile, who sought to become a better man through his solitary walks, felt unappreciated and frustrated. On May 4, in an entry both defensive and immodest, he dismissed the great [Kossuth](#) and those like Emerson who honored him:

This excitement about Kossuth is not interesting to me,



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it is so superficial. It is only another kind of dancing or of politics. Men are making speeches to him all over the country, but each expresses only the thought, or the want of thought, of the multitude. No man stands on truth.... You can pass your hand under the largest mob, a nation in revolution even, and, however solid a bulk they may make, like a hail-cloud in the atmosphere, you may not meet so much as a cobweb of support. They may not rest, even by a point, on eternal foundations. But an individual standing on truth you cannot pass your hand under, for his foundations reach to the centre of the universe. So superficial these men and their doings, it is life on a leaf or a chip which has nothing but air or water beneath.

The length and tone of this entry reveals the importance of the matter to him; obviously, he considers himself the "individual standing on truth," whose depth far exceeds that of any "nation in revolution" or military hero. And one week later, during the excitement surrounding Kossuth's visit to [Concord](#), during the afternoon of Emerson's speech and reception, Thoreau, in order to show how little he thought of these matters, entered only the following in his journal: "P.M. – **Kossuth here.**"

All of Thoreau's struggle with current events, with Kossuth's visit, with Emerson's worldliness and disesteem lay behind the important fourth version of [WALDEN](#). As he revised and expanded his manuscript throughout 1852, Thoreau endowed his persona with a serene aloofness, creating a hero interested in eternal truths, not pointless political ones. Having discovered that "a sane and growing man revolutionizes every day" and that no "institutions of man can survive a morning experience," he fashioned an answer to his best friend, who thought Kossuth a great man and Henry Thoreau an unsociable boy.

As he revised [WALDEN](#), [Thoreau](#) made major additions.... The thrust of almost all of these additions is to show how nature, which is holy and heroic, can bestow those virtues on one who practices chastity. His central statement on chastity was added, of course, to "Higher Laws" and asserts that "we are conscious of an animal in us, which awakens in proportion as our higher nature slumbers.... Chastity is the flowering of man; and what are called Genius, Heroism, Holiness, and the like, are but various fruits which succeed it. Man flows at once to God when the channel of purity is open.... He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established. Not surprisingly, Thoreau presents himself as having achieved this assuredness. He is among the blessed.

The chastity Thoreau has in mind is as much intellectual as physical, and to attain it one must abstain not merely from sexual intercourse but also from trivial thoughts and interests. In his addition to "Solitude" he explains the process it involves: "By a conscious effort of the mind we can stand aloof from actions and their consequences; and all things, good and bad, go by us like a torrent." The result is a feeling of



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doubleness, whereby a person "may be either a drift-wood in the stream, or Indra in the sky looking down on it." He admits that "this doubleness may easily make us poor neighbors and friends sometimes," but he makes it clear that it is worth the price. In "The Ponds" he adds paragraphs stressing the "serenity and purity" of Walden and suggests a correspondence between it and himself. "Many men have been likened to it," he writes, "But few deserve that honor." That he has earned the honor through his way of life is a point made repeatedly. In his addition to "Baker Farm", Thoreau highlights the blessedness which communion with nature has accorded him. Like Walt Whitman's persona in "Crossing Brooklyn Ferry," or more recently Loren Eiseley's star thrower, Thoreau's hero becomes literally illuminated by nature. He stands one day at the base "of a rainbow's arch, which filled the lower stratum of the atmosphere, tinged the grass and leaves around, and dazzling [him] as if [he] looked through colored crystal." To emphasize the religious implications of the experience, he adds, "As I walked on the railroad causeway, I used to wonder at the halo of light around my shadow, and would fain fancy myself one of the elect." In the additions to the "Conclusion," Thoreau makes explicit the successful effort to achieve spiritual renewal through aloofness. "I delight to come to my bearings, —" he declares, "not walk in procession with pomp and parade, in a conspicuous place, but to walk even with the Builder of the universe, if I may, — not to live in this restless, nervous, bustling, trivial Nineteenth Century, but stand or sit thoughtfully while it goes by."

The place he would sit, of course, is far above men and their doings, which diminishes them in his eyes. And this particular view is the one dramatized in his most famous addition, the classic battle of the ants in "Brute Neighbors." The episode comes from an entry made in his journal on January 22, 1852, while [Kossuth](#) was visiting Washington and while Horace Greeley in his [Tribune](#) and James Watson Webb in his [Courier and Enquirer](#) were debating the nature of the Hungarian War. Thoreau, like most of his contemporaries, found himself engaged (against his will, however) by what called "the great controversy now going on in the world between the despotic and the republican principle," and this is why he associates the two tribes of warring ants with the European revolutionary scene and calls them "the red republicans and the black despots or imperialists." His description of their war has become famous because of its frequent use in anthologies, and is surely right when he says that one reason for its selection is that it is "easily taken from its context."

