

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS



"I know histry isn't thru, Hinnissy, because it ain't like what I see ivry day in Halsted Street. If any wan comes along with a histry 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





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1697

March 30, Tuesday (Old Style): After having covered about 100 miles, near the junction of the Contoocook and Merrimack rivers about 6 miles north of Concord, New Hampshire, thirteen of the invaders (two red men, three red women, one white boy of 14 from near [Worcester](#) named Samuel Lenorson or Lennardson who had been playing Indian for about 18 months at this point, and seven red children), taking with them [Hannah Emerson Duston](#) and Mary Corliss Neff, broke away from the main party and stopped at what is now known as Dustin Island, situated where the two rivers unite near the present town of Penacook NH. This was the home of the man, Bampico, who was claiming the women as his hostages, and here the group planned to recuperate before continuing toward [Canada](#). One of the red children was a clear favorite of the family, something of a pet. Samuel had at this point begun to tire of playing Indian in the woods in the winter and was on the lookout for a way to extricate himself from the situation he had created for himself and return to civilization without being punished. Upon reaching their home island, the Indians had grown somewhat careless. The river being in flood, Samuel having come to be considered one of the family and the two hostages being obviously worn out, no watch was set. This family had been influenced more recently by French Catholicism than by English Protestantism. Bampico would sometimes attempt to offer them counsel: "What need you trouble yourself? If your God will have you delivered, you shall be so!" Bampico had some years earlier been in the service of the Reverend Rowlandson of Lancaster, and he commented to Hannah that "when he prayed the English way he thought that it was good, but now he found the French way better." They had family prayer morning, noon, and night. The children said prayers before eating or sleeping. That night the red children said their prayers and everyone drifted off to sleep. In the middle of the night Hannah woke Mary and Samuel. Each armed with a hatchet or tomahawk, they crept to a position near the heads of the sleeping Indians. At a signal from Hannah both males, two of the three females, and six of the children were whacked, only two, one squaw being hacked seven times but still managing to escape into the woods.<sup>1</sup>



The trio could not bring themselves to hack that favorite child and so they let him continue in his slumbers, intending to carry him off with them. Evidently, however, he had been merely playing possum under the covering, for as soon as they were diverted the child slipped away into the shadows. Hastily piling food and weapons into a canoe, including the gun and knife of Hannah's late master and the hatchet with which the white boy Samuel whom he had befriended had offered him, the trio scuttled the other canoes and set out down the Merrimack. Suddenly Hannah remembered an item on the shopping list which they had forgotten, and ordered a return to the island. She then scalped the corpses of their ten victims, wrapping the trophies and the knife in some cloth that had been cut from Hannah's loom in Haverhill on the day of her capture.

### THE MARKET FOR HUMAN BODY PARTS



"As the star of the Indian descended,  
that of the Puritans rose ever higher."  
— Tourtellot, Arthur Bernon, *THE CHARLES*,  
NY: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941, page 63



1. Deposition of Hannah Bradley in 1739: "above penny cook the Deponent was forced to travel farther then the rest of the captives, and the next night there came to us one Squaw who said that Hannah Dustan and the aforesaid Mary Neff assisted in killing the Indians of her wigwam except herself and a boy, herself escaping very narrowly, shewing to myself & others seven wounds as she said with a Hatchet on her head which wounds were given her when the rest were killed."

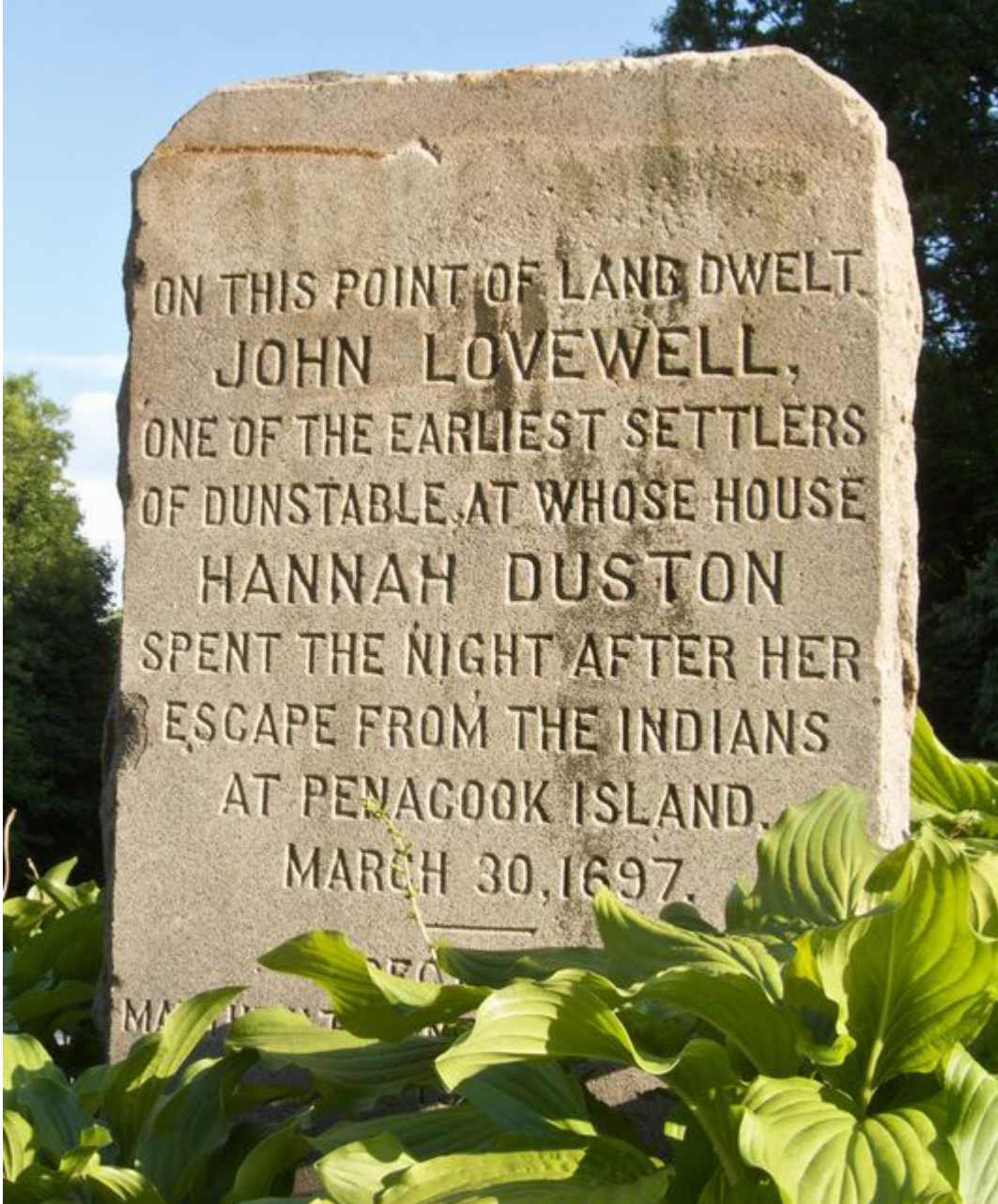
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Traveling by night and hiding by day, the trio finally reached the home of [John Lovewell](#) in old Dunstable, now part of Nashua, New Hampshire.<sup>2</sup>

After resting overnight at the Lovewell home,



2. Presumably his 6-year-old son [John Lovewell](#) (who would grow up to become a famous Indian-killer in his own right) was suitably impressed by this entourage.

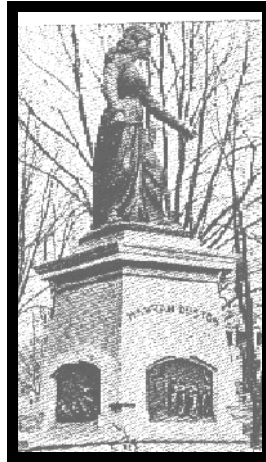


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the downriver journey would be resumed until the voyagers would be able to abandon the canoe at Bradley's Cove, where Creek Brook flows into the Merrimack, and continue their journey on foot to Haverhill. In the interval, husband Thomas Duston would have finished their new brick house and it would be found ready to move into — things were looking up!

If for some ungodly reason you should desire to view such a memorial, take I-495 to exit 50, turn east on Route 97 (which is Broadway Street) past the rotary that has a statue of Lafayette until you come to the Haverhill Public Library and the town's Common facing it:



Below are the plaques on the four faces of the Haverhill statue, depicting comic-book style the taking of the prisoners followed by the retaliation of Hannah's husband (which nobody talks much about nowadays), Hannah's killing and scalping of the band, and their night escape with their bounty scalps down the dark and silent Merrimack River:



Today, by car, it is 66 miles from Haverhill to the island near Lancaster, situated at the entry of the Contoocook River into the Merrimack River, on which Hannah took her scalps. Leave Haverhill on I-495 southbound from exit 50, travel to exit 40, turn north on I-93 and travel to Exit 17. There is no sign announcing the Duston monument there. You must pay a 75-cent toll between exits 16 and 17. You will be six miles north of Concord NH. Go west on US-4 for about half a mile to a Park-'n-Ride beside the river. There is a cast-iron historical marker at the entrance to the lot. At the west end of the lot a paved path leading down to the river and over an unused railroad bridge onto the island. The island boasts a monument erected in 1874 with Hannah at the top.<sup>3</sup>

3. You are aware, of course, that Hard-Hearted Hannah has the distinction of being the 1st woman in honor of whom USers had ever erected a monument!



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**1718**

May 11, Sunday (Old Style): After returning to [Worcester](#) from playing teenage Indian in the woods, Samuel Lenorson or Lennardson had found that his father had removed to Preston, Connecticut. He'd grown to manhood in Connecticut, gotten married with a woman named Lydia, and they'd generated 3 sons and 2 daughters. On this date, at an age of approximately 35, Samuel died.

**HANNAH EMERSON DUSTON**



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**1768**

July 28, Tuesday: The Reverend Joseph Wheeler was dismissed by his church in [Harvard, Massachusetts](#) on account of ill health. He would relinquish the ministry and, residing in [Worcester](#), would become a Representative, a Justice of the Peace, and the Register of Probate.



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1775

In [Concord](#), Ephraim Wood, Nathan Merriam, and Nehemiah Hunt were Selectmen and Ephraim Wood was again Town Clerk.

Abijah Bond was again Town Treasurer.

James Barrett was [Concord](#)'s deputy and representative to the General Court.

Having relocated to [Worcester](#), Concord's Joseph Wheeler would there make himself a Representative, a Justice of the Peace, and the Register of Probate.

These were the appropriations made by the town of Lincoln:<sup>4</sup>

Date.	1755.	1765.	1775.	1785.	1795.	1805.	1815.	1825.
Minister	£56	£69 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	£70 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	£85	£105	\$—	\$600	\$460.
Schools	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	20	13 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	50	85	—	480	520.
Highways	25	50	40	80	80	\$450	600	400.
Incidental charges	24 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>2</sub>	19	37	250	125	830	1450	500.

[Thomas Whiting](#) of [Concord](#), grandson of the Reverend John Whiting and son of Thomas Whiting, Esq., graduated from [Harvard College](#). He would for several years teach at the [Concord](#) grammar-school, and then become a local merchant.

[Thomas Whiting](#) [of [Concord](#)], grandson of the Rev. John Whiting by his son [Thomas Whiting](#), Esq., was born October 3, 1748, and graduated [at Harvard College] in 1775. He taught the grammar-school in [Concord](#) several years, and was afterwards a merchant here [in Concord]. He died September 28, 1820, aged 72.<sup>5</sup>

Despite his weak legs due to age, James Barrett became the Colonel in command of the militia regiment, and superintendent of the military stores being gathered at Concord depot.

February 1, Wednesday: [Gentleman's Magazine](#) released a 14 inch by 12 inch "Plan of the Town and Chart of the Harbour of Boston exhibiting a View of the Islands, Castle, Forts, and Entrances into the said Harbour," with apparently precise bottom soundings from Chelsea on the north to Hingham MA on the south.

### MAPS OF BOSTON

The Provincial Congress, in February, ordered, that large quantities of provisions and military stores, sufficient to furnish 15,000 men, should be collected and deposited in [Concord](#) and [Worcester](#), principally at the former place.<sup>6</sup> In the October

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

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

5. Ibid.



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proceeding, Messrs. Hancock, Orne, Heath, White, Palmer, Watson, Devens, and Pigeon had been chosen by Congress a committee of safety; and Messrs. Cheever, Lincoln, Lee, Gerry, and Gill, a committee of supplies. These committees usually met together. November 2d, they voted to procure and deposit at Concord 200 barrels of pork, 400 barrels of flour, 50 tierces of rice and 150 bushels of pease. February 13th, they requested Col. Robinson to send four brass field-pieces and two mortars to Concord, and voted to procure 15,000 canteens; February 21, 100 bell-tents for arms, 1000 field-tents, 10 tons of lead balls, cartridges for 15,000 men, 30 rounds each; 300 bushels of pease and beans, 20 hogsheads of molasses, 150 quintals of fish and two chests of carpenter's tools. February 23d, they ordered 20 hogsheads of rum to be sent here; and the next day 1000 pounds of candles, 100 hogsheads of salt, wooden spoons, two barrels of oil, six casks of Malaga wine, nine casks of Lisbon wine, 20 casks of raisins, 20 bushels of oatmeal, 1500 yards of Russia linen and 15 chests of medicine.<sup>7</sup>

April 1, 5, 14, 17: The Massachusetts Provincial Congress was requiring that all communities within Massachusetts form Committees of Safety.



The Provincial Committee of Safety met here [[Concord](#)] on the 1st, 5th, 14th and 17th of April. At the last date they directed Colonel Barrett to mount two cannon, and raise an artillery company, and to send four cannon to Groton and two to [Acton](#). They met at Mr. Wetherbee's in West Cambridge the next day, and gave orders for the removal of some of the stores from [Concord](#). These were ordered to be deposited in 9 different towns; 50 barrels of beef, 100 of flour, 20 casks of rice, 15 hogsheads of molasses, 10 hogsheads of rum and 500 pounds of candles were ordered to Sudbury; 15,000 canteens, 1,500 iron pots, the

6. William Lincoln, Esq., to whose kindness the author is indebted for many favors, says, that 20 barrels of pork were all the public stores deposited at [Worcester](#).

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

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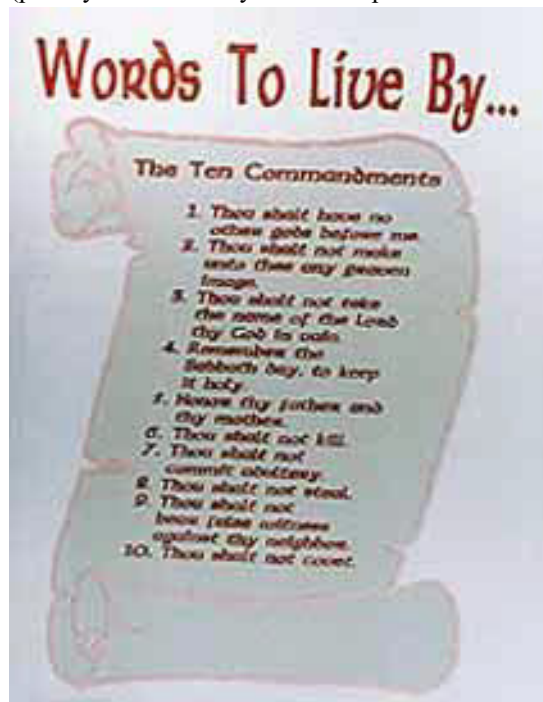
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spades, pickaxes, bill-hooks, axes, hatchets, crows, wheelbarrows, and several other articles were to be divided, one-third to remain in Concord, one-third went to Sudbury and one-third to Stow; 1,000 iron pots to be sent to [Worcester](#). Meantime the minute companies were often out for military exercise. The excitement was so great that some carried their guns with them at all times, even while attending public worship on the Sabbath. The committee of correspondence met daily with other distinguished citizens in town. Though very indefinite ideas prevailed, respecting the objects of the enemy, yet all the people were daily discussing in groups - the great crisis, which seemed near at hand. What that crisis might be was yet doubtful.<sup>8</sup>

April 19, Wednesday: People were trying to kill each other at Lexington, and then people were trying to kill each other at [Concord](#).

### AMERICAN REVOLUTION

The Reverend [Asa Dunbar](#) recorded of this day in his journal that: “*Hostilities commenced at Concord & Lexington.*” The day that would be remembered as “Patriots Day” because folks perceived was a one-day reprieve from the obtrusive Old Testament commandment “*Thou shalt not kill,*” and from the intrusive new New Testament commandment “*Love thine enemy.*”<sup>9</sup> For 24 hours, apparently, the operating rule would be not the Ten Commandments (portrayed here as they have been presented on a T-shirt), not the Golden Rule, but a



much more intriguing “*Thou shalt lay waste thine enemy.*” The Bedford Minutemen, for instance, bore with them a banner emblazoned with the motto of the Dukes of Kent, “*Conquer or die.*”

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



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**WALDEN:** I was witness to events of a less peaceful character. One day when I went out to my wood-pile, or rather my pile of stumps, I observed two large ants, the one red, the other much larger, nearly half an inch long, and black, fiercely contending with one another. Having once got hold they never let go, but struggled and wrestled and rolled on the chips incessantly. Looking farther, I was surprised to find that the chips were covered with such combatants, that it was not a *duellum*, but a *bellum*, a war between two races of ants, the red always pitted against the black, and frequently two reds ones to one black. The legions of these Myrmidons covered all the hills and vales in my wood-yard, and the ground was already strewn with the dead and dying, both red and black. It was the only battle which I have ever witnessed, the only battle-field I ever trod while the battle was raging; internecine war; the red republicans on the one hand, and the black imperialists on the other. On every side they were engaged in deadly combat, yet without any noise that I could hear, and human soldiers never fought so resolutely. I watched a couple that were fast locked in each other's embraces, in a little sunny valley amid the chips, now at noon-day prepared to fight till the sun went down, or life went out. The smaller red champion had fastened himself like a vice to his adversary's front, and through all the tumblings on that field never for an instant ceased to gnaw at one of his feelers near the root, having already caused the other to go by the board; while the stronger black one dashed him from side to side, and, as I saw on looking nearer, had already divested him of several of his members. They fought with more pertinacity than bull-dogs. Neither manifested the least disposition to retreat. It was evident that their battle-cry was Conquer or die.... I should not have wondered by this time to find that they had their respective musical bands stationed on some eminent chip, and playing their national airs the while, to excite the slow and cheer the dying combatants. I was myself excited somewhat even as if they had been men. The more you think of it, the less the difference. And certainly there is not the fight recorded in Concord history, at least, if in the history of America, that will bear a moment's comparison with this, whether for the numbers engaged in it, or for the patriotism and heroism displayed. For numbers and for carnage it was an Austerlitz or Dresden. Concord Fight! Two killed on the patriots' side, and Luther Blanchard wounded! Why here every ant was a Buttrick, -"Fire! for God's sake fire!"- and thousands shared the fate of Davis and Hosmer. There was not one hireling there. I have no doubt that it was a principle they fought for, as much as our ancestors, and not to avoid a three-penny tax on their tea; and the results of this battle will be as important and memorable to those whom it concerns as those of the battle of Bunker Hill, at least.

9. A POP ESSAY QUESTION. In terms of the above, define and provide synonyms for the term "patriot":

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This all came about because the army that had been camped on [Boston Common](#), early that morning, embarked to cross the Charles River estuary with muffled oarlocks at the point which is now the corner of Boylston and Charles streets (this part of the estuary long since filled in and the intersection now sports a statue of Edgar Allan Poe). The “two lantern” signal from the steeple of one or another Boston church (we don’t actually know which one, perhaps the Congregational church of which Revere was a member, or the nearby Anglican church in the North End) meant that the soldiers were crossing the Charles River (*Quinobequin*) and being marched through Cambridge, not that they were coming by sea, and the “one lantern” signal would have meant that the soldiers were being marching down [Boston Neck](#), through Roxbury. The two lanterns which were used had been made in the workshops of Paul Revere or Rivière.<sup>10</sup> General Thomas Gage had sent an army detail to dismantle the steeple of the Old West Church, to ensure that it could not be used for any such signaling.

SLAVERY



As the Army marched up the Charlestown road from the Boston ferry landing, it would have passed a specimen of local justice: an old set of chains with human bones inside them, dating to an incident of September 1755. This had been an African slave, Mark, who had been left to rot after throttling, disemboweling and beheading upon suspicion of having poisoned, or of having attempted to poison, his American owner, Captain John Codman. (Keep this cage in mind, when you are tempted to suspect that what these indignant colonials had



10. This [Huguenot](#) silversmith received the warning signal from the church steeple while still in Boston and only afterward departed from the city on his errand, rather than seeing the signal from the opposite shore as has commonly been fantasized.

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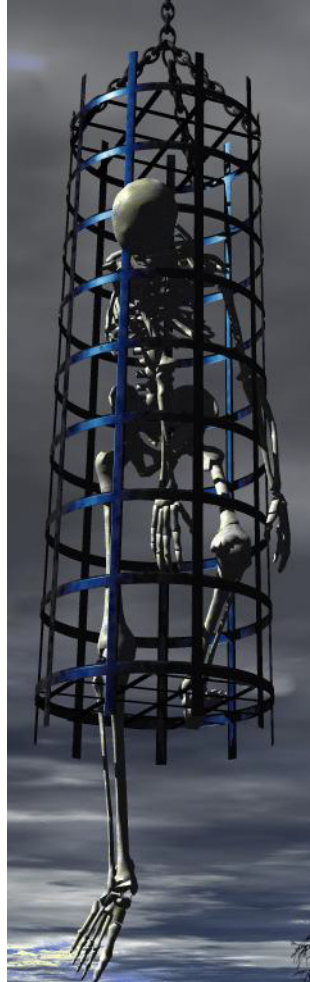
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decided to fight for was freedom and justice for all.)



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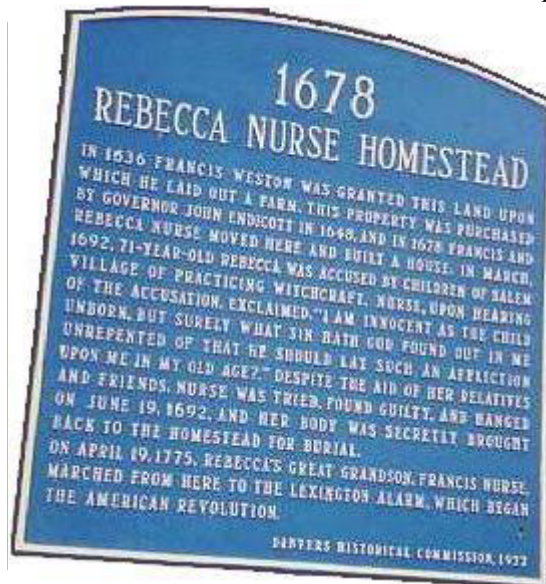
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One of the men who were marching to unite with the Lexington militia, had slept the previous night in this house:



He was Francis Nurse, a great grandson of Goodwife Rebecca Towne Nurse who had been [hanged](#) in Salem as a [witch](#) and then, when the witch fervor had died down, been reinstated postmortem into her church.



The Lexington militia had assembled too early, in response to the riders coming out of [Boston](#) such as Revere, and when the army column had not showed up by 2AM they decided to disperse and get some sleep. Shortly before daybreak there were some 70 of them on the Lexington green, and they spread out in two lines to face

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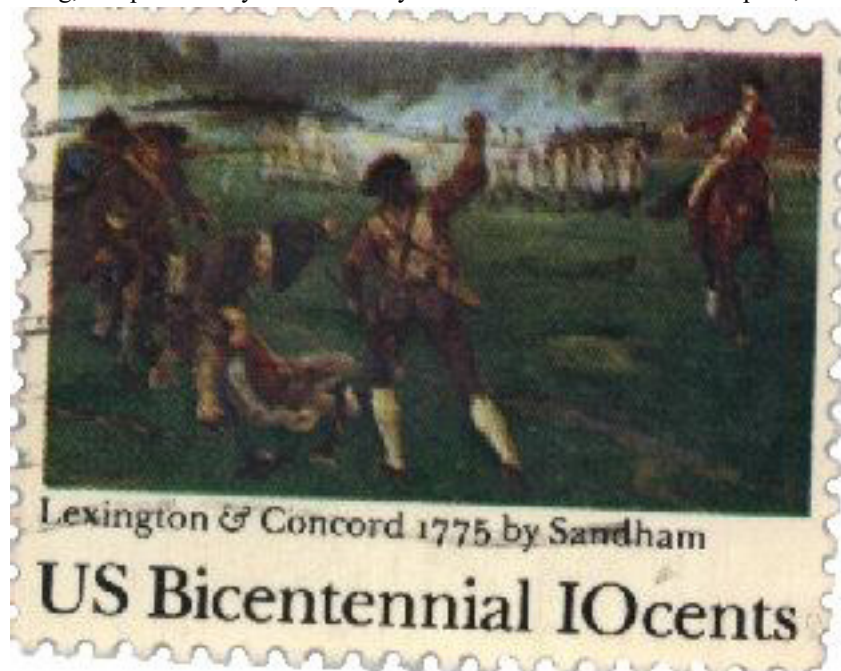
the oncoming troops. Major John Pitcairn of the Marines called out to the army troops that they were not to



fire but were to surround these militiamen and then take away their weapons, and Captain John Parker of the militia (ancestor of the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) of Thoreau's day, carrying his Charleville musket) called



out to the militiamen that they were not to fire, but were to disperse. At that point there was a gunshot, origins unclear, and the army troops broke ranks and began to fire at the 27 militiamen. It would be pointless to inquire who fired, as in such a situation at the instant that it occurs nobody has any idea where the round came from or where it went and therefore everyone becomes terrified and presumes that he is being fired upon and proceeds to fire as rapidly as possible at anyone who appears to be holding a weapon. As Parker stated it, the result was that the army killed "eight of our party, with out receiving any provocation therefor from us." After this killing, and presumably after the army had collected the militia's weapons,<sup>11</sup> neighbors were



allowed to come forward to tend the wounded and remove the corpses, while the army got itself back into a column, fired off one massive victory volley to clear their weapons, and marched on toward [Concord](#). Major





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John Buttrick sent [Captain Reuben Brown](#) on horseback down Lexington Road toward Boston to report the firing in Lexington. Captain Brown would ride more than 100 miles to the coast and back, while the soldiers were looting his liveries and setting his barn on fire (neither the barn nor the house would be destroyed).

As the redcoat drums rumbled like thunder through the town's streets, a panic-stricken 18-year-old named Harry Gould was being consoled by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). In Concord, while destroying what few military stores they could get their hands on, the army also set afire the liberty pole in front of the courthouse. The scene would be re-imagined and painted by Amos Doolittle and then a famous lithograph would be made

11. Likewise, we do not refer here to the militia as “the Americans” and the army as “the British,” since that is a later conceptual framework and anyhow would have been false to the actual constitution of these bodies of armed men. There were in fact many Americans in the paid colonial army, and I know of at least one Brit who was assembled with the Minutemen militia — before the battle we know that he put aside his rifle for awhile and went down the hill to chat up various Redcoats. This was a struggle of a militia faction of British subjects in America, the separatist faction, versus an army faction of British subjects in America, the loyalist faction, similar to the struggle during the Iranian Revolution of 1979 between the Imperial Iranian Air Force cadets and warrant officers, adherents of the religious faction in Iranian politics, versus the Imperial Iranian Ground Forces brigades, controlled by officers adherent to the secular faction in Iranian politics. It is significant, then, using this more accurate terminology, that rather than attempt to seize “the militia’s” stores and withdraw with them to Boston, “the army” was attempting to destroy those military stores in place. This means that, going into this action, “the army” was already regarding its withdrawal to Boston to be the difficult part of the day’s military operation, because, had they seized and relocated these military stores, “the army” could have made use of them itself — the military may upon occasion become wanton in the destruction of civilian properties, just as it may upon occasion rape, but military stores are never destroyed in place without at least one damned good reason. The major military stores available to “the militia” were being stockpiled in [Worcester](#) rather than in [Concord](#), because it was more of a march from Boston for “the army” and was therefore safer. Had “the army” succeeded in its withdrawal from Concord, of course, it would have marched to Worcester to destroy the bulk of the stores in the possession of “the militia,” in order to force “the militia” to return once again to the political faction favored by the officers of “the army.”

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of this famous painting by Smith:



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Sparks from the liberty pole, however, ignited the courthouse roof, and while that fire was extinguished without great harm to the structure, the smoke from this fire caused the some 400 militiamen assembled in safety on the rise on the opposite side of the [Concord River](#) to presume that it was the army's intention to burn their dissident town to the ground. In a column of pairs they approached the [Old North Bridge](#), on the Concord side of which were three army companies. The army made some attempt to render the bridge impassible by removing planks, and then fired a volley which killed the militia Captain Isaac David and Abner Hosmer, in the front rank of the [Acton](#) minutemen as their drummer, whose face was half shot away.<sup>12</sup> It was then that



Major John Buttrick called out “Fire, fellow soldiers, for God’s sake, fire.” Thus it came to be that here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world.<sup>13</sup>



Not counting those who were wounded but would survive, three redcoats of the Light Infantry Company, 4th Regiment fell in the responding volley, Thomas Smith, Patrick Gray, and James Hall. One went down evidently with a bullet through the head and two would die of bodily wounds. Two would be buried by colonials where they had fallen next to the Bridge, and one would be buried in Concord center by the army (somewhere “in the ragged curb where that road wound around the side of the hill,” a gravesite now evidently disturbed during later centuries of construction activity). Through the affair [Acton](#)’s fifer, Luther Blanchard, and the drummer Francis Barker, were performing a lively Jacobin tune, “The White Cockade.”<sup>14</sup> According

12. When Deacon Jonathan Hosmer inspected Private Abner Hosmer’s faceless corpse, he found a breastpin his son had received for his 21st birthday.

13. A footnote to [Waldo Emerson](#)’s famed line “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot heard ’round the world”: A publication of the Boeing Corporation would eventually declare that with the employees of the Boeing Corporation on the job, making Minuteman ICBMs, it was quite a bit less likely that “some future poet” would be forced to “modify the words of Ralph Waldo Emerson” into “Here the embattled farmers stood and fired the shot **reaching** ’round the world.”

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to the Reverend [William Emerson](#), the Reverend [Waldo Emerson](#)'s grandfather, who was watching from an upstairs window at the Old Manse as these people shot off muskets at each other out at the North Bridge, one or the other of the seriously wounded soldiers was then struck, as he attempted to rise, on the head with a hatchet.

[Ammi White](#) was a private in Captain David Brown's company of militia. Captain Brown<sup>15</sup> had his home near the Old North Bridge and in 1770 had been paid by the town of Concord to care for the causeway and wall associated with that bridge. As the redcoats fell back from the firing, Colonel Barrett's militia unit advanced a short distance. According to reconstructions of what happened, the gravely wounded British soldier, between the retreating and the advancing lines, was attempting to rise when he was chopped down with a small hatchet by militiaman White, "not under the feelings of humanity." He "barbarously broke his skull," he "uplifted his axe, and dealt the wounded soldier a fierce and fatal blow upon the head," with Thomas Thorp of [Acton](#) nearby but unable or unwilling to intercede:

On the Return of the Troops from Concord, they were very much annoyed, and had several Men killed and wounded, by the Rebels firing from behind Walls, Ditches, Trees, and other Ambushes; but the Brigade under the Command of Lord Percy having joined them at Lexington, with two Pieces of Cannon, the Rebels were for a while dispersed; but as soon as the Troops resumed their March, they began again to fire upon them from behind Stone Walls and Houses, and kept up in that Manner a scattering Fire during the Whole of their March of Fifteen Miles, by which Means several were killed and wounded; and such was the Cruelty and Barbarity of the Rebels, that they scalped and cut off the Ears of some of the wounded Men, who fell into their Hands.

This one circumstance has borne more fruit for me, than all that history tells us of the fight.

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)

The Reverend [William Emerson](#) acknowledged the fact of an ax blow and acknowledged also that the soldier languished for hours before expiring, but would insist that neither scalp nor ears were removed. When the redcoats returned from Barrett's farm and were grossing out at the sight of the wound on the head of their fallen comrade, they told one another the story that the American militia had scalped him as if they were red savages (the usual story, things like this typically are done to innocent white people by vicious persons of color). Five soldiers would testify to having themselves seen the wounded man with the skin over his eyes cut and also the top part of his ears cut off. There was not only misunderstanding, there was a considerable [Fake Facts](#) exaggeration: A rumor would begin to circulate that the dying soldier's eyes had been gouged out. Ensign Jeremy Lister later would write tendentiously and falsely that "4 men...killd who afterwards scalp'd their eyes goug'd their noses and ears cut of, such barbarity execut'd upon the Corps could scarcely be paralleled by the most uncivilised savages." The army would be forced to abandon its dead and wounded that hot day, with soldiers falling not only from bullets but also from sunstroke, and the citizens of Concord would need to dig a hole and inter two of the bodies where they lay (there being no particular reason for the extra labor of transporting these dead bodies anywhere else prior to interment), and one of the wounded soldiers, Samuel Lee

14. Major [Francis Faulkner](#) led a company, the "[Acton](#) Patriots."

15. Captain David Brown of Concord (1732-1802) kept a diary of Bunker Hill action in 1775.




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of the 10th Regiment, left behind, eventually would become a Concord citizen. The commander of the Concord column, LTC Smith, reported to his superiors Lord Percy and General Gage that “after the bridge was quitted, they scalped and otherwise ill-treated one or two of the men who were either killed or severely wounded.” General Gage would summarize this as: “... one scalped, his head much mangled and his ears cut off, though not quite dead ... a sight which struck the soldiers with horror.” In Concord, stories would be generated that the person who had used the hatchet had been merely a wood-chopping chore boy of the Emersons, or had been Frank, the Emersons’ slave (the usual story, blame everything on some nearby flunky or on some handy person of color) — but in fact there had been no such chore boy and black Frank’s activities on that date had been well vouched for by members of the Emerson family.

Here is the story per D. Michael Ryan:



Various explanations for the cause of this deed were advanced. The culprit was “half-witted”; excused only by excitement and inexperience; startled by the soldier and acted out of fear; acting to end the soldier’s suffering. Extreme claims noted that the victim was trying to drown himself in a water puddle and begged someone to kill him; had thrust at the American with his bayonet; or was an escaping prisoner. None of these theories have a basis in fact and had such mitigating circumstances existed, would certainly have been mentioned by the Reverend [William Emerson](#). While the British publicized the incident, Americans chose to ignore it possibly due to embarrassment, fear of reprisals, failure to appreciate its importance or a notion that it would blot a historic cause. Provincial authorities hesitated to confirm that the act had occurred but in response to a Boston story insured that the burial detail testified that “neither of those persons (2 dead soldiers buried at the bridge) were scalped nor their ears cut off.” Concord historians Ripley [??] and Lemuel Shattuck ignored the incident completely while well into the 19th Century, British historians continued to write of the scalping and ear cutting episode. A long guarded secret was the name of the young culprit who tradition acknowledges as Ammi White.... The British troops returning to Boston would remember the “scalping” with fear, anger and a sense of revenge. This, together with civilian hostility in Boston and the tactics of the colonials along the retreat route, considered cowardly, would lead to army reprisals and atrocities (house burnings, killing of unarmed men, bayoneting of wounded and dead colonials, etc.) especially in the village of Menotomy. Lord Percy’s relief column had been informed of the “scalping” and General Gage would later use the story to offset atrocity charges leveled against his troops.

In a much later timeframe [Waldo Emerson](#) would declaim at this famed bridge that “Here once the embattled farmers stood / and fired the shot heard round the world” for the freedom of white people, and would sagely say nothing about the alleged offing of a defenseless, critically wounded man with a hatchet. And then at an even later date [Henry Thoreau](#) would be refused an audience in [Concord](#), and would declare in Framingham, Massachusetts that “The inhabitants of Concord are not prepared to stand by one of their own bridges” for the freedom of black people. (That was in 1854 in his speech “Slavery in Massachusetts,” but Thoreau would be preparing this sentiment as early as 1851.)

After some two hours more in [Concord](#), the army began its disastrous withdrawal to Lexington, where its remnants were reinforced by the 1st Brigade under Sir Hugh Percy.

In his SACRED GROUND,<sup>16</sup> Edward Linenthal has presented an extended treatment of dissidence in the Concord context in effect with one hand tied behind his back. That is, he does this while accomplishing the feat of not

16.  Linenthal, Edward Tabor. SACRED GROUND: AMERICANS AND THEIR BATTLEFIELDS. Urbana IL: U of Illinois P, 1991



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once bringing in the name of [Thoreau](#). Picking up on the Emersonian description of the fallen farmer minutemen of April 19, 1775 as having acted “from the simplest instincts,”<sup>17</sup> Linenthal states that:

These instinctive warriors were ceremoniously perceived as men whose New England origins nurtured republican principles that protected them from the moral pollution of old-world warriors. Consequently, the minuteman became a powerful cultural model for generations of Americans at war and at peace: from Billy Yank and Johnny Reb in the Civil War to the doughboys of World War I and the GI's of World War II; from the right-wing Minutemen of the 1960s to a more recent transformation into the Minuteman intercontinental ballistic missile. Patriotic rhetoric portrayed the minutemen as Christ-like saviors, and citizens of Lexington and [Concord](#) were proud that these new-world warriors drank from the wellsprings of liberty which, they believed, ran especially deep in their towns.... Beyond the ever-present threat of failing to measure up to the principles embodied by the minutemen, the specter of defilement appeared in other ways. Beginning in rancorous debate in the 1820s, a number of citizens of Lexington and Concord claimed that **their** town was the authentic birthplace of the nation. Each was accused of falsifying the national creation story by refusing to grant this sacred status to the other.... If the encounter on Lexington Green was not a battle but a massacre, were the martyred minutemen really the first models of how Americans die in war or just further examples of colonial victims? And if they were only victims, could that affect popular perception of the potency of their sacrifice?... On occasion, what some people perceived as defilement, others viewed as creative attempts to redefine the meaning of the events of April 19, 1775. Both the Vietnam Veterans Against the War and the Peoples Bicentennial Commission understood Lexington and Concord to be sacred ground when they held separate protests on the Battle Green and at the North Bridge in the mid-1970s. In their view, the purpose of protest was not desecration of a sacred spot, for they believed the **real** defilement had been perpetrated by a new class of American Tories who had severed the link between revolutionary war principles (especially the principle of dissent) and contemporary American life. Each group believed that its protest would spark the recovery of the American revolutionary tradition, which was viewed as crucial to the resuscitation of authentic American values that had fallen into disrepair because of public apathy.