Raymond Adams errs though in adding that "it is an episode that hardly has so much as a context." By virtue of both its hidden connection to revolutionary Europe and its subtle connection to the theme of spiritual serenity, the episode is part of larger contexts that shaped its features.

As [Thoreau](#) describes the battle of the ants, he reveals that side of his personality engaged by physical heroism in the



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actual world. The ferocity and resolve of the combatants, the mutilation and gore that attend their life-and-death struggle thoroughly engage him. "I felt for the rest of that day," he admits, "as if I had had my feelings excited and harrowed by witnessing the struggle, the ferocity and carnage, of a human battle before my door." On the other hand, through the use of the mock-heroic, Thoreau generates an irony that allows him to stress once more the spiritual side of his persona, the side that dismisses politics, revolutions, and wars as trivial. The mother of a single red ant, we are told, has charged her son "to return with his shield or upon it," and the fighting ants, the narrator speculates, could, not to his surprise, have "had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and played their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants." With such irony Thoreau diminishes the importance, not of the ants, but of the men they resemble. Just as he claimed that [Kossuth](#) and his American admirers were involved in "life on a leaf or a chip," he here brings the metaphor to life and makes the same statement about warring nations. The purpose of this addition, and of his others, is to show that true heroism is associated with aloof serenity, not brutal warfare.

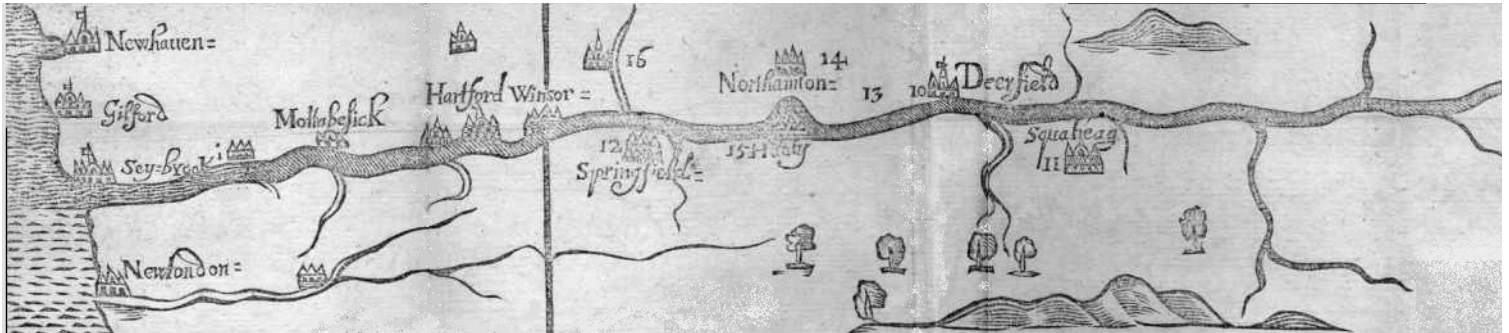
When Thoreau revised his journal entry for inclusion in *WALDEN*, he claimed the ant battle occurred "in the Presidency of [James Knox Polk](#), five years before the passage of [Daniel Webster's](#) Fugitive-Slave Bill," thus making it contemporaneous with his stay at the pond and registering his criticism, as he had in "Civil Disobedience," of the [Mexican War](#). Ultimately, the issue of slavery disturbed him far more than revolution in Europe, and he found it difficult to resist the temptation to speak out against it. In later versions of *WALDEN*, Thoreau expanded upon the ideas he introduced in 1852, extending his treatment of the triumph of the spiritual over the animal and filling out his account of the progress of the seasons, which, of course, complements the theme of renewal. Meanwhile, paradoxically, he remained a deeply passionate man, more engaged than others of his acquaintance by the "trivial Nineteenth Century." When the slave Anthony Burns was arrested in 1854, Thoreau, burning with rage, publicly denounced the Massachusetts authorities in his inflammatory "Slavery in Massachusetts": "I walk toward one of our ponds," he thundered, "but what signifies the beauty of nature when men are base? ...Who can be serene in a country where both the rulers and the ruled are without principle? The remembrance of my country spoils my walk. My thoughts are murder to the State, and involuntarily go plotting against her." Five years later, of course, he stepped forward to defend John Brown more ardently than anyone else in the country. Clearly then, in 1852, when Thoreau endowed the persona of *WALDEN* with remarkable purity and serenity, he was mythologizing himself; he was, in response to the "*tintinnabulum* from without," creating a new kind of hero for a revolutionary age.