### OLD NORTH BRIDGE

The fifer boy of the Concord Minutemen was the son of Major John Buttrick, 15 years of age. The side drum he used would belong to the son of Colonel James Barrett, Nathan Barrett, until it would fall apart and the town would need to purchase a new one. One source alleges that a severe earthquake shook [Concord](#).<sup>18</sup> March and early April having been extraordinarily warm, the apple trees around Concord were in bloom by April 19th, and the soldiers being marched through Lexington toward Concord suffered heat prostration.

Later, when Lafayette would visit Concord as part of a triumphal tour, tiny [Mary Moody Emerson](#) would approach him to let him know that she had been “‘in arms’ at the Concord fight” — she having been a newborn during that period.

When word of approaching British troops was received, Captain Charles Miles had mustered his company near the Wright Tavern.<sup>19</sup> Included with the muster roll we can discover a handwritten note by Sergeant David

17. Emerson, Ralph Waldo. A HISTORICAL DISCOURSE DELIVERED BEFORE THE CITIZENS OF CONCORD, 12 SEPTEMBER 1835 ON THE CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF THE INCORPORATION OF THE TOWN. Boston MA: W.B. Clarke, 1835.

18. Such an earthquake is not listed on the comprehensive scientific list of known New England earthquakes, which has no entries between August 15, 1772 and February 7, 1776. —Presumably some historian has misunderstood a casual comment on the order of “the earth certainly shook that day.”

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Hartwell, "Concord, April 19th 1775, then the battel begune...."



On the high ground above North Bridge where the colonial force reformed, Captain Miles then joined the officers' conference. When it was decided to march into Town, the story is, the lead was initially offered to a Concord captain but this man said he "should rather not go." Since it was Captain Miles who was in command of the senior minute company, and would not be in the lead, it is speculated that he might have been the one to have said this. Captain Isaac Davis's [Acton](#) company then led the march to the Bridge and while the position of other units is uncertain, several accounts have placed Miles's company either second or third in line. Years later, the Reverend Ezra Ripley noted that when Captain Miles was asked his feelings when marching on the Battle Bridge on April 19, 1775, he responded "that he went to the service of the day with the same seriousness and acknowledgement of God which he carried to church. During the fighting it was thought that this reluctant captain had been killed, but he had only been somewhat wounded and would be able to continue to direct his company during the chasing of the Regulars back to Charlestown.



We don't have the names of the army casualties of this glorious day, only those of the militia and of bystanders. The numerical estimate of General Gage's intelligence officer was that about 25 of the soldiers had been killed and almost 150 wounded; the estimate by a soldier, John Pope, was that 90 soldiers had been killed and 181 wounded; the estimate by Ensign De Berniere was that 73 soldiers had been killed, 174 wounded, and 25 were missing in action; — and General Gage reported to his superior officer that 65 of his soldiers had been killed,

19. The Wright Tavern is called that because Amos Wright was renting the building from its owner Samuel Swan and keeping tavern there when first the local militia gathered there and then Army officers Lt. Col. Smith and Maj. Pitcairn used it as their headquarters. In such a quarrel the businessman of course would sell drinks to all comers.

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180 wounded, and 27 were missing in action.



Presumably what we would discover, if we had the names of the army casualties, would be that a significant number of them had been Americans who had enlisted in the army.

Here are the names of the militia casualties and the civilian casualties including an unarmed 14-year-old bystander (that's termed "collateral damage"):

Town	Killed	Wounded	Missing
<b>Acton</b>	Isaac Davis James Hayward Abner Hosmer	Luther Blanchard  (would die this year of wound)	
<b>Bedford</b>	Captain Jonathan Wilson	Job Lane	
<b>Beverly</b>	Reuben Kenyme	Nathaniel Cleves William Dodge III Samuel Woodbury	
<b>Billerica</b>		Timothy Blanchard John Nichols	
<b>Brookline</b>	Isaac Gardner		
<b>Cambridge</b>	John Hicks William Marcy Moses Richardson James Russell Jason Winship Jabez Wyman	Samuel Whittemore	Samuel Frost Seth Russell
<b>Charlestown</b>	Edward Barber James Miller		





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<b>Chelmsford</b>		Oliver Barron Aaron Chamberlain	
<b>Concord</b>		Nathan Barrett Jonas Brown Captain Charles Miles George Minot Abel Prescott, Jr.	
<b>Danvers</b>	Samuel Cook Benjamin Deland Ebenezer Golwait Henry Jacobs Perley Putnam George Southwick Jothan Webb	Nathan Putnam Dennis Wallace	Joseph Bell
<b>Dedham</b>	Elias Haven	Israel Everett	
<b>Framingham</b>		Daniel Hemminway	
<b>Lexington</b>	John Brown Samuel Hadley Caleb Harrington Jonathan Harrington, Jr. Jonas Parker Jedidiah Munroe Robert Munroe Isaac Muzzy John Raymond Nathaniel Wyman	Francis Brown Joseph Comee Prince Estabrook Nathaniel Farmer Ebenezer Munroe, Jr. Jedidiah Munroe Solomon Pierce John Robbins John Tidd Thomas Winship	
<b>Lynn</b>	William Flint Thomas Hadley Abednego Ramsdell Daniel Townsend	Joseph Felt Timothy Monroe	Josiah Breed
<b>Medford</b>	Henry Putnam William Holly		
<b>Needham</b>	John Bacon Nathaniel Chamberlain Amos Mills Elisha Mills Jonathan Parker	Eleazer Kingsbury Xxxxx Tolman	
<b>Newton</b>		Noah Wiswell	
<b>Roxbury</b>			Elijah Seaver
<b>Salem</b>	Benjamin Pierce		
<b>Stow</b>	Daniel Conant	Daniel Conant	
<b>Sudbury</b>	Deacon Josiah Haynes Asahael Reed Thomas Bent	Joshua Haynes, Jr.	
<b>Watertown</b>	Joseph Coolidge		

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<b>Woburn</b>	Daniel Thompson Asahel Porter	Jacob Bacon Xxxxx Johnson George Reed	
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Here is an example of what we don't know. When we somewhat belatedly erected this grave marker, in the Year of Our Lord 2000, we presumed that the slain army soldier was a Brit although he may very well have been simply one of the Americans who had enlisted not in what was at that time our militia but in what was at that time our army:



Dr. Charles Russell, son of the Hon. James Russell, born in Charlestown, graduated at [Harvard College](#), 1757, and inherited his uncle Chambers's estate in Lincoln, where he resided as a physician. He married Miss Elizabeth Vassall of Cambridge, and from his father-in-law he contracted opinions opposed to the measures of the people in the revolution, and left Lincoln on the 19th of April, 1775, and went to Martinique, in the West-Indies, where he died.... Dr. Joseph Adams was also unfriendly to the revolution, and went to England, where he died.<sup>20</sup>

20. [Lemuel Shattuck's 1835 A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD:....](#) Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)  
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry David 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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When [Timothy Dwight](#) would write of his 1795 travels, while speaking of his passing through [Concord](#) he would give a small amount of attention to the bucolic details of the place:

Concord was purchased of the Indians and incorporated in 1635. Three persons only are known to have been killed within the limits of this township by the savages, although it was the first settlement made in New England so far from the shore. From Boston it is distant nineteen miles, from Williams' in Marlboro, fifteen.

The soil of this township is various. The higher grounds have loam mixed with gravel. The plains are sandy, light but warm, and friendly to rye and maize, of which considerable quantities are carried to market. Pastures are visibly few and indifferent. Along the river, which is named from this town and runs through the middle of it, lie extensive and rich meadows. Hemp and flax grow here luxuriantly. Two acres are said to have yielded in one instance one thousand pounds of flax. Few fruits are seen except apples, and these plainly do not abound as in most other parts of the country.

The face of this township is generally a plain. A hill of no great height ascends at a small distance from the river on the eastern side and pursues a course northward, parallel with that of the river. Between this hill and the river lies the principal street. Another containing a considerable number of houses abuts upon it, perpendicularly from the western side.

The houses in Concord are generally well built, and with the outbuildings and fences make a good appearance. The public buildings are the church, courthouse, and jail, all of them neat.

But then he would devote a good deal of his attention to this locale's belligerent status as the site of this notorious squabble.



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Concord will be long remembered as having been, partially, the scene of the first military action in the Revolutionary War, and the object of an expedition, the first in that chain of events which terminated in the separation of the British colonies from their mother country. A traveler on this spot, particularly an American traveler, will irresistibly recall to his mind an event of this magnitude, and cannot fail of being deeply affected by a comparison of so small a beginning with so mighty an issue. In other circumstances, the expedition to Concord and the contest which ensued would have been merely little tales of wonder and woe, chiefly recited by the parents of the neighborhood to their circles at the fireside, commanding a momentary attention of childhood, and calling forth the tear of sorrow from the eyes of those who were intimately connected with the sufferers. Now, the same events preface the history of a nation and the beginning of an empire, and are themes of disquisition and astonishment to the civilized world. From the plains of Concord will henceforth be dated a change in human affairs, an alteration in the balance of human power, and a new direction to the course of human improvement. Man, from the events which have occurred here, will in some respects assume a new character, and experience in some respects a new destiny.

General Gage, to whom was committed one of the most unfortunate trusts ever allotted to an individual, having obtained information that a considerable quantity of arms and military stores was by order of the Provincial Congress deposited in this town,<sup>1</sup> sent Lieut. Col. Smith and Major Pitcairn at the head of eight hundred grenadiers and light infantry, with orders to march to Concord and destroy the deposit. The troops were accordingly embarked from the common in Boston, and landed on the opposite shore in Cambridge at a place called Phipps's farm. Thence they marched by the shortest route to this town.

1. The whole amount of the warlike stores in the province of Massachusetts as they appear on a return, April 14, 1775, is contained in the following list.

Firearms	21,549
Pounds of powder	17,441
Pounds of ball	22,191
No. of flints	144,699
No. of bayonets	10,103
No. of pouches	11,979

The whole of the town stocks

Firearms	68
Pounds of powder	357 1/2
Pounds of ball	66,78
No. of flints	100,531

Duke's county and Nantucket were not included in this list.



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An expedition of this nature had for some time been expected. Certain intelligence of it had been obtained the preceding afternoon by Dr. Warren, who afterwards fell in the battle of Breed's Hill,<sup>1</sup> and was forwarded by him with the utmost celerity to the intervening towns, particularly to Lexington, where were at that time Mr. Hancock and Mr. Adams, both afterwards governors of Massachusetts.<sup>2</sup> As these gentlemen were supposed to be the principal objects of the expedition, the expresses who carried the intelligence (Col. Paul Revere and Mr. William Dawes) were peculiarly directed to them.<sup>3</sup> They reached Lexington, which is four miles from Concord, in such season that Messrs. Hancock and Adams made their escape.<sup>4</sup> Here, however, the expresses were stopped by the British as they were advancing toward Concord; but Dr. Prescott, a young gentleman to whom they had communicated their message, escaped and alarmed the inhabitants of Concord.<sup>5</sup>

The British troops reached Lexington at five o'clock in the morning. Here they found about seventy militia and forty unarmed spectators by the side of the church. Major Pitcairn rode up to them and cried out with vehemence, "Disperse you rebels; throw down your arms, and disperse." As this command was not immediately obeyed, he discharged a pistol and ordered his soldiers to fire upon the inhabitants. The soldiers fired, and the people instantly fled. The soldiers, however, continued to fire at individuals. This at length provoked a return, and several were killed on both sides. Still the troops continued their march toward Concord, where they arrived early in the morning. For the purpose of defense, the inhabitants had drawn themselves up in a kind of order; but, upon discovering the number of the enemy withdrew over the North Bridge, half a mile below the church, where they waited for reinforcements. The soldiers then broke open and scattered about sixty barrels of flour, disabled two twenty-four pounders, destroyed the carriages of about twenty cannon, and threw five hundred pounds of ball into the river and neighboring wells. The principal part of the stores, however, was not discovered.

1. Joseph Warren (1741-1755), Harvard 1759, an excellent physician in Boston, became deeply involved in Revolutionary politics. Early in 1775, he gave up his profession to enter the army. He became president *pro tempore* of the Provincial Congress and was elected a major general four days before his death.

2. John Hancock (1737-1793), Harvard 1754, adopted by his rich uncle Thomas, joined his successful mercantile firm. The famous Revolutionary patriot was treasurer of Harvard College, 1773-1777, president of the Massachusetts Provincial Congress, and first governor of Massachusetts in the new republic, 1780-1785. His successor was Samuel Adams (1722-1803), Harvard 1740, better remembered for his incendiary role as one of the "Sons of Liberty" in the Revolution. As lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1789, acting governor in 1793, and elected governor, 1794-1798, this turbulent man showed little understanding of the problems of the state or of the nation.

3. See Colonel Revere's letters to the corresponding secretary of the Mass. Hist. Society....

4. Revolutionary patriot Paul Revere (1735-1818), a silversmith, was the official courier for the Massachusetts Provincial Assembly as well as an effective political cartoonist and the acknowledged leader of Boston's artisans. William Dawes (1745-1799) was one of the two men chosen to spread the alarm if the British troops should move to raid the military stores deposited in Concord.

5. Samuel Prescott (1751-c. 1777) completed the famous midnight ride after Paul Revere was captured, but died later in a prison in Halifax.



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The salubrity of Concord violates the most received medical theories concerning such diseases as are supposed to be generated by stagnant waters. I know of no stream which approaches nearer to a state of stagnation than Concord River. Yet diseases of this class are seldom, or never, found here. The cause I shall not pretend to assign.

Within these thirteen years the baptisms in Concord amounted to 395,. Three fourths only of those who were born are supposed to have been baptized. The number of births, therefore, was about 527.

Concord contains a single congregation. The whole number of inhabitants in 1790, as has been observed, was 1,590. In 1800, it contained 227 dwelling houses, and 1,679 inhabitants; and in 1810, 1,633.

**DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.**



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After this work was completed, the troops advanced to the bridge in order to disperse the Americans. Major Buttrick, of Concord, who commanded the militia, being ignorant of the tragedy at Lexington, had directed his men not to begin the fire.<sup>1</sup> As he advanced with his party, the light infantry began to pull up the bridge; and, as he approached, fired, and killed two Americans one of them a Captain Davis, of Acton, in the neighborhood.<sup>2</sup> The fire was instantly returned, and the troops were compelled to retreat. Several of them were killed, several wounded, and a few taken prisoners.

The party was pursued; and, after they had rejoined the main body, the whole retired with the utmost expedition. On their way to Lexington they were continually harassed by an irregular and not ill-directed fire from the buildings and walls on their route. Every moment increased the number of their assailants and their own fatigue, distress, and danger. Upon the first intelligence that the Americans had betaken themselves to arms, General Gage sent a second detachment to the relief of Lieutenant Colonel Smith under the command of Lord Percy.<sup>3</sup> It amounted to nine hundred men and marched from Boston with two fieldpieces, their music playing the tune of Yankee Doodle to insult the Americans. As they were passing through Roxbury, a young man who was making himself merry on the occasion being asked, as is said, by his lordship, why he laughed so heartily, replied "To think how you will dance by and by to Chevy Chase."

This detachment joined their friends at Lexington, where the whole body rested for a short time, and with their fieldpieces kept the Americans at a distance. The neighboring country was now in arms, and moving both to attack the enemy and to intercept their retreat. The troops, therefore speedily recommenced their march. From both sides of the road issued a continual fire, directed often by excellent marksmen, and particularly dangerous to the officers. Major Pitcairn thought it prudent to quit his horse and lose himself among the soldiery. Everywhere the retreating army was pursued and flanked. Their enemies descended from every new hill and poured through every new valley. Perplexed by a mode of fighting to which they were strangers, and from which neither their valor, nor their discipline furnished any security; exhausted by fatigue, and without a hope of succor; the troops wisely withdrew from impending destruction with the utmost celerity.

1. John Buttrick (1715-1791) was a leader of the Concord militia in action on April 19, 1775.

2. Isaac Davis (1745-1775), who led the Acton minute men against the British on the Concord bridge, was killed in the first volley.

3. Hugh Percy, Duke of Northumberland (1742-1817), apparently disapproved of the war with the American colonies although he entered military service against them.





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In their retreat, however, they set fire to several houses, plundered whatever pleased their fancy or gratified their avarice, and killed several unarmed persons: particularly two old men, whose hoary locks pleaded for compassion in vain. Bunker Hill, which they reached about sunset, was the first place of safety and repose in their march. The next day they returned to Boston.

In this expedition the British had sixty-five killed, and one hundred and eighty wounded, and twenty-eight made prisoners: two hundred and seventy-three. Among the wounded were fifteen officers, one of them Lieutenant Colonel Smith. Of the Americans, fifty were killed, thirty-four wounded, and four missing: eighty-eight. Several gentlemen of reputation fell in this conflict, and were regarded as martyrs in the cause of freedom and their country.

Such was the issue of this memorable day, and such the commencement of the Revolutionary War in the United States.

Whatever opinions may be adopted concerning the controversy between the British government and the colonies by those who come after us, every man of sober, candid reflection must confess that very gross and very unfortunate errors existed in the measures adopted, both in Great Britain and America, toward the colonies. In both countries information was drawn and received almost solely from those who espoused the system of the reigning administration. It hardly needs to be observed that deception and mischief were the necessary consequence. An opinion also was boldly advanced, sedulously adopted, and extensively diffused that the Americans were mere blusterers and poltroons. In the British Parliament, Colonel Grant declared, with equal folly and insolence, that at the head of five hundred, or perhaps (as numerals are easily misprinted) of five thousand men, he would undertake to march from one end of the British settlements to the other, in spite of all American opposition.<sup>1</sup> This declaration would almost of itself have converted a nation of real cowards into soldiers. Why it should be believed that the descendants of Englishmen, Scotchmen, and Irishmen were cowards, especially by their brethren descended from the same ancestors, I shall not take upon me to explain. The difficulties and hazards attendant upon a war conducted at the distance of three thousand miles from the source of control and supplies were certainly not realized by the British cabinet. As little did they realize the disposition or the circumstances of the Americans.

1. Probably Dwight refers to James Grant (1720-1806), member of Parliament at different times, a military man who went to America with reinforcements under Howe and became a general.



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General Gage's principal advisers were of two classes, both very unhappily fitted to give him useful advice. One class was composed of Britons, utterly unacquainted with the state of the country, unwarrantably relying on their own prowess, and foolishly presuming on the supposed pusillanimity of the colonists. The other class was composed of colonists who had embarked their all in British measures, were generally deceived themselves, and were strongly prompted by every motive to deceive him. When the expedition to Concord was planned, it is probable that neither General Gage, nor his advisers, expected the least attempt at resistance. This opinion was bandied through the whole party in Boston. At the same time were continually circulated fulsome panegyrics on the bravery of the British troops. Silly jests and contemptible sneers were also reiterated concerning the dastardly character of the colonists. All these were spread, felt, and remembered. The expedition to Concord refuted them all.

Concord, as has been observed, lies almost equally on both sides of the river to which it gives its name. The surface of the township is generally level and low, and the river remarkably sluggish. From these facts a traveler would naturally conclude that Concord must be unhealthy. The following statement will however prove this conclusion to be unsound.

In the year 1790, the township contained 1,590 inhabitants. Of these, seventy-five were seventy years of age, or upward.

From the year 1779 to 1791 inclusive, a period of thirteen years, 222 persons died. The greatest number in a single year was twenty-five, the least ten. The average number was seventeen. Of these, fifty-nine were more than seventy, thirty others more than eighty, and eight more than ninety, amounting in the whole to ninety-seven (out of 222) who passed the limit of seventy years. It is presumed, a more remarkable instance of health and longevity cannot be produced. Almost 7/17 of the whole number deceased have during this period reached the boundary of human life. It is scarcely to be imagined that even here a similar list will be furnished a second time. Yet the Rev. Mr. Ripley, minister of Concord, who kept this register, informed me that the state of health during this period did not, so far as he had observed, differ very materially from what was common.<sup>1</sup>

1. Ezra Ripley (1751-1841), Harvard 1776, became pastor of the First Church in Concord, Massachusetts, in 1778. There he founded what was perhaps the first temperance society in the country. He was the stepfather of Ralph Waldo Emerson.



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1778

July 2, Thursday: Ezra Ross, a single man of [Ipswich](#), was [hanged](#) at [Worcester](#) for involvement in the murder of a Mr. Spooner (at the instigation of the wife Mr. Spooner had abandoned).



The day of his execution was kept as a season of fasting and prayer for his untimely end, in his native parish.

The United States Congress convened in Philadelphia.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION



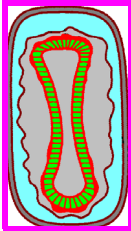
## WORCESTER

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1787

For his contribution to calculations needed in the field of marine insurance, [Sylvestre François Lacroix](#) was the co-winner of the year's Grand Prix of the French Académie des Sciences (he would, however, never receive this prize). When the Lycée failed for financial reasons, he again needed to move to the provinces. At the École d'Artillerie in Besançon he would be offering courses in mathematics, physics, and chemistry.

[Thaddeus Mason Harris](#) graduated from [Harvard College](#). Although through the influence of friends he was invited to become private secretary to General [George Washington](#), an attack of the [small pox](#) would get in the way of his filling this position. For about a year he would make a study of theology while in charge of a classical school in [Worcester](#). For a number of years he would be supplying articles for [The Massachusetts magazine, or, Monthly Museum of Knowledge and Rational Entertainment](#) (Boston: Isaiah Thomas and Ebenezer T. Andrews).



### NEW "HARVARD MEN"

January 19, Friday: 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, 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.<sup>21</sup>

21. 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: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)

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



**WORCESTER**

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**1796**

[Theophilus Brown](#)'s father and mother Samuel Brown and Adah Healy were wed.

[John Brown](#), and other influential merchants of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), recommended the construction of a [canal](#) from their port city inland to [Worcester](#), and thence westward to the Connecticut River.

A canal company was incorporated to run a canal to Worcester. The Massachusetts legislature refused a charter, and the project failed at that time. In 1823, it was revived and accomplished, but was unproductive, and proved a total loss of the funds invested by the public spirited proprietors.

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1800

➡ October 3, Friday: At the Chateau Mortefontaine north of Paris, France and the United States of America concluded a treaty averting war (the American negotiators were of course oblivious to the fact that two days earlier Spain had ceded to France all its claims to Louisiana).

[George Bancroft](#) was born in [Worcester](#), in a house which no longer is in existence, to the prominent Unitarian minister the Reverend Aaron Bancroft, DD and Lucretia Chandler Bancroft. He would be schooled at Phillips Exeter Academy and then Harvard College before seeking his advanced degree at the University of Göttingen.



How famous would this infant become? He would be repeatedly mentioned in Henry Thoreau's [CAPE COD](#)!



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**CAPE COD:** Bancroft does not mention Champlain at all among the authorities for De Monts' expedition, nor does he say that he ever visited the coast of New England.... Bancroft makes Champlain to have discovered more western rivers in Maine, not naming the Penobscot.... It is not generally remembered, if known, by the descendants of the Pilgrims, that when their forefathers were spending their first memorable winter in the New World, they had for neighbors a colony of French no further off than Port Royal (Annapolis, Nova Scotia), three hundred miles distant (Prince seems to make it about five hundred miles); where, in spite of many vicissitudes, they had been for fifteen years. ... the trials which their successors and descendants endured at the hands of the English have furnished a theme for both the historian and poet. (See Bancroft's History and Longfellow's Evangeline.).... The very gravestones of those Frenchmen are probably older than the oldest English monument in New England north of the Elizabeth Islands, or perhaps anywhere in New England, for if there are any traces of Gosnold's storehouse left, his strong works are gone. Bancroft says, advisedly, in 1834, "It requires a believing eye to discern the ruins of the fort"; and that there were no ruins of a fort in 1837.... Bancroft says he joined the Algonquins in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the northwest of New York.... De Leri and Saint Just had suggested plans of colonization on the Isle of Sable as early as 1515 (1508?) according to Bancroft, referring to Charlevoix.... So they sailed round the Cape, calling the southeasterly extremity "Point Cave," till they came to an island which they named Martha's Vineyard (now called No Man's Land), and another on which they dwelt awhile, which they named Elizabeth's Island, in honor of the queen, one of the group since so called, now known by its Indian name Cuttyhunk. There they built a small storehouse, the first house built by the English in New England, whose cellar could recently still be seen, made partly of stones taken from the beach. Bancroft says (edition of 1837), the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

PEOPLE OF  
CAPE COD

CHAMPLAIN

BANCROFT

PIERRE-FRANÇOIS-XAVIER DE CHARLEVOIX

It is strange that this historian is so memorialized in Worcester — since after he went away as a youth he seems never to have looked back. He was educated elsewhere in New England and then in Germany, he taught in Cambridge and Northampton, and then when he was able to choose a city of residence he chose not Worcester but Boston and then New-York and then Washington DC, while maintaining his summer "cottage" Roseclyffe at [Newport, Rhode Island](#). One would have supposed that the people of Worcester would be offended!

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**1804**




[Salma Hale](#) prepared an English grammar and it was published in [Worcester](#), Massachusetts.

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1806

 A turnpike was funded between Boston and Worcester. The portion of the pike from Kendall Square in Cambridge to the shire town of Concord was built with “straight line mania,” and thus completely bypassed the town of Lexington. It was built straight up and over hills, and the result was such steep grades over the hills between Lincoln and Concord that eventually it had to be relocated.<sup>22</sup>



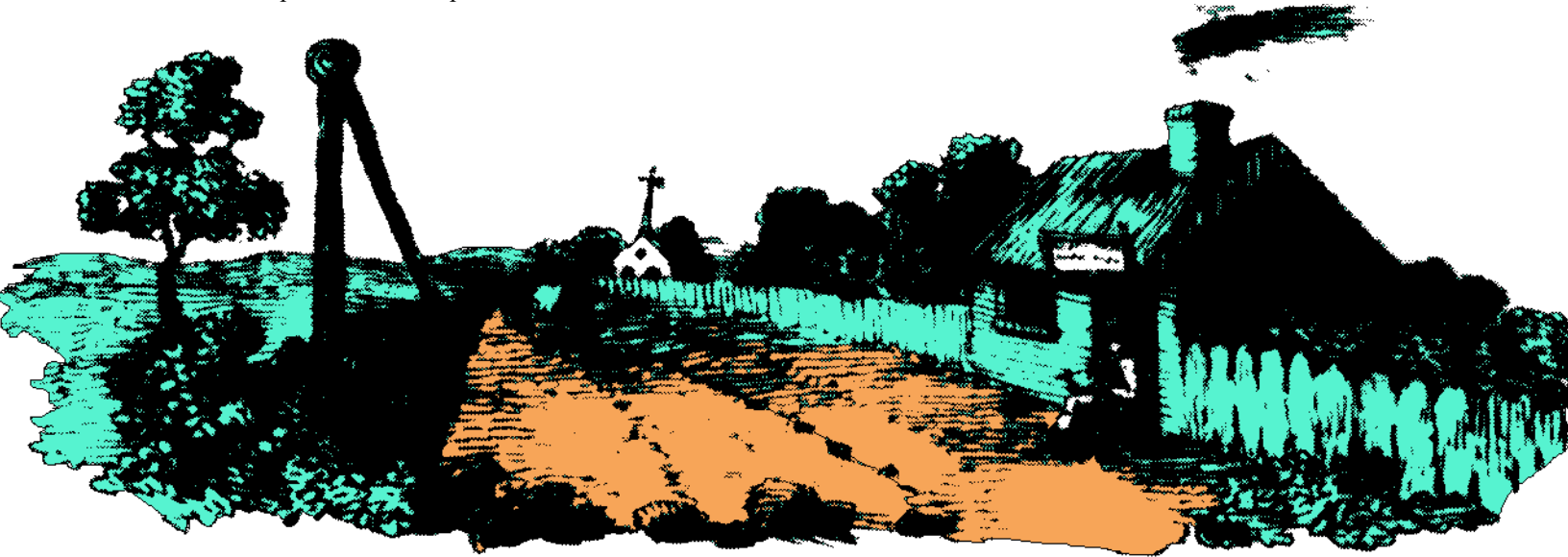
The stagecoach did not exactly follow the turnpike, but deviated to pick up passengers, and the trip took 3 hours in good weather and sometimes 5 in bad. The fare was \$1.<sup>00</sup>. One turnpike ran from Cambridge to Concord and another, the 5th Massachusetts, ran from Concord all the way west to the Connecticut River and

22. Telephone wires still mark the old, straight path.

**WORCESTER**

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up into New Hampshire.



**Entrance to Turnpike**



Jonas Lee and Joseph Chandler were [Concord](#)'s deputies and representatives to the General Court.

In [Concord](#), Nathan Wood was a Selectman.

In [Carlisle](#), Asa Parlin was again the Town Clerk:

**Town Clerks of [Carlisle](#)**

Zebulon Spaulding	1780-1784
Asa Parlin	1785-1802; 1806-1808
John Jacobs	1803, 1809-1812, 1826
Jonathan Heald	1804-1805
Jonathan Heald, Jr.	1813-1814, 1818-1820
John Heald	1815-1817, 1821-1825, 1827-1829
Cyrus Heald	1829—




**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1810

 A stagecoach route from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to [Worcester](#) was carrying its passengers the 50-mile distance in no comfort at all in what amounted to a 2-day trip.



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June 28, Wednesday: [Elihu Burritt](#), the “Learned Blacksmith” of [Worcester](#), delivered on this evening in [Boston](#) “my new Peace lecture with all the effect I ever anticipated. It chained the audience for 1 1/2 hours. Several of the first men of Boston were present and testified to their gratification in a very expressive manner.”





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1811

➡ January 15, Tuesday: [Abby Kelley](#) (Abigail = “Father’s Joy”) was born in a farming family of Pelham, Massachusetts. The family would relocate to [Worcester](#) during this year. Her mother was a birthright [Quaker](#), considered “the strictest of Orthodox Friends.”

In a secret session of the US Congress, the federal government determined to annex Spanish East Florida by entering into a Secret Act and Joint Resolution “against the Amelia Island smugglers on the Atlantic coast of Florida” (STATUTES AT LARGE, III. 471 ff).<sup>23</sup>

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

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

*3rd day 15th of 1 Mo// Recd a very acceptable letter from my  
Aged friend Joseph Bringhurst of Wilmington (Del) dated 12 M 10  
1811 which was as a pleasant Brook by the way – Sister R set the  
eveng & lodged with us*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

23. Amelia Island is on the Atlantic coast of Florida, at the point at which the peninsula of Florida joins with the mainland of the continent.



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**1820**



Some [Catholic](#) French-Canadians had migrated at this point to [Worcester](#).



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1823



August 22, Noon, Friday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his [JOURNAL](#) in Warren's Hotel in Framingham:

After a delightful walk of 20 miles I reached this inn before Noon, and in the near recollection of my promenade through Roxbury, Newton, Needham, Natick, do recommend the same, particularly as far as the Lower Falls in Newton, to my friends who are fond of fine scenery.

In the evening of that day, after further walking, [Waldo](#) wrote in his [JOURNAL](#) in [Worcester](#):


*I reached Worcester <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> hour ago having walked 40 miles without difficulty. Every time I traverse a turnpike I find it harder to concieve [sic] how they are supported; I met but 3 or four travellers between Roxbury & W. The scenery all the way was fine, and the turnpike, a road of inflexible principle, swerving neither to the right hand nor the left, stretched on before me, always in sight.*



## WORCESTER

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1824

 When Albert Brown (an older brother of [Theophilus Brown](#)) had completed his tailoring apprenticeship in [Providence, Rhode Island](#), he relocated to [Worcester](#) and established a tailoring shop, the “Emporium of Fashion.” This was the 1st merchant tailoring business in the town, and initially was located in an annex to the home of Dr. John Green which had formerly been in use as his apothecary, on Main Street opposite Central.

Upon the death of his father [Isaac Bailey](#) at the age of 36, [Jacob Whitman Bailey](#) attempted to begin to support his mother and younger brothers in their need by forsaking his position in the bookstore and lending library in [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to accept a position as a manufacturer’s clerk in Massachusetts. He would soon discover, however, that this new job involved the sale of [rum](#), and that this was something which he simply could not bring himself to do — and so he would soon need to root around and obtain other gainful employment, as a high school assistant.


Isaac Babbitt of Taunton, Massachusetts began to manufacture Britannia ware, the 1st produced in the New World (approximately 93% tin, 5% antimony, and 2% copper, the Britannia alloy melts at 491° Fahrenheit and had been in use in Britain since 1769 as an alternative to pewter, which is approximately 91% tin, 7.5% antimony, and 1.5% copper; Academy Award “Oscar” statuettes, unlike Olympic medals that are an alloy of gold plated in 24-carat gold, are manufactured of Britannia alloy plated in gold).



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**1825**

 William Brown joined his brother Albert Brown's "Emporium of Fashion" tailoring business in [Worcester](#).  
(These were older brothers of [Theophilus Brown](#). Theo would join them in 1828.)



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**1828**




Purley Torrey, a cabinetmaker of [Worcester](#), explained the conditions of apprenticeship in a letter to a prospective apprentice's father:

[It is] required of the younger apprentice that he shall open the shop in the morning, build and keep fires during the day, wait on Journeymen and do all chores and go of all errands which are necessary for this shop.... It is my wish that my apprentices may worship on the Sabbath with me ... further that they become a member of one of the Bible classes.... Such evenings as it is not customary to work I do not allow them to go anywhere they please - it is my wish that they stay at the shop.

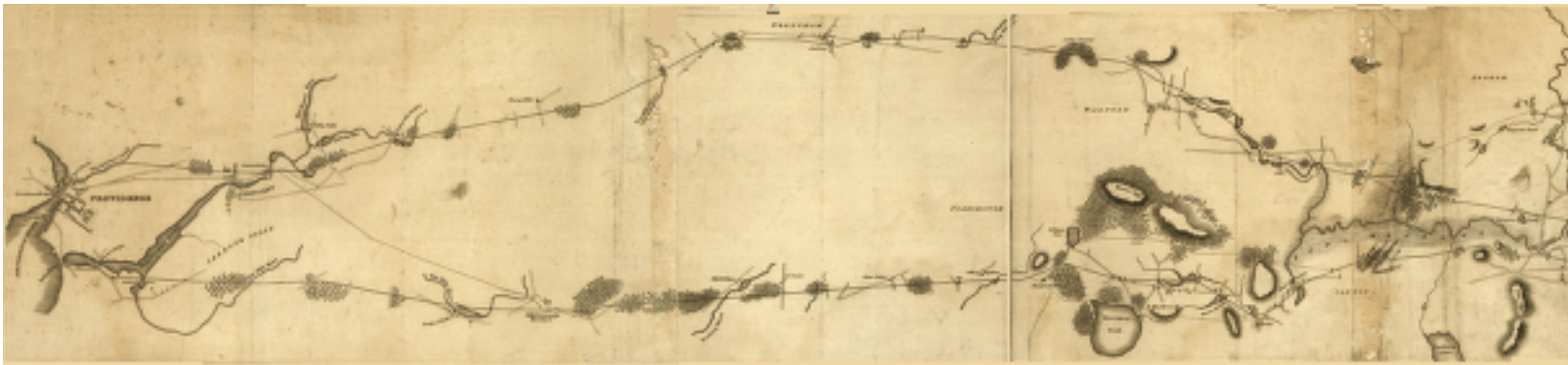
**WORCESTER**

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 The [Blackstone Canal](#) was completed and horse-drawn barges began making daily round trips between [Worcester](#) and [Providence, Rhode Island](#). Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston goods 40 miles



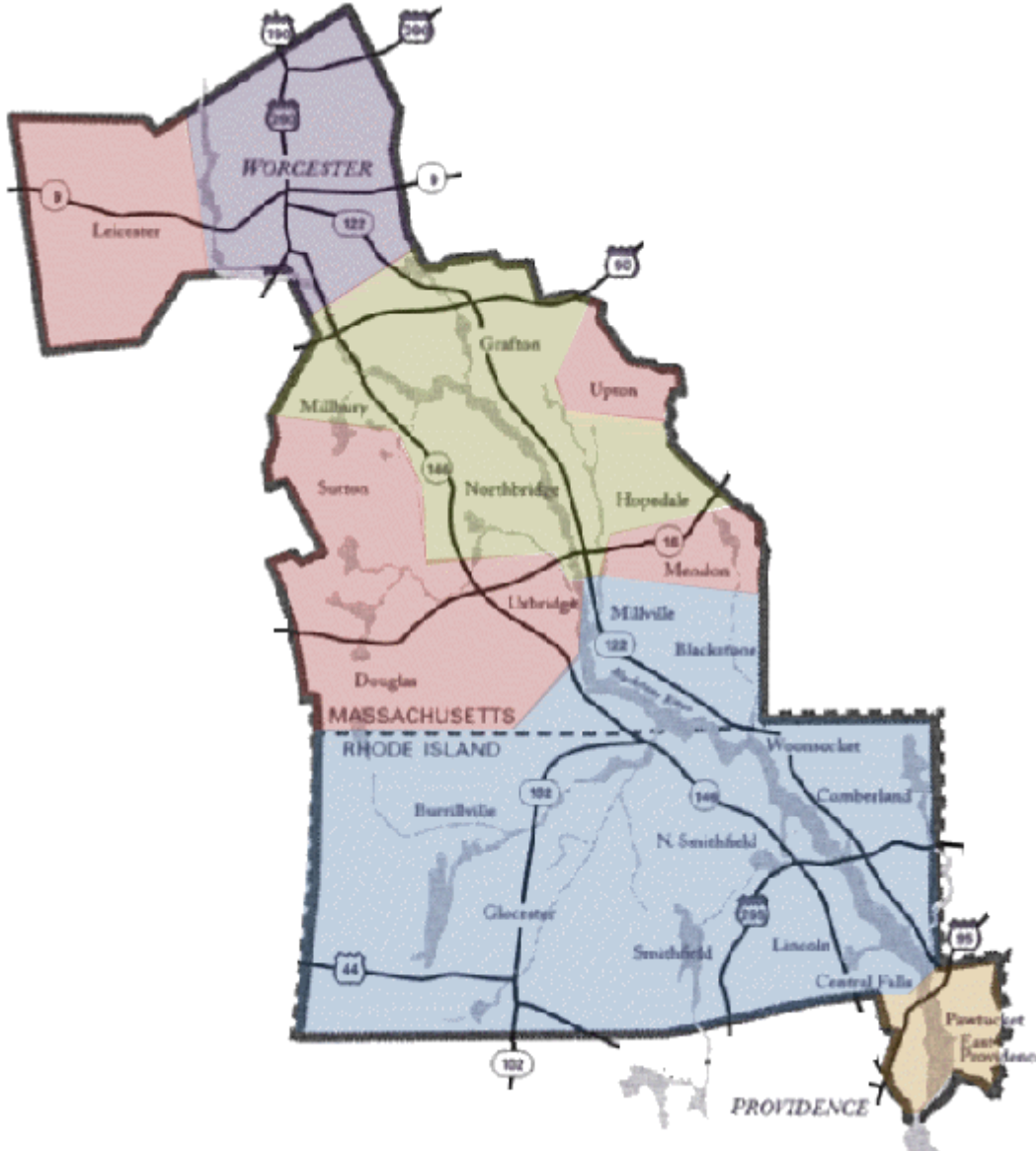
overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool, England. The new canal was 45 miles long and had 48 granite locks. There not being enough water in the Blackstone River watershed to supply both the canal and the mills along the way, a river mill faction would dump boulders into the canal and a canal faction would conspire to burn down mills, until 1835 when steam power would begin to transform both river mills and canals into the irrelevant rustic raw materials for scenic postcards. However, such railroad routes were already being schemed:



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[Blackstone Canal](#) resident engineer Edwin Phelps issued THE BLACKSTONE CANAL MAP BOOK.