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Have we got this very clear now? According to Larry J. Reynolds, it has been demonstrated that Thoreau, a boy playing at life, was not merely fighting a spiritual battle to remain aloof but indeed was fantasizing that he had won this battle, and celebrating his final victory. But Thoreau has been detected as nevertheless full of bitterness, as resentful, as feeling unappreciated and frustrated. Fundamentally a “defensive and immodest” pretense rather than any sort of record of a spiritual journey, [WALDEN](#) merely celebrated cheaply in words what its author could not accomplish in fact: the big win in a struggle between the spiritual in its author and the warrior-wannabee. This is Thoreau as a mere self-deluding boy who, when confronted by a real life hero out of the real world of struggle, struggles to stand “aloof” in order to console himself by considering himself to be the true hero, to be indeed the “individual standing on truth” whose real worth far exceeds the appreciation offered to any such mere celebrity wrapped up in mere mundane push-and-shove concerns. It is hard to imagine that Reynolds is not terming Thoreau a self-deluded coward.

February 24, Tuesday: In recognition of the importance of [silk](#) to the community, the collection of houses to the north-west of the village of [Northampton](#) assumed the name “[Florence](#).”⁴⁰ An ancillary proposal, to rename the Mill River as the “Arno,” was tabled.



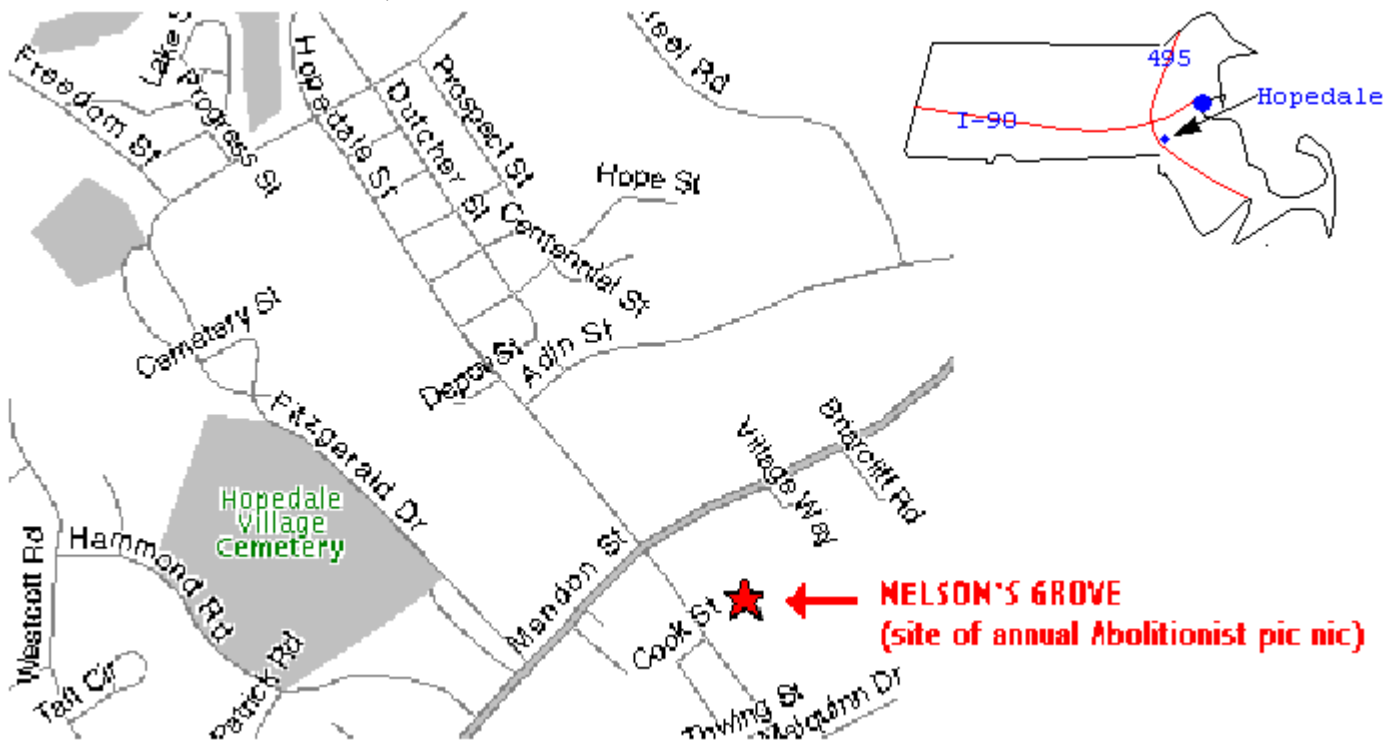
40. The Nonotuck Silk Company, in the [Association of Industry and Education](#)’s factory building, would become the first to produce a twisted silk thread that could be utilized in [sewing](#) machines (and many of these sewing machines themselves would be produced right there, by the Florence Sewing Machine Company).

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1853

Sojourner Truth of [Northampton](#) was speaking across New England and at one point visited the Stowe home in Andover MA, unannounced. After the two ladies, Truth and Harriet Beecher Stowe, had more or less had a chance to get to know one another (Stowe somehow getting the impression that Truth was an African), the black lady was invited to stay over for several days.⁴¹ The white lady would be able to mercilessly extrapolate, for the rest of her life, on the basis of this one brief contact.



41. In the course of the next couple of years Sojourner Truth would also lecture in Pennsylvania and in her home state of New York.



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April: Early in the month, Qingjiang, Taizhou, and Yangzhou fell into the hands of the [Chinese Christian Army](#) in its grand new headquarters in Nanjing. This gave the Christians control over the [Grand Canal](#) which was the main source of supply for the city of Beijing, and in Beijing the price of grain trebled. The Christians invited the Reverend [Issachar J. Roberts](#) 罗孝全 to come see their new *T'ien-ching* or “Heavenly Capital” of the *Tai-p'ing T'ien-kuo* or “Central Kingdom of Great Peace” which they had created in the center of China, and counsel them in their faith. He came of course, but what this Tennessee [Baptist](#) found when he arrived was that these little yellow people were doing baptism the wrong way. Instead of baptizing by total immersion, the only way to obtain salvation, they merely scrubbed their bosoms to indicate a cleansing of the heart. And, they weren't even interested in being corrected! After the Christians beheaded, in their living quarters, in continuation of a doctrinal dispute, the yellow Christian with whom the Reverend Roberts had been traveling, the white man departed in a great huff.

THE TAEPING REBELLION

Meanwhile, these Chinese Christians were doing something quite remarkable in this [mulberry](#)-and-silkworm district of [China](#) which they had taken in hand:

| | | |
|-------------|---|--|
| before 1853 | for over a decade exports had been annually: 16,000 to 25,000 bales | Baseline data. |
| 1853 | 25,571 bales | Christians controlled Nanjing in the silk district of China. |
| 1854 | 61,984 bales | |
| 1860-1861 | 69,137 bales | Christians controlled Soochow and almost the entire silk district. |
| 1861-1862 | 88,754 bales | |
| 1862-1863 | 83,264 bales | |
| 1863-1864 | 46,863 bales | |
| 1864-1865 | 41,128 bales | The Chinese Christians had been exterminated. |

SILK

NORTHAMPTON MA

1854

For a decade, Dr. Benjamin Barrett would be serving as treasurer of the [Northampton](#) Savings Bank.

November 1, Wednesday: Sojourner Truth's \$300 mortgage on her home at 31 Park Street in [Northampton](#) was marked paid in full.



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1856

During this year and the next, Sojourner Truth would be speaking across the Midwest, in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana.

January 18, Friday: Sojourner Truth paid \$25 for Lot #10 next door to her home at the corner of Park and Middle Streets in [Northampton](#). (However, during this year and the next, she would be speaking across the Midwest, in Ohio, Michigan, and Indiana, and eventually she would be relocating to Battle Creek in Michigan.)

[Henry Thoreau](#) replied to Calvin H. Greene of Rochester, Michigan.

To: Calvin H. Greene
From: HDT
Date: 18 January 1856

*Concord Jan. 18th
1856.*

Dear Sir,

I am glad to hear that my "Walden" has interested you – that perchance it holds some truth still as far off as Michigan. I thank you for your note.

The "Week" had so poor a publisher that it is quite uncertain whether you will find it in any shop. I am not sure but authors must turn booksellers themselves. The price is \$1.25– If you care enough for it to send me that sum by mail, (stamps will do for change) I will forward you a copy by the same conveyance.

As for the "more" that is to come, I cannot speak definitely at present, but I trust that the mine –be it silver or lead– is not yet exhausted. At any rate, I shall be encouraged by the fact that you are interested in its yield.

Yrs respectfully

Henry D. Thoreau

Calvin H. Greene



January 18: Observed some of those little hard galls on the high blueberry, pecked or eaten into by some bird (or *possibly* mouse), for the little white grubs which lie curled up in them. What entomologists the birds are! Most men do not suspect that there are grubs in them, and how secure the latter seem under these thick



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dry shells! Yet there is no secret but is confided to some one.

ENTOMOLOGY

1857

September 3, Thursday: Sojourner Truth engaged to sell her home at 31 Park Street in [Northampton](#), on Lots #10 and #11, for which she had paid a total of \$325. She would receive \$740 (amounting to approximately 8% ROI per annum over the eight years of ownership, and that's not shabby in any normal housing market).

The [SS Central America](#) sailed from what is now the port of Colón, Panama (it was then known as Aspinwall) carrying 476 passengers, 102 crewmen, and more than three tons of gold (I don't know whether that's supposed to have been gold weighed at 12 ounces to the Troy pound or 16, and I don't know whether that's long American tons or short British tons — but, I suppose, such an issue might be considered by some to be moot). The precious metal included approximately 5,200 recently-minted \$20 “Double Eagles” struck at the San Francisco Mint. The gold for these coins had of course just been extracted in California. There were also

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a small number of other gold coins that had been in circulation on the West Coast and some privately-minted gold coins and ingots produced by assaying firms such as Blake & Company, Kellogg & Humbert, Wass Molitor & Company, Harris, Marchand & Company, and Justh & Hunter. The largest among these ingots seems to have been a block of gold cast by the assayers Kellogg & Humbert that weighed nearly 80 pounds (some of these ingots have been stolen since recovery from the ocean floor, and there are law enforcement officials who are keeping a watchful eye for them to turn up on the collector's market).