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

*3rd day 7 of 10 M / The day has been pleasant & this Afternoon my frd Wm Jenkins called to see me yet it is the first time I have seen him since he returned from his important mission to Ohio on the yearly Meeting committee of Conference - We sympathized with each other, & I did most feelingly & sincerely so with him in his sufferings bodily & mentally both while on the journey to Ohio & while attending that Y Meeting. - And his experience I trust is greatly enlarged & I have no doubt he has deepened in the root of Truth. -*

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Isaiah Thomas (1749-1831), “the first American capitalist of the printing business,” witnessed the 1st [canal](#) barge from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) arriving at its [Worcester](#) dock at Thomas Street, on property which he personally had donated to the city.

The barge that was the 1st to travel the entire length of the new waterway opening up the center of Massachusetts was the *Lady Carrington*. One official guest had fallen overboard and had had to be rescued with a boat hook. The [Blackstone Canal](#)'s depth was a minimum of 3<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> feet, and it descended 451<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> feet by way of a series of 62 locks to its outlet in Providence. Until this canal opened, it cost more to freight Boston

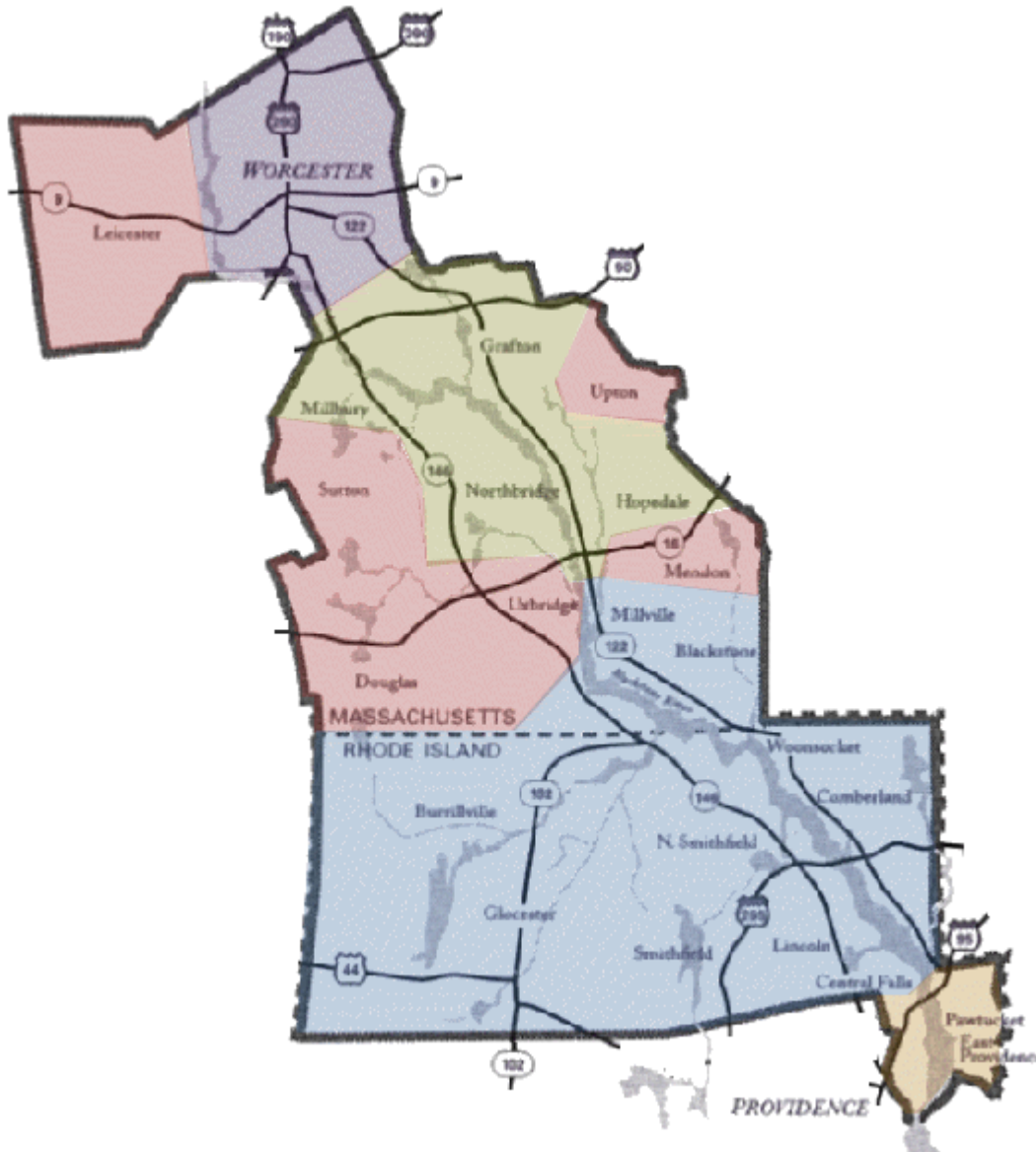


goods 40 miles overland to Worcester than it did to ship them the 3,000 miles across the Atlantic to Liverpool,

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England. The new canal was 45 miles long.



There not being enough water in the [Blackstone River](#) watershed to supply both the canal and the mills along the way, a river mill faction would dump boulders into the canal and a canal faction would conspire to burn down mills. (What a coup! —Providence would be a commerce winner for 19 entire years, until the steam-powered railroad which was just being proposed, and its route explored, would come along in 1835 and



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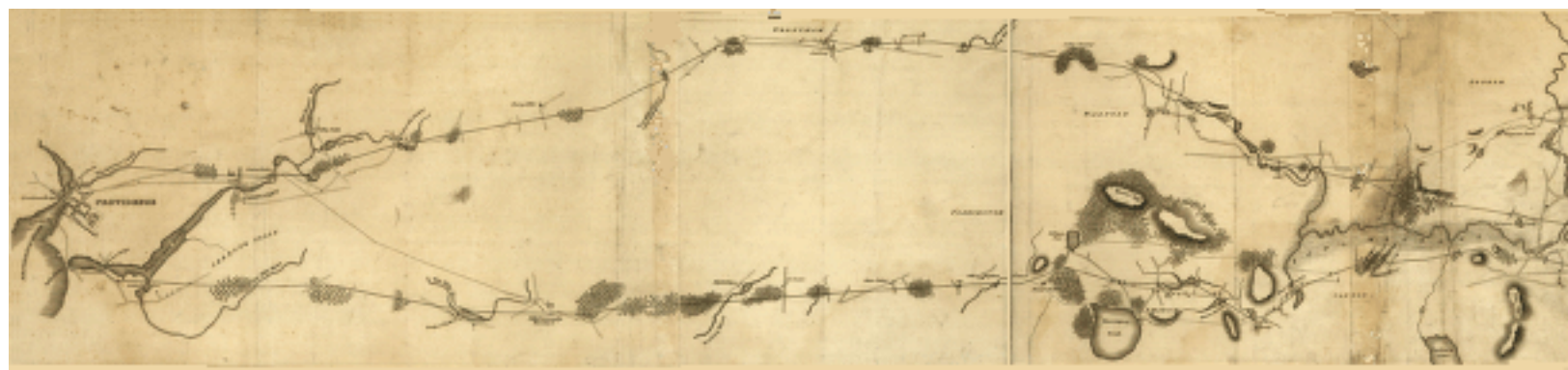
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
instantly obsolete the old mills along the river, and this canal and its single terminus.)



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# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1829

 The [Worcester County Gazette](#) declared itself in opposition to the scheme to build a railroad from [Boston](#) west into the interior. What they feared was “25-cent corn,” the idea that cheaper bulk transportation would permit



the farmers of the interior, where land was cheaper, to transport their cheaper grains to market in a form other than that of distilled spirits, and would thus start a price war which would be the ruin of local agriculture on more expensive farmlands. The turnpike companies were quick to agree with this reasoning because railroads would come to constitute the most radical form of technological competition, and the mill companies quick to disagree because railroads would improve the economic situation by at least an order of magnitude, cutting down the two days required to bring a barge of agricultural product down the [Middlesex Canal](#) from Lowell and Haverhill to an hour and a half by “burthen” railcar, and cutting transportation costs from hundreds of dollars per ton to tens of dollars per ton.

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1830

➡ Steamboats out of [New-York](#) began to bypass the port at New London, Connecticut and deliver their passengers to the docks of [Providence, Rhode Island](#), where the passengers could take either the stage along the Lower Path to Boston, or the barge up the [canal](#) to Worcester. From this year until 1835 the *Lady Carrington*, an elegant and carefully designed barge, would be floating passengers along in comfort on a 12-hour cruise from Providence to [Worcester](#) (steamers plying the sound had by this point quite stripped the Connecticut coast of its timber).

The 1st steamboats on the Danube River in Europe.

A total of \$1,066,922 in tolls was collected on [New York](#)'s canals.

Subsequent to this year, celebrations of Black Election Day in [Rhode Island](#) would fall off, no longer occurring during the planting season of each and every year.

Captain James DeWolf sold the "Linden Place" mansion in downtown [Bristol](#), that he had acquired from the bank for \$5,100 two years earlier, to his son William Henry DeWolf for \$8,000.



It may have been at approximately this point that [Providence](#) citizen [William J. Brown](#) was giving over his dreams of self-improvement through travel in order to get married and raise a family:

PAGES 152-155: I have previously remarked that the colored people have but very little chance to elevate themselves to a position of influence and wealth, and I determined to travel until I could find a brighter prospect for the future than Providence. I found, however, that there was a very formidable hindrance blocking up my pathway. I had made the acquaintance of a young lady schoolmate while attending school. This acquaintance was not formed for any special purpose, but simply to have some one to spend my leisure hours with. I made it a practice to call twice a week, as I was remarkably fond of being



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in the society of ladies. The reason I did not want to make a wife of her then was, because I was not able to support her, having no permanent business that would warrant me a living, and thought it better for one to be miserable than two.

I had been waiting upon her some two years, and thought I would break off the easiest way I could. I commenced by making short visits when I called, saying I could not stay long, as I had some engagement that called me away, at the same time watching to see the effect it would produce. I found it created a worriment of mind, making her very inquisitive. The next step was to omit a visit at the regular time. This brought forth questions I could not answer satisfactorily without telling a falsehood; finally I knew not what to do, for my visits had aroused a passion in my heart and mind I could not smother. I was also satisfied that if I wished to make a companion of her for life I could find no one with more attractions in personal appearances, qualifications or ability, than she possessed in my weak judgement.

The question was, however, soon decided with me, for the time was fast approaching when I must settle on the subject of my departure. I was taken suddenly ill, suffering much from pain, which I could not account for. I had eaten nothing to cause it. It continued increasing until I was compelled to shut up my shop and go home. This was before my mother's death, and she was an excellent nurse.... I had repeated attacks, each one becoming more severe, until I was compelled to give up the idea of going away.... I had said nothing to my intended or any one else about going away, but had merely said that if people could not prosper in one place they had better move to another....

Now the question to be settled was, would she accept me for a husband. I could not boast of any beauty and was near-sighted. Uniting in wedlock was no small thing to consider; its conditions extended through life. In making up her mind these defects might make her change her opinion of me. She might think it for her interest to marry a man blessed with good eyesight; if anything happened after marriage it would be something out of her power to obviate. I prized my good education highly, for it was in my favor; it excelled that of my associates at this time and if anything, present or future, could be accomplished by it, the means were in my possession. I also prized the good character I bore, for I was held in esteem by the elderly people for industry and politeness. The young people had a good opinion of me, because I was well spoken of by the aged; having knowledge of the estimate placed upon my character, I thought my defects would not be noticed.

I now felt that the time had come for me to settle this question, for it had long been a source of trouble to me. I had made her frequent visits and enjoyed myself much in her society. Now I desired to know something of her personal appearance during the day, when engaged in her domestic affairs. To accomplish this I would drop something during the evening, which would cause me to call after during the next day. I would go at different hours for the things. It was common for ladies to be prepared for company during the evening; then one could find no fault with their appearance; but to my satisfaction I always found her in trim, dressed according to her work. I considered her every way qualified, so far as domestic affairs were concerned, to make a suitable companion for any one, whether in high or low degree,



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and every one spoke well of her character. Her temper was mild, and there was but few who could equal her in looks, besides she enjoyed the best of health, having a carriage and appearance well calculated to sustain it. Thus having the matter settled in my own mind, I found no just cause to prevent us from getting married. I went and brought matters to a close respecting our union in just three months from that day.

The varied incidents which had been thrown in my way had made its impression upon my mind, and my views in regard to the future were entirely changed. Instead of making preparations to go out and see the world, I decided to settle down at home; my business was good and increasing every day, everything seemed to warrant my success in supporting a family if I had one.

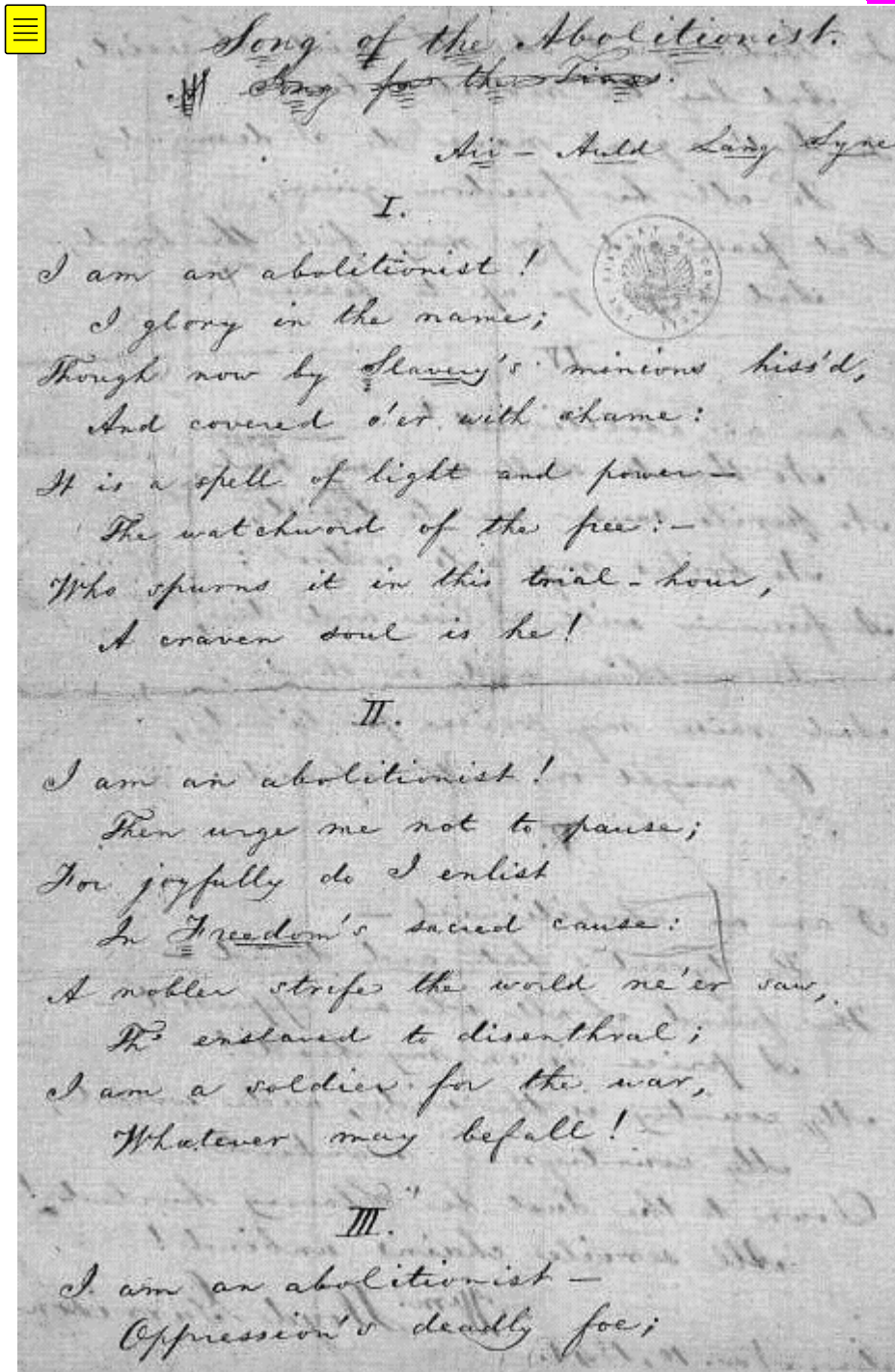
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1832

 [Friend Abby Kelley](#) was introduced to abolitionism by attending a lecture by [William Lloyd Garrison](#) in [Worcester](#).

ABOLITIONISM





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1833



January 19, Saturday: [The Liberator](#).

Ferdinand Herold died of [tuberculosis](#) in Paris at the age of 41.

(Which is to say, per the literature published in this year by [Dr. William Alcott](#), that he had [masturbated](#) himself to death.)

On his birthday [Lysander Spooner](#) became free of his 9-year “apprenticeship” to his father on the family farm in Athol, Massachusetts, required in order to “pay his father back” for the expenses of having reared him through his tender years. He would go to nearby [Worcester](#) and read law in the offices of John Davis and Charles Allen, coming eventually to being considered “very reliable” in the examination and execution of titles.




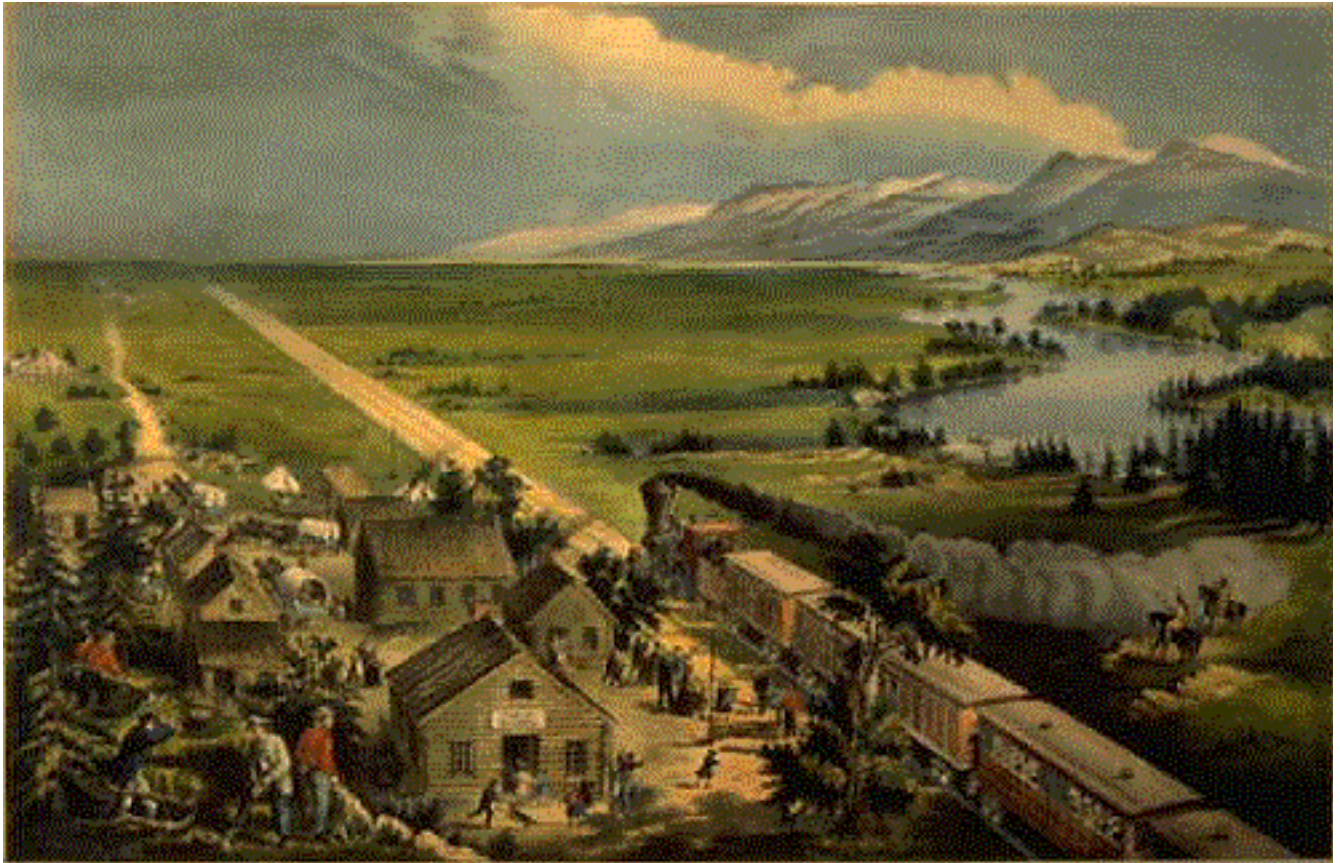


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1834

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



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

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





## WORCESTER

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

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

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

[WALDEN](#): There are nowadays professors of philosophy, but not philosophers. Yet it is admirable to profess because it was once admirable to live. To be a philosopher is not merely to have subtle thoughts, nor even to found a school, but so to love wisdom as to live according to its dictates, a life of simplicity, independence, magnanimity, and trust. It is to solve some of the problems of life, not only theoretically, but practically. The success of great scholars and thinkers is commonly a courtier-like success, not kingly, not manly. They make shift to live merely by conformity, practically as their fathers did, and are in no sense the progenitors of a nobler race of men. But why do men degenerate ever? What makes families run out? What is the nature of the luxury which enervates and destroys nations? Are we sure that there is none of it in our own lives? The philosopher is in advance of his age even in the outward form of his life. He is not fed, sheltered clothed, warmed, like his contemporaries. How can a man be a philosopher and not maintain his vital heat by better methods than other men?

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

CORNELIUS CONWAY FELTON

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Hanging being a piece of public theater, however, it was sometimes required of a condemned man in this modern decent society that he attire himself in his shroud (a long white linen or cotton garment with open back and long sleeves) prior to the placement of the hood and the noose. Local taverns would sometimes hire “watchers” to keep around-the-clock guard upon a condemned man, not to prevent his escape of course but to ensure that he would not cheat them of their profits from the [alcohol](#)-imbibing throng of men come to witness a [hanging](#). No way would such an important participant in an expected ceremony be allowed to off himself in private in advance. When a condemned man was reprieved at the last moment, as indeed sometimes happened, this might incite the disappointed throng to riot, for although we have few records for such items as the shroud and the death watch, we know that this sort of riot is actually what did result from a reprieve in Pembroke MA in this year.<sup>24</sup>

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



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

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Records of faculty meetings from this period show that in the shifting minority of professors who opposed and attempted to moderate Quincy's crackdowns, Professor [Charles Follen](#) was alone in constancy of opposition.<sup>25</sup> Freshman [David Henry Thoreau](#) evidently made himself scarce during the tearing of shutters off windows and the building of bonfires in front of doorways and his only contribution to the rebellion was a comment he appears to have made in Dr. Beck's examination room – apparently sarcastically– “Our offense was **rank**.”<sup>26</sup>



(shutters awaiting the arrival of students)

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

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

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



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General of the United States of America:



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

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

### COMPARATIVE LITERATURE

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1835



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, Massachusetts, and, in [Boston](#), the terminus of the Boston & Lowell RR. Boston's 1st powered railroad was the Boston and [Worcester](#), a 45-mile track with 4 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.

The selectmen of Mendon, Massachusetts were instructed by the townspeople to withhold their approbation for licenses for the sale of intoxicating liquors.

[Eli Thayer](#) left the family farm in Mendon, journeying to [Worcester](#).

It was in the year 1835 when he packed his few clothes and placed his trunk on board a boat on the [Blackstone Canal](#), bound for [Worcester](#), and himself walked the entire distance. Such was his first entry into the city whose best interests he was so soon afterwards to subserve. In Worcester, he entered the "Manual Labor School," an institution that furnished indigent young men, who might be so inclined, with a chance to pay for their schooling in work, as they went along. In this school young




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Thayer fitted himself for College, never having known a syllable either of Latin or Greek previous to coming here. After a year's hard labor and study, pursued night and day with restless energy, he presented himself for admission into [Brown University](#), at [Providence](#). In mathematical attainments he was found deficient, not coming up to the standard; but on his solemn promise, that, by persevering labor, he would "catch up" and hold his place, under the circumstances of the case, was admitted; and the promise was remembered with pride by his instructor when he came to leave the walls of his honored alma mater, for Thayer was the best in mathematics of his class. Eli Thayer entered college with nothing, and graduated with distinguished honors, and a few hundred dollars in his pocket. That is more than many of our college graduates can say. While in the University, he defrayed his expenses by teaching district schools during the intervals of vacations, and by similar labors, from time to time, to those which sustained him at the school in Worcester. He played the carpenter, the wood-sawyer, and the landscape gardener; and there is a piece of embankment before one of the Professors' residences to-day, the green sods of which he placed with his own hands; and they were well placed, too. Such a young man cannot fail to make his mark in the world of men in time, the supply being yet too scanty not to quicken the demand, when they do appear.

 At this point [Abby Kelley](#) was teaching near [Worcester](#).



 Our national birthday, Saturday the 4th of July: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s 31st birthday. In Philadelphia, as was the tradition, the [Liberty Bell](#) was rung (it would not crack for another four days, until the funeral of Chief Justice John Marshall on July 8th).

### [The Liberator.](#)

The Boston & Worcester Railroad, the first track connecting Boston to cities in western Massachusetts, began operations. Two other steam locomotive railways would also be constructed in Massachusetts in the mid-1830s. This B&W line would later be extended through [Worcester](#) to Springfield and Pittsfield, and then to Albany NY. The corporation would wind up as a Long Island Sound steamship line in competition with



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the Fall River Line. John C. Clapp did an engraving in 1919 of one of these early Boston & Worcester trains:



The illustration may be of a train earlier than, or may be of a train later than, the ones put in service on the Boston and Fitchburg line.

In Springfield MA, the tool manufacturer Bemis & Call Company was established.

In Boston a shoemaker, George Robert Twelves Hewes, was honored as the last survivor of the Boston Tea Party.

The National Intelligencer printed the text of “Washington’s Farewell Address.”

CELEBRATING OUR B-DAY





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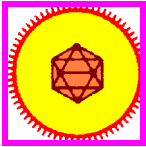
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1837



[Elihu Burritt](#) moved to [Worcester](#) in order to use the grammars and lexicons at the American Antiquarian Society.

[Elijah Hinsdale Burritt](#) organized and led a party of 30 colonists, which included his sister [Emily Burritt](#) and his brother [William Burritt](#), to Houston, [Texas](#). From Emily's diary we learn the details of the disaster that this would become. First the ship would require a voyage of 28 days to get them to Galveston, then there would be a storm and a shipwreck, then when they finally arrived at Houston they found that the preparations for their arrival had been inadequate and they would need to live in tents, then there would be a [yellow fever](#) epidemic that would carry away most of the colonists. [Elijah Hinsdale Burritt](#) and [William Burritt](#) would be among the fatalities.





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**1838**



Mount Hope cemetery began to accept burials near Rochester, New York, Greenwood Cemetery began to accept burials near Brooklyn, New York, and the Worcester Rural Cemetery began to accept burials near [Worcester](#).



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1839



[John Warner Barber](#)'s HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS, BEING A GENERAL COLLECTION OF INTERESTING FACTS, TRADITIONS, BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCHES, ANECDOTES, &C., RELATING TO THE HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES OF EVERY TOWN IN MASSACHUSETTS, WITH GEOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTIONS (Dorr, Howland & Company) was published in [Worcester](#). This volume included an untitled poem on sweets from which [Henry Thoreau](#) would quote a couple of lines in [WALDEN](#).





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WALDEN: Every New Englander might easily raise all his own breadstuffs in this land of rye and Indian corn, and not depend on distant and fluctuating markets for them. Yet so far are we from simplicity and independence that, in Concord, fresh and sweet meal is rarely sold in the shops, and hominy and corn in a still coarser form are hardly used by any. For the most part the farmer gives to his cattle and hogs the grain of his own producing, and buys flour, which is at least no more wholesome, at a greater cost, at the store. I saw that I could easily raise my bushel or two of rye and Indian corn, for the former will grow on the poorest land, and the latter does not require the best, and grind them in a hand-mill, and so do without rice and pork; and if I must have some concentrated sweet, I found by experiment that I could make a very good molasses either of pumpkins or beets, and I knew that I needed only to set out a few maples to obtain it more easily still, and while these were growing I could use various substitutes beside those which I have named, "For," as the Forefathers sang,-

"we can make liquor to sweeten our lips  
Of pumpkins and parsnips and walnut-tree chips."

Finally, as for salt, that grossest of groceries, to obtain this might be a fit occasion for a visit to the seashore, or, if I did without it altogether, I should probably drink the less water. I do not learn that the Indians ever troubled themselves to go after it.

Thus I could avoid all trade and barter, so far as my food was concerned, and having a shelter already, it would only remain to get clothing and fuel. The pantaloons which I now wear were woven in farmer's family, -thank Heaven there is so much virtue still in man; for I think the fall from the farmer to the operative as great and memorable as that from the man to the farmer;- and in a new country fuel is an encumbrance. As for a habitat, if I were not permitted still to squat, I might purchase one acre at the same price for which the land I cultivated was sold -namely, eight dollars and eight cents. But as it was, I considered that I enhanced the value of the land by squatting on it.



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Here [John Warner Barber](#) presents [Hannah Emerson Dustin](#)'s ordeal:

On the 15th of March, 1697, a body of Indians made a descent on the westerly part of the town, and approached the house of Mr. Thomas Dustin. They came, as they were wont, arrayed with all the terrors of a savage war dress, with their muskets charged for the contest, their tomahawks drawn for the slaughter, and their scalping knives unsheathed and glittering in the sunbeams. Mr. Dustin at this time was engaged abroad in his daily labor. When the terrific shouts of the blood-hounds first fell on his ear, he seized his gun, mounted his horse, and hastened to his house, with the hope of escorting to a place of safety his family, which consisted of his wife, whom he tenderly and passionately loved, and who had been confined only seven days in childbed, her nurse, Mrs. Mary Neff, and eight young children. Immediately upon his arrival, he rushed into his house, and found it a scene of confusion - the women trembling for their safety, and the children weeping and calling on their mother for protection. He instantly ordered seven of his children to fly in an opposite direction from that in which the danger was approaching, and went himself to assist his wife. But he was too late - before she could arise from her bed, the enemy were upon them.

Mr. Dustin, seeing there was no hope of saving his wife from the clutches of the foe, flew from the house, mounted his horse, and rode full speed after his flying children. The agonized father supposed it impossible to save them all, and he determined to snatch from death the child which shared the most of his affections. He soon came up with the infant brood; he heard their glad voices and saw the cheerful looks that overspread their countenances, for they felt themselves safe while under his protection. He looked for the child of his love - where was it? He scanned the little group from the oldest to the youngest, but he could not find it. They all fondly loved him - they called him by the endearing title of father, were flesh of his flesh, and stretched out their little arms toward him for protection. He gazed upon them, and faltered in his resolution, for there was none whom he could leave behind; and, indeed, what parent could, in such a situation, select the child which shared the most of his affections? He could not do it, and therefore resolved to defend them from the murderers, or die at their side.

A small party of the Indians pursued Mr. Dustin as he fled from the house, and soon overtook him and his flying children. They did not, however, approach very near, for they saw his determination, and feared the vengeance of a father, but skulked behind the trees and fences, and fired upon him and his little company. Mr. Dustin dismounted from his horse, placed himself in the rear of his children, and returned the fire of the enemy often and with good success. In this manner he retreated for more than a mile, alternately encouraging his terrified charge, and loading and firing his gun, until he lodged them safely in a forsaken house. The Indians, finding that they could not conquer him, returned to their companions, expecting, no doubt, that they should there find victims, on which they might exercise their savage cruelty.



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The party which entered the house when Mr. Dustin left it, found Mrs. Dustin in bed, and the nurse attempting to fly with the infant in her arms. They ordered Mrs. Dustin to rise instantly, while one of them took the infant from the arms of the nurse, carried it out, and dashed out its brains against an apple-tree. After plundering the house they set it on fire, and commenced their retreat, though Mrs. Dustin had but partly dressed herself, and was without a shoe on one of her feet. Mercy was a stranger to the breasts of the conquerors, and the unhappy women expected to receive no kindnesses from their hands. The weather at the time was exceedingly cold, the March-wind blew keen and piercing, and the earth was alternately covered with snow and deep mud.

They travelled twelve miles the first day, and continued their retreat, day by day, following a circuitous route, until they reached the home of the Indian who claimed them as his property, which was on a small island, now called Dustin's Island, at the mouth of the Contoocook river, about six miles above the state-house in Concord, New Hampshire. Notwithstanding their intense suffering for the death of the child - their anxiety for those whom they had left behind, and who they expected had been cruelly butchered - their sufferings from cold and hunger, and from sleeping on the damp earth, with nothing but an inclement sky for a covering - and their terror for themselves, lest the arm that, as they supposed, had slaughtered those whom they dearly loved, would soon be made red with their blood, - notwithstanding all this, they performed the journey without yielding, and arrived at their destination in comparative health.

The family of their Indian master consisted of two men, three women, and seven children; besides an English boy, named Samuel Lennardson, who was taken prisoner about a year previous, at Worcester. Their master, some years before, had lived in the family of Rev. Mr. Rowlandson, of Lancaster, and he told Mrs. Dustin that "when he prayed the English way he thought it was good, but now he found the French way better."

These unfortunate women had been but a few days with the Indians, when they were informed that they must soon start for a distant Indian settlement, and that, upon their arrival, they would be obliged to conform to the regulations always required of prisoners, whenever they entered the village, which was to be stripped, scourged, and run the gauntlet in a state of nudity. The gauntlet consisted of two files of Indians, of both sexes and of all ages, containing all that could be mustered in the village; and the unhappy prisoners were obliged to run between them, when they were scoffed at and beaten by each one as they passed, and were sometimes marks at which the younger Indians threw their hatchets. This cruel custom was often practised by many of the tribes, and not unfrequently the poor prisoner sunk beneath it. Soon as the two women were informed of this, they determined to escape as speedily as possible. They could not bear to be exposed to the scoffs and unrestrained gaze of their savage conquerors - death would be preferable. Mrs. Dustin soon planned a mode of escape, appointed the 31st inst. for its accomplishment, and prevailed upon her nurse and the boy to join her. The Indians kept no watch, for the boy had lived with them so long they considered him as one of their children, and they did not expect that the women, unadvised and unaided, would attempt to escape, when success, at the best, appeared so desperate.



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On the day previous to the 31st, Mrs. Dustin wished to learn on what part of the body the Indians struck their victims when they would despatch them suddenly, and how they took off a scalp. With this view she instructed the boy to make inquiries of one of the men. Accordingly, at a convenient opportunity, he asked one of them where he would strike a man if he would kill him instantly, and how to take off a scalp. The man laid his finger on his temple - "Strike 'em there," said he; and then instructed him how to scalp. The boy then communicated his information to Mrs. Dustin.

The night at length arrived, and the whole family retired to rest, little suspecting that the most of them would never behold another sun. Long before the break of day, Mrs. Dustin arose, and, having ascertained that they were all in a deep sleep, awoke her nurse and the boy, when they armed themselves with tomahawks, and despatched ten of the twelve. A favorite boy they designedly left; and one of the squaws, whom they left for dead, jumped up, and ran with him into the woods. Mrs. Dustin killed her master, and Samuel Lennardson despatched the very Indian who told him where to strike, and how to take off a scalp. The deed was accomplished before the day began to break, and, after securing what little provision the wigwam of their dead master afforded, they scuttled all the boats but one, to prevent pursuit, and with that started for their homes. Mrs. Dustin took with her a gun that belonged to her master, and the tomahawk with which she committed the tragical deed. They had not proceeded far, however, when Mrs. Dustin perceived that they had neglected to take their scalps, and feared that her neighbors, if they ever arrived at their homes, would not credit their story, and would ask them for some token or proof. She told her fears to her companions, and they immediately returned to the silent wigwam, took off the scalps of the fallen, and put them into a bag. They then started on their journey anew, with the gun, tomahawk, and the bleeding trophies, - palpable witnesses of their heroic and unparalleled deed.

A long and weary journey was before them, but they commenced it with cheerful hearts, each alternately rowing and steering their little bark. Though they had escaped from the clutches of their unfeeling master, still they were surrounded with dangers. They were thinly clad, the sky was still inclement, and they were liable to be re-captured by strolling bands of Indians, or by those who would undoubtedly pursue them so soon as the squaw and the boy had reported their departure, and the terrible vengeance they had taken; and were they again made prisoners, they well knew that a speedy death would follow. This array of danger, however, did not appall them for home was their beacon-light, and the thoughts of their firesides nerved their hearts. They continued to drop silently down the river, keeping a good lookout for strolling Indians; and in the night two of them only slept, while the third managed the boat. In this manner they pursued their journey, until they arrived safely, with their trophies, at their homes, totally unexpected by their mourning friends, who supposed that they had been butchered by their ruthless conquerors. It must truly have been an affecting meeting for Mrs. Dustin, who likewise supposed that all she loved, - all she held dear on earth - was laid in the silent tomb.