The 19th anniversary of Frederick Douglass's theft of himself, which we may well elect to celebrate in lieu of an unknown slave birthday.

"It has been a source of great annoyance to me, never to have a birthday."



September 3, Thursday: P.M. –Rode to Prospect Hill, Waltham. The *Polygonum Pennsylvanicum* there. One *Chimaphila maculata* on the hill. Tufts of *Woodsia ilvensis*. *Hedyotis longifolia* still flowering commonly, near the top, in a *thin* wood. *Gerardia tenuifolia* by the road in Lincoln, and a slate-colored snowbird back.

1859

Hiram Wells, formerly the machinist for the [Association of Industry and Education](#), tied the safety valve of a steam engine down in order to force it to operate at greater pressure. He blew himself up, and along with himself two of his workmen.

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



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1861

Founding of the [Florence](#) Sewing Machine Company, which would for awhile be a major US producer of [sewing](#) machines.

From this year until the end of the civil war, [Northampton](#) and [Florence](#) would provide a total of 751 servicemen, plus a total of \$71,000 in cash buyouts to secure that persons of property might escape from all military obligation.

April 18, Thursday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#), angered by the disbanding of his army, came through cheering streets to the Italian Parliament in Turin. He entered by a side door (just as the government was explaining its decision to disband his army) and after five minutes of cheering he took the oath as a deputy and was seated. Count Cavour and Garibaldi then took part in a fractious, personal debate.

Pierre Paul Broca presented the findings of an autopsy he had performed on the previous day to the Anthropological Society of Paris. He offered that the reason the patient could not speak was due to softening of the tissue in a particular area of the brain. This suggested to him that different physical areas of the brain must be governing different functions.

The temple scene from a projected opera by Modest Musorgsky to Ozerov's (after Sophocles) play Oedipus in Athens was performed for the initial time, at the Mariinsky Theater of St. Petersburg.

In a machine shop connected with the silk mill in [Florence](#), Massachusetts, Edwin Thwing got his clothes caught "through carelessness" on the shafting that carried the mill power to the work machinery. "He was whirled around the shaft with great rapidity, death coming in a few seconds."

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

There is no comment in the record about safety shields on the power equipment, and I suppose the attitude at the time was that workmen were supposed to be careful to protect themselves against injury — and if they neglected so to do it would be nobody's fault but their own.

[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR 18 APRIL]

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May 1, Wednesday: Later, the attorney John M. Greene would record a fateful visit to his office which had occurred on this day, by the rich lady Sophia Smith: “When, May 1, 1861, she came to see me, that she might talk over the matter of the disposition of her large property, I saw at once that she was very introspective, gloomy, and depressed; and I then advised her to keep a journal, and write in it daily or weekly the events of her life, giving a brief account of the persons she met, her thoughts about the books she read, and anything else that interested her and would draw her mind from herself and her afflictions and losses.” Although this was not initially at all clear, now, with the benefit of history, when we read “disposition of her large property” we can think “Oh, yes, [Smith College](#) in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts.”



May 1. Water in our neighbors' cellars quite generally. May it not be partly owing to the fact that the ground was not frozen the last winter to any depth, and so the melted snow as well as rain has been chiefly absorbed by it? [Probably it was.]

Summer: In Rome, the clay in which the sculptor William Wetmore Story had been modeling his “Libyan Sibyl” was slowly being transformed into a statue in, of all materials, white marble. It is possible that Story had seen the engraving at the front of Sojourner Truth’s narrative, but not possible that Story had seen any of her *cartes de visite* as, at this point, she had not yet sat for the first of this series of portraits.⁴² Story’s concept was not that of a resemblance, if it was so much as that, but instead a concept of an “anti-slavery sermon in stone.” Although he claimed, obviously quite falsely, that he was making his statue “full lipped, long-eyed, low-browed and lowering,” a prehistoric African viewing “the terrible fate of her race,” but he also indicated that the “Afric race” he was attempting to depict was of course other than the “Congo” one. His statue indeed does bear more resemblance to a Delta-[Egypt](#) type than to an African of the sort usually sold into foreign slavery.⁴³

42. Between 1863 and 1875 Sojourner Truth would sit for her portrait at least seven times. She usually would be able to get 33 cents for one of these *cartes-de-visite*, or 50 cents for a larger cabinet card produced in one of these sittings.

43. In other words, to avoid 19th-Century racist attitudes, the ten contemporary sculptors who prepared models in competition for the prize of erecting a statue to Sojourner Truth in beautiful downtown [Northampton](#) were advisedly careful not to model their contributions on this “Libyan Sibyl” effort by William Wetmore Story.

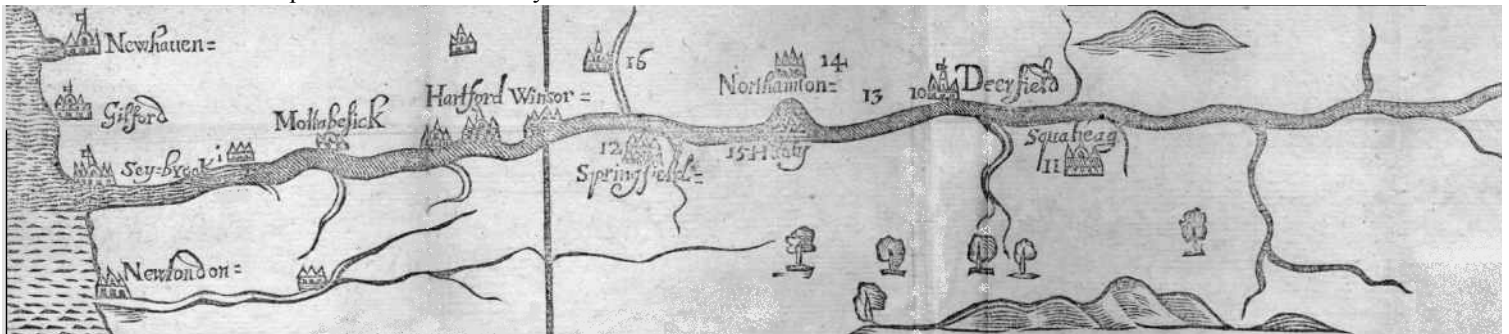
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1865

SILK

The water-rights owners along the Mill River, which tended to dry up during the summer, took action to ensure a year-round supply of power. They commissioned an earthen dam to create a large new reservoir above the town of Williamsburgh, on a tributary of the Mill River at a substantially higher altitude. The earthen dam was to be built around a stone wall which had not been placed upon bedrock, and the drainpipe used would be smaller than what had been specified. The various local mills most definitely including that of the Nonotuck Silk Company. In 1874 the billion gallons of water in this reservoir would burst through this carelessly constructed earthen dam and sent a surge rushing toward [Florence](#) and [Northampton](#). There would be not less than 136 deaths. It would be the worst such disaster on record. The surge of wreckage carried by the flood would stop short of the area that had once been utilized by the [Association of Industry and Education](#) and leave a river plain covered with a layer of debris some 20 feet thick.



1867

The drawing of Sojourner Truth leaning over a washtub at the [Association of Industry and Education](#) in the 1840s dates to about this year. Since it is by Charles C. Burleigh, Jr., and since he was a babe in arms at the time that Sojourner was actually leaning over washtubs at the Association, this drawing must be entirely from the imagination and evidentially it is without value.

In [Northampton](#) in this year, the Clarke School for the Deaf was being established.



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1870

Sophia Smith died. Her estate would be used to found [Smith College](#) in [Northampton](#), Massachusetts.



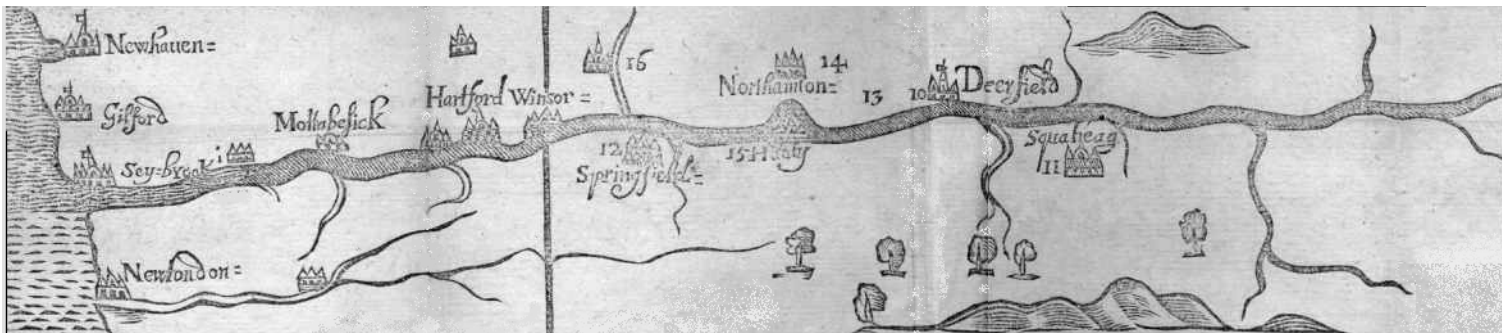
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1874

SILK

May 16: The Williamsburgh reservoir, which had been built on a tributary of the Mill River at a substantially higher altitude in 1865 in order to provide a steady supply of power to the various local mills most definitely including that of the Nonotuck Silk Company, burst through its carelessly constructed earthen dam and sent a surge of a billion gallons of water rushing toward [Florence](#). The earthen dam had been built around a stone wall which had not been placed upon bedrock, and the drainpipe used was smaller than what had been specified. A George Chaney had been assigned to watch the dam, and had been instructed that it was normal for small trickles of clear water to come through the bottom layers of such a dam. When Chaney noticed in the morning that the water coming off the lower face of the dam was muddy, he raced to the home of O.G. Spellman below to report this, and Spellman instead of taking action engaged him in an argument, attempting to persuade him that he had not seen what he had seen or that it was a normal occurrence. There were not less than 136 deaths. It was the worst such disaster on record. The surge of wreckage carried by the flood stopped short of the area that had once been utilized by the [Association of Industry and Education](#) and left a river plain covered with a layer of debris some 20 feet thick.