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After recovering from the fatigue of the journey, they started for Boston, where they arrived on the 21st of April. They carried with them the gun and tomahawk, and their ten scalps - those witnesses that would not lie; and while there, the general court gave them fifty pounds, as a reward for their heroism. The report of their daring deed soon spread into every part of the country, and when Colonel Nicholson, governor of Maryland, heard of it, he sent them a very valuable present, and many presents were also made to them by their neighbors.

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**NEW BRAINTREE, MASS.**

**NEWBURY, MASS.**

**NEWBURYPORT, MASS.**

**NEW MARLBOROUGH**

**NEW SALEM, MASS.**



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**NEWTON, MASS.**

**NORTHAMPTON, MASS.**

**NORTHBOROUGH, MASS.**

**NORTHBRIDGE, MASS.**

**NORTH BRIDGEWATER**

**NORTH BROOKFIELD**

**NORTHFIELD, MASS.**

**NORTON, MASS.**





**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**OAKHAM, MASS.**

**ORANGE, MASS.**

**ORLEANS, MASS.**

**OTIS, MASS.**

**OXFORD, MASS.**

**PALMER, MASS.**

**PAWTUCKET, MASS.**

**PAXTON, MASS.**

**PELHAM, MASS.**

**PEMBROKE, MASS.**

**PEPPERELL, MASS.**

**PERU, MASS.**

**PETERSHAM, MASS.**

**PHILLIPSTON, MASS.**

**PITTSFIELD, MASS.**



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**PLYMOUTH, MASS.**

**PLYMPTON, MASS.**

**PRESCOTT, MASS.**

**PRINCETON, MASS.**

**PROVINCETOWN, MASS.**

**QUINCY, MASS.**

**RANDOLPH, MASS.**

**RAYNHAM, MASS.**

**READING, MASS.**

**REHOBOTH, MASS.**



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**RICHMOND, MASS.**

**ROCHESTER, MASS.**

**ROWE, MASS.**

**ROWLEY, MASS.**

**ROXBURY, MASS.**

**ROYALSTON, MASS.**

**RUSSELL, MASS.**

**RUTLAND, MASS.**



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**SALEM, MASS.**

**SALISBURY, MASS.**

**SANDSFIELD, MASS.**

**SANDWICH, MASS.**

**SAUGUS, MASS.**

**SAVOY, MASS.**

**SCITUATE, MASS.**

**SEEKONK, MASS.**

**SHARON, MASS.**

**SHEFFIELD, MASS.**

**SHELBURNE, MASS.**

**SHERBURNE, MASS.**

**SHIRLEY, MASS.**

**SHREWSBURY, MASS.**

**SHUTESBURY, MASS.**

**SOMERSET, MASS.**

**SOUTHAMPTON, MASS.**



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**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**SOUTHBRIDGE, MASS.**

**SOUTH HADLEY, MASS.**

**SOUTH READING, MASS.**

**SPENCER, MASS.**

**SPRINGFIELD, MASS.**

**STERLING, MASS.**

**STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.**

**STONEHAM, MASS.**

**STOUGHTON, MASS.**

**STOW, MASS.**

**STURBRIDGE, MASS.**

**SUDBURY, MASS.**

**SUNDERLAND, MASS.**

**SUTTON, MASS.**

**SWANSEY, MASS.**



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**TAUNTON, MASS.**

**TEMPLETON, MASS.**

**TEWKSBURY, MASS.**

**TISBURY, MASS.**

**TOLLAND, MASS.**

**TOWNSEND, MASS.**

**TRURO, MASS.**

**TYNGSBOROUGH, MASS.**

**TYRINGHAM, MASS.**

**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**UPTON, MASS.**

**UXBRIDGE, MASS.**

**WALES, MASS.**

**WALPOLE, MASS.**

**WALTHAM, MASS.**

**WARE, MASS.**

**WAREHAM, MASS.**

**WARREN, MASS.**

**WARWICK, MASS.**

**WASHINGTON, MASS.**

**WATERTOWN, MASS.**

**WAYLAND, MASS.**

**WEBSTER, MASS.**

**WELLFLEET, MASS.**

**WENDELL, MASS.**

**WESTBOROUGH, MASS.**



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**WEST BOYLSTON, MASS.**

**WEST CAMBRIDGE, MASS.**

**WESTFIELD, MASS.**

**WESTFORD, MASS.**

**WESTHAMPTON, MASS.**

**WESTMINSTER, MASS.**

**WESTON, MASS.**

**WESTPORT, MASS.**

**WEST SPRINGFIELD**

**WEST STOCKBRIDGE**

**WEYMOUTH, MASS.**

**WHATELY, MASS.**

**WICHENDON, MASS.**

**WILBRAHAM, MASS.**

**WILLIAMSBURG, MASS.**





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**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**



**WILLIAMSTOWN, MASS.**

**WILMINGTON, MASS.**

**WINDSOR, MASS.**

**WOBURN, MASS.**

**WORCESTER, MASS.**

**WORTHINGTON, MASS.**


**WRENTHAM, MASS.**

**YARMOUTH, MASS.**



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

 In [Worcester](#), [John Downes](#) worked as an engraver for [John Warner Barber](#), who in this year was publishing his HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS. Downes was doing many natural history engravings: the “winter wren,” white-



breasted nuthatch, and other birds, engravings for A SYSTEM OF NATURAL HISTORY (Brattleboro VT, 1834), etc. Among the woodcuts Downes executed for Barber was a view of Monument Square from the site of the present Colonial Inn. Entitled “CENTRAL PART OF [CONCORD](#), MASS.,” the view was “Drawn by J.W. Barber — Engraved by J. Downes, Worcester” (Harding’s DAYS, top illustration opposite page 429).

HDT

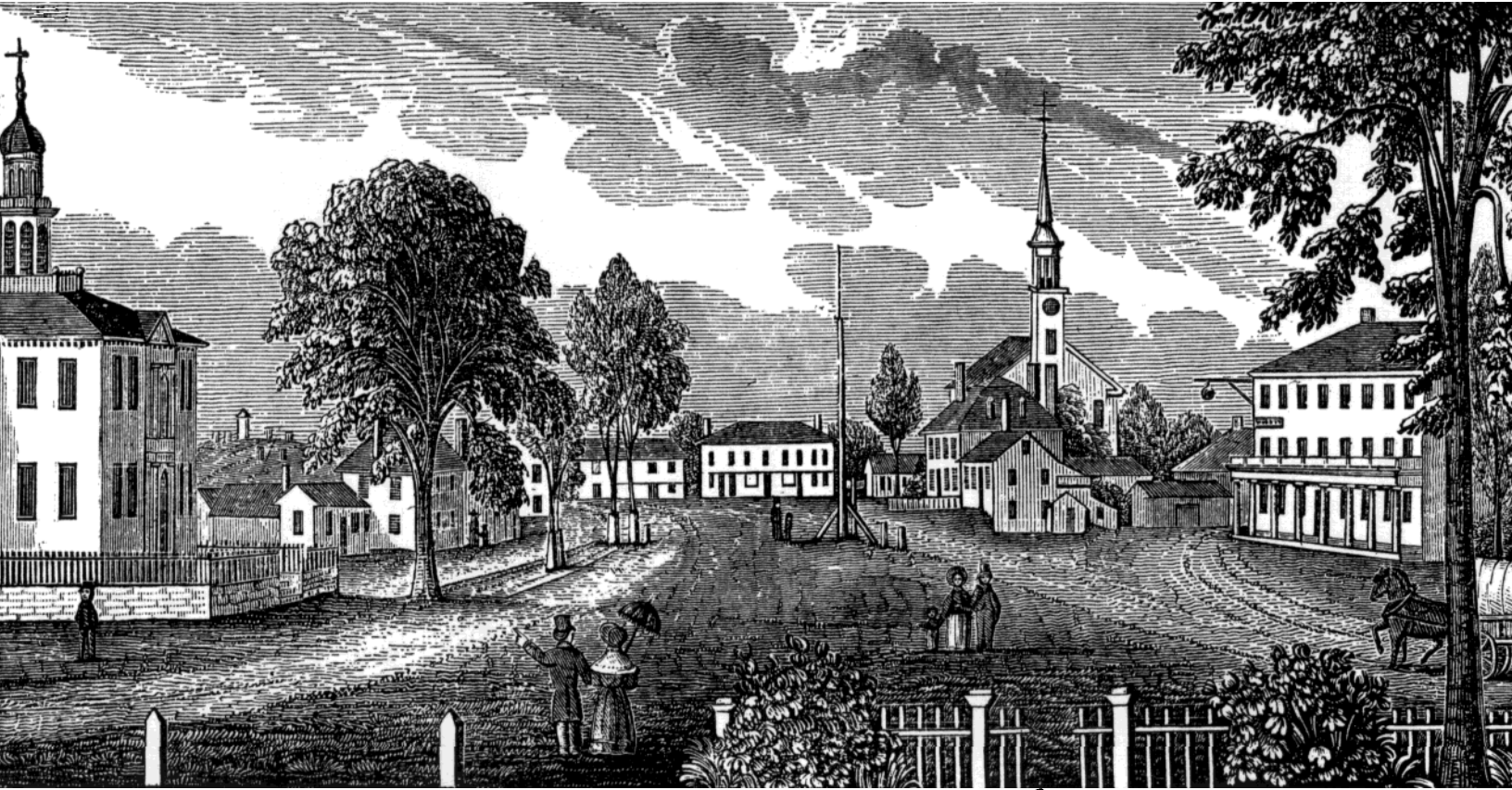
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# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

The Thoreaus had left their "house on the square" only two years before this engraving was 1st published.



Nathan Brooks Esq to W. D. Thoreau Esq.  
 for instructing George Brooks Youth \$3.50  
 Samuel Burr Jr " " 46 3.69  
 \$ 7.19  
 Recd Sept W. D. Thoreau

## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

In this year the 7th edition of [John Hayward's THE NEW ENGLAND GAZETTEER](#) was issued. This would be the edition found in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#), that is now in Special Collections at the Concord Free Public Library. Thoreau would refer extensively to this resource in [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), in [THE MAINE WOODS](#), and in [CAPE COD](#), as well as mentioning it in his [correspondence](#) and in his [journal](#).



NEW ENGLAND GAZETTEER

**WORCESTER****WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS****GOOKIN**

**A WEEK:** According to the Gazetteer, the descent of Amoskeag Falls, which are the most considerable in the Merrimack, is fifty-four feet in half a mile. We locked ourselves through here with much ado, surmounting the successive watery steps of this river's staircase in the midst of a crowd of villagers, jumping into the canal to their amusement, to save our boat from upsetting, and consuming much river-water in our service. Amoskeag, or Namaskeak, is said to mean "great fishing-place." It was hereabouts that the Sachem Wannalancet resided. Tradition says that his tribe, when at war with the Mohawks, concealed their provisions in the cavities of the rocks in the upper part of these falls. The Indians, who hid their provisions in these holes, and affirmed "that God had cut them out for that purpose," understood their origin and use better than the Royal Society, who in their Transactions, in the last century, speaking of these very holes, declare that "they seem plainly to be artificial." Similar "pot-holes" may be seen at the Stone Flume on this river, on the Ottaway, at Bellows' Falls on the Connecticut, and in the limestone rock at Shelburne Falls on Deerfield River in Massachusetts, and more or less generally about all falls. Perhaps the most remarkable curiosity of this kind in New England is the well-known Basin on the Pemigewasset, one of the head-waters of this river, twenty by thirty feet in extent and proportionably deep, with a smooth and rounded brim, and filled with a cold, pellucid, and greenish water. At Amoskeag the river is divided into many separate torrents and trickling rills by the rocks, and its volume is so much reduced by the drain of the canals that it does not fill its bed. There are many pot-holes here on a rocky island which the river washes over in high freshets. As at Shelburne Falls, where I first observed them, they are from one foot to four or five in diameter, and as many in depth, perfectly round and regular, with smooth and gracefully curved brims, like goblets. Their origin is apparent to the most careless observer. A stone which the current has washed down, meeting with obstacles, revolves as on a pivot where it lies, gradually sinking in the course of centuries deeper and deeper into the rock, and in new freshets receiving the aid of fresh stones, which are drawn into this trap and doomed to revolve there for an indefinite period, doing Sisyphus-like penance for stony sins, until they either wear out, or wear through the bottom of their prison, or else are released by some revolution of nature. There lie the stones of various sizes, from a pebble to a foot or two in diameter, some of which have rested from their labor only since the spring, and some higher up which have lain still and dry for ages, —we noticed some here at least sixteen feet above the present level of the water,— while others are still revolving, and enjoy no respite at any season. In one instance, at Shelburne Falls, they have worn quite through the rock, so that a portion of the river leaks through in anticipation of the fall. Some of these pot-holes at Amoskeag, in a very hard brown-stone, had an oblong, cylindrical stone of the same material loosely fitting them. One, as much as fifteen feet deep and seven or eight in diameter, which was worn quite through to the water, had a huge rock of the same material, smooth but of irregular form, lodged in it. Everywhere there were the rudiments or the wrecks of a dimple in the rock; the rocky shells of whirlpools. As if by force of example and sympathy after so many lessons, the rocks, the hardest material, had been endeavoring to whirl or flow into the forms of the most fluid. The finest workers in stone are not copper or steel tools, but the gentle touches of air and water working at their leisure with a liberal allowance of time.



**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

THE  
NEW ENGLAND GAZETTEER;

CONTAINING

DESCRIPTIONS OF ALL THE STATES, COUNTIES AND TOWNS

IN

NEW ENGLAND:

ALSO

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE PRINCIPAL MOUNTAINS, RIVERS, LAKES,  
CAPES, BAYS, HARBORS, ISLANDS, AND

FASHIONABLE RESORTS

WITHIN THAT TERRITORY.

ALPHABETICALLY ARRANGED.

---

BY JOHN HAYWARD,  
Author of the *Columbian Traveller*, *Religious Creeds*, &c. &c.

---

SEVENTH EDITION.

CONCORD, N. H.:  
ISRAEL S. BOYD AND WILLIAM WHITE.  
BOSTON:  
JOHN HAYWARD.  
1839.



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

THE MAINE WOODS: I found my companions where I had left them, on the side of the peak, gathering the mountain cranberries, which filled every crevice between the rocks, together with blueberries, which had a spicier flavor the higher up they grew, but were not the less agreeable to our palates. When the country is settled, and roads are made, these cranberries will perhaps become an article of commerce. From this elevation, just on the skirts of the clouds, we could overlook the country, west and south, for a hundred miles. There it was, the State of Maine, which we had seen on the map, but not much like that, — immeasurable forest for the sun to shine on, that eastern **stuff** we hear of in Massachusetts. No clearing, no house. It did not look as if a solitary traveller had cut so much as a walking-stick there. Countless lakes, — Moosehead in the southwest, forty miles long by ten wide, like a gleaming silver platter at the end of the table; Chesuncook, eighteen long by three wide, without an island; Millinocket, on the south, with its hundred islands; and a hundred others without a name; and mountains also, whose names, for the most part, are known only to the Indians. The forest looked like a firm grass sward, and the effect of these lakes in its midst has been well compared, by one who has since visited this same spot, to that of a "mirror broken into a thousand fragments, and wildly scattered over the grass, reflecting the full blaze of the sun." It was a large farm for somebody, when cleared. According to the Gazetteer, which was printed before the boundary question was settled, this single Penobscot county, in which we were, was larger than the whole State of Vermont, with its fourteen counties; and this was only a part of the wild lands of Maine. We are concerned now, however, about natural, not political limits. We were about eighty miles, as the bird flies, from Bangor, or one hundred and fifteen, as we had rode, and walked, and paddled. We had to console ourselves with the reflection that this view was probably as good as that from the peak, as far as it went; and what were a mountain without its attendant clouds and mists? Like ourselves, neither Bailey nor Jackson had obtained a clear view from the summit.

JACOB WHITMAN BAILEY

DR. CHARLES T. JACKSON



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**CAPE COD:** Captain John Sears, of Suet, was the first person in this country who obtained pure marine salt by solar evaporation alone; though it had long been made in a similar way on the coast of France, and elsewhere. This was in the year 1776, at which time, on account of the war, salt was scarce and dear. The Historical Collections contain an interesting account of his experiments, which we read when we first saw the roofs of the salt-works. Barnstable county is the most favorable locality for these works on our northern coast, there is so little fresh water here emptying into ocean. Quite recently there were about two millions of dollars invested in this business here. But now the Cape is unable to compete with the importers of salt and the manufacturers of it at the West, and, accordingly, her salt-works are fast going to decay. From making salt, they turn to fishing more than ever. The Gazetteer will uniformly tell you, under the head of each town, how many go a-fishing, and the value of the fish and oil taken, how much salt is made and used, how many are engaged in the coasting trade, how many in manufacturing palm-leaf hats, leather, boots, shoes, and tinware, and then it has done, and leaves you to imagine the more truly domestic manufactures which are nearly the same all the world over.



# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1840

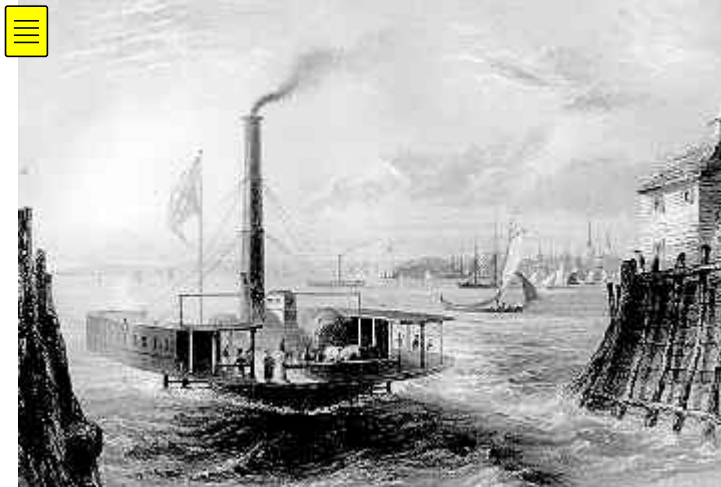
With [disownment](#) by his Lynn meeting of the [Religious Society of Friends](#) imminent, [Friend William Basset](#) joined with Joseph S. Wall in a publication in [Worcester](#) called the [Reformer](#). In this periodical he would be able to position his own writings in favor of nonsectarianism, nonresistance, and the abolition of slavery. However, Basset was forced to change work several times and eventually would be unable to continue publication of this paper.

At some point during the 1840s, ["Charley" Parkhurst](#), 5 foot 7 inches and wiry, would move from [Worcester](#), Massachusetts to [Providence, Rhode Island](#) and become a coachman to the upscale swells of that vicinity.



**WORCESTER****WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

Spring: The steamboat *Herald* which had sunk in the Merrimack River and been refitted as a side-wheel excursion steamer capable of taking 500 passengers on an outing was carried overland down and around Pawtucket Falls, and when the water rose in the spring it was floated down to Newburyport and sailed to New-York harbor — where it became a ferry.<sup>27</sup>

**THE FERRY AT BROOKLYN PIER IN 1840**

27. We may wonder whether it was one of the ferries that [Walt Whitman](#) rode between Manhattan and Brooklyn:

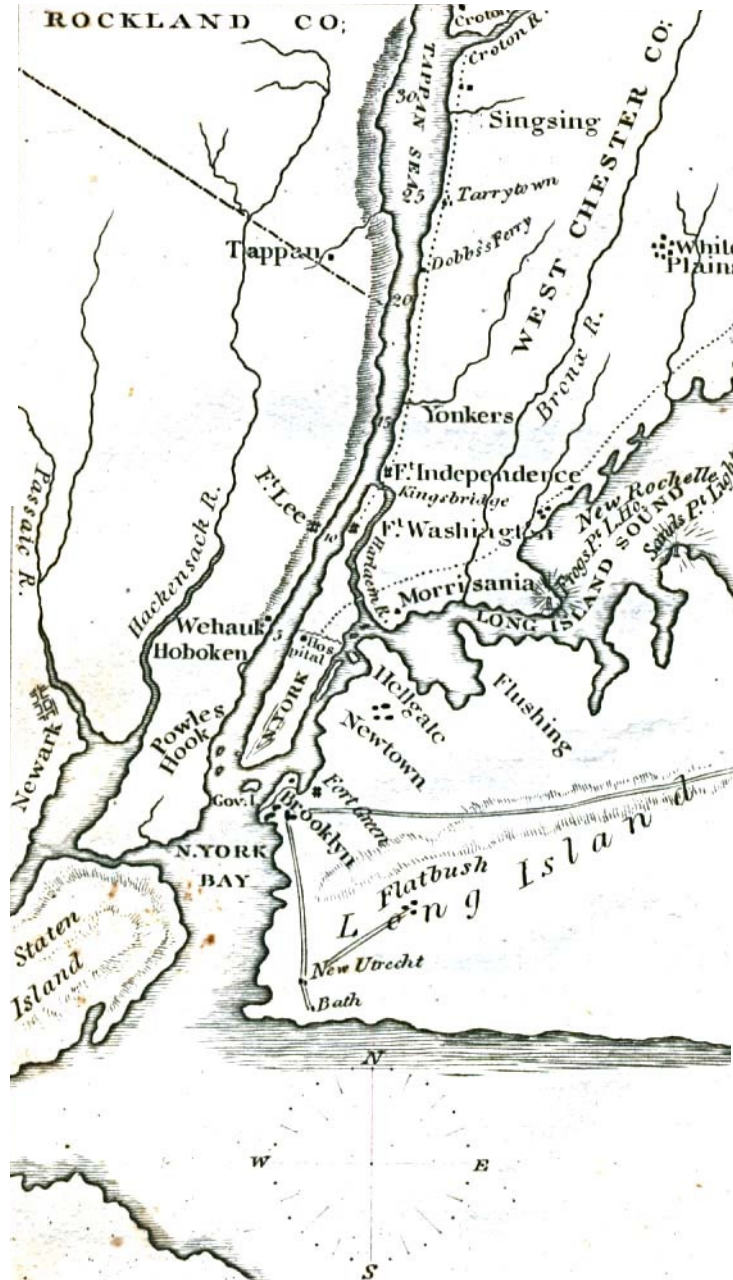
**“Specimen Days”****MY PASSION FOR FERRIES**

Living in Brooklyn or New York city from this time forward, my life, then, and still more the following years, was curiously identified with Fulton ferry, already becoming the greatest of its sort in the world for general importance, volume, variety, rapidity, and picturesqueness. Almost daily, [Page 70] later, ('50 to '60,) I cross'd on the boats, often up in the pilot-houses where I could get a full sweep, absorbing shows, accompaniments, surroundings. What oceanic currents, eddies, underneath — the great tides of humanity also, with ever-shifting movements. Indeed, I have always had a passion for ferries; to me they afford inimitable, streaming, never-failing, living poems. The river and bay scenery, all about New York island, any time of a fine day — the hurrying, splashing sea-tides — the changing panorama of steamers, all sizes, often a string of big ones outward bound to distant ports — the myriads of white-sail'd schooners, sloops, skiffs, and the marvelously beautiful yachts — the majestic sound boats as they rounded the Battery and came along towards 5, afternoon, eastward bound — the prospect off towards Staten island, or down the Narrows, or the other way up the Hudson — what refreshment of spirit such sights and experiences gave me years ago (and many a time since.) My old pilot friends, the Balsirs, Johnny Cole, Ira Smith, William White, and my young ferry friend, Tom Gere — how well I remember them all.

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Steamboat service was established between Norwich CT and New-York harbor. At Norwich the steamboat [STEAMBOAT](#) passengers would be able to connect with the Worcester-Norwich RR, and at [Worcester](#) with the Boston-Worcester RR. —But the river ice would prove not to be manageable this far upstream.



When the Cunard Steamship Line selected Boston as its North American terminus, Boston became a major US port for immigrants during the decade of the 1840s.<sup>28</sup>

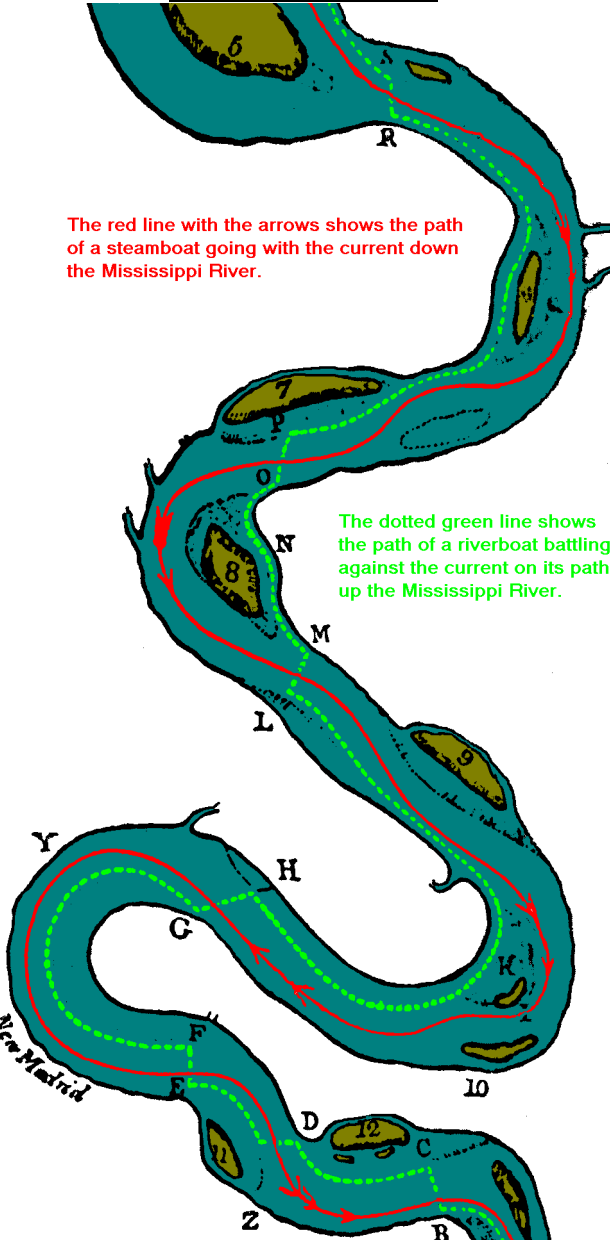
When [Herman Melville](#)'s brother's business, which was his source of employment, went bankrupt in this year,

28. Until, that is, lack of good rail connections to the interior caused it to lose out to other ports.

**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

he would be traveling to Illinois to seek opportunities there, part of the way on a Mississippi steamboat.



The Fort Snelling surgeon, Dr. John Emerson, was at his own request and for the benefit of his health transferred from the [Minnesota](#) Territory to a post in [Florida](#) — where a war upon the Seminole natives





## **WORCESTER**

## **WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

was at the moment taking place.

(Dr. Emerson would find Florida also to be bad for his health. He had a delicate constitution, seemingly fitted only for travel from post to post.)



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## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1841

The “Practical Christians” purchased a farm at Mendon in the western part of Milford near [Worcester](#) and christened it “[Hopedale](#).” The conservative Restorationists abandoned both the Practical Christians and the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists and fell back upon their Unitarian connections established over the years. The pro-reform fragment of the Massachusetts Association of Universal Restorationists became the nucleus of the Hopedale Community. The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#) was chosen president of the organization, called “Fraternal Communion No. 1” (he would fill this position into 1852). Two couples were the core leadership of the community, the Reverend Ballou and Lucy Ballou and their friends Ebenezer Draper and Anna Draper, who made the largest economic contribution to the joint-stock company. Other important members during the community’s early period were drawn from the Restorationist ministry: George W. Stacy, Daniel S. Whitney, William H. Fish, and David R. Lamson. Due to the soft economy of the period, more people applied for admission to a share of the experiment’s benefits than could readily be accepted, and then there arose during the initial year a disagreement in regard adopting a form of socialism. The poorer members, including David Lamson, sought of course to have all property held in common in according with socialism’s perennial inspiring slogan “What’s yours is ours.” However, it was the consideration of the Reverend Ballou that to defuse tensions within the overcrowded community they needed to be aiming not toward an “absorption of the individual in the community,” but rather “more opportunity for personal seclusion, activity, and development.” The group’s constitution would be amended to allow more privacy and increased economic reward for effort and contribution, and the more intransigent of the communists, including David Lamson, would leave the [Hopedale](#) community.

Charles May, a brother of the Reverend Samuel Joseph May and of [Abba Alcott](#), after serving in the Navy as a chaplain and teaching school in Alabama had become so mentally unstable as to be unable to hold a job. He would be supported by his brother (in what was characterized as a “wren-box” of a house) in this idealistic community.

July: [John Downes](#) left [Worcester](#) for several months to survey the boundary between Maine and [Canada](#) for the Northeast Boundary Commission. By this time he had been “long resident” in [Worcester](#). It was during this period of three or four years previous that he had met [Theophilus Brown](#). After Downes left [Worcester](#), he and Brown would correspond for more than three decades.<sup>29</sup>

29. THE LETTERS OF THEO. BROWN (3rd edition, 1898) has 19 letters from [Theophilus Brown](#) to [John Downes](#) between 1847 and 1878.

# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

August 17, Tuesday-18, Wednesday: At the quarterly meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society held in Millbury near [Worcester](#), the abolitionists heard the “eloquent and thrilling remarks of a fugitive slave” named [Frederick Douglass](#) who had been living in freedom for three years. The convention considered starting



a petition to impeach President John Tyler for owning slaves, but decided that this tactic would not work. Instead they petitioned the Massachusetts legislature to outlaw Jim Crow cars. While the abolitionists were in town they so provoked a local church member who was making a good living manufacturing weapons for the US government to use “to murder the poor Seminoles,” that this pious fraud accused them of seeking “the destruction of the sabbath, church and ministry.” [Abby Kelley](#) was encouraged:

*From this day henceforward Millbury is an anti-slavery town.*



August 18: Unpremeditated music is the true gage [*sic*] which measures the current of our thoughts — the very undertow of our life’s stream. Of all the duties of life it is hardest to be in earnest — it implies a good deal both before and behind.... The cockrils crow and the hens cluck in the yard — as if time were dog cheap. It seems something worth detaining him — the laying of an egg. Cannot man do something to comfort the gods, and not let the world prove such a piddling concern? ... The best poets, after all, exhibit only a tame and civil side of nature They have not seen the west side of any mountain.... It is only the white man’s poetry — we want the Indian’s report.... The landscape contains a thousand dials which indicate the natural divisions of time — the shadows of a thousand styles point to the hour.



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1842

The Western Railroad announced that there were now direct rail connections all the way from [Worcester](#) to Albany in New York state, a distance of 155 miles.

January 5, Wednesday-6, Thursday: [Frederick Douglass](#) spoke at the annual meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society, in [Worcester](#).







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1843

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.”



COMMUNITARIANISM



**WORCESTER**

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**1844**

Final, 148th issue of Charles Hale's hand-lettered and illustrated newsletter, the Rail-Road Journal of the [Boston and Worcester R.R.](#), which he had been issuing faithfully since 1839 when he was eight years old (it had come to be time for the Hale kid to prep to go off to college).



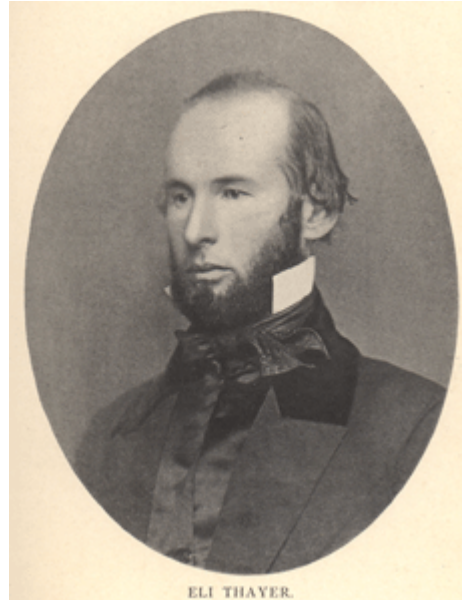
## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1845

In [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), Macon B. Allen was admitted to the bar (he was the 1st black lawyer in the history of the United States of America).

[Eli Thayer](#) graduated from [Brown University](#) in [Providence, Rhode Island](#).



On leaving college, he returned to [Worcester](#), and was made Principal of the very school in which he had been qualified for the University, the same being now known as the "Worcester Academy." Here he worked on as few men do work, even in the high vocation of teacher; and in the year 1851, he opened a school for girls on what was known as Goat's Hill, in a noble and appropriate structure which his own enterprise had erected. Several acres are connected with the building, and the spot was named Mount Oread. The "Oread Institute," with its numerous pupils and its corps of skilful and accomplished teachers, enjoys a fame, as wide as Worcester herself, throughout the country. Mr. Thayer actively superintended the entire education of his pupils; and, even now, finds time enough to carry on his original design with all the industry and vigor which he first brought to its development. Prior to entering on this undertaking, however, Mr. Thayer interested himself largely in real estate enterprises; and it is notorious that the city of Worcester is, to-day, indebted as much to him as to any other man for opening up certain leading improvements, such as locating shops and factories and mills, that have given an abiding impulse to its growth and material prosperity. It is not necessary to describe the Oread Institute; every stranger who passes through Worcester, in the cars, at once espies it and makes particular inquiry about it. Its towers, its long line of masonry, forming a sort of apron-work from end to end, its battlements and its imposing position, attract immediate attention, and are worthy to crown a spot that of itself forms one of the boldest features of the town. It is proper to add



## **WORCESTER**

## **WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

that this seminary is well sustained by the public far and near,  
furnishing its projector with a liberal and certain income, as  
his enterprise well deserves.



## WORCESTER

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July 9, Wednesday: [Theophilus Brown](#) and Sarah Ann Knowlton were wed in Worcester, Massachusetts. Their children would be William Theophilus Brown, born December 15, 1846, Alice Brown, born 1852, and Fanny Brown, who would die a year after her birth.

On the night of July 9th, [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) and [Ellery Channing](#) used the *Pond Lily* to help others search for the body of a [suicide](#), a Miss [Martha Emmeline Hunt](#) about 19 years of age who had been superintendent of one of the district schools, with 60 pupils.<sup>30</sup> She had left her bonnet and shoes and handkerchief at a spot

Not far from this spot, lay an old, leaky punt, drawn up on the oozy river-side, and generally half-full of water. It served the angler to go in quest of pickerel, or the sportsman to pick up his wild-ducks. Setting this crazy barque afloat, I seated myself in the stern, with the paddle, while Hollingsworth sat in the bows, with the hooked pole, and Silas Foster amidships, with a hay-rake.

“It puts me in mind of my young days,” remarked Silas, “when I used to steal out of bed to go bobbing for horn-pouts and eels. Heigh-ho! — well! — life and death together make sad work for us all. Then, I was a boy, bobbing for fish; and now I am getting to be an old fellow, and here I be, groping for a dead body! I tell you what, lads, if I thought anything had really happened to Zenobia, I should feel kind o’ sorrowful.”

on the bank of the river some ways below the bridge, a half a mile across a pasture from her parents’ home,

30. During his summer vacation in Concord in 1853, the Reverend [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) was boarding with some Misses Hunt at a pleasant cottage on Ponkawtasset Hill and they informed him that they had been Martha’s cousins, and were concerned that [George William Curtis](#), in his [HOMES OF AMERICAN AUTHORS](#), “had suggested that Martha’s suicide was due to the contrast between her transcendental ideals and the coarseness of her home.” Conway continued, in his late-life autobiography, that “They described the family of their cousin as educated people. One of these sisters walked with me to the river and pointed out all the places connected with the tragedy, and some years later another cousin drowned herself there.”

HDT

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## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

early that morning, and to have walked to and fro on the bank for several hours.



This was a sexual opportunity not to be missed, and every male in Concord who had heard of the matter had thronged to the river bank (but apparently [Henry Thoreau](#) was out in his cabin on the pond, behaving himself).



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

In the *Pond Lily*, the young man with the long pole

Drew her towards the boat, grasped her arm or hand; and I steered the boat to the bank, all the while looking at this dead girl, whose limbs were swaying in the water, close at the boat's side. The fellow evidently had the same sort of feeling in his success as if he had caught a particularly fine fish; though mingled, no doubt, with horror. For my own part, I felt my voice tremble a little, when I spoke, at the shock of the discovery; and at seeing the body come to the surface, dimly in the starlight. When close to the bank, some of the men stepped into the water and drew out the body; and then, by their lanterns, I could see how rigid it was. There was nothing flexible about it; she did not droop over the arms of those who supported her, with her hair hanging down, as a painter would have represented her, but was all as stiff as marble. And it was evident that her wet garments covered limbs perfectly inflexible. They took her out of the water, and deposited her under an oak-tree; and by the time we had got ashore, they were examining her by the light of two or three lanterns.... As soon as she was taken out of the water, the blood began to stream from her nose. Something seemed to have injured her eye, too; perhaps it was the pole, when it first struck the body. The complexion was a dark red, almost purple; the hands were white, with the same rigidity in their clench as in all the rest of the body.... If she could have foreseen, while she stood, at 5 °clock that morning, on the bank of the river, how her maiden corpse would have looked, eighteen hours afterwards, and how coarse men would strive with hand and foot to reduce it to a decent aspect, and all in vain – it would surely have saved her from this deed.

My personal interpretation of what these eager male hookers were up to, on the river that night, is that, when their pole finally hooked the corpse in an eye socket, and it was hauled to the surface, what [Nathaniel](#) got a good look at, and perhaps a feel of, was his ideal of the perfectly passive female body. The realization of this sexual ideal of True Womanhood proved to be much too much for him:

*I never saw or imagined a spectacle of such perfect horror.*

David Buttrick fainted, but an old carpenter commented that he would as lief handle dead bodies as living ones, and the men gathered around and twisted and stomped on the girl's limbs locked in *rigor mortis* in a prolonged pretense that they were forcing her to assume a proper posture for the dead. The family told the hookers who had just been thus pawing the body that the poor girl had attempted to drown herself before, by walking into the river up to her chin, but that a sister had gotten her to come back out of the water. Hawthorne would use 10 paragraphs of his journal of this day in *THE BLITHEDALE ROMANCE*, as an account of the recovery of the body of the suicide "Zenobia"<sup>31</sup> who had drowned as an "Arcadian affectation," omitting the unromantic

31. [Margaret Fuller](#) was held by authorities in the 19th Century to have evinced a death wish, for, staring across the gap of raging surf at the dead bodies of her husband and her baby stretched upon the beach, drowned one after the other in the attempt to get to shore, she could not force herself to leap into the ocean, and was still on the ship clutching the mast when it broke up in the waves. And, she had been a school superintendent, **just** like this Concord River suicide Martha Hunt!