NORTHAMPTON MA

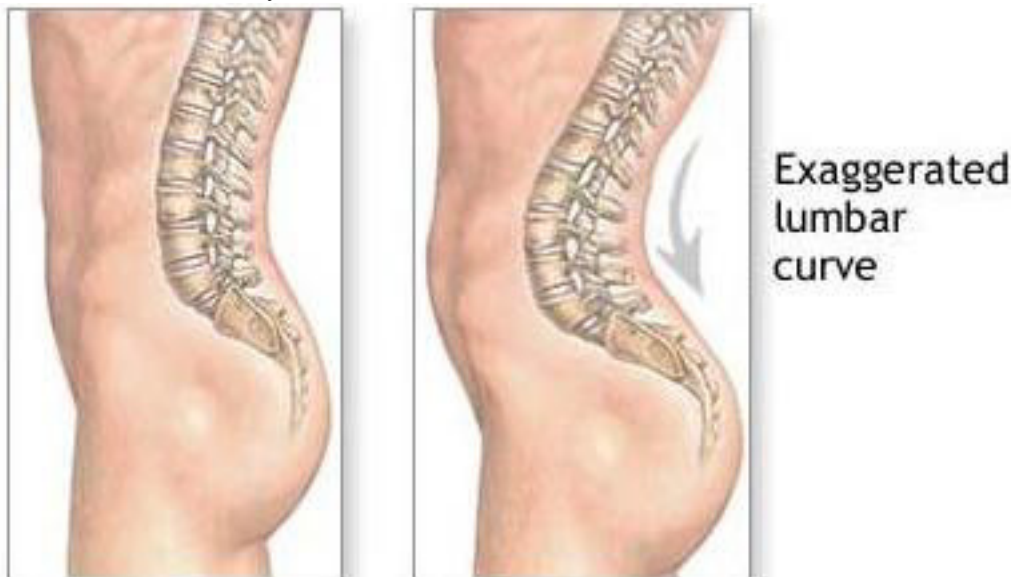
1875

In [Northampton](#), Massachusetts, [Smith College](#) opened its doors.

1880

When the academic scandal of W.H. Sheldon's "naked photographs" would eventually be revealed in our popular press (refer for starters to an article by Ron Rosenbaum printed on the front page of the New York Times for January 15, 1995, "The Great Ivy League Nude Posture Photo Scandal: How scientists coaxed America's best and brightest out of their clothes"), it would be discovered that Harvard University had had an erectness program that confessedly had dated all the way back to this year, 1880.

I say "confessedly" because I don't agree that this date, 1880, actually marked the origination of this erectness program, by which potential students with problem spines were delegitimated and expelled. Yes, it may be that Harvard's preoccupation with the future leadership roles to be played by its students in the general society – and its perceived need to eliminate those Harvard Men whose spines could not stand up to such a leadership responsibility– may have dated only to this year 1880, but my own personal suspicion is that Harvard's preoccupation with student spines must eventually be documented to have dated all the way back to the Mexican War of the 1840s. The plain fact of the matter is that the army which the United States of America sent off to conquer "that mongrel nation to our south" was a pure white army, led by pure white officers, and there was a perceived need to search out and detect and expel Americans from its ranks who were racially tainted even by a barely perceptible admixture of the Negro. The US Army officers were being warned to be on the lookout for recruits who, although their hair might look perfectly straight and normal, and who, although their skins might seem bright and light and innocent, nevertheless were tainted. These officers, many of whom were recruited from the ranks of Harvard Men, were specifically advised to be on the lookout for "Negro spine," a slight curvature in the small of the back that indicated tainted blood. That being the case, it seems obvious to me that someone would already have been inspecting these Harvard Men, upon their matriculation, to ensure that none of them were of the suspect sort. In other words, although I am prepared for a finding that Harvard's erectness program altered in this year, from a racial-pureness-oriented erectness program to a leadership-responsibility-oriented program, I am not prepared for a finding that Harvard's erectness program dates to no earlier than this year.