## WORCESTER

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description of the continuous flow of blood from the nose (a description which I also omitted, above). Hawthorne also changed the grapple wound from the eye socket to the “breast.”<sup>32</sup>

Since a “young brother of the deceased, apparently about twelve or fourteen years old” was on the bank watching this, we may presume that the hooking party was being witnessed by Daniel Otis Hunt, who had been born in 1831.

When they got the makeshift bier back to the Hunt farmhouses on Punkatasset Hill, Mrs. Maria Pratt and others laid the body out for its interment.



Here is a puzzle. Where is the body of Martha Emmeline [Hunt](#) buried? Was there a burial service? (If this event had occurred in England, we know from the act of July 4, 1823 [→](#) what would have needed to have happened to such a corpse: the body of the suicide could be interred in a churchyard or public burial place only if such interment occurred within 24 hours of the coroner’s inquest and certificate, took place after 9PM and before midnight, and was bereft of any accompanying Christian religious observance. We know, further, that in the case of an English suicide, any goods and chattels of the deceased would be forfeit to the Crown. We need to research and discover how American law bore on this circumstance, and what happened specifically in Concord.)

Here then is [Hawthorne](#)’s entry in his AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS, as rendered into poetry by Robert Peters:

32. Were [Margaret](#)’s breasts **that** fascinating, in spite of her twisted spine?





**WORCESTER**

**WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

*The Drowned Girl*

I

We caused the boat to float  
once or twice past the spot  
where the bonnet was found.  
The poles or the rake caught  
in bunches of water-weed, which  
in the star-light, looked like  
garments. All this time  
persons on the bank were anxiously  
waiting.

II

'What's this?' cried he.  
I suppose the same electric shock  
went through everybody in the boat.  
'Yes, I've got her!'

III

I felt my voice tremble  
at the first shock of  
seeing the body come  
to the surface, dimly  
in the star-light.

IV

I could see how rigid  
she was. She did not droop  
over the arms of those who  
supported her, with her hair  
hanging down, but was all  
stiff, as marble.  
They examined her  
by the light of two or three lanterns.  
Her arms had stiffened  
and were bent before her.  
She was the very image of death-agony.

V

They deposited her under an oak-tree.  
When the men tried to compose her figure,  
her arms would return to that same position.  
One of the men put his foot upon  
her arm, for the purpose of reducing it  
by her side; but, in a moment, it rose again.  
Blood began to stream from her nose.  
Something had injured her eye, too.  
Perhaps it was the pole, when it first  
struck the body. The complexion  
was a dark red, almost purple. The hands  
were white, with the same rigidity in  
their clench as in all the rest of the body.  
Two of the men got water and washed away the  
blood from her face. But it flowed and flowed  
and continued to flow.

Peters, Robert Louis. HAWTHORNE: POEMS ADAPTED FROM THE AMERICAN NOTEBOOKS. Fairfax CA:  
Poet-Skin / Red Hill Press, 1977.

[Hawthorne](#) also had a few choice words to say about his rowing companion on this expedition, [Ellery](#):



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"What a gump!...On the whole, he is but little better than an idiot. He should have been whipt often and soundly in his boyhood; and as he escaped such wholesome discipline then, it might be well to bestow it now."

– [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#), about [Ellery Channing](#)

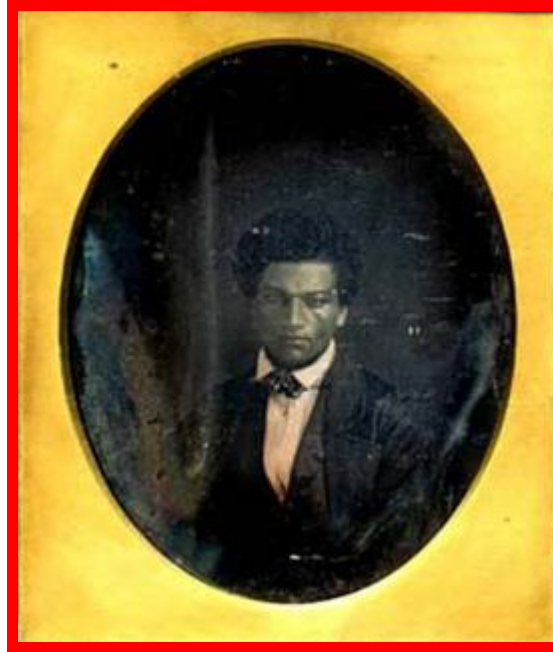


# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

March 11, Tuesday: The owner of 1,200 acres of planted land, Johnny Appleseed (John Chapman), died of exposure near Fort Wayne, Indiana.<sup>33</sup>

[Frederick Douglass](#) lectured in [Worcester](#) and [Wendell Phillips](#) spoke in [Concord](#) on the annexation of Texas and the impending war against Mexico.



Evidently Phillips used the occasion of this [Concord](#) lecture to convey news of the impending publication of the [NARRATIVE OF THE LIFE OF FREDERICK DOUGLASS, AN AMERICAN SLAVE. WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.](#)<sup>34</sup> As William S. McFeely's 1991 biography of Douglass has it,



[P]erhaps Douglass's telling of his odyssey is closest cousin to Thoreau's account of his altogether safe escape to Walden Pond. That quietly contained, subversive tale has reverberated ever since its telling with a message of radical repudiation of corrupt society. [Henry Thoreau](#) heard a [Wendell Phillips](#) lecture describing Douglass's exodus -and reporting that a written account was on its way- in the spring of 1845 as he was planning his sojourn outside [Concord](#). Robert D. Richardson, Jr., who wrote Thoreau's intellectual biography, has said that it is not "an accident that the earliest stages of Thoreau's move to Walden coincide with ... the publication of Douglass's narrative of how he gained his freedom. WALDEN is about self-emancipation."

33. Refer to Price, Robert. JOHNNY APPLESEED: MAN AND MYTH (1954).

34. Later, when [Wendell Phillips](#) would become irritated at what he took to be [Frederick Douglass](#)'s pushiness, so utterly unsuited for one who had formerly been a mere slave, whom we white people had tried to reach down and raise, he turned out not too be above making a remark about Douglass's "wool" (that is, his nappy Negroid hair) being "set afire." At the very least, such a remark about a racial characteristic considered undesirable was not very PC! At the worst, what Phillips was suggesting was that Douglass was a colored man who had quite forgotten what was a colored man's proper role, of loyal servitude to the ideas of white men.



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What Richardson actually says in that “intellectual biography” of 1986 is, on page 151, that Phillip’s speech



stirred [Henry Thoreau](#) to compare Phillips to Spencer’s Red Cross Knight and to write up the speech the following day in a long letter to the [Liberator](#), printed on March 28. One of Phillips’s topics was a young ex-slave named Frederick Douglass, who was just then making a stir as a speaker and was talking about his intention or writing his own life. Thoreau shared Phillips’s indignation that Douglass was being urged to keep silent, lest he compromise people. Going to Walden was Thoreau’s liberation, his experiment in freedom, and his account of himself in WALDEN is an interesting parallel to Douglass’s account of his liberation, which was published and reviewed in June 1845, three months after Phillips’s speech in [Concord](#) and just shortly before Thoreau’s move out to the pond.

Richardson adds in a footnote that he is referring to pages 60-61 of REFORM PAPERS. That reference amounts to the following:

To our disgrace we know not what to call him, unless Scotland will lend us the spoils of one of her Douglasses, out of history or fiction, for a season, till we be hospitable and brave enough to hear his proper name, -a fugitive slave in one more sense than we; who has proved himself the possessor of a **fair** intellect, and has won a colorless reputation in these parts; and who, we trust, will be as superior to degradation from the sympathies of Freedom, as from the antipathies of slavery. When, said Mr. Phillips, he communicated to a New Bedford audience, the other day, his purpose of writing his life, and telling his name, and the name of his master, and the place he ran from, the murmur ran round the room, and was anxiously whispered by the sons of the Pilgrims, “He had better not!” and it was echoed under the shadow of Concord monument, “He had better not!”

Richardson revisits, on pages 315-6, his unsubstantiated hypothesis that it was the white man Phillips’s acknowledged and convenient presence and speech in [Concord](#) rather than the black man Douglass’s unacknowledged and inconvenient presence and speech in Concord that had motivated [Thoreau](#) (and this is the authoritative source from which McFeely obtains the excerpts he quotes, material which I here indicate in

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**boldface):**

In his notes as in his speech [the "Slavery in Massachusetts" oration in Framingham MA on July 4, 1854, "the ninth anniversary of his move out to the pond for personal liberation"], [Henry Thoreau](#) makes heavy and uncharacteristic use of heaven and hell, angels and devils, adopting, for the time and the cause, the rhetorical style of [William Lloyd Garrison](#), [Wendell Phillips](#), and [Frederick Douglass](#).... One of the important meanings of Thoreau's life, and of WALDEN, is the imperative of freedom or liberation. It is thus entirely fit that the final stages of the printing and publishing of WALDEN, should coincide with Thoreau's renewed involvement in the anti-slavery movement, and the aftermath of the Anthony Burns affair. Nor is it **an accident that the earliest stages of Thoreau's move to Walden coincided with the emergence of Frederick Douglass, and the publication of Douglass's narrative of how he gained his freedom. WALDEN is about self-emancipation,** but not at the expense of ignoring the problem of external, physical freedom. The Thoreau who sought his own freedom was, inevitably, involved in the political movement to abolish slavery, and his involvement grew rather than diminished as time went on.

[Wendell Phillips](#) presented the non-cooperation-with-government position in [Concord](#), with [Thoreau](#) in attendance. A couple of weeks later, therefore, in the issue dated March 28th, "Wendell Phillips Before the Concord Lyceum" would appear in [The Liberator](#). Thoreau would be reporting that: "We must give Mr. Phillips the credit of being a clean, erect, and what was once called a consistent man. He at least is not responsible for slavery ... for the hypocrisy and superstition of the church, nor the timidity and selfishness of the state.... In this man the audience might detect a sort of moral principle and integrity." Thoreau would pun (rather tastelessly, it seems to us now) on [Frederick Douglass](#)'s "fair intellect," and on his "colorless reputation."



After March 11: We have now for the third winter had our spirits refreshed and our faith in the destiny of the common wealth strengthened by the presence and the eloquence of Wendell Phillips, and we wish to tender to him our thanks and our sympathy. The admission of this gentleman into the Lyceum has been strenuously opposed by a large & respectable portion of our fellow citizens, who themselves we trust, or whose descendants we trust, will be as faithful conservatories of the new order of things, when at length it shall be the order of the day –and in each instance the people have voted that they *would hear him*, by carrying all their ears and all their cousins to the lecture room –and being very silent that they might hear. One young woman as we hear, walked 5 miles through the snow from a neighboring town to be present on the occasion. We saw some men and women who had long ago *come out, going in* once more through this free and hospitable portal –and our neighbors confessed that they had had a sound season this once–

It was the lecturers aim to show that the state & especially the church had to do, and now alas had done –with Texas and slavery –and how much the individual should have to do with the state & the Church. These were fair themes and not mistimed –addressed to a fit audience –and not a few.

We give Mr Phillips the credit of being a clean, an erect, and what was once called a consistent man– He at least is not responsible for Slavery –nor our American Independence –for the hypocrisy and superstition of the Church –or the timidity and selfishness of the state –or for the indifference and willing ignorance of individuals. He stands so distinctly, so firmly, & so effectively, alone, and one honest man's voice is so much more than a host –that we cannot but feel that he does himself injustice when he reminds us of "the American society which he represents."

It is rare that we have the pleasure of listening to so clear and sound a speaker. to one who has obviously so few cracks and flaws in his moral nature –who having words at his command to a remarkable degree, has much more



### WENDELL PHILLIPS



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

than words if these should fail in his unquestionable sincerity and integrity –secures the genuine respect of his audience, aside from their admiration of his rhetoric.

He unconsciously tells his biography as he proceeds –and *we* seem to see him early and earnestly deliberating on this subject –and wisely and bravely –without counsel of man –occupying a ground at once –from which the varying tides of public opinion cannot drive him.

No one could mistake –the genuine modesty & truth with which he affirmed –when speaking of the framers of the Constitution “I am wiser than they” –who with him improved these seventy- year’s additional experience of its working. Or the consistently and unhesitating prayer which does not conclude like the Thanksgiving proclamations with “God save the Commonwealth of Mass” –but “God dash it into a thousand pieces;” And make us a new one of course.

### WENDELL PHILLIPS

We consider Mr P as one of the most conspicuous and earnest champions of a true church & state at present in the field, and perhaps no one is laboring more efficiently toward an immediate & practical end. The degradation & suffering of the black man –will not have been in vain if they contribute thus indirectly to give a loftier tone to the religion and politics of this country–

We would fain express our appreciation of the wisdom and steadiness, so rare in the reformer –with which he declared that he was not born to abolish slavery, or reform the church –but simply to do the right. His positions have the advantage of being not only morally & politically sound and expedient, but philosophically true, and a rare clearness and singleness of perception is coupled with a still rarer felicity of expressive utterance We have heard a few, a very few, good political speakers –Webster & Everett –who afforded us the pleasure of larger intellectual conceptions –strength and acuteness –of soldier like steadiness and resolution –and of a graceful and natural oratory– But in this man there was a sort of moral worth and integrity –which was more graceful than his rhetoric and more discriminating than his intellectual which was more stable than their firmness. A something which was not eloquence which was not oratory –or wit or scholarship which was working not for temporary –but for worthy & untrivial ends.

### DANIEL WEBSTER

It is so sweet rare and encouraging to listen to the oratory who is content with another alliance, than with the popular party –or the sympathy of the martyrs– Who can afford sometimes to be his own auditor when the mob stay away –and hears him self without reproof. That we feel ourselves in danger of slandering all mankind by affirming that there is one man who is at once an eloquent speaker and a righteous man.

While there remains a fragment on which a man can stand –and dare not tell his name”– referring to the case of Frederick \_\_\_\_\_, to our disgrace we know not what to call him, unless Scotland will lend us one of her hero Douglasses out of history or fiction for a season –till we be trustworthy and hospitable enough to hear his proper name.– A fugitive slave, in one more sense than we — who has proved himself a possessor of a *White* intellect, and has won a colorless reputation among us — who we trust will prove himself as superior to temptation from the sympathies of freedom, as he has done to the degradation of slavery. When he communicated his purpose said Mr. Philips the other day to a New Bedford audience of writing his life and telling his name and the name of his master and the place he ran from– This murmur ran round the room, and was timidly whispered by the sons of the Pilgrims “he had better not” –and it was echoed under the shadow of Concord monument– “he had better not.” But he is going to England where this revelation will be safe.

Perhaps on the whole the most interesting fact elicited by these addresses is the readiness of the people at large, of whatever sect or party, and the more liberal and least timid of the conservatives to entertain with good will and hospitality the most heretical opinions thus frankly and plainly expressed –roving that all men are easily convertible to the right if you will only show it to them

Such clear and candid declarations of opinion whetted and clarified the intellect of all parties like an electuary and furnished each with additional arguments to support what he deemed that right. “Well,” says one; “He put it on to us poor Democrats pretty hard”. “That’s a severe dose” says another, “Well”, responds the minister it’s all true, every word of it.” One of our most impartial and discriminating neighbors affirmed that he had perfectly demonstrated to his mind the truth of principles which he knew to be false. One elderly & sensible lady told us that she was much pleased –but as we inquired did you like it wholly every part of it –and she answered she must confess as she had heard but one antislavery lecture before she was not used to hearing the church so spoken of, but yet she liked it –and she was one of those who sit with honor under the very nave of the church. We have no desire to be overly critical and in the present complexion of affairs we would only say to him and such as are like him –God speed you.

### ANDRÉS BERNÁLDEZ

As the spanish Chronicler said that from Cape Alfaetio the easternmost part of terra firma on which columbus landed –travellers might walk due west till they came quite round again to cape saint Vincent in Spain– “and god grant them a pleasant journey–” –but we suspect that there may be a Pacifica ocean to be crossed, which is to this atlantic as 10 to 3 –before they come to the Cape St. Vincent we have heard of –and will not remember ever to have seen it before. However westward lies the way. and Fare well.

No wonder, said one who is a judger of these matter, no wonder the people wanted to hear “we cant do better than get him again.”

But it becomes the many who yield their so easy assent to his positions, and suffer not the sometimes honest prejudice of their neighbors to hinder his free speech to hear him with seriousness & with a spirit at least as prepared and as resolved as his own for the issue.

He does not bewilder and mystify his audience with sophistry –as the mere partisan always does –but furnishes



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

a light which all may use to their profit.

...

Oh the muskrats are the greatest fellows to gnaw their legs off. Why I caught one once that had just gnawed his third leg off, this being the 3d time he had been trapped, and he lay dead by the trap, for he could'nt run on one leg.

**BETWEEN ANY TWO MOMENTS ARE AN INFINITE NUMBER OF MOMENTS, AND BETWEEN THESE OTHER MOMENTS LIKEWISE AN INFINITE NUMBER, THERE BEING NO ATOMIC MOMENT JUST AS THERE IS NO ATOMIC POINT ALONG A LINE. MOMENTS ARE THEREFORE FIGMENTS. THE PRESENT MOMENT IS A MOMENT AND AS SUCH IS A FIGMENT, A FLIGHT OF THE IMAGINATION TO WHICH NOTHING REAL CORRESPONDS. SINCE PAST MOMENTS HAVE PASSED OUT OF EXISTENCE AND FUTURE MOMENTS HAVE YET TO ARRIVE, WE NOTE THAT THE PRESENT MOMENT IS ALL THAT EVER EXISTS — AND YET THE PRESENT MOMENT BEING A MOMENT IS A FIGMENT TO WHICH NOTHING IN REALITY CORRESPONDS.**

March 18, Tuesday: [Frederick Douglass](#) lectured at Brinley Hall in [Worcester](#) for the quarterly meeting of the Worcester County South Division Anti-Slavery Society.<sup>35</sup>

[Worcester, Massachusetts](#)

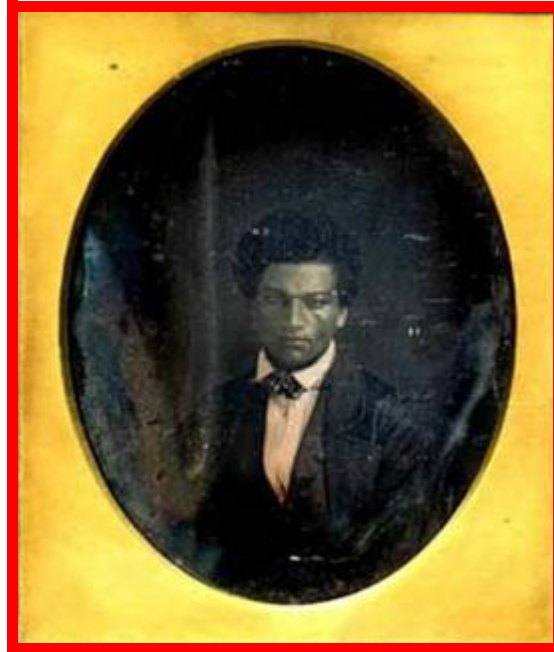
[“Stack of the Artist of Kouroo” Project](#)

35. Would it have been during approximately this period that [Frederick Douglass](#) made a side trip and delivered to the [Hopedale](#) community of nearby Mendon the escaped slave Rosetta Hall, whom he had known while in bondage? Also in that community, from time to time, were the Craft family of escaped slaves, and the slave rescuer known as “The Man with the Branded Hand.”

## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

July 1, Tuesday: [Frederick Douglass](#) lectured in [Worcester](#).



August 1, Friday: On West Indian Emancipation Day, in 9 abolitionist pic nics in 9 Massachusetts towns, Charles King Whipple had arranged for circulation of a pledge not to “countenance or aid the United States government in any war which may be occasioned by the annexation of [Texas](#), or in any other war, foreign or domestic, designed to strengthen or perpetuate slavery.” In [Worcester](#), [William Lloyd Garrison](#), the Reverend [Adin Ballou](#), [Stephen Symonds Foster](#), and [Frederick Douglass](#) signed this pledge.



At one of these 9 pic nics celebrating the anniversary of West Indian emancipation, in Waltham, Massachusetts, [Waldo Emerson](#) lectured. His remarks would be printed verbatim in the New-York [Tribune](#) by Ruchames.

One day after departing from Dresden for the [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) festival in Bonn accompanied by his wife Clara, [Robert Schumann](#) suffered an attack of “anxiety and dizziness.” The trip was aborted and they would travel instead to his family in Zwickau.

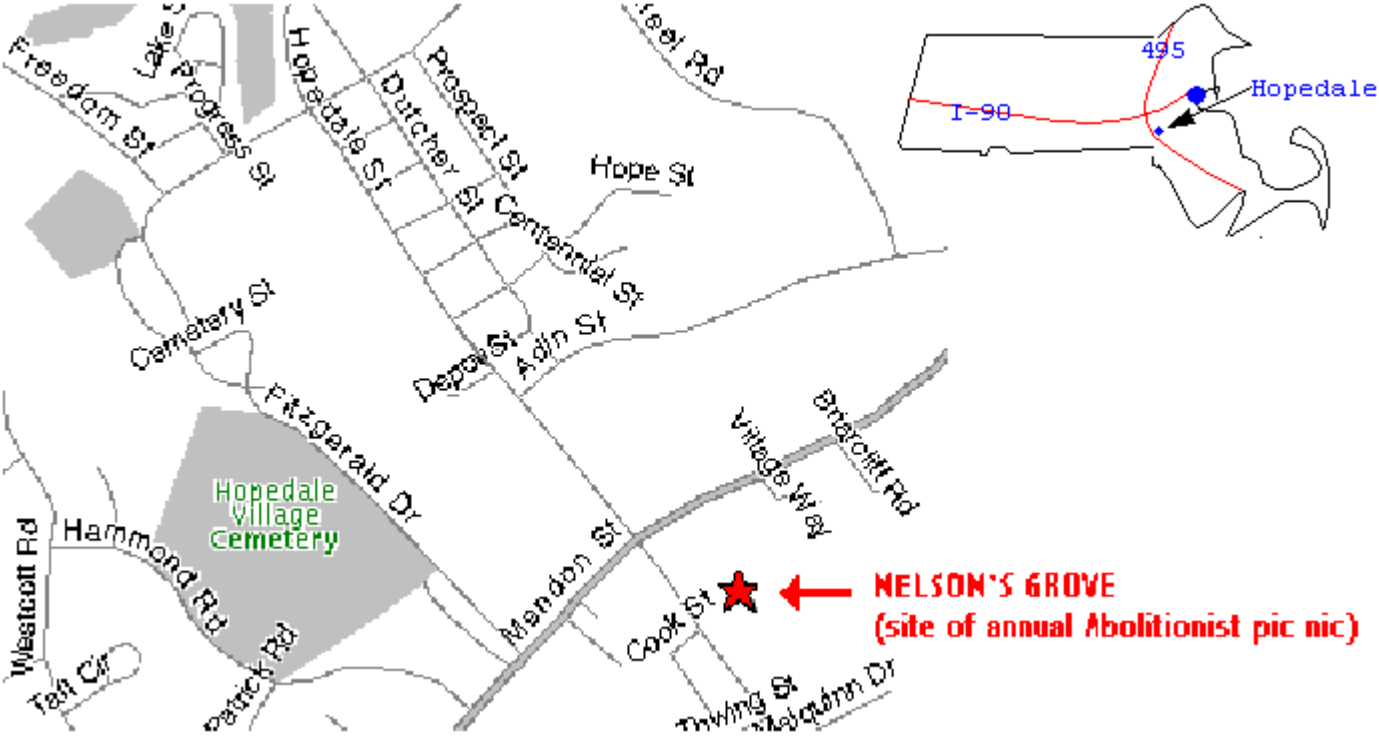
An abbreviated obituary of the suicide [Martha Emmeline Hunt](#) appeared in the [Concord Freeman](#).



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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.



COMMUNITARIANISM



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

1846



The Reverend [Edward Everett Hale](#) would be the [Unitarian](#) minister of the Church of the Unity in [Worcester](#) until 1856 (at which point he would become minister of the South Congregational Church in Boston).

The Reverend [Henry Whitney Bellows](#) began to edit [The Christian Inquirer](#), a [Unitarian](#) weekly paper (he would also edit, for a time, [The Christian Examiner](#)).

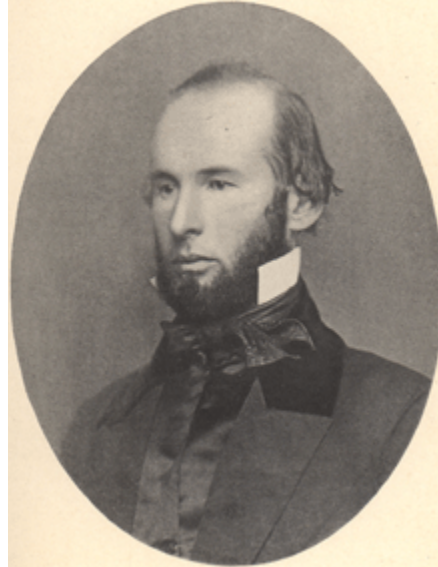
## WORCESTER

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1847



[Eli Thayer](#) became a teacher at the institute at which he had been trained in [Worcester](#), renamed the Worcester Academy. Soon he would be the school's 4th headmaster (he would serve in that capacity through 1849).



[Christopher A. Greene](#) helped start a private school in [Boston](#).



[Amos Adams Lawrence](#) commissioned the Reverends William Harkness Sampson, Henry Root Colman, and Reeder Smith to establish a school on land he owned in the Wisconsin Territory. This was to become Lawrence University in Appleton, Wisconsin. Although he pledged \$10,000 to endow the school there was a condition: the Methodists, represented by the Reverends Sampson and Colman, would need to match his bequest, raising

# WORCESTER

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\$10,000 on their own.



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

## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

April: With [Abby Kelley Foster](#) greatly pregnant, she and [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) moved to their new Federal-style farmhouse at 116 Mower St. in [Worcester](#), naming it “Liberty Farm” and employing it immediately as a station of the [Underground Railroad](#). They would reside there together until 1881. Until 1879, the Fosters, no pushovers, would be refusing to pay property taxes on the grounds that Abby was not being allowed to vote. What, taxation without representation? The property would be auctioned off by the government, several times, with friends repeatedly repurchasing the house and giving it back to the Fosters. Although the place is not open to the public, it is now designated as a National Historic Landmark:



May 19, Wednesday: At Liberty Farm near [Worcester](#), [Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster](#) gave birth to [Alla](#).

May 24, Monday: [John Brown, Jr.](#) wrote from the [Kansas Territory](#): “I tell you the truth when I say that while the interest of despotism has secured to its cause hundreds of thousands of the meanest and most desperate of men, armed to the teeth with Revolvers, Bowie Knives, Rifles & Cannon —while they are not only thoroughly organized, but under pay from Slaveholders— the friends of freedom are not one fourth of them half armed, and as to military organization among them it no where exists in this territory unless they have recently done something in Lawrence. The result of this is that the people here exhibit the most abject and cowardly spirit, whenever their dearest rights are invaded and trampled down by the lawless band of miscreants which Missouri has ready at a moment’s call to pour in upon them. This is the general effect upon the people here so far as I have noticed; there are a few, and but a few exceptions.... Now the remedy we propose is that the Anti-Slavery portion of the inhabitants should immediately, thoroughly arm, and organize themselves in military companies. In order to effect this, some persons must begin and lead off in the matter.” My goodness, is someone going to volunteer to lead such a virtuous army of white men?<sup>36</sup>



THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION



## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS


June 22, Tuesday: Invention of the donut.

On this day, or possibly on the following one [Clara Capron Thayer](#) was born in [Worcester](#), a daughter of [Eli Thayer](#) and [Caroline Maria Capron Thayer](#).

General Stephen W. Kearny, heading east, reached the “Cannibal Camp” in the High Sierras. He and his companions were horrified at what they see. Mormon Battalion veterans who formed part of Kearny’s entourage were detailed to gather the remains into the Breen cabin, which they then set afire.

July: Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) spoke in [Worcester](#).<sup>37</sup>



The [Reverend Frederick Llewellyn Hovey Willis](#) would belatedly lay claim, posthumously in 1915,  to be able to remember having visited [Henry Thoreau](#) with [the Alcott family](#) during this month, on pages 91-94 of his *ALCOTT MEMOIRS* (Boston: Badger). When this “keen recollection” of his, of St. Francis Thoreau and the animules, allegedly was formed, he was at the age of 17 or 18, which is definitely enough to know better!

I have a keen recollection of the first time I met Henry David Thoreau. It was upon a beautiful day in July, 1847, that Mrs. Alcott told us we were to visit Walden. We started merrily a party of seven, Mr. and Mrs. Alcott, the four girls and myself, for the woods of oak and pine that encircled the picturesque little lake called Walden Pond. We found Thoreau in his cabin, a plain little house of one room containing a wood stove. He gave us gracious welcome, asking us within. For a time he talked with Mr. Alcott in a voice and with a manner in which, boy as I was, I detected a something akin with Emerson. He was a tall and rugged-looking man, straight as a pine tree. His nose was strong, dominating his face, and his eyes as keen as an eagle’s. He seemed to speak with them, to take in all about him

36. As an enterprise in the spirit of “doing well by doing good,” the New England Emigrant Aid Company had been formed by [Eli Thayer](#), an entrepreneur from [Worcester](#), to purchase land in the new territory known as Kansas and encourage the right sort of black-despising poor white Americans to settle there by providing information, cheapening transportation, and setting up saw mills and flour mills to give work and incomes to such “decent antislavery” homesteaders. The idea was to send entire communities in one fell swoop, increasing the value of the properties owned by this company. If political control over this territory could be achieved, they would be able to set up a real Aryan Nation, from which slaves would of course be excluded because they were enslaved, and from which free blacks Americans would of course be excluded because as human material they were indelibly inferior. The large bulk of the investment capital came from the businessman [Amos Adams Lawrence](#), but [Charles Francis Adams, Sr.](#) subscribed to the tune of \$25,000, and [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#), on the board of directors, invested what he could. The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) would become one of their skills, explaining that America need not have race problems.

**SECRET “SIX”**

37. Bear in mind that in America at that time, under the frightening rubric “female greatness,” every attempt was made to prevent women from having a public voice. Quakerism was the sole exception. One of the tactics typically used when it was known that a woman intended to address a reforming society—but only one of them, there were other tactics as well for employment prior to such an encounter, and then there were tactics for use afterward such as light cartooning—was for male members to arrive early and bolt the doors from the inside.



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in one vigorous glance. His brows were shaggy as in people who observe rather than see.

He was talking to Mr. Alcott of the wild flowers in Walden woods when, suddenly stopping, he said: "Keep very still and I will show you my family." Stepping quickly outside the cabin door, he gave a low and curious whistle; immediately a woodchuck came running towards him from a nearby burrow. With varying note, yet still low and strange, a pair of gray squirrels were summoned and approached him fearlessly. With still another note several birds, in two crows, flew towards him, one of the crows nestling upon his shoulder. I remember it was the crow resting close to his head that made the most vivid impression upon me, knowing how fearful of man this bird is. He fed them all from his hand, taking food from his pocket, and petted them gently before our delighted gaze; and then dismissed them by different whistling, always strange and low and short, each little wild thing departing instantly at hearing its special signal.

Then he took us five children upon the pond in his boat, ceasing his oars after a little distance from the shore and playing the flute he had brought with him, its music echoing over the still and beautifully clear water. He suddenly laid the flute down and told us stories of the Indians that "long ago" had lived about Walden and Concord; delighting us with simple, clear explanations of the wonders of Walden woods. Again he interrupted himself suddenly, speaking of the various kinds of lilies growing about Walden and calling the wood lilies, stately wild things. It was pond lily time and from the boat we gathered quantities of their pure white flowers and buds; upon our return to the shore he helped us gather other flowers and laden with many sweet blossoms, we wended our way homewards rejoicingly. As we were going he said to me: "Boy, you look tired and sleepy; remember, sleep is half a dinner."

I saw him afterwards very many times in the company of his most intimate friends, Mr. Emerson and Mr. Alcott. He often came to our home; indeed, aside from visits to his father, mother, sisters, and Mr. Emerson, he visited no one else. Upon some of these occasions I remember him saying "that he had a great deal of company in the morning when nobody called;" and "I have never found the companion who is so companionable as solitude." I also remember, "in Walden Woods I hunt with a glass; for a gun gives you but the body while a glass gives you the bird." He possessed to an uncanny degree a knowledge of flowers, plants, and trees. He kept a careful calendar of the shrubs and flora about Walden and showed it me in explanation many times.

The land upon which his cabin was built had been given him by Emerson; the cabin he built himself at a cost of less than thirty dollars and for the first nine months of his life in it his expenses amounted to sixty-two dollars. He thus proved that most of us waste our time and substance upon superficialities, that one hundred dollars per year will suffice for one's living expenses, and that, best of all, one could really live and still have two-thirds of one's time to one's self....

This is but a record of youthful memory; its aim is to compass nothing else. During the nearly sixty years since Thoreau's death I have read, I think, all that has been said about him. But among it nothing has, nor do I believe ever will, be better said than a paragraph from Emerson's funeral tribute to his dead friend: "He has in a short life exhausted the capabilities of



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this world; wherever there is knowledge, wherever there is virtue, wherever there is beauty, he will find a home."

I do not remember ever seeing him laugh outright, but he was ever ready to smile at anything that pleased him; and I never knew him to betray any tender emotion except on one occasion, when he was narrating to me the death of his only brother, John Thoreau, from lockjaw, strong symptoms of which, from his sympathy with the sufferer, he himself experienced. At this time his voice was choked, and he shed tears, and went to the door for air. The subject was of course dropped, and never recurred to again. [his friend Daniel Ricketson, quoted in Harding, THOREAU AS SEEN, page 103]

### REVEREND F.L.H. WILLIS

During February 2016, John M. Marzluff <corvid@uw.edu>, James W. Ridgeway Professor of Forest Sciences, College of The Environment, University of Washington, Seattle communicated to me that if this actually happened, the bird could not have been a random wild **American Crow** ■ *Corvus brachyrhynchos* but instead must have been one that had been raised outdoors in this locale by some human who had taken it from a tree nest while it was a fledgling: "My guess is that this was a crow that Henry had raised from a nestling. This was very common up through the mid 1900s. Certainly a crow like that would have come right down to him and gotten a crumb. Very cool!!" "Wild crows do occasionally land on people. I reported one that landed on a person and gave her a bead. It was probably a once hand raised bird that lived outside. So it is possible but the bird would have likely been raised by a person if not Henry in the past. Could have been raised by Henry a year earlier or more. If he habituated the birds to his presence at cabin it is possible. He would have to have interacted regularly with the bird training it in essence to do this."

Clearly, we cannot simply reject this minister's report as a belated fantasy. Instead we should ask ourselves why, if this happened, we have not recovered by now a record of some fledgling crow being raised in Concord by someone, and why, if this happened, Thoreau made no mention of it in his journal or in his published writings, and why, if this happened, no member of the journalizing, letter-writing Alcott family saw fit to post a record of any such unique and charming incident involving their intimate friend Henry.

I choose, myself, to err on the side of skepticism. As a general rule noticed by historians, interesting material such as this (if it actually happens and if it actually happens to the named well-known individual) does not wait many decades before it belatedly surface as a nonce attestation. Such tales, when they are true, almost inevitably gain multiple attestations within a brief timespan. The span of time, alone, or single attestation, alone, would mark this as merely another just-so story, something that maybe more or less happened to a non-famous person that has been shifted and attached to the name of a famous person and then perhaps somewhat exaggerated or elaborated.



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August: On his return voyage to America, [Henry C. Wright](#) suffered, as he knew very well that he would, “11 days of **Nausea, Vomit & Starvation.**” His return was noted in [The Liberator](#) by Edmund Quincy, who commented that “no man in the country has more true friends, or has deserved to have them.”



Soon Wright would announce that he was going to attempt to function as “the voluntary, unpaid agent” of the New England Non-Resistance Society, free of any “restrictions imposed by the relation of a paid agent.” His headquarters would be in the [Hopedale](#) community near [Worcester](#).