ASSLEY

Similarly, the standard account of this program, that allegedly "began" in 1880, is that Harvard discontinued



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it in the 1940s, while it was being picked up across the square at Radcliffe College in 1931, and at Mt. Holyoke College, [Smith College](#), Vassar College, [Princeton University](#), and Yale University, and carried forward into the 1960s, persisting at Radcliffe until 1961 and at Yale until 1968. I have no doubt that some things happened at Harvard from year to year to modify its preoccupation to eliminate those students whose spines would not bear up under examination, and I have no doubt but that it is being truthfully reported that the very last batch of naked photographs of matriculating 'Cliffie coeds dates to the Freshman class in 1961 — but I doubt very much that anything has ever happened to alter Harvard's preoccupation with selecting as its graduates those young men who could be anticipated to play leadership roles. How could anything ever have happened to that preoccupation, a preoccupation which defines the university? My own personal experience at Harvard Graduate School during the school year 1960/1961 has been that although Harvard's preoccupation with student spines may have been driven underground so to speak, may have become undocumented and unsystematic, with the "naked photograph" ritual being discontinued and the stockpile of naked photographs being destroyed by Harvard's lawyers — but the erectness program must be said to have survived.

1892

January: [Annie Russell Marble](#)'s "[Smith College](#) at [Northampton](#); Its Growth and Womanhood," in [The University Magazine](#).

1898

James Russell Trumbull's HISTORY OF [NORTHAMPTON](#), MASSACHUSETTS, FROM ITS SETTLEMENT IN 1654 (2 volumes, Northampton, 1898, 1902).

HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON

HISTORY OF NORTHAMPTON

1947

Alice Eaton McBee, IId. "From Utopia to [Florence](#): The Story of a Transcendentalist Community in Northampton, Mass. 1830-1852." [Smith College Studies in History](#), Volume XXXII, [Northampton](#), 1947

1949

[Professor Perry Gilbert Eddy Miller](#)'s [JONATHAN EDWARDS](#) (New York).



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1954

Aaron, Daniel; Faulkner, Harold U., *et al.* THE [NORTHAMPTON](#) BOOK: CHAPTERS FROM 300 YEARS IN THE LIFE OF A NEW ENGLAND TOWN, 1654-1954.

1974

Mary E. Numbers's MY WORDS FELL ON DEAF EARS: AN ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST HUNDRED YEARS OF THE CLARKE SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF (Washington DC).

1977

Robert Doherty's SOCIETY AND POWER: FIVE NEW ENGLAND TOWNS, 1800-1860 (Amherst).

1980

David Szatmary's SHAYS' REBELLION: THE MAKING OF AN AGRARIAN INSURRECTION (Amherst).

Patricia J. Tracy's [JONATHAN EDWARDS](#), PASTOR: RELIGION AND SOCIETY IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY NORTHAMPTON (New York).

1982

John P. Demos's ENTERTAINING SATAN: WITCHCRAFT AND THE CULTURE OF EARLY NEW ENGLAND (NY: Oxford UP)

WITCHCRAFT



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1987

Carol F. Karlsen's *THE DEVIL IN THE SHAPE OF A WOMAN: WITCHCRAFT IN COLONIAL NEW ENGLAND* (NY: W.W. Norton & Co.)

WITCHCRAFT

Keith C. Wilbur's *LAND OF THE NONOTUCKS* (Northampton).

1988

Stephen Nissenbaum's *SEX, DIET, AND DEBILITY IN JACKSONIAN AMERICA: SYLVESTER GRAHAM AND HEALTH REFORM* (Greenwood, 1980; Dorsey Press, 1988, in their *American Society & Culture* series) covers topics such as "The New Chastity of the 1830s," "Vegetarianism," "Physiology," "Temperance," "Sex," and "The Science of Human Life."

1992

Deborah Pickman Clifford's *CRUSADER FOR FREEDOM: A LIFE OF [LYDIA MARIA CHILD](#)* (Boston: Beacon Press).

Ronald Story, ed. *FIVE COLLEGES, FIVE HISTORIES* (Amherst).

1993

Carleton Mabee, with Susan Mabee Newhouse. *SOJOURNER TRUTH: SLAVE, PROPHET, LEGEND* (New York UP).

1994

Erlene Stetson and Linda David. *GLORYING IN TRIBULATION: THE LIFEWORKE OF SOJOURNER TRUTH* (East Lansing: Michigan State UP).

Johnson, Paul E. and Sean Wilentz. *THE KINGDOM OF MATTHIAS* (New York: Oxford UP).



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1995

Christopher Clark's THE COMMUNITARIAN MOVEMENT: THE RADICAL CHALLENGE OF THE [NORTHAMPTON](#) ASSOCIATION (Ithaca: Cornell UP).

Joseph Conforti's [JONATHAN EDWARDS](#), RELIGIOUS TRADITION AND AMERICAN CULTURE (Chapel Hill NC).

1996

Nell Irvin Painter's SOJOURNER TRUTH: A LIFE, A SYMBOL (W.W. Norton).

1997

Kirk Savage's STANDING SOLDIERS, KNEELING SLAVES: RACE, WAR, AND MONUMENT IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY AMERICA (Princeton UP).



The slaveholder elite routinely invoked the concept of liberty in their public defenses of slavery; they argued that enslaving black workers not only freed whites from the forms of industrial servitude common in Europe and the North, but freed the blacks themselves from responsibility and cares.



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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: May 25, 2013



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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.



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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@brown.edu>.
Arrgh.