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August: [Stephen Symonds Foster](#) returned to Ohio with [William Lloyd Garrison](#) and [Frederick Douglass](#) while [Abby](#)



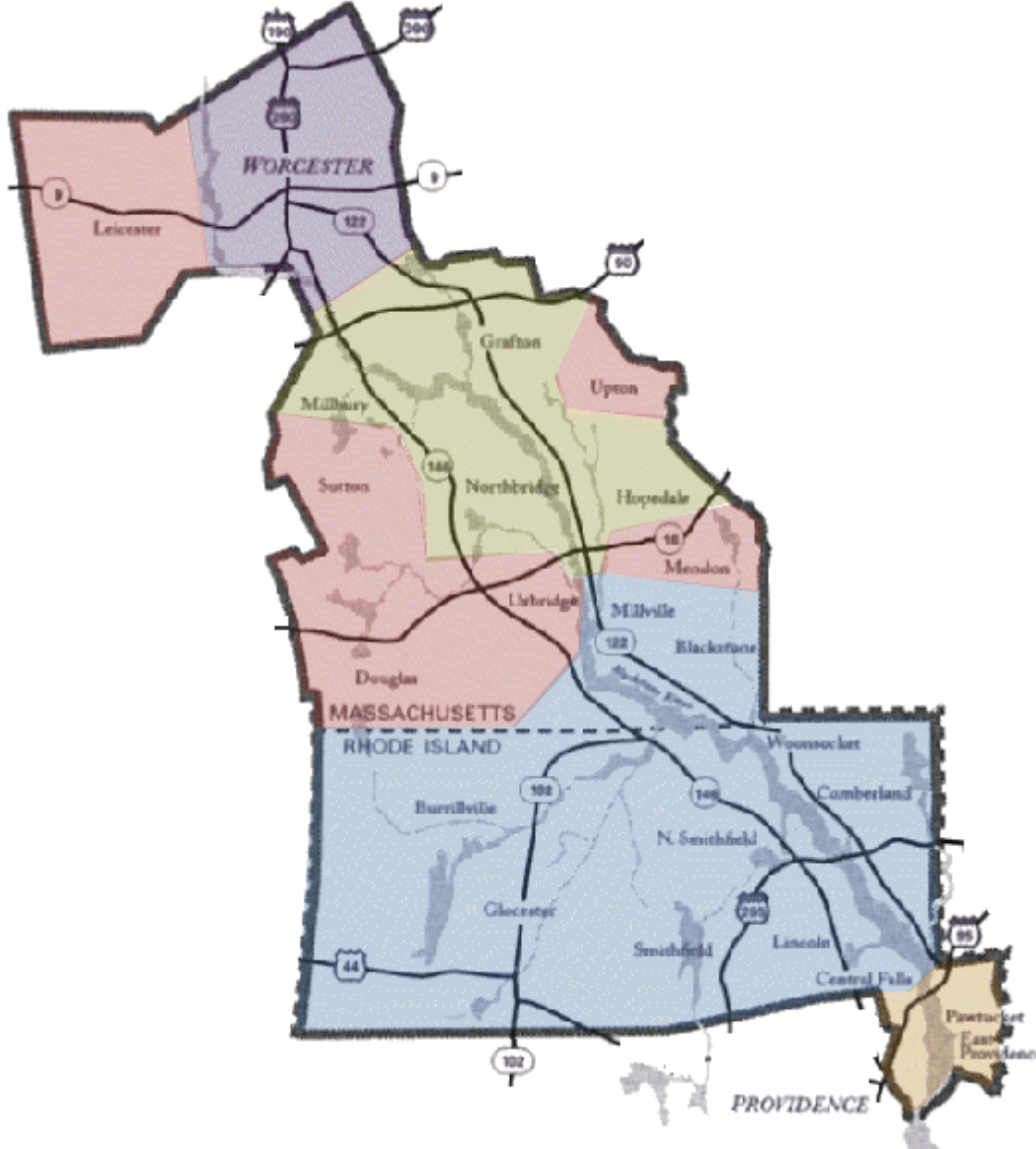
[Kelley Foster](#) stayed with little [Alla](#) on their farm, called Liberty Farm, near [Worcester](#). She harbored fugitive slaves at their home, and she would still be attending antislavery meetings, but only in Massachusetts. As soon as Alla was old enough to stay with family, Abby would return to the general circuit, again traveling to Ohio.



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October 25, Monday: The railroad carried passengers from [Providence, Rhode Island](#) to [Worcester](#) in 2 hours. On the inaugural run a train of nine cars was pulled by three engines. The opening of the Providence-Worcester Railroad instantly obsoleted the [Blackstone Canal](#): “The two unions between Worcester and Providence — the first was weak as water; the last is strong as iron.”



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

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



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



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1848

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

Mid-March: [H.G.O. Blake](#) wrote [Henry Thoreau](#) for the 1st time, from [Worcester](#), discussing his essay on the Roman satirist [Aulus Persius Flaccus](#), “[AULUS PERSIUS FLACCUS.](#)” which had appeared during July 1840 in the initial issue of [THE DIAL](#):

It has revived in me  
a haunting impression of you, which I carried  
away from some spoken words of yours....  
When I was last in Concord, you spoke of retir-  
ing farther from our civilization. I asked you  
if you would feel no longings for the society of  
your friends. Your reply was in substance, “No,  
I am nothing.” That reply was memorable to  
me. It indicated a depth of resources, a com-  
pleteness of renunciation, a poise and repose in  
the universe, which to me is almost inconceiva-  
ble; which in you seemed domesticated, and to  
which I look up with veneration. I would know  
of that soul which can say “I am nothing.” I  
would be roused by its words to a truer and  
purer life. Upon me seems to be dawning with  
new significance the idea that God is here; that  
we have but to bow before Him in profound sub-  
mission at every moment, and He will fill our  
souls with his presence. In this opening of the  
soul to God, all duties seem to centre; what else  
have we to do?... If I understand rightly the  
significance of your life, this is it: You would  
sunder yourself from society, from the spell of  
institutions, customs, conventionalities, that you  
may lead a fresh, simple life with God. Instead  
of breathing a new life into the old forms, you  
would have a new life without and within.  
There is something sublime to me in this atti-  
tude, – far as I may be from it myself....  
Speak to me in this hour as you are prompted.  
... I honor you because you abstain from ac-  
tion, and open your soul that you may be some-  
what. Amid a world of noisy, shallow actors it  
is noble to stand aside and say, “I will simply  
be.” Could I plant myself at once upon the  
truth, reducing my wants to their minimum,  
... I should at once be brought nearer to na-  
ture, nearer to my fellow-men, – and life would



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be infinitely richer. But, alas! I shiver on the brink.

### THE DIAL, JULY 1840

March 27, Monday: [Henry Thoreau](#) had been written to by [H.G.O. Blake](#) in [Worcester](#).

*[before 3/27/48]*

*It has revived in me*

*a haunting impression of you, which I carried away from some spoken words of yours....*

*When I was last in Concord, you spoke of retiring farther from our civilization. I asked you if you would feel no longings for the society of your friends. Your reply was in substance, "No, I am nothing." That reply was memorable to me. It indicated a depth of resources, a completeness of renunciation, a poise and repose in the universe, which to me is almost inconceivable; which in you seemed domesticated, and to which I look up with veneration. I would know of that soul which can say "I am nothing." I would be roused by its words to a truer and purer life. Upon me seems to be dawning with new significance the idea that God is here; that we have but to bow before Him in profound submission at every moment, and He will fill our souls with his presence. In this opening of the soul to God, all duties seem to centre; what else have we to do?... If I understand rightly the significance of your life, this is it: You would sunder yourself from society, from the spell of institutions, customs, conventionalities, that you may lead a fresh, simple life with God. Instead of breathing a new life into the old forms, you would have a new life without and within.*

*There is something sublime to me in this attitude,—far as I may be from it myself....*

*Speak to me in this hour as you are prompted.*

*... I honor you because you abstain from action, and open your soul that you may be somewhat. Amid a world of noisy, shallow actors it is noble to stand aside and say, "I will simply be." Could I plant myself at once upon the truth, reducing my wants to their minimum, ... I should at once be brought nearer to nature, nearer to my fellow-men,—and life would be infinitely richer. But, alas! I shiver on the*



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*brink.*

[Thoreau](#) wrote in response to [H.G.O. Blake](#):

*I am glad to hear that any words of mine, though spoken so long ago that I can hardly claim identity with their author, have reached you. It gives me pleasure, because I have therefore reason to suppose that I have uttered what concerns men, and that it is not in vain that man speaks to man. This is the value of literature. Yet those days are so distant, in every sense, that I have had to look at that page again, to learn what was the tenor of my thoughts then. I should value that article, however, if only because it was the occasion of your letter. I do believe that the outward and the inward life correspond; that if any should succeed to live a higher life, others would not know of it; that difference and distance are one. To set about living a true life is to go a journey to a distant country, gradually to find ourselves surrounded by new scenes and men; and as long as the old are around me, I know that I am not in any true sense living a new or a better life. The outward is only the outside of that which is within. Men are not concealed under habits, but are revealed by them; they are their true clothes. I care not how curious a reason they may give for their abiding by them. Circumstances are not rigid and unyielding, but our habits are rigid. We are apt to speak vaguely sometimes, as if a divine life were to be grafted on to or built over this present as a suitable foundation. This might do if we could so build over our old life as to exclude from it all the warmth of our affection, and addle it, as the thrush builds over the cuckoo's egg, and lays her own atop, and hatches that only; but the fact is, we — so there is the partition— hatch them both, and the cuckoo's always by a day first, and that young bird crowds the young thrushes out of the nest. No. Destroy the cuckoo's egg, or build a new nest. Change is change. No new life occupies the old bodies; bodies; — they decay. It is born, and grows, and flourishes. Men very pathetically inform the old, accept and wear it. Why put it up with the almshouse when you may go to heaven? It is embalming, — no more. Let alone your ointments and your linen swathes, and go into an infant's body. You see in the catacombs of Egypt the result of that experiment, — that is the end of it.*

*I do believe in simplicity. It is astonishing as well as sad, how many trivial affairs even the wisest man thinks he must attend to in a day; how singular an affair he thinks he must omit. When the mathematician would solve a difficult problem, he first frees the equation of all incumbrances, and reduces it to its simplest terms. So simplify the problem of life, distinguish the necessary and the real. Probe the earth to see where your main roots run. I would stand upon facts. Why not see, — use our eyes? Do men know nothing? I know many men who, in common things, are not to be deceived; who trust no moonshine; who count their money correctly, and know how to invest it; who are said to be prudent and knowing,*



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*who yet will stand at a desk the greater part of their lives, as cashiers in banks, and glimmer and rust and finally go out there. If they know anything, what under the sun do they do that for? Do they know what bread is? or what it is for? Do they know what life is? If they knew something, the places which know them now would know them no more forever.*

*This, our respectable daily life, in which the man of common sense, the Englishman of the world, stands so squarely, and on which our institutions are founded, is in fact the veriest illusion, and will vanish like the baseless fabric of a vision; but that faint glimmer of reality which sometimes illuminates the darkness of daylight for all men, reveals something more solid and enduring than adamant, which is in fact the corner-stone of the world.*

*Men cannot conceive of a state of things so fair that it cannot be realized. Can any man honestly consult his experience and say that it is so? Have we any facts to appeal to when we say that our dreams are premature? Did you ever hear of a man who had striven all his life faithfully and singly toward an object and in no measure obtained it? If a man constantly aspires, is he not elevated? Did ever a man try heroism, magnanimity, truth, sincerity, and find that there was no advantage in them? that it was a vain endeavor? Of course we do not expect that our paradise will be a garden. We know not what we ask. To look at literature; — how many fine thoughts has every man had! how few fine thoughts are expressed! Yet we never have a fantasy so subtle and ethereal, but that talent merely, with more resolution and faithful persistency, after a thousand failures, might fix and engrave it in distinct and enduring words, and we should see that our dreams are the solidest facts that we know. But I speak not of dreams.*

*What can be expressed in words can be expressed in life.*

*My actual life is a fact in view of which I have no occasion to congratulate myself, but for my faith and aspiration I have respect. It is from these that I speak. — — Every man's position is in fact too simple to be described. I have sworn no oath. I have no designs on society — or nature — or God. I am simply what I am, or I begin to be that. I live in the present. I only remember the past — and anticipate the future. I love to live. I love reform better than its modes. There is no history of how bad became better. I believe something, and there is nothing else but that. I know that I am — I know that another is who knows more than I who takes an interest in me, whose creature and yet whose kindred, in one sense, am I. I know that the enterprise is worthy — I know that things work well. I have heard no bad news. As for positions — as for combinations and details — what are they? In clear weather when we look into the heavens, what do we see, but the sky and the sun? If you would convince a man that he does wrong — do right. But do not care to convince him. — Men will believe what they see — Let them see. Pursue, keep up with, circle round and round your life as a dog does his master's chaise. Do what you love. Know your own bone;*

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*gnaw at it, bury it, unearth it, and gnaw it still. Do not be too moral. You may*

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*cheat yourself out of much life so. Aim above morality. Be not simply good — be good for something. — All fables indeed have their morals, but the innocent enjoy the story. Let nothing come between you and the light. Respect men as brothers only When you travel to the celestial city carry no letter of introduction. When you knock ask to see God — none of the servants. In what concerns you much do not think that you have companions — know that you are alone in the world. Thus I write at random. I need to see you and I trust I shall, to correct my mistakes. Perhaps you have some oracles for me*



"When the mathematician would solve a difficult problem, he first frees the equation of all incumbrances, and reduces it to its simplest terms. So simplify the problem of life, distinguish the necessary and the real."



— [Henry Thoreau](#), March 27, 1848



Dr. Alfred I. Tauber's analysis takes off from this letter, in combination with remarks Thoreau makes throughout WALDEN and his journal, to insist that Thoreau founded his "virtue ethics" upon his accurate appreciation of the nature of time: "the ethical life necessitates living life to its fullest **in the present**. Any postponement results in lost authenticity ... it is Thoreau's conception of time's flow, the metaphysical character of the present, that informs and guides his ethics."<sup>38</sup>



March 27: What can be expressed in words can be expressed in life.



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1849

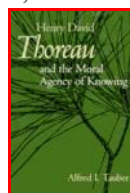
Adelaide “Ella” Gloucester was born to [Elizabeth A. Parkhill Gloucester](#) and [the Reverend James Newton Gloucester](#) (she would marry George Rice; she would graduate from [Oberlin College](#) in Ohio in 1870 as a black student, and die during 1918).

[Eli Thayer](#) left his position as Headmaster of the Worcester Academy to set up a new institution in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#). This new institution, Oread College, would be the only all-female collegiate institution in the United States and the 2d collegiate institution to admit women (the 1st having of course been [Oberlin College](#)). He would serve at Oread until 1853.

When [John Mercer Langston](#) graduated from [Oberlin College](#) in this year, his Daguerreotype was made.



38. Dr. Alfred I. Tauber. HENRY DAVID THOREAU AND THE MORAL AGENCY OF KNOWING. Berkeley and Los Angeles CA; London, England: U of California P, 2001





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Frederick DeBourg Richards of Philadelphia persuaded [Daniel Webster](#) to pose in his top hat, after a speech, for a Daguerreotype. By this point the process had proceeded to the point that Webster, who had expected that he would need to hold exceedingly still for perhaps half an hour, was pleasantly surprised to be informed by Richards that the exposure was already completed. Later the result would be the basis for an engraving by T. Johnson, with the product shown on a following screen.

January 15, Monday: [Ida Maria Thayer](#) was born in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), a daughter of [Eli Thayer](#) and [Caroline Maria Capron Thayer](#).

Charlotte Brontë wrote to Ellen Nussey, in regard to her own [tuberculosis](#): "...as to your queries about myself, I can only say, that if I continue as I am I shall do very well. I have not yet got rid of the pains in my chest and back. They oddly return with every change of weather; and are still sometimes accompanied with a little soreness and hoarseness, but I combat them steadily with pitch plasters and bran tea. I should think it silly and wrong indeed not to be regardful of my own health at present; it would not do to be ill now."

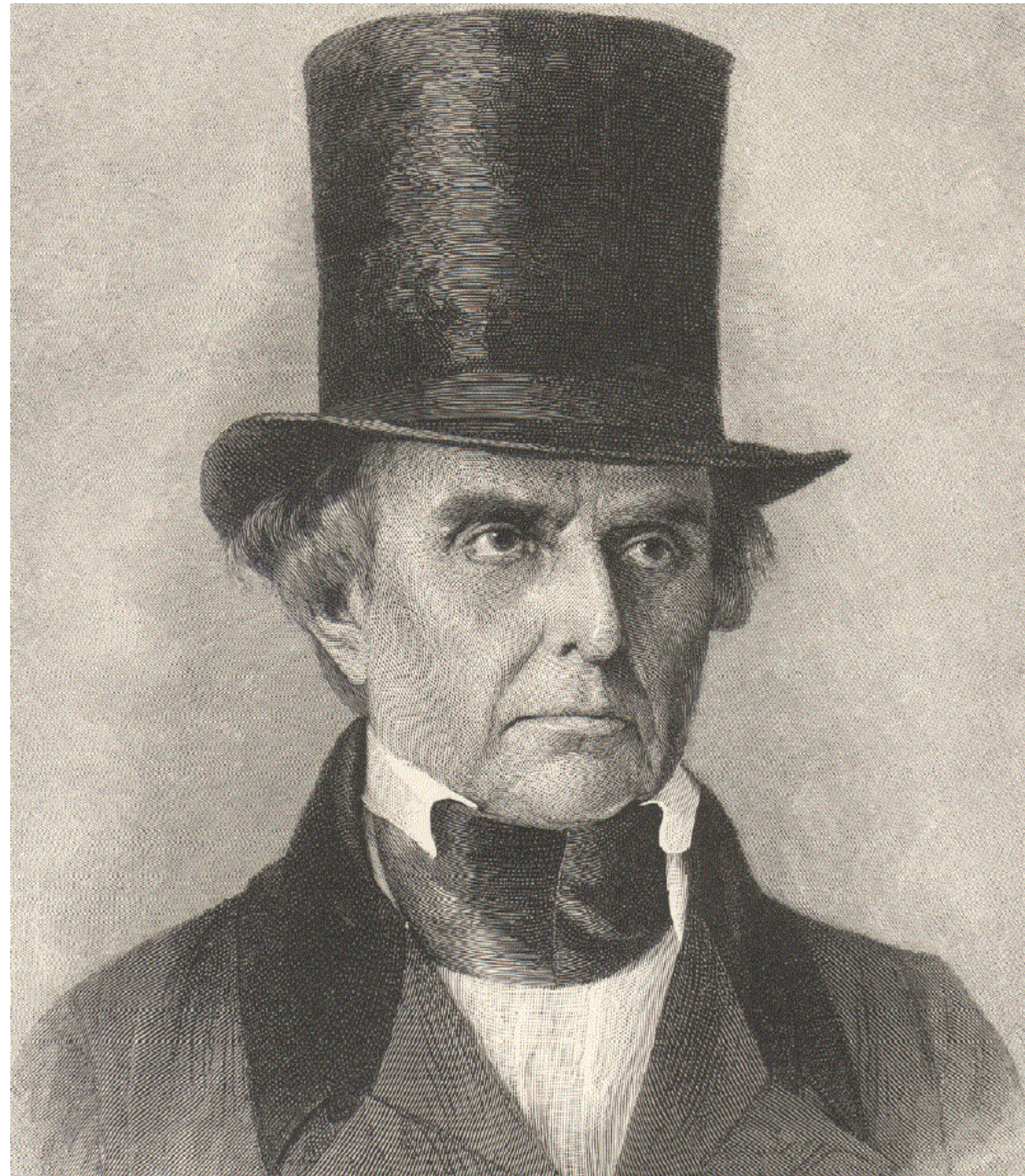
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Lecture<sup>39</sup>

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
April 20, Friday, 1849, at 7:30PM	<a href="#">Worcester</a> 's City Hall	"Economy"
April 27, Friday, 1849, at 7:30PM	<a href="#">Worcester</a> 's Brinley Hall	"Life in the Woods" (II)
May 3, Thursday, 1849, at 7:30PM	<a href="#">Worcester</a> 's Brinley Hall	"White Beans and Walden Pond"

39. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag's THOREAU'S LECTURES BEFORE WALDEN:  
AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.



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### Narrative of Event:

The 2d of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s 3 [Worcester](#) lectures in the spring of 1849 took place on Friday, 27 April, in Brinley Hall, a location later described by the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) as "the natural home of abolitionists and reformers" and "the military, social, theatrical, and political center of the universe, so far as Worcester was concerned."<sup>40</sup> When Thoreau lectured there in 1849, it was also an edifice in need of renovations that it would not receive for more than another year.<sup>41</sup>

### Advertisements, Reviews, and Responses:

On 26 and 27 April, notices of Thoreau's imminent lecture appeared in the [Worcester Daily Spy](#), placed there perhaps by [H.G.O. Blake](#). The former read: "HENRY D. THOREAU. This sylvan philosopher will deliver the second of his very agreeable lectures, in Brinley Hall, to morrow evening. It will be an intellectual entertainment that should not be neglected. — We would suggest that the attendance of a numerous audience will give no offence to the lecturer." The latter read: "Remember that the lecture of H. D. Thoreau will be given at Brinley Hall this evening. It will undoubtedly be an intellectual treat of no ordinary character, — one of those, which, while they interest and please us [in] the delivery, leave us with the consciousness that we are the wiser and better for them. We should be pleased to see a full house on the occasion."

The [Worcester Palladium](#) review on 2 May was more favorable than that for the first lecture a week earlier (see lecture 21 above) but took exception to an implied imitation of [Waldo Emerson](#) and allegedly forced eccentricity. The lecture, said the reviewer:

was a continuation of his history of two years of "life in the woods;" a mingled web of sage conclusions and puerility — wit and egotistical effusions — bright scintillations and narrow criticisms and low comparisons. He has a natural poetic temperament, with a more than ordinary sensibility to the myriad of nature's manifestations. But there is apparent a constant struggle for eccentricity. It is only when the lecturer seems to forget himself, that the listener forgets that there is in the neighborhood of "Walden Pond" another philosopher whose light Thoreau reflects; the same service which the moon performs for the sun. Yet the lecturer says many things that not only amuse the hour, but will not be easily forgotten. He is truly one of nature's oddities; and would make a very respectable Diogenes, if the world were going to live its life over again, and that distinguished citizen of antiquity should not care to appear upon the stage.

On 3 May, the [Worcester Daily Spy](#) published an article briefly announcing Thoreau's third lecture (see lecture

40. Quoted in Edward Kimball, ed., BRINLEY HALL ALBUM AND POST 10 SKETCHBOOK (Worcester: F. S. Blanchard and Co., 1896), page 17.

41. The [Worcester Palladium](#) of 5 June 1850 describes in considerable detail the extensive renovations to Brinley Hall that had been completed only a few days before.



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23 below) and praising his first (see lecture 21 above). Most of the article, however, was devoted to the following disaffected critique of his second lecture:

[W]e are free to say, that in hearing the second lecture, we were disappointed. We had looked for a bold, original thinker, who would give us the results of his observations and reflections, with a vigor, freshness, and independence, which would win our respect and admiration, even though it might not convince us. We said that we were disappointed. This lecturer evidently is not deficient in ability, and might very probably attain to a more respectable rank, if he were satisfied to be himself, Henry D. Thoreau, and not aim to be Ralph Waldo Emerson or any body else. But, so far as manner, at least was concerned, the lecture was a better imitation of Emerson than we should have thought possible, even with two year's seclusion to practice in. In the ideas, too, there was less of originality than we had looked for, and recollections of Carlyle as well as of Emerson, were repeatedly forced upon the mind. The style was mostly Emersonian, with occasional interludes, in which the lecturer gave us glimpses of himself beneath the panoply in which he was enshrouded, and we are perverse enough to confess ourself better pleased with him as Thoreau than as Emerson, so far as these opportunities afforded us the means of judging.

We are no admirers of the cynicism, whether real or affected, of the school to which we suppose the lecturer belongs. It strikes us that one who is capable of such high enjoyments, as they sometimes profess, from the contemplation of the works of creation in their lower manifestations, might, if his mind were rightly constituted, find increased pleasure in communion with the last, best, and highest subject of creative power, even though in most individual cases, it may fail to come up to the standard for which it was designed.

The lecturer stated that he never had more than three letters that were worth the postage. That might possibly be accounted for by his limited correspondence, or by the character of his correspondents, or even by the relative estimate which **he** may put upon the amount of the root of evil which is required to pay the postage of a letter. At any rate, there is one consolation for him in the case – that probably another year will not pass away without a reduction in the rates of letter postage.

Worth mentioning here also is a review of WALDEN that appeared in the [Worcester Palladium](#) on 16 August 1854, a commentary that invokes and implicitly comments on the Worcester lectures, pronouncing [Thoreau](#)



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much more agreeable on the printed page than in person. It says in part:

We do not suppose any of our readers need be informed who Thoreau is; but if any are ignorant of his name or existence, this book will be their best introduction. Looked upon as one of the Concord oddities, as a wayward genius, many have smiled and turned away their heads as they would at a clown who for a moment might make them stare and laugh, but leave them no wiser in the end. A few interested themselves in the Walden philosopher, amused with his quaintness, struck with the sense of some of his philosophy, and pleased with his originality. Almost the only opportunity he has given the public to become acquainted with him, has been through the medium of lectures. These will be eclipsed in popularity by the book which has many decided advantages over the lectures. A man can write about himself with better effect than he can talk about himself. The pen is a more modest communicator than the tongue, and is not so easily charged with egotism ...

It cannot be complained against the book that it is not practical in its theories. Does not its author tell us of every board that built his house? Also the cost of the laths, the windows, the chimney, and the food he eats? He shows us that life is too hard work now-a-days; that it grows harder and more perplexing the farther it advances from primitive simplicity. With portions of the volume the public are familiar, but the whole of it is well worth being acquainted with.

### **Description of Topic:**

See lectures 18 and 21 above. For this particular delivery of the lecture, Thoreau modified the sentence in his reading draft about wedging “our feet downward ... through New York and Boston and Concord and Salem, through church and state,” by erasing “Salem,” which he had interlined earlier (see lecture 18 above) and interlining “Worcester” in its stead.”<sup>4243</sup>

**TIMELINE OF WALDEN**

42.CSmH (HM 924, version II, leaf paged “25”).

43. During this month’s visits to [Worcester](#), [Thoreau](#) met for the 1st time the witty tailor [Theophilus Brown](#) who would become one of his best friends.



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May 2, Wednesday: At the business meeting of the Town and Country Club, [Waldo Emerson](#) declared as in favor of a general gender bar to membership but as opposed to a general color bar. He suggested that they leave the door open, at least a crack, just in case some man of color **might** someday distinguish himself as “clubable”.<sup>44</sup>

*He was one of those who thought it desirable to have the Club consist entirely of men. "With regard to color," he continued, "I am of the opinion that there should be no exclusion. Certainly, if any distinction be made, let it be in the colored man's favor. if there be a black who is superior for his acquirements in letters or science, or for his clubable qualities, let him be elected. [But] it seems to me so essential a change -though I am still in the night a little- to make the Club a saloon for ladies, that I really hope the proposed amendment will not pass.*



The new club immediately achieved over 100 members despite [Amos Bronson Alcott](#)'s failure to secure the admission of females. Such a question couldn't have arisen for [Henry Thoreau](#), for he wasn't a member. The story that is told is that he was unable to cope with the haze of cigar smoke — but we may wonder how complete, or how completely self-exculpatory, such a proffered explanation is. This event occurred as the courts were deciding that Boston's policy of racial segregation of its schools was quite within the discretion of the public officials and not inherently discriminatory. At some point during this summer [James Russell Lowell](#) would be unable to persuade Emerson to allow [Frederick Douglass](#) to join their “T & C” or “Saturday” Club — a club which they had claimed to have founded to enable

better acquaintance between men of science, literary, and philanthropic pursuits

44. An indignant letter-writer to the [New York Times](#) pointed out, in the September 21, 2008 Sunday issue, that the frequently retailed account of Emerson's having “blackballed” Frederick Douglass goes too far. Although Douglass did submit an application for membership, and Emerson did object to his membership, and the application was rejected, Emerson also commented at the time that **of course** no-one was ever to be blackballed simply for the unfortunate circumstance of being born black, since that sort of blackballing would be unfair to such a victim of birth circumstances, and such invidious racial discrimination would speak poorly of any white man who exhibited it. Since the matter did not come to a vote there could not be said to have been a blackball (the letter-writer seems not to grasp that the blackball functions by preventing such a vote). Therefore —the author of this indignant letter indignantly concluded— Emerson **cannot accurately** be said to have “blackballed” Douglass's application for membership! (A similar situation was described in an OP-ED opinion piece in that same edition of the newspaper. Nicholas D. Kristof described the attitude of certain Democratic voters he had interviewed in rural Oregon, who would not even **dream** of voting against Barack Hossein Obama for President on the basis of the color of his skin — no, they were going to vote against him because they have **heard rumors** that he might possibly, conceivably, perhaps, maybe have at one early moment been a Moslem rather than what he now claims to be, a Christian. They will vote against him not because of his race but because of a suspicion as to his religion. As good non-racist Christians they would rather vote for John McCain, who although he is a Republican, has honestly stayed as far away from church as is humanly possible: <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/09/21/opinion/21kristof.html>)





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The plain fact of the matter is that, although it is true that “One of the barriers that Emerson ... wanted most to transcend was that which separated life from the merely literary,” etc., it is also true that another of the barriers, one that Emerson most assuredly did not want to see transcended, was the barrier between the worthy and the unworthy—and Emerson as a white man of the right sort was, inherently, not only tall and benevolent but high, and blacks were, effectually all of them regardless of altitude, inherently, low, and associating with them made him feel uncomfortable—and so in protest, the biographer McFeely alleges, Lowell resigned from this club.<sup>45</sup> At this first meeting, over and above the indicated busyness with business, [Emerson](#) delivered his “Books.”

[THE ALCOTT FAMILY](#)

An anonymous article about the recent [Thoreau](#) lecture appeared in the [Worcester Palladium](#):

### Lake Philosophy

The “Walden Pond” philosopher, (Mr. Thoreau, of Concord,) delivered his second lecture at Brinley Hall Friday evening. It was a continuation of his history of two years of “life in the woods;” a mingled web of sage conclusions and puerility—wit and egotistical effusions—bright scintillations and narrow criticisms and low comparisons. He has a natural poetic temperament, with a more than ordinary sensibility to the myriad of nature’s manifestations. But there is apparent a constant struggle for eccentricity. It is only when the lecturer seems to forget himself, that the listener forgets that there is in the neighborhood of “Walden Pond” another philosopher [Emerson] whose light Thoreau reflects; the same service which the moon performs for the sun. Yet the lecturer says many things that not only amuse the hour, but will not be easily forgotten. He is truly one of nature’s oddities; and would make a very respectable [Diogenes](#), if the world were going to live its life over again, and that distinguished citizen of antiquity should not care to appear again upon the stage.

45. We might be tempted to categorize this as the only indecent thing [Emerson](#) ever did and the only decent thing Lowell ever did—but this de facto exclusion of [Douglass](#) was never brought to a formal vote and so [Lowell](#) never needed to make good on his empty threat. Here is the story as it has been told more carefully and fully in Duberman’s JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL:

[James Russell Lowell](#), who had hoped [Frederick Douglass](#)’ presence would help rid “many worthy persons of a very unworthy prejudice,” had intended to pay his entrance fee. But opposition developed to Douglass’ admittance, and Lowell was astonished at the quarter from which it came. For it was [Waldo Emerson](#), at least so Lowell believed, who would have blackballed Douglass had the matter been put to a vote, which it was not (Thomas Wentworth Higginson claimed that Emerson “always confessed to a mild instinctive colorphobia”). Angered at this failure to take in a man “cast in so large a mould,” Lowell declared that he, for one, was “an unfit companion for people too good to associate” with Douglass.



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1850



The 2d half of the 19th Century would be the period of market hunting, often by means of snares, of the [Ruffed Grouse](#).<sup>46</sup>

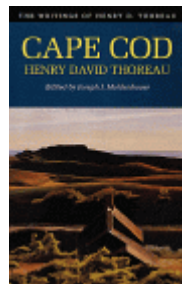


Ester Howland established, in [Worcester](#), the New England Valentine Company, for the first mass production of cards intended for St. Valentine's Day.

This was Elm Park in [Worcester](#) during this decade:



May: On some date during this month, [Henry Thoreau](#) lectured at [Worcester](#), probably about [Cape Cod](#).



46. The record "bag" would be 167 grouse in a single day, by a team of two men operating between [Worcester](#) and Framingham MA.



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**CAPE COD:** Sometimes we met a wrecker with his cart and dog, -and his dog's faint bark at us wayfarers, heard through the roaring of the surf, sounded ridiculously faint. To see a little trembling dainty-footed cur stand on the margin of the ocean, and ineffectually bark at a beach-bird, amid the roar of the Atlantic! Come with design to bark at a whale, perchance! That sound will do for farmyards. All the dogs looked out of place there, naked and as if shuddering at the vastness; and I thought that they would not have been there had it not been for the countenance of their masters. Still less could you think of a cat bending her steps that way, and shaking her wet foot over the Atlantic; yet even this happens sometimes, they tell me. In summer I saw the tender young of the Piping Plover, like chickens just hatched, mere pinches of down on two legs, running in troops, with a faint peep, along the edge of the waves.

DOG

CAT



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[Thoreau](#) took notes, not from [Waldo Emerson](#)'s copy of the Mrs. Sabine translation of [Alexander von Humboldt](#)'s *ANSICHEN DER NATUR* book of essays, published in the previous year, but from E.C. Otté and Henry G. Bohn's new translation, titled *VIEWS OF NATURE, OR CONTEMPLATIONS ON THE SUBLIME PHENOMENA OF CREATION, WITH SCIENTIFIC ILLUSTRATIONS*, just published in London. (Was there a great deal of difference among these editions?)

A gang under the direction of Isaiah Rynders disrupted meetings of the American Anti-Slavery Society in [New-York](#). It was reported in the newspapers that an incident had occurred in New-York, involving [Frederick Douglass](#). We can see from Douglass's dignified reply in his own paper, [The North Star](#), that in our land 142 years ago, a taunting assault on a non-white man minding his own business on the street could be followed by a taunting assault on that man in the newspapers:

Like most of the statements which emanate from the American press, this one (though partly true) is false in several particulars. It is not true that I walked down Broadway with two white females resting on my arm.... It is not true that the ladies in company with me placed themselves under the care of the gentleman (ruffian?) who assaulted me, nor any of the villainous party, nor of anybody else. It is not true that I sneered or spoke to the loafing assailants.... I felt no indignation toward the poor miserable wretches who committed the outrage. They were but executing upon me the behests of the proslavery church and the clergy of the land; doing the dirty work of the men who despise them, and who have no more respect for them in reality than they have for me.



After April: the spring—which the frost has loosened— It is old mortality {*MS torn*} it is fastening



After April: instantly dies. A page with as true & inevitable & deep a meaning as a hill-side. A book which nature shall own as her own flower her own leaves—with whose leaves her own shall rustle in sympathy imperishable & russet—which shall push out with the skunk cabbage in the spring

I am not offended by the odor of the skunk in passing by sacred places—I am invigorated rather. It is a reminiscence of immortality borne on the gale O thou partial world, when wilt thou know God?

I would as soon transplant this vegetable to Polynesia or to heaven with me as the violet.

Shoes are commonly too narrow. If you should take off a gentleman's shoes you would find that his foot was wider than his shoe. Think of his wearing such an engine—walking in it many miles year after year. A shoe which presses against the sides of the foot is to be condemned— To compress the foot like the Chinese is as bad as to





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compress the head—like the Flat heads—for the Head & the foot are one body. A sensible man will not follow fashion in this respect but reason. Better moccasins or Sandals or even bare feet, than a tight shoe.

A wise man will wear a shoe wide & large enough shaped somewhat like the foot & tied with a leather string. & so go his way in peace letting his foot fall at every step. When your shoe chafes your feet put in a mullein leaf. When I ask for a garment of a particular form my tailoress tells me gravely "They do not make them so now," and I find it difficult to get made what I want—simply because she cannot believe that I mean what I say— It surpasses her credulity— Properly speaking my style is as fashionable as theirs. "They do not make them so now"! as if she quoted the Fates. I am for a moment absorbed in thought—thinking wondering who they are & where *they* live. It is some Oak Hall O Call— O K all correct establishment which she knows but I do not. Oliver Cromwell— I emphasize & in imagination italicize each word separately of that sentence to come at the meaning of it

I conclude it is the French on either



After April: Or you may walk into the foreign land of Bedford—where not even yet after 4 or 5 or even 7 or 8 miles does the sky shut down—but the airy & crystal dome of heaven arches high over all—where you did not suspect that there was so much day light under its crystal dome—and from the hills eastward perchance see the small town of Bedford standing stately on the crest of a hill like some city of Belgrade with 150 000 inhabitants. I wonder if Mr Fitch lives there among them.



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Lecture<sup>47</sup>

DATE	PLACE	TOPIC
February 18, Monday, 1850	South Danvers MA	“An Excursion to <a href="#">Cape Cod</a> ”
June 1, 1850 (?)	<a href="#">Worcester</a>	“ <a href="#">CAPE COD</a> ” (?)
December 6, Friday, 1850, at 7:30PM	Newburyport MA; Market Hall	“An Excursion to <a href="#">Cape Cod</a> ”

47. From Bradley P. Dean and Ronald Wesley Hoag's THOREAU'S LECTURES BEFORE WALDEN:  
AN ANNOTATED CALENDAR.



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On 28 May 1850, [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote as follows in a letter to [H.G.O. Blake](#):<sup>48</sup>

*I shall be glad to read my lecture to a small audience in Worcester, such as you describe, and will only require that my expenses be paid. If only the parlor be large enough for an echo, and the audience will embarrass themselves with hearing as much as the lecturer would otherwise embarrass himself with reading. But I warn you that this is no better calculated for a promiscuous audience than the last two which I read to you. It requires in every sense a concordant audience.*

*I will come on Saturday next and spend Sunday with you, if you wish it. Say so if you do.*

The letter is interesting for its implications: first, that Thoreau apparently still took umbrage at an unfavorable newspaper response to his WALDEN lectures in [Worcester](#) during April and May of 1849 (see lectures 21, 22, and 23 above); and, second, that he found his hometown audiences more in **concord** with what he had to say. Raymond Borst gives the date of this lecture as 1 June 1850 and suggests that Thoreau may have delivered his “Cape Cod” lecture in Worcester on that occasion, but Borst only cites Thoreau’s letter to Blake as evidence for the attribution.<sup>49</sup>

We have found no evidence that Thoreau either gave or did not give the requested lecture, although [Professor Walter Roy Harding](#) indicates that he rejected the invitation ([Professor Harding](#)’s THE DAYS OF HENRY THOREAU: A BIOGRAPHY, page 273).



Joseph J. Moldenhauer, editor of [CAPE COD](#), speculates that, if Thoreau did lecture in [Worcester](#) that June, he may have read his “one-installment Cape Cod lecture.” He cautions, however, that “The comic aspects of the Cape Cod lecture would seem ... to obviate Thoreau’s concern to have a specifically sympathetic assembly, and the lecture mentioned in Thoreau’s letter may have been on another subject” ([CAPE COD](#) [1988], pages 254, 254n6).

October: [Paulina Wright Davis](#) took the lead in planning and arranging, in [Worcester](#), Massachusetts, the first National Woman’s Rights Convention. The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) signed the call to convene this convention. Paulina presided.

FEMINISM

48. THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, page 260.

49. THE THOREAU LOG: A DOCUMENTARY LIFE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, 1817-1862. NY: G. K. Hall, 1992, page 166.



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October 5, Saturday: [Henry Thoreau](#) arrived in Concord:

I got home this Thursday [actually, Saturday the 5th] evening, having spent just one week [actually, 10 days, from the 7:40AM on the 25th of September to the evening of the 5th of October] in Canada and travelled eleven hundred miles. The whole expense of this journey, including two guidebooks and a map, which cost one dollar twelve and a half cents, was twelve dollars seventy five cents. I do not suppose that I have seen all British America; that could not be done by a cheap excursion, unless it were a cheap excursion to the Icy Sea, as seen by Hearne or McKenzie, and then, no doubt, some interesting features would be omitted. I wished to go a little way behind that word *Canadense*, of which naturalists make such frequent use; and I should like still right well to make a longer excursion on foot through the wilder parts of Canada, which perhaps might be called *Iter Canadense*.

At Boston, the launching of the *Surprise*, a 1,261-ton clipper ship designed by Samuel Hartt Pook, and built by Samuel Hall.

An issue of [Chambers' Edinburgh Journal](#):

**CHAMBERS' EDINBURGH JOURNAL**

**ISSUE OF OCTOBER 5**

In his maiden political speech, before a group of Free Soilers at the [Worcester](#) City Hall, George Frisbie Hoar excoriated [Daniel Webster](#) for having endorsed a bill “which the Saxon language does not contain words strong enough adequately to condemn; a Bill, to describe which, is not to gild refined gold ... but to increase the blackness of Egyptian darkness,” to wit, the Fugitive Slave Law.



**THE RIGHTEOUS**      **WICKED**  
**WHITE POLITICIAN**    **BLACK DANIEL**

October 23, Wednesday: 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**



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



FEMINISM

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

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

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

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The records of the convention may be studied at:

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

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



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

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

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

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

Now here is a news clipping from this period, equally legitimately offensive, which I **didn’t** make up:<sup>50</sup>

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



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

- 1 Hannah M. Darlington Kennett Square, Pennsylvania
- 2 T.B. Elliot [Boston](#)
- 3 Antoinette L. Brown Henrietta NY
- 4 Sarah Pillsbury Concord NH
- 5 Eliza J. Kenney Salem MA
- 6 M.S. Firth Leicester MA
- 7 Oliver Dennett Portland ME
- 8 Julia A. McIntyre Charlton MA
- 9 Emily Sanford Oxford MA
- 10 H.M. Sanford Oxford MA
- 11 C.D.M. Lane [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 12 Elizabeth Firth Leicester MA
- 13 S.C. Sargent [Boston](#)
- 14 C.A.K. Ball [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 15 M.A. Thompson [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 16 Lucinda Safford [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 17 S.E. Hall [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 18 S.D. Holmes Kingston MA
- 19 Z.W. Harlow Plymouth MA
- 20 N.B. Spooner Plymouth MA
- 21 Ignatius Sargent [Boston](#)
- 22 A.B. Humphrey [Hopedale](#)
- 23 M.R. Hadwen [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 24 J.H. Shaw [Nantucket Island](#)
- 25 Diana W. Ballou [Cumberland RI](#)
- 26 Olive Darling Millville MA
- 27 M.A. Walden [Hopedale](#)
- 28 C.M. Collins Brooklyn CT
- 29 A.H. Metcalf [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 30 P.B. Cogswell Concord NH
- 31 Sarah Tyndale Philadelphia
- 32 A.P.B. Rawson [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 33 Nathaniel Barney [Nantucket Island](#)
- 34 Sarah H. Earle [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 35 Parker Pillsbury Concord NH
- 36 Lewis Ford Abington MA
- 37 J.T. Everett Princeton MA
- 38 Loring Moody Harwich MA
- 39 [Sojourner Truth](#) [Northampton](#)
- 40 [Friend](#) Pliny Sexton Palmyra NY
- 41 Rev. J.G. Forman W. Bridgewater MA
- 42 Andrew Stone M.D. [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 43 Samuel May, Jr. Leicester MA

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



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- 44 Sarah R. May
  - 45 [Frederick Douglass](#)
  - 46 Charles Bigham
  - 47 J.T. Partridge
  - 48 Eliza C. Clapp
  - 49 Daniel Steward
  - 50 E.B. Chase
  - 51 [Sophia Foord](#)
  - 52 E.A. Clark
  - 53 E.H. Taft
  - 54 Olive W. Hastings
  - 55 Rebecca Plumly
  - 56 S.L. Hastings
  - 57 Sophia Taft
  - 58 Anna E. Ruggles
  - 59 Mrs. A.E. Brown
  - 60 Janette Jackson
  - 61 Anna R. Cox
  - 62 Cynthia P. Bliss
  - 63 R.M.C. Capron
  - 64 M.H. Mowry
  - 65 Mary Eddy
  - 66 Mary Abbott
  - 67 Anna E. Fish
  - 68 C.G. Munyan
  - 69 Maria L. Southwick
  - 70 Anna Cornell
  - 71 S. Monroe
  - 72 Anna E. Price
  - 73 M.C. Monroe
  - 74 F.C. Johnson
  - 75 Thomas Hill
  - 76 Elizabeth Frail
  - 77 Eli Belknap
  - 78 M.M. Frail
  - 79 Valentine Belknap
  - 80 Phebe Goodwin
  - 81 Edgar Hicks
  - 82 Ira Foster
  - 83 Effingham L. Capron
  - 84 Frances H. Drake
  - 85 Calvin Fairbanks
  - 86 E.M. Dodge
  - 87 Eliza Barney
  - 88 Lydia Barney
  - 89 Alice Jackson
  - 90 G.D. Williams
  - 91 Marian Blackwell
  - 92 Elizabeth Earle
  - 93 [Friend](#) Joseph C. Hathaway
  - 94 E. Jane Alden
  - 95 Elizabeth Dayton
  - 96 Lima H. Ober
  - 97 Mrs. Lucy N. Colman
  - 98 Dorothy Whiting
  - 99 Emily Whiting
  - 100 Abigail Morgan
  - 101 Julia Worcester
- Leicester MA
  - Rochester NY
  - Feltonville MA
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Leicester MA
  - East Line MA
  - Valley Falls MA
  - Dedham MA
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Dedham MA
  - Lancaster, Pennsylvania
  - Philadelphia
  - Lancaster, Pennsylvania
  
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Brattleboro VT
  - Philadelphia
  - Philadelphia
  - [Pawtucket](#), Rhode Island
  - [Providence](#)
  - [Providence](#)
  - [Hopedale](#)
  - [Hopedale](#)
  - [Hopedale](#)
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Plainfield CT
  - Plainfield CT
  - Plainfield CT
  - Plainfield CT
  - Sturbridge MA
  - Webster MA
  - Hopkinton MA
  - Hopkinton MA
  - Hopkinton MA
  - Hopkinton MA
  - West Chester, Pennsylvania
  - Brooklyn NY
  - Canterbury NH
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Leominster MA
  - Leominster MA
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - [Nantucket Island](#)
  - [Nantucket Island](#)
  - Avondale, Pennsylvania
  - Leicester MA
  - Cincinnati OH
  - [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
  - Farmington NY
  - Lowell MA
  - Lowell MA
  - [Boston](#)
  - Saratoga Springs NY
  - Clintonville MA
  - Clintonville MA
  - Clinton MA
  - Milton NH



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- 102 Mary R. Metcalf [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 103 R.H. Ober [Boston](#)
- 104 D.A. Mundy [Hopedale](#)
- 105 Dr. S. Rogers [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 106 Jacob Pierce PA
- 107 Mrs. E.J. Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 108 Edward Southwick [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 109 E.A. Merrick Princeton MA
- 110 Mrs. C. Merrick Princeton MA
- 111 Lewis E. Capen PA
- 112 Joseph Carpenter [New-York](#)
- 113 Martha Smith Plainfield CT
- 114 Lucius Holmes Thompson CT
- 115 Benj. Segur Thompson CT
- 116 C.S. Dow [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 117 S.L. Miller PA
- 118 Isaac L. Miller PA
- 119 Buel Pickett Sherman CT
- 120 Josiah Henshaw W. Brookfield MA
- 121 Andrew Wellington Lexington MA
- 122 Louisa Gleason [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 123 Paulina Gerry Stoneham MA
- 124 [Lucy Stone](#) West Brookfield MA
- 125 Ellen Blackwell Cincinnati OH
- 126 Mrs. Chickery [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 127 Mrs. F.A. Pierce [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 128 C.M. Trenor [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 129 R.C. Capron [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 130 Wm. Lloyd Garrison [Boston](#)
- 131 Emily Loveland [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 132 Mrs. S. Worcester [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 133 Phebe Worcester [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 134 Adeline Worcester [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 135 Joanna R. Ballou MA
- 136 Abby H. Price [Hopedale](#)
- 137 B. Willard MA
- 138 T. Poole Abington MA
- 139 M.B. Kent [Boston](#)
- 140 D.H. Knowlton Grafton MA
- 141 E.H. Knowlton MA
- 142 G. Valentine [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 143 A. Prince [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 144 Lydia Wilmarth [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 145 J.G. Warren [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- 146 Mrs. E.A. Stowell [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
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- 148 Mrs. E. Stamp [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
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- 151 Alice H. Easton
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- 160 Ernestine L. Rose
  - 161 Mrs. J. G. Hodgden
  - 162 C.M. Shaw
  - 163 Ophelia D. Hill
  - 164 Mrs. P. Allen
  - 165 Lucy C. Dike
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  - 174 A. Barnes
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  - 182 Mrs. C.M. Carter
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  - 185 Mrs. J.H. Moore
  - 186 Margaret S. Merrit
  - 187 Martha Willard
  - 188 A.N. Lamb
  - 189 Mrs. Chaplin
  - 190 Caroline Farnum
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  - 192 K. Parsons
  - 193 Jillson
  - 194 E.W.K. Thompson
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  - 197 F.H. Underwood
  - 198 Asa Cutler
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  - 200 Perry Joslin
  - 201 [Friend](#) Sarah H. Hallock
  - 202 Elizabeth Johnson
  - 203 Seneth Smith
  - 204 Marian Hill
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  - 206 E.T. Smith
  - 207 Mary R. Hubbard
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  - 209 M.A. Maynard
  - 210 S.P.R.
  - 211 Anna R. Blake
  - 212 Ellen M. Prescott
  - 213 J.M. Cummings
  - 214 Nancy Fay
  - 215 M. Jane Davis
  - 216 D.R. Crandell
  - 217 E.M. Burleigh
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[Boston](#)  
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Oxford MA



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  - 219 Adeline Perry
  - 220 Lydia E. Chase
  - 221 J.A. Fuller
  - 222 Sarah Prentice
  - 223 Emily Prentice
  - 224 H.N. Fairbanks
  - 225 Mrs. A. Crowl
  - 226 Dwight Tracy
  - 227 J.S. Perry
  - 228 Isaac Norcross
  - 229 M.A.W. Johnson
  - 230 Mrs. C.I.H. Nichols
  - 231 Charles Calistus Burleigh
  - 232 E.A. Parrington
  - 233 Mrs. Parrington
  - 234 Harriet F. Hunt
  - 235 Chas F. Hovey
  - 236 [Friend Lucretia Mott](#)
  - 237 Susan Fuller
  - 238 Thomas Earle
  - 239 Alice Earle
  - 240 Martha B. Earle
  - 241 Anne H. Southwick
  - 242 Joseph A. Howland
  - 243 Adeline H. Howland
  - 244 O.T. Harris
  - 245 Julia T. Harris
  - 246 John M. Spear
  - 247 E.J. Alden
  - 248 E.D. Draper
  - 249 D.R.P. Hewitt
  - 250 L.G. Wilkins
  - 251 J.H. Binney
  - 252 Mary Adams
  - 253 Anna T. Draper
  - 254 Josephine Reglar
  - 255 Anna Goulding
  - 256 Adeline S. Greene
  - 257 Silence Bigelow
  - 258 A. Wyman
  - 259 L.H. Ober
  - 260 Betsey F. Lawton
  - 261 Emma Parker
  - 262 Olive W. Hastings
  - 263 Silas Smith
  - 264 Asenath Fuller
  - 265 Denney M.F. Walker
  - 266 Eunice D.F. Pierce
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- [Boston](#)
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- Salem MA
- Salem MA
- [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- [Worcester, Massachusetts](#)
- [Chepachet RI](#)
- Philadelphia
- Lancaster MA (error?)
- IO



## WORCESTER

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October 24, Thursday: [William Cooper Nell](#) sent a telegram to [Frederick Douglass](#), at a cost to the antislavery movement of \$1.<sup>95</sup>.

The 2d day of the national women's rights convention in the auditorium of Brinley Hall at 340 Main Street in [Worcester](#), where the Commerce Office Building now stands, with some thousand people in attendance.

**READ ABOUT THIS MEETING**

**FEMINISM**



**WORCESTER****WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

[Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*Now that the civil engineer is fairly established, I think we must have one day a naturalist in every village as invariably as a lawyer or doctor.... The universal impulse toward natural science in the last twenty years promises this practical issue. And how beautiful would be the profession. C.T. Jackson, John L. Russell, Henry Thoreau, George Bradford and John Lesley would find their employment. All questions answered for stipulated fees; and on the other hand, new information paid for, as a newspaper office pays for news.*



**GEORGE PARTRIDGE BRADFORD**

A family of three, the William Harris family, while fleeing the United States of America, had taken passage on a barge headed up the Erie Canal as part of their journey toward Canada. As the barge approached Syracuse NY, the white crew resolved upon a little joke. The father was falsely warned that the slave catchers were waiting for him. He jumped from the barge to the tow-path, and there slit his throat while his wife grabbed up their child and plunged into the canal. (The account I have seen of this incident neglected to mention whether any member of the family survived, so presumably what was intended was that both mother and child of course drowned.)



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December 2, Monday: [Eva Alden Thayer](#) was born in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), a daughter of [Eli Thayer](#) and [Caroline Maria Capron Thayer](#).



Dec 2nd The wood pecker's holes in the apple-trees are about  $\frac{1}{5}$  of an inch deep or just through the bark &  $\frac{1}{2}$  an inch apart. They must be the decaying trees that are most frequented by them, & probably their work serves to relieve & ventilate the tree & as well as to destroy its enemies.  
The barberis are shrivelled & dried, I find yet cranberries hard & not touched by the frost.



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1851

At the end of the journal entries for this year, [Waldo Emerson](#) listed his recent readings in Oriental materials: “Vedas; Firdusi; Saadi; Ammar.”

[Emerson](#) lectured in Rochester, Buffalo, and Syracuse, New York, then had several engagements in Massachusetts, then delivered “England” in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, followed by the “Conduct of Life” series of lectures that would go together into his last book, [CONDUCT OF LIFE](#). Invited to a second convention in [Worcester](#) for woman’s rights, again he declined. However, Emerson was not a misogynist of the 1st water — for contrast, here is what first-water [misogyny](#) looked like *circa* 1851:



*In men in general, the sexual desire is inherent and spontaneous and belongs to the condition of puberty. In the other sex the desire is dormant, or nonexistent till excited; always till excited by undue familiarities.... Women, whose position and education have protected them from exciting causes, constantly pass through life without being cognizant of the promptings of the senses.*

— Anonymous, PROSTITUTION

In [Frederick Douglass’ Paper](#) for October 30, 1851, some boilerplate PC comments would be made in regard to this Woman’s Rights convention in Worcester:

Absorbed as we are in these perilous times, with the great work of unchaining the American bondman, and assisting the hapless and hunted fugitive in his flight from his merciless pursuers to a place of safety, we have little time to consider the inequalities, wrongs and hardships endured by woman. Our silence, however, must not be set down either to indifference or to a want of independence. In our eyes, the rights of woman and the rights of man are identical— We ask no rights, we advocate no rights for ourselves, which we would not ask and advocate for woman. Whatever may be said as to a division of duties and avocations, the rights of man and the rights of woman are one and inseparable, and stand upon the same indestructible basis. If, for the well-being and happiness of man, it is necessary that he should hold property, have a voice in making the laws which he is expected to obey, be stimulatd [sic] by his participation in government to cultivate his mental faculties, with a view to an honorable fulfillment of his social obligations, precisely the same may be said of woman.

We advocate woman’s rights, not because she is an angel, but because she is a woman, having the same wants, and being exposed to the same evils as man.

Whatever is necessary to protect him, is necessary to protect her. Holding these views, and being profoundly desirous that they should universally prevail, we rejoice at every indication of progress in their dissemination.

May 29, Thursday: The Worcester [Spy](#) was keeping its eye peeled for the more daring ladies:

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The New Costume.

The first Bloomer made its appearance in our city yesterday.



SAMUEL JOSEPH MAY

At the Berry Street Conference in Boston, debate began over the Reverend May's resolution condemning [Daniel Webster](#), Millard Fillmore, [Edward Everett](#), Samuel A. Eliot, the Reverend Professor [Jared Sparks](#), the Reverend Ezra Stiles Gannett, and the Reverend Orville Dewey as "traffickers IN HUMAN FLESH." May charged that Gannett was acting in a manner "utterly subversive of Christian morality and of all true allegiance to God." The question became how much the Federal Union was worth, compared with for instance the Laws of God. The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) rose to assert that if and when [George Ticknor Curtis](#), a member of the Reverend Gannett's Unitarian assembly and an officer charged with local administration of the Fugitive Slave Law, came to his parsonage to take a black fugitive from slavery into custody, he would defend not only with an open Bible but with the sword, the brace of pistols, and the musket which his father had carried at Lexington Green on April 19, 1775. → He was, he declared, no "foolish nonresistant," and one wonders whether he would have had that "open Bible" open to one or another of the same Old Testament passages that would be firmly underlined, while in prison awaiting execution, by Captain [John Brown](#) in 1859. → This controversy would not be over until 1853, → and when it was concluded, it was concluded by instructions to Unitarian ministers that the debate over slavery was driving away potential converts to Unitarianism, and that therefore they should avoid discussion of the peculiar institution of slavery, avoid discussion of Webster, and avoid discussion of the merits of the Fugitive Slave Law — and that those unable to avoid such discussion would be find themselves no longer recognized as Unitarian ministers.

At the Woman's Rights Convention in Akron, [Ohio](#), the letter of May 20th from [Henry C. Wright](#) was read:

FLUSHING, Long Island, May 20, 1851.

TO THE WOMAN'S RIGHTS CONVENTION.

Dear Friends;—

\* \* \*

The effort being made by yourselves and others to secure to woman her rights as a human being, and her true position in reference to the customs and institutions of society, ought to be, and ere long will be, regarded as one of the most important movements of the age. It involves all that is pure, elevating and endearing in domestic life; all that is lovely, good and great in social life; all that is useful and enduring in religious and social institutions. The abolition of intemperance, war, slavery, and all the individual and social wrongs of mankind, and the



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regeneration and redemption of the race from the physical, intellectual, social and moral evils that now crush it, must be associated with this movement. I see not how any being, whose destiny is linked with that of human-kind, can treat this subject lightly, or remain indifferent to it.

Man and Woman cannot be separated in their destiny. Where woman goes, man must go; where man goes, woman must go; as the one rises or sinks in intelligence, in wisdom and virtue, so must the other rise or fall.

\* \* \*

Man cannot be saved without the aid of woman; woman cannot be saved without the aid of man. United in love, in counsel and effort, progress in wisdom and goodness, towards the heavenly and divine, is certain; disunited in affection, in interest, in plans or in their execution, degradation and ruin must follow. This should be settled as a fixed fact in the minds of all who take part in this movement.

\* \* \*

Whatever right of property or person, of government or religion; in the family, in the market, in the church, the court, the cabinet, legislative hall, or in the public assembly, belongs to man, belongs also to woman. In arranging and conducting the affairs of life in regard to our domestic, pecuniary, social, religious and civil concerns, this fact is denied or disregarded. To enlighten the understanding and consciences of men, and to arouse their moral nature in regard to this great law of our being, should be one great aim of all who are interested in this enterprise. In asserting your Humanity, you assert the fact that whatever right belongs to one human being, belongs to each and every one, without regard to sex, complexion, condition, caste or country. Woman is a human being; and it is a self-evident truth that whatever right belongs to man by virtue of his membership in the human family, belongs to her by the same tenure. This truth is not to be reasoned about; it is self-evident. No power in the universe can have the right to put woman in a position of subjection to man, or man in subjection to woman. As regards their relations to each other, they are equals; and neither can justly be held responsible, as subject to any power but the Divine. It is not right or expedient to submit this question to the contingency of a discussion, for you could not submit it if the decision were against you. Why appeal to a tribunal at all, whose decision, in this matter you have determined not to abide by, if it is against you? To do so would be neither dignified nor honest.

Dear friends, permit me to remind you not to be disheartened though few join you. There are tens of thousands interested in this movement who have not courage to become a part of it. Be more anxious to plant yourselves on the rock of eternal truth, and to abide there, than to increase your numbers. Truth goes not by numbers, but is instinct with divine life, and it must triumph.

\* \* \*

May truth, in regard to the rights and position of woman, and to her connexion with the true development and destiny of our nature, be your aim, and uncompromising fidelity to that truth, your endeavor.

Yours truly,

HENRY C. WRIGHT

HDT

WHAT?

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WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

BIGELOW

May 29: It is evident that the virtues of plants are almost completely unknown to us— And we esteem the few with which we are better acquainted unreasonably above the many which are comparatively unknown to us. Bigelow says —“It is a subject of some curiosity to consider, if the knowledge of the present Materia Medica were by any means to be lost, how many of the same articles would again rise into notice and use. Doubtless a variety of new substances would develop unexpected powers, while perhaps the poppy would be shunned as a deleterious plant, and the cinchona might grow unmolested upon the mountains of Quito.” Sawyer regards Nux vomica among the most valuable.

BIGELOW

B. says 1817 “We have yet to discover our anodynes & our emetics, although we abound in bitters, astringents, aromatics, and demulcents. In the present state of our knowledge we could not well dispense with opium and ipicacuanha, yet a great number of foreign drugs, such as gentian, columbo, chamomile, kino, catechu, cascarilla, canella, &c. for which we pay a large annual tax to other countries, might in all probability be superceded by the indigenous products of our own. It is certainly better that our own country people should have the benefit of collecting such articles, than that we should pay for them to the Moors of Africa, or the Indians of Brazil.”

The Thorn apple *Datura stramonium* (Apple of Peru —Devil’s Apple —Jamestown Weed) “emigrates with great facility, and often springs up in the ballast of ships, and in earth carried from one country to another.” It secretes itself in the hold of vessels —& migrates —it is a sort of cosmopolitan weed —a roving weed —what adventures— What historian knows when first it came into a country!

He quotes Beverly’s Hist. of Virginia as saying that some soldiers in the days of Bacon’s rebellion —having eaten some of this plant —which was boiled for salad by mistake —were made natural fools & buffoons by it for 11 days, without injury to their bodies??

BIGELOW

The root of a biennial or perennial will accumulate the virtues of the plant more than any other part.

B says that Pursh states that the sweetscented Golden Rod *Solidago odora* “has for some time (i.e. before 1817] been an article of exportation to China, where it fetches a high price.” And yet it is known to very few New Englanders.

BIGELOW

“No botanist, says B. even if in danger of starving in a wilderness, would indulge his hunger on a root or fruit taken from an unknown plant of the natural order *Luridae*, of the *Multisiliquae*, or the *umbelliferous aquatics*. On the contrary he would not feel a moment’s hesitation in regard to any of the *Gramina*, the fruit of the *Pomaceae*, and several other natural families of plants, which are known to be uniformly innocent in their effects”

The aromatic flavor of the Checquer Berry is also perceived in the *Gaultheria hispidula*; in *Spiraea ulmaria* and the root of *Spiraea lobata* —and in the birches.

GINSENG

He says Ginseng, Spigelia, Snake-root, &c. form considerable articles of exportation.

The odor of Skunk cabbage is perceived in some N.A. currants —as *Ribes rigens* of MX on high *mts*—

At one time the Indians above Quebec & Montreal were so taken up with searching for Ginseng that they could not be hired for any other purpose. It is said that both the Chinese & the Indians named this plant from its resemblance to the figure of a man

BIGELOW

The Indians used the bark of *Dirca palustris* or Leather Wood for their cordage. It was after the long continued search of many generations that these qualities were discovered.

Of Tobacco, *Nicotiana Tabacum*, B. says after speaking of its poisonous qualities “Yet the first person who had courage & patience enough to persevere in its use, until habit had overcome his original disgust, eventually found in it a pleasing sedative, a soother of care, and a material addition to the pleasures of life. Its use, which originated among savages, has spread into every civilized country; it has made its way against the declamations of the learned, and the prohibitions of civil & religious authority, and it now gives rise to an extensive branch of agriculture, or of commerce, in every part of the globe.”

Soon after its introduction into Europe —“The rich indulged in it as a luxury of the highest kind; and the poor gave themselves up to it, as a solace for the miseries of life.”

BIGELOW

Several varieties are cultivated.

In return for many foreign weeds we have sent abroad, says B. “The *Erigeron Canadense* & the prolific families

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of Ambrosia & Amaranthus.”



“The Indians were acquainted with the med. properties of more than one species of Euphorbia”

Night shade is called bitter sweet.

Poke also called Garget

V root of Arum Triphyllum –Dragon Root or Ind. turnip

V Gold Thread Coptis trifolia

V sanguinaria Canadensis or Blood Root

V Conium Maculatum Hemlock

V Cicuta maculata Am. Hemlock

V Asarum Canadense Wild Ginger snake root–colt’s foot–

V Hyoscyamus Niger Henbane

V sweetscented Golden rod

V Panax quinquefolium Ginseng.

V Polygala Senega Seneca snake root

V veratrum viride Am. Hellebore

V Dirca palustris Leather Wood.

GINSENG

I noticed the button bush May 25th around an elevated pond or mudhole –its leaves just beginning to expand–

This slight amount of green contrasted with its –dark craggly naked looking stem & branches –as if subsiding waters had left them bare –looked Dantesque –& infernal. It is not a handsome bush at this season it is so slow to put out its leaves & hide its naked & unsightly stems.

The Andromeda ligustrina is late to leave out.

malus excelsa –amara –florida –palustris –gratissima –ramosa –spinosa ferruginea –aromatica –aurea –rubigenosa –odorata –tristis –officinalis!! herbacea –vulgaris –aestivalis –autumnalis riparia –odora –versicolor –communis –farinosa –super septa pendens malus sepium virum Nov. Angliae –succosa saepe formicis preoccupata –vermiculosa aut verminosa –aut a vermibus corrupta vel erosa –Malus semper virens et viridis viridis –cholera –morbifera or dysenterifera –(M. sylvestrispaludosa –excelsa et ramosa superne –difficilis conscendere (aut adoeper), fructus difficillimus stringere –parvus et amara.) Picis perforata or perterebata –





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rupestris –agrestis –arvensis –Assabetia –Railroad apple –Musketaquidensis –dew apple rorifera. The apple whose fruit we tasted in our youth which grows passim et nusquam,– Our own particular apple malus numquam legata vel stricta. (Malus cujus fructum ineunte aetate gustavi quae passim et nusquam viget) cortice muscosâ Malus viae-ferreae



May 31, Saturday: [Henry Thoreau](#) delivered “Walking” at [Worcester](#).

[TIMELINE OF ESSAYS](#)

“WALKING”: When looking over a list of men’s names in a foreign language, as of military officers or of authors who have written on a particular subject, I am reminded once more that there is nothing in a name. The name Menschikoff, for instance, has nothing in it to my ears more human than a whisker, and it may belong to a rat. As the names of the Poles and Russians are to us, so are ours to them. It is as if they had been named by the child’s rigmorole – *Iery-wiery ichery van, tittle-tol-tan*. I see in my mind a herd of wild creatures swarming over the earth, and to each the herdsman has affixed some barbarous sound in his own dialect. The names of men are of course as cheap and meaningless as **Bose** and **Tray**, the names of dogs.

[DOG](#)



May 31: Pedestrium solatium in apricis locis. –nodosa

June 3, Tuesday: The 1st mention of [Theophilus Brown](#), whom [Henry Thoreau](#) had met in April 1849 in [Worcester](#), in Thoreau’s journal:



June 3, Tuesday: Lectured in Worcester last Saturday –& walked to *As* or *Hasnebumskit* Hill in Paxton the next day. Said to be the highest land in Worcester County except Wachusett Met Mr. Blake –Brown –Chamberlin –Hinsdale –Miss Butman? Wyman –Conant. Returned to Boston yesterday –conversed with John Downes –who is connected with the Coast Survey –is printing tables for Astronomical Geodesic & other uses. He tells me that he once saw the common sucker in numbers piling up stones as big as his fist. (like the piles which I have seen) taking them up or moving them with their mouths.

Dr. Harris suggests that the Mt Cranberry which I saw at Ktaadn was the *Vaccinium Vitis-idea* cowberry because it was edible & not the *Uva Ursi* –or bear berry – which we have in Concord.

Saw the *Uvularia perfoliata* perfoliate bellwort in Worcester near the hill –an abundance of Mt Laurel on the hills now budded to blossom & the fresh lighter growth contrasting with the dark green An abundance of very large chequer berries or partridge berries as Bigelow calls them on Hasnebumskit –sugar maples about there. A very extensive view but the western view not so much wilder as I expected. See Barre about 15 miles off &

[BIGELOW](#)

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Rutland &c &c Not so much forest as in our neighborhood –high swelling hills –but less shade for the walker–

The hills are green –the soil springer & it is written that water is more easily obtained on the hills than in the valleys.– Saw a Scotch fir the pine so valued for tar & naval uses in the North of Europe.

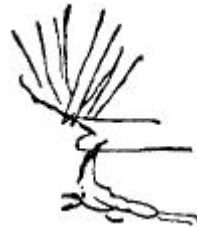
Mr Chamberlin told me that there was no corporation in Worcester except the banks (which I suspect may not be literally true) & hence their freedom & independence. I think it likely there is a gass company to light the streets at least.

John Mactaggart finds the ice thickest not in the largest lakes in Canada nor in the smallest where the surrounding forests melt it.

He says that the surveyor of the Boundary line between England & US on the Columbia River saw pine trees which would require 16 feet in the blade to a cross cut saw to do anything with them.

I examined today a large swamp white oak in Hubbards Meadow which was blown down by the same storm which destroyed the Light House.

At 5 feet from the ground it was  $9\frac{3}{4}$  feet in circumference The first branch at  $11\frac{1}{2}$  feet from ground –and it held the first diameter up to 23 feet from the ground. Its whole height measured on the ground was 80 feet. & its breadth about 66 ft. The roots on one side were turned up with the soil on them –making an object very conspicuous a great distance off, the highest part being 18 feet from the ground –and 14 ft above centre of trunk. The roots which were small and thickly interlaced were from 3 to 9 inches beneath the surface (in other trees I saw them level with the surface) and thence extended 15 to 18 inches in depth (*i.e.* to this depth they occupied the ground) They were broken off at about 11 feet from the centre of the trunk –and were there on an average one inch in diameter, the largest being 3 inches in diam. The longest root was broken off at 20 feet from the centre, and was there  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch in diameter The tree was rotten within. The lower side of the soil (what was originally the lower) which clothed the roots for 9 feet from the centre of the tree, was white & clayey to appearance –& a sparrow was sitting on 3 eggs within the mass. Directly under where the massive trunk had stood and within a foot of the surface you could apparently strike in a spade & meet with no obstruction



–to a free cultivation. There was no tap root to be seen. The roots were encircled with dark nubby rings. The tree which still had a portion of its roots in the ground & held to them by a sliver on the leeward side was alive and had leaved out though on many branches the leaves were shrivelled again.

*Quercus bicolor* of Big. *Q. Prinus discolor* MX.f.

I observed the grass waving to day for the first time –the swift Camilla on it– It might have been noticed before–

You might have seen it now for a week past on grain fields.

Clover has blossomed

I noticed the Indigo weed a week or two ago pushing up like asparagus. Methinks it must be the small *Andromeda*? that the dull red mass of leaves in the swamp mixed perchance with the *Rhodora* –with its dry fruit like appendages as well as the *Andromeda paniculata* else called *ligustrina* & the clethra– It was the Golden *Senecio aureus* which I plucked a week ago in a meadow in Wayland The earliest methinks of the aster and autumnal looking yellow flowers. Its bruised stems enchanted me with their indescribable sweet odor –like I cannot think what

The *Phaseolus vulgaris* includes several kinds of bush beans of which those I raised were one.



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October 14, Tuesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) to his journal:

*Today is holden [sic] at Worcester the "Woman's Convention." I think that, as long as they have not equal rights of property & right of voting, they are not on a right footing. But this wrong grew out of the savage & military period, when, because a woman could not defend herself, it was necessary that she should be assigned to some man who was paid for guarding her. Now in more tranquil & decorous times it is plain she should have her property, & when she marries, the parties should as regards property, go into a partnership full or limited, but explicit & recorded. For the rest, I do not think a woman's convention, called in the spirit of this at Worcester, can much avail. It is an attempt to manufacture public opinion, & of course repels all persons who love the simple & direct method. I find the Evils real & great. If I go from Hanover street to Atkinson street – as I did yesterday – what hundreds of extremely ordinary, paltry, hopeless women I see, whose plight is piteous to think of. If it were possible to repair the rottenness of human nature, to provide a rejuvenescence, all were well, & no special reform, no legislation would be needed. For, as soon as you have a sound & beautiful woman, a figure in the style of the Antique Juno, Diana, Pallas, Venus, & the Graces, all falls into place, the men are magnetised, heaven opens, & no lawyer need be called in to prepare a clause, for woman moulds the lawgiver. I should therefore advise that the Woman's Convention should be holden [sic] in the Sculpture Gallery, that this high remedy might be suggested. "Women," Plato says, "are the same as men in faculty, only less." I find them all victims of their temperament. "I never saw a woman who did not cry," said E. [[Ellery Channing](#)?] Nature's end of maternity – maternity for twenty years – was of so supreme importance, that it was to be secured at all events, even to the sacrifice of the highest beauty. Bernhard told Margaret that every woman (whatever she says, reads, or writes) is thinking of a husband. And this excess of temperament remains not less in Marriage. Few women are sane. They emit a coloured atmosphere, one would say, floods upon floods of coloured light, in which they walk evermore, & see all objects through this warm tinted mist which envelopes them. Men are not, to the same degree, tempermented; for there are multitudes of men who live to objects quite out of them, as to politics, to trade, to letters, or an art, unhindered by any influence of constitution.*

This convention in [Worcester](#) being written about by Emerson above was the 2nd National Woman's Rights Convention, the 1st such convention having taken place in the previous year. He had been invited, but had declined. A history says that "literary figures from Boston" graced the platform, and we wonder who that would have been since obviously it did not include this Where's-Waldo, or [Henry Thoreau](#), or [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) or [Ellery Channing](#). We know that [Frederick Douglass](#) addressed the convention, but suspect that the white people would not have characterized him as a "literary figure from Boston." During this convention there was an outburst of male-bashing, and in the audience [Abby Kelley Foster](#) stood up to dramatically

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caution them about this, dragging in the male bloody foot, declaring that

*...for fourteen years I have advocated this cause by my daily life. Bloody feet, sisters, have worn smooth the path by which you have come hither.*

On this date a type of telegraph-line insulator was patented by John M. Batchelder:



October 14, Tuesday: Down the R R. before sun rise A freight train in the Deep Cut. the sun rising over the woods.– When the vapor from the engine rose above the woods the level rays of the rising sun fell on it it presented the same redness–morning red–inclining to saffron which the clouds in the eastern horizon do.

TELEGRAPHY

There was but little wind this morning yet I heard the telegraph harp–it does not require a strong wind to wake its strings–it depends more on its direction & the tension of the wire apparently–a gentle but steady breeze will often call forth its finest strains when a strong but unsteady gale–blowing at the wrong angle withal fails to elicit any melodious sound.

AEOLIAN HARP

In the psychological world there are phenomena analogous to what zoologists call **alternate reproduction** in which it requires several generations unlike each other to produce the perfect animal– Some men’s lives are but an aspiration–a yearning toward a higher state–and they are wholly misapprehended–until they are referred to or traced through all their metamorphoses. We cannot pronounce upon a man’s intellectual & moral state until we force what metamorphosis it is preparing him for.

It is said that “the working bees – – are barren females. The attributes of their sex – – seem to consist only in their solicitude for the welfare of the new generation, of which they are the natural guardians, but not the parents.” Agassiz & Gould. This phenomenon is paralleled in man by maiden aunts & bachelor uncles who perform a similar function.

“The muskrat,” according to Agassiz & Gould, “is found from the mouth of Mackenzie’s River to Florida” It is moreover of a type peculiar to temperate America. He is a native american surely. He neither dies of Consumption in New England nor of Fever & ague at the south & west–thoroughly acclimated & naturalized. “The hyenas, wild-boars, and rhinoceroses of the Cape of Good Hope, have no analogues on the American continent”– At the last menagerie I visited they told me that one of the hyenas came from S america!

There is something significant and interesting in the fact that the fauna of Europe and that of the United States are very similar–pointing to the fitness of this country for the settlement of Europeans.

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They say “There are many species of animals whose numbers are daily diminishing, and whose extinction may be foreseen; as the Canada deer (Wapiti), the Ibex of the Alps, the Lämmergeyer, the bison, the beaver, the wild-turkey, &c.” With these of course is to be associated the Indian.

They say that the house-fly has followed man in his migrations.

One would say that the Yankee belonged properly to the **northern** temperate Fauna—the region of the pines.





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1852

[Nathaniel Hawthorne](#)'s college chum [Franklin Pierce](#) was elected 14th President of the United States of America, defeating not only the candidate of the [Free Soil Party](#), the abolitionist John Parker Hale, but also the victorious General Winfield Scott, the Whig candidate who had been favored in the election. Scott's defeat would draw attention to the crumbling condition of his party.

This had come about in a most interesting manner. Pierce had come out in favor of the Fugitive Slave Law, and so the Southern slavemasters of the Democratic Party had begun to consider him a sympathetic Northerner, and thus a suitable candidate for Vice-President on their ticket (their ideal slate being a vigorous Southern pro-slavery Presidential candidate, combined just for show with one or another Northern pro-slavery ineffective stuffed shirt sellout Vice-Presidential candidate). However, their convention had had an ironclad rule, that only a 2/3rds vote could confirm a slate, and so it had of course become deadlocked, and it remained deadlocked for 48 consecutive ballots — until the deadlock was broken in fatigue by their simply giving up on all their favorite sons, and promoting instead this Northern dark horse into the primary slot on their ticket. This Northern dark horse Pierce would, as he had pledged (and as depicted on a following screen), be appointing an entirely proslavery cabinet. For instance, he would appoint his good ol' buddy [Jefferson Davis](#) the [secessionist](#) as his Secretary of War.

THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

May: A "Free Church" forming in [Worcester](#) invited the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) to be their pastor. Was it at about this point in time that the Reverend, who although he had been dismissed by his Newburyport congregation was still as a courtesy being allowed to reside in the parsonage there, moved to Worcester? Shortly after moving to a cottage house at an angle formed by Bowdoin Street and Harvard Street in Worcester, he wrote his mother that "*Close by us ... is Mr. Brown, a tailor, quite a remarkable person, I think, very original and agreeable, and rather the wit of the city; I have ridden, walked, and sailed with him with great satisfaction*" (the Browns were living nearby, on Chestnut Street near Sudbury Street).

THEOPHILUS BROWN

The Reverend Higginson would be their pastor until 1861.

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1853

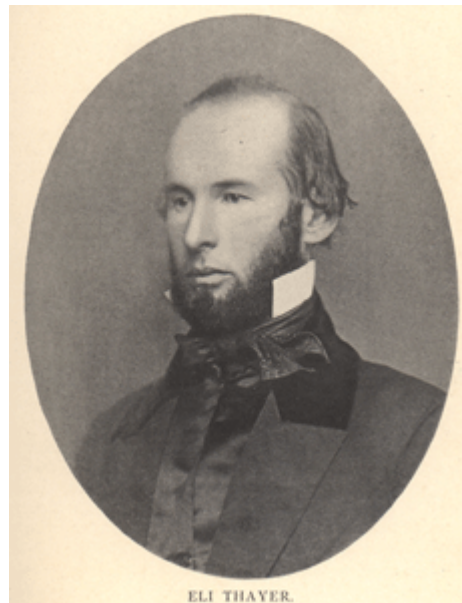
February 6, Sunday: [Giuseppe Mazzini](#) led an attempt to take the Milan fortress by force. His appeal for an insurrection was generally ignored and the plan failed. After the failure of the revolt, Austrian Field Marshall Count Radetzky declared a state of siege and closed the city of Milan, in the middle of preparations for “La Traviata.”

[Anna Caroline Thayer](#) was born in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), a daughter of [Eli Thayer](#) and [Caroline Maria Capron Thayer](#).

Winter: A beard craze began in London. At this time of considerable cold and asthma, accounts in the newspapers were describing beards as “natural respirators.” (Thoreau would grow a throat beard during the second half of 1857, for this reason.)

[Eli Thayer](#) had been an Alderman in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), and in this session of the Massachusetts Legislature, served as a representative from Worcester. During this session he presented a bill to incorporate a “[Bank of Mutual Redemption](#)” (a clearinghouse for commercial paper).

He has been an Alderman in his adopted city. During the winter of 1853-5, he served as a member of the Massachusetts Legislature, from Worcester, and again in the following winter.





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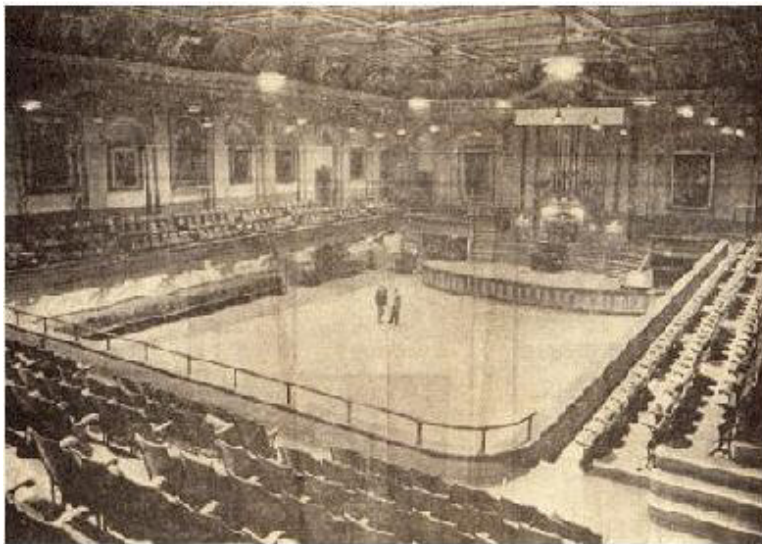
## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

**1854**

A piano manufacturer in [Worcester](#) advertised the firm's wares:



On the site formerly occupied by the Waldo Mansion, a Mechanics Hall was completed. This edifice would proudly record that it had hosted lecturers such as John B. Gough, Rufus Choate, President McKinley, ex-Vice President Stevenson, the Honorable James R. Garfield, President Taft, President [Theodore?] Roosevelt, and President Woodrow Wilson.



Hey, didn't [Henry Thoreau](#) also lecture there? –Or, was that at Worcester's Washburn Hall?

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January 23, Monday: Ellen Taylor Russell was born to [Mary Ellen “Nellie” Taylor Russell](#) and [Thomas Russell](#).

[Henry Thoreau](#) left at noon to visit [H.G.O. Blake](#) in [Worcester](#).



Jan. 23. Love tends to purify and sublime itself. It mortifies and triumphs over the flesh, and the bond of its union is holiness.

The increased length of the days is very observable of late. What is a winter unless you have risen and gone abroad frequently before sunrise and by starlight? Varro speaks of what he calls, I believe, before-light (*antelucana*) occupations in winter, on the farm. Such are especially milking, in this neighborhood.<sup>51</sup>

If one may judge from [Josselyn](#), they began to be weather-wise very early in New England. He says: “The obscuring of the smaller stars is a certain sign of tempests approaching.... The resounding of the sea from the shore, and murmuring of the winds [*sic* in Josselyn] in the woods without apparent wind, sheweth wind to follow.... The redness of the sky in the morning, is a token of winds, or rain, or both,” etc., etc. “If the white hills look clear and conspicuous, it is a sign of fair weather; if black and cloudy, of rain; if yellow, it is a certain sign of snow shortly to ensue,” etc. *Vide* his “Two Voyages.” He speaks of “the Earth-nut bearing a princely flower, the beautiful leaved Pirola,” etc. Is n’t this the glossy-leaved wintergreen?

At noon, go to Worcester.

January 24, Tuesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) and [H.G.O. Blake](#) walked about 6 miles from [Worcester](#) into Holden and returned via Stonehouse Hill. In his journal entry for this date, Thoreau mentioned that he had not yet had an opportunity to study the latest volumes of the writings of [Thomas De Quincey](#) published in the previous year in Boston and available at the Concord Town Library.

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL I

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL II

51. Speaking of the rustic villa, you must see that the kitchen is convenient, “because some things are done there in the winter before daylight (*antelucanis temporibus*); food is prepared and taken.” In the study are not some things to be done before daylight, and a certain food to be prepared there?

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January 25, Wednesday: The day was so cold that [Henry Thoreau](#)'s driver in [Worcester](#) mentioned that, although he drove in the mornings, he did not wear gloves or mittens — except that very morning. “He had a very large hand, one of his fingers as big as three of mine. But this morning he had to give up.” Thoreau returned to [Concord](#) at noon.



Judge Alexander Hamilton formally deferred implementation of the negative ruling of the Missouri Supreme Court, that the Scotts still were enslaved, pending an opportunity for the US Supreme Court determine whether or not it desired to intercede in the case.

[DRED SCOTT](#)

[HARRIET ROBINSON SCOTT](#)

[MRS. IRENE EMERSON](#)

Lucy Stone delivered a lecture at the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#)'s Tabernacle, suggesting that no matter how contemptuous the abolitionists were of such a person as Mitchel, “the slaveholders themselves” would “dump on him more contempt” even than that. John Mitchel was in the gallery to hear himself being denounced by a woman from the pulpit, and commented afterward that not having ever experienced before a



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woman speaking in such a manner in public, he had been surprised to find himself “listening with respectful attention, for more than an hour.” He found Lucy “very intelligent” and “unaffected” and “young.” He had attended this meeting, he said, for the good of his health, “as a Russian after a hot bath goes out and rolls himself in the snow.”

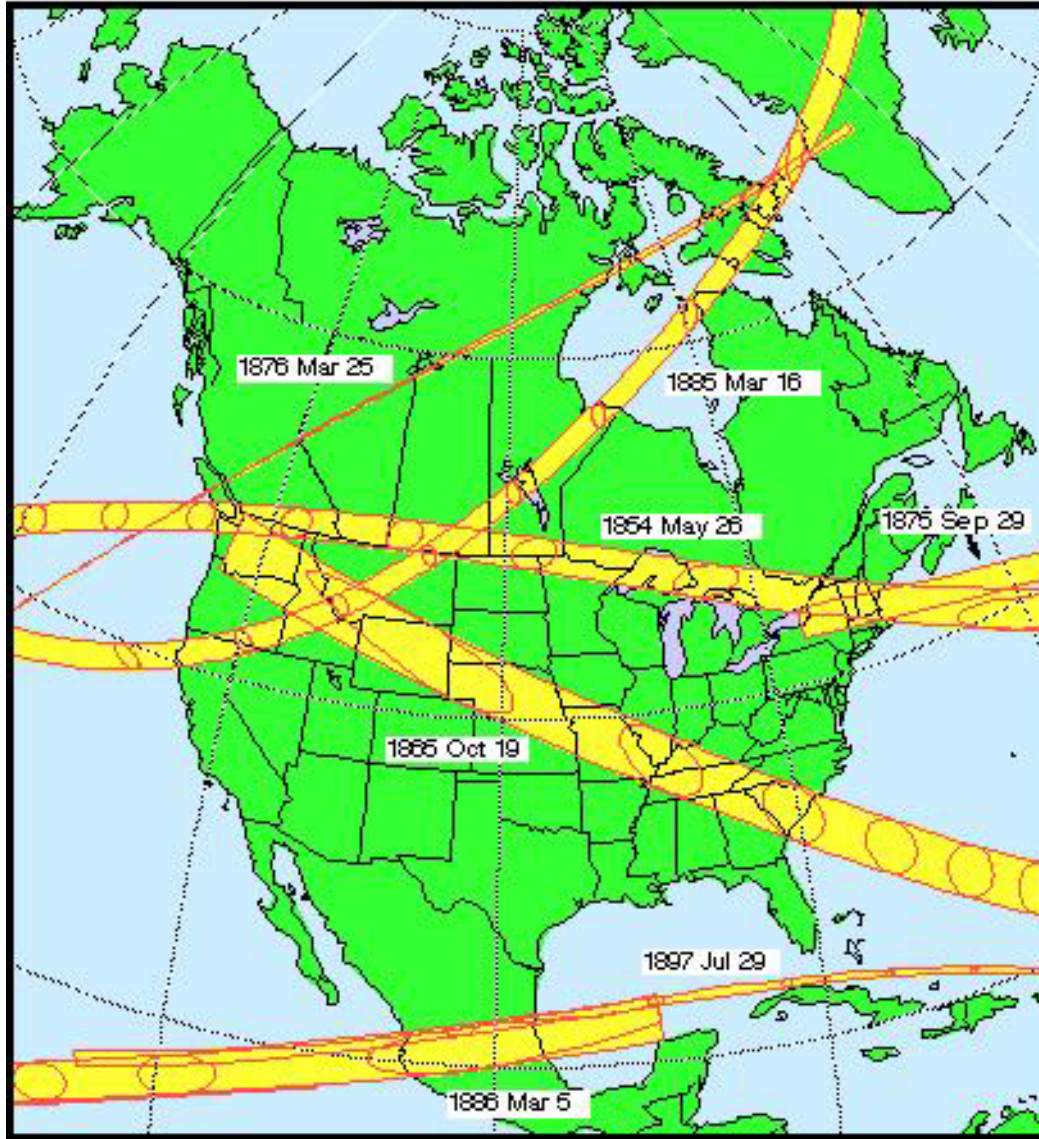


At the 22nd Annual Meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, [William Lloyd Garrison](#) proposed, and the meeting accepted, a resolution that “John Mitchel has revealed himself to be a braggart patriot, and a thoroughly unprincipled man, utterly recreant to all his professions of liberty.” (Mitchel would respond that if he was a “braggart patriot,” Garrison was an “ass.” Then [Wendell Phillips](#) took the floor, and characterized Mitchel as being a product of “British tyranny,” from whom the life had been crushed through its persecution. The British “had sent him to us, the poorest and meanest Slave he had ever heard of.”



**WORCESTER****WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS**

May 26, Friday: An annular solar [eclipse](#) (#7298) was visible (local weather conditions permitting) in a path from Washington state along the Canadian border and across New England and Nova Scotia:

**Annular Solar Eclipses: 1851 - 1900****ASTRONOMY**

In Boston, the solar eclipse was precluded by clouds and rain. However, in Roxbury, Caroline Barrett White got a view and was able to mark down the totality as occurring precisely at 5:40 PM. In Cambridge, [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#) wrote in his journal that “Yesterday a fugitive slave was arrested in Boston! To-day there is an eclipse of the sun. ‘Hung be the heavens in black!’”

When, after declaring a blockade of Greece on account of their attempt to attack Turkey, Great Britain and France occupied Piraeus, Greece quickly assented to neutrality.

Pièce pour Grand Orgue in A was performed for the initial time, in the Church of Saint-Eustache, Paris, by its composer [César Franck](#).

At 5:30 AM [Henry Thoreau](#) visited the climbing ivy, and in the afternoon he went to [Walden Pond](#). Presumably

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he caught no glimpse of the eclipse through the clouds.

[Moncure Daniel Conway](#) heard the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#)'s incendiary oration at Faneuil Hall:

*There is a means, and there is an end; liberty is the end, and sometimes peace is not the means toward it.*



Hey, that's not bad, coming from a white man who believed his own Caucasian race to be uniquely humane, civilized, and progressive, never enslaved because able to conquer by use of the head as well as by use of the hand. (Yeah, that's just about a quote unquote, for the Reverend Parker besides being a warmonger was also a racist.) Let's have a war so that superior and inferior races can live together in harmony!

The lawyer Seth Webb, Jr. managed to persuade Judge Daniel Wells of Boston's Court of Common Pleas to issue to Boston's coroner, Charles Smith, a writ of personal replevin according to which US Marshal Watson Freeman was to surrender "the body of Anthony Burns." Freeman, however, refused to comply with this writ. Meanwhile, there were maneuvers to raise \$1,200 to purchase the escaped slave in order directly to manumit him.<sup>52</sup>

**MANUMISSION**

This [Anthony Burns](#) affair made Conway (among others) into an abolitionist, by forcing him to choose sides. As the industrialist [Amos Adams Lawrence](#) of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy commented,

*We went to bed one night old-fashioned, conservative, Compromise Union Whigs and waked up stark mad Abolitionists.*

[Bronson Alcott](#) took the train from Boston for [Worcester](#) on a mission for the Boston Vigilance Committee. He was to attract the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), who had organized the guerrilla action of 1851 which had failed to rescue [Thomas Simms \(Sims\)](#), to head the Vigilance Committee and to take action in regard to the kidnapping of Burns.<sup>53</sup>

52. It would have been at best problematic, for such a sale of Burns to the abolitionists for \$1,200 to have gone through. Under Massachusetts law, the sale of a slave within the Commonwealth would have been a criminal offense committed by the seller and punishable by a fine of \$1,000 plus ten years in prison. Even if Mr. Charles Francis Suttle were to carefully phrase the transaction as a [manumission](#) financed by others rather than as a financial transaction for gain, he very well knew that this would provide his enemies with a pretext for indefinite legal harassment — a pretext upon which in the utter absence of all good will they would be quite likely to act.

53. For the attempt at rescuing [Anthony Burns](#), see the [Reverend Higginson](#)'s *CHEERFUL YESTERDAYS* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1898).

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May 27, Saturday: In the afternoon [Henry Thoreau](#) went to Saw Mill Brook.

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

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



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

One of the onlookers to these events, who would take no part in them but would suffer in his home town for



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having so much as been present, was [Moncure Daniel Conway](#). Word that he had been present would circulate in Virginia, so that when he attempted to return to visit his father and mother, a crowd of young men would confront him and order him to leave the town immediately or suffer the consequences.

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

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

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

RESISTING THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW

HIGHER LAW

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

Because there had been an alert that Peter Dunbar's<sup>54</sup> truckmen were planning to attack the home of [Wendell Phillips](#), Phillips being elsewhere but his family being in the home, [Bronson Alcott](#), Henry Kemp, Francis Jackson, and the Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#) each armed themselves with a pistol, to sit out the night in the Phillips parlor. They would sit out this night with their pistols in their laps, however, without incident.

Because there were fears that the slavemaster, Mr. Charles Francis Suttle, and his attorney at law, William Brent, might be attacked at their lodgings on the 1st floor of the Revere House, an honor guard of southern students was recruited from Harvard College.<sup>55</sup> Suttle and Brent then relocated to a room in the hotel's garret, for greater security inside their cordon of armed students.

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

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

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



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



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



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

June 3, Saturday: [H.G.O. Blake](#) and [Theophilus Brown](#) arrived from [Worcester](#) and went with [Henry Thoreau](#) to Fair Haven. They dined at Lee's Cliff.

The Austrian government requested that Russian troops be withdrawn from Moldavia and Wallachia.

A new organ was inaugurated in Winchester Cathedral by its organist, Samuel Sebastian Wesley, before a large audience. His virtuosic display was followed by a service consisting of his music, including the 1st performance of an anthem written for the occasion, "By the word of the Lord were the heavens made."

# WORCESTER

# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

October 5, Thursday: We do not know on what date [Thomas Cholmondeley](#) arrived at the Thoreau boardinghouse, but by this day he had been in residence long enough to have become acquainted with [Henry Thoreau](#), and for Thoreau to have invited him along on a planned climb of Mount Wachusett. One may wonder what sort of conversations Thoreau had with this Brit colonialist who was having so many interesting things to say, in his *ULTIMA THULE; OR, THOUGHTS SUGGESTED BY A RESIDENCE IN NEW ZEALAND* published in this year, about how “the true principle of imperial connection is *faith in the laws of nature and of man*”:<sup>56</sup>

Union may consist materially in a balance of interests; but yet it is not an interest; it represents the soul and intelligence, proceeding from men indeed, but which in its turn governs men; which confers a conscience upon the otherwise lifeless machinery of government, and gives it a life analogous to that of an organised living creature. The great law of organisation is well known; we may behold and study it, whether we look downwards at the flowers under our feet, or gaze upwards at the stars of heaven; from both we learn to take good heart, and have confidence in the kind intention of the great Creator and disposer of the universe, and the thorough goodness of the laws established by Him; one of the greatest of which may thus be interpreted in its application to men: **that as long as a tolerably good common Government exists, men will hold together and respect a common cause**; that it is **not** the nature and tendency of families or nations to fall into pieces, but that they do so from long-continued, unbearable misgovernment.

## READ CHOLMONDELEY



Thoreau wrote [H.G.O. Blake](#) in [Worcester](#) telling about Cholmondeley being there in [Concord](#), and suggesting this trip to Wachusett.

**[OCR-scan letter from THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY DAVID THOREAU, ed. Walter Harding and Carl Bode, 1958, and insert here.]**



On this day a review of *WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS* was appearing in the [Watchman and Reflector](#), 158:

Reprinted in *CRITICAL ESSAYS ON HENRY DAVID THOREAU'S WALDEN*, ed. Joel Myerson (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1988), page 30.

56. The use of *italics* for emphasis is Cholmondeley’s.

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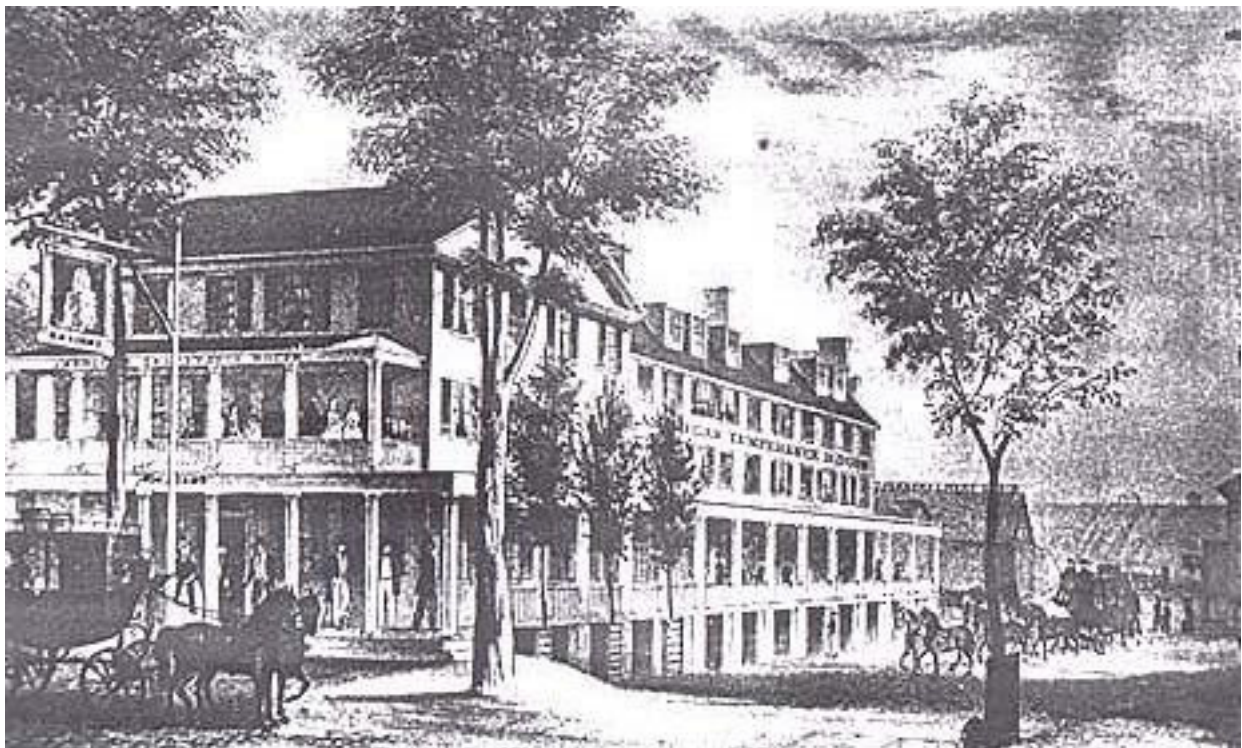
October 29, Sunday: [Moncure Daniel Conway](#) was elected to be the minister of the [Unitarian](#) church in [Washington DC](#).<sup>57</sup>

### AUTOBIOGRAPHY

### VOLUME II

[Henry Thoreau](#) seems to have decided, by this point in late October, that he was going to write a lecture of the “reformatory Character” on “Art of Life” that had been requested by [Asa Fairbanks](#) in the letter he received on October 18th. (This would begin as “WHAT SHALL IT PROFIT” and continued through “LIFE MISSPENT” to become what we know as “LIFE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE”.)

Also, in late October, in [Worcester](#), a heavy-set man registered at the American Temperance House Hotel at the intersection of Main Street and Foster Street.<sup>58</sup>



He was a lawman, he was the US Marshall [Asa O. Butman](#) who had arrested the young presser [Anthony Burns](#) in Boston in May, and he was back from escorting Burns to the custody of his owner in Virginia. What was such a man up to in Worcester, and what was to be done about it? As a nonresistant, [Stephen](#)

57. While a minister in [Washington DC](#), Conway would become special friends with Helen Fiske, who after two husbands, as Helen Hunt Jackson, would relocate to Southern [California](#) and plead in a novel titled RAMONA for the rights of Native Americans.

58. President Martin Van Buren had stayed a night at this hotel in 1845 and another night in 1848. At various times General Sam Houston of Texas and John Greenleaf Whittier were also guests of this famous hotel.



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[Symonds Foster](#) had of course not become a member of the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#)'s




“Worcester Vigilance Committee,” so, while that vigilance committee was going around passing out its LOOK OUT FOR KIDNAPPERS handbills and trying to drum up a mob so they could throw a “tar and feathers party” in Butman’s honor, Foster and some fifty of his nonresistant friends, white and black, took direct action. They assembled in front of the American House and kept ringing the doorbell and arguing with the landlord, long into the night, until finally Butman appeared in the doorway with pistol in hand and threatened them. They promptly swore out a complaint and had the marshal arrested. The next morning, at Butman’s arraignment, the courtroom and surrounding streets were jammed with spectators. At a brief adjournment in the proceedings, about six black men got into the room with Butman, and commenced beating on him. Although the city marshal did manage to arrest one of the assailants, there were too many common citizens present and clearly the forces of law and order –which flourish best in the dark– were not in charge of that day and that place. There was a conference between community leaders and city officials, and, as a result of this negotiation, Butman, Higginson, Foster, and some others left the courthouse in a tight group. The promise that had been made was that Butman could have safe passage out of [Worcester](#) if he would agree never to return there. The tight group managed to get Butman to the downtown train station more or less intact, at the expense of his having received in transit from the members of the crowd one blow of the fist, one thrown egg, and miscellaneous kicks, but the train had just left. So Butman was unceremoniously locked in the depot privy for an hour while the members of the escort committee made speeches to the crowd and waited nervously for the arrival of a hack that could get the man safely back to Boston.

When the entire affair was over and Butman was safe, Foster, his friend Joseph Howland, and some other nonresistants and some black men who had allegedly beat on Butman were placed under arrest on the charge of inciting to riot. Foster refused to post bail and demanded that his wife [Abby Kelley Foster](#) be permitted to act as his lawyer. Which was unheard of, no female had ever appeared in court as a lawyer in the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts! At the end of it the grand jury indicted the black defendants for assaulting Butman, but acquitted the nonresistants.

[Thoreau](#) received a written request from [Mary Moody Emerson](#), asking that he repeat his Plymouth lectures of February 22, 1852 and October 8, 1854 for the benefit of his neighbors.

Father [Isaac Hecker](#), CSSR wrote to [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), noting how easy it was for him to see right through the pretensions of his friend the author, [Henry Thoreau](#):



*Under his seeming trustfulness and frankness ...  
he conceals an immense amount of pride, pretension  
and infidelity.*



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About [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), he commented that he had not read “all his book through” but doubted that “anyone else will except as a feat.” All in all [Henry Thoreau](#)’s literary accomplishment he depicted as inferior to his own as-yet-unfinished, as-yet-untitled production. Although he here suggested that [Brownson](#) take a shot at this new book by Thoreau in [Brownson’s Quarterly Review](#), Brownson would not in fact ever venture so to do:



*Do give in yr next Review a notice of “Thoreau’s Life in the woods”. He places himself fairly before the public and is a fair object of criticism. I have not read all his book through, and I don’t think any one will except as a feat. I read enough in it to see that under his seeming truthfulness & frankness he conceals an immense amount of pride, pretention & infidelity. This tendency to solitude & asceticism means something, and there is a certain degree of truthfulness & even bravery in his attempts to find out what this something is; but his results are increased pride, pretention & infidelity, instead of humility, simplicity, & piety. He makes a great ado about the cheapness of his house, and gives us a list of his articles of diet as something to be looked at & admired; but why a house at all? Why this long list of luxuries? The Hermit Fathers did without all these. They dwelt in holes & caves & lived on roots & water. Thoreau lives a couple of years in the midst of [Walden Woods] – with the help of his friends, and lo he sets to crowing to wake up his neighbors. The Hermit Fathers lived 60 100 years & upwards in perfect solitude & silence & when discovered plunge deeper into the desert, and die as they lived in solitude & silence. The poor man Thoreau does not know what cheap stuff his heroism is made of. He wants waking up. He brags of not having committed himself in not having purchased a farm, he forgets that he takes a deed for his book in the shape of a copy right. His recontre with the Catholic Canadian shows according to his own account to every other mind except his own, that of the two, the Canadian was the truer, braver, & greater man. You can give him a good notice, for he was a young friend of yours. What has all his efforts & struggling done for him? What would these efforts not do inside & under the divine influence of the H Church. The time is coming when our young, earnest, and enterprising American youth will find that it is the Church of God they seek – and they will find in her bosom the sphere for their activities & the true objects of their search & aspirations.... I put into the hands of Appleton to-day or to-morrow the first 12 chapters of my book. Including “The Model Man” & “The Model Life” two chapters which I have written since I saw you. I think I have been successful in doing what I intended these two chapters which I considered the most difficult task from the beginning.*



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**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE OCTOBER 29TH, 1854 AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**

Winter: [Eli Thayer](#) again served in the Massachusetts Legislature, as a representative from [Worcester](#).

It was during his last term as a legislator that those events were born in our national history, which require just such a man to unravel and master them. The famous Kansas/Nebraska Bill having passed Congress, by the consequent repeal of the long-standing Missouri Compromise the young territories were forthwith thrown open for a hand-to-hand struggle between the forces of Free and Slave Labor. Whichever should win in that fight, was to possess those lands for all time. The Free State men were at a distance; their opponents were already, as it were, on the ground. The former were placed at a still greater disadvantage, that they either had to pass directly through a slave State to reach Kansas, or to make a circuitous and wearisome journey further to the north, through a free State. It was expensive to remove all the way to Kansas; little was known of the country at the East; men were extremely loth to take their families, one by one, so far beyond the frontier; and, with such a variety and force of opposition, the spirit of the friends of Free Labor began sensibly to flag, even while they saw and lamented that the prize might, with proper effort, be won. How to make that effort most effective was the problem. Eli Thayer sat in the State Capitol and thought the whole thing out. He caught the spirit of the hour, and conceived the magic plan that was to bring order out of chaos, dissipate the fears of the lovers of freedom, and rescue a young State from the curse, whose dark shadow was then passing over its plains. On the instant, he made known his plan. By many it was lightly thought of, because it was so simple. Others would rather wait to see how it was likely to work. The doubters were as plenty as they always are at such times. But Mr. Thayer possessed a wonderful power of **work**; and, as an Englishman would say, work generally accomplishes the end sought for. The first step he took was to procure the charter of an "Emigrant Aid Society" from the Legislature, having already enlisted the sympathy and co-operation of many of the leading men of the State. To show that this movement was, in no sense, a political, but rather a social and economic one, from the start, it is sufficient to state, that among the original incorporators to whom this grant was made by the Legislature, appear the names of Col. Isaac Davis, of Worcester; and Gen. J.S. Whitney, of Springfield. Hon. A.A. Lawrence, of Boston, likewise lent it his aid in a large and effective amount of ready money, as is well remembered by all. ... The secret of the free-labor success was, that by the rapidity and compactness of its emigration, under the scheme of Eli Thayer, the work was done before the other side had time to



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think of it. They invited a free contest, and they were beaten. ... So incensed were they, even before the deed was known to be done, they offered a reward for the head of Eli Thayer, the author and inventor of the scheme by which their game was thus blocked, and kept the reward standing for some time at the head of their newspapers! ... **Their** plan was based on force, absolute and brutal; Thayer sent forward the saw-mill and grist-mill as **his** pioneer, and men followed close after steam.

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1855

Joshua C. Stoddard of [Worcester](#) patented a 15-pipe steam-engine-powered “steam piano.” He would soon christen his organ “Calliope,” the beautifully voiced. (He would form the American Steam Music Company.)

This was Elm Park in [Worcester](#) during this decade:





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Young [Luke Fisher Parsons](#) returned, as an accomplished wagon-maker, to his mother and siblings in Byron, Illinois.

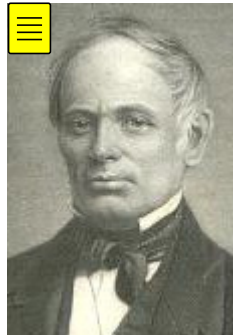
During this year the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) sailed with his wife to the Portuguese island of Fayal and back, for her health. There is in existence a letter by the Reverend, in which he describes a trip to Mt. Ktaadn taken in this year by himself, [Theophilus Brown](#), and eight others from [Worcester](#). The five women of this party were wearing bloomers and sensible shoes, and the native guide reportedly commented “There’s



no better grit to be scared up anywhere than them women have.” The Reverend Higginson, and Dr. Seth Rogers,<sup>59</sup> also led groups of armed men during this year from [Worcester](#) to the [Kansas Territory](#). I don’t know whether the trip to Ktaadn was before or after the Kansas trip. [Wendell Phillips](#) contributed \$100.<sup>00</sup> to purchase carbines for anti-slavery white people emigrating to the Great Plains.

### THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION

The Reverend [Adin Ballou](#)’s [Hopedale](#) Community of Christian non-violenters near [Worcester](#) sent a party to



establish a colony for peace, about 40 miles north of St. Paul, in a location called “Union Grove” near Monticello, [Minnesota](#); however, weather, and difficulties of travel and transport and funding along the way, forced that peace party to sell its wagons and livestock and possessions and return to their origin with but the clothing on their backs. (Or, perhaps, God forced them to turn back because of the unrighteousness of their temperance.) Because the congregation of the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) funded the award of one Bible and one Sharps carbine to each member of an anti-slavery group emigrating to the [Kansas Territory](#), these deadly 10-rounds-per-minute assault weapons would become known in succeeding years as

59. Any relation to the Nathaniel Peabody Rogers of [Concord](#), New Hampshire, who put out the [Herald of Freedom](#) prior to his death in 1846, and about whom [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote in the last issue of THE DIAL, or to the Elizabeth Rogers Mason Cabot who so appreciated [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#)? This Dr. Seth Rogers was a walking and canoeing companion of Thoreau’s.

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“Beecher’s Bibles”:

The most warlike demonstration, and one which excited the greatest attention, was at New Haven. Charles B. Lines, a deacon of a New Haven congregation, had enlisted a company of 79 emigrants. A meeting was held in the church shortly before their departure, for the purpose of raising funds. Many clergymen and many of the Yale College faculty were present. The leader of the party said that Sharps rifles were lacking, and they were needed for self-defense. After an earnest address from Henry Ward Beecher, the subscription began. Professor Silliman started it with one Sharps rifle; the pastor of the church gave the second; other gentlemen and some ladies followed the example. As fifty was the number wanted, Beecher said that if twenty-five were pledged on the spot, Plymouth Church would furnish the rest. Previous to this meeting, he had declared that for the slaveholders of Kansas the Sharps rifle was a greater moral agency than the Bible; and from that time the favorite arms of the Northern emigrants became known as “Beecher’s Bibles.”





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According to this textbook, the Southern white “Christians” were organizing in a similar manner:

Yet one notable company was raised through the energy and sacrifice of Colonel Buford, of Alabama. He issued an appeal for 300 industrious and sober men, capable of bearing arms and willing to fight for the cause of the South. He would himself contribute \$20,000, and he agreed to give each man who enlisted 40 acres of good Kansas land and support him for a year. He sold his slaves to provide the money he had promised. Owing to the fervent appeals of the press, contributions from many quarters were obtained, and the enthusiasm was not confined to the men. A daughter of South Carolina sent to the editor of a newspaper a gold chain which would realize enough to furnish one man, and she begged him to let the ladies of her neighborhood know when more money was needed, for then, she wrote, “we will give up our personal embellishments and expose them for sale.”

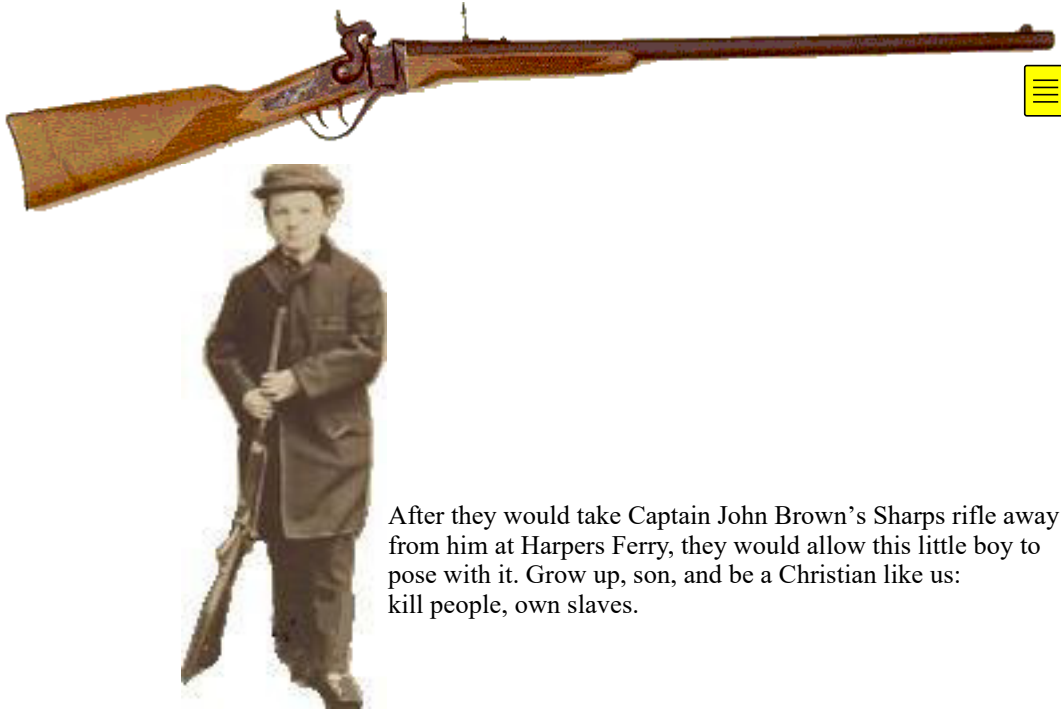
Buford raised 280 men from South Carolina, Georgia, and Alabama. Many of them were the poor relations and dependents of the wealthy slave-holders; others were poor whites. Some were intelligent, and afterwards proved worthy citizens; but the majority were ignorant and brutal, and made fit companions for the Missouri border ruffians, by whom they were received with open arms. The day that Buford’s battalion started from Montgomery, they marched to the Baptist church. The Methodist minister solemnly invoked the divine blessing on their enterprise; the Baptist pastor gave Buford a finely bound Bible, and said that a subscription had been raised to present each emigrant with a copy of the Holy Scriptures. Three or four thousand citizens gathered on the river bank to bid them farewell, and there were not lacking “the bright smiles and happy faces” of the ladies to cheer them on. A distinguished citizen made them an address, saying that “on them rested the future welfare of the South; they were armed with the Bible, a weapon more potent than Sharpe’s rifles; and, in the language of Lord Nelson, ‘every man was expected to do his duty.’” The South Carolina contingent had not, on leaving home, been provided with Bibles; it had there been proclaimed that all the equipment needed was a good common country rifle.

Further along in this text from which I am quoting, there are presumptive assertions, such as one on page 279 attesting that Sharps rifles were shipped West inside crates stamped **BIBLES**. One may cast doubt upon such tall textbook tales without contesting the existence of the Sharps repeating rifle, or contending that no churchly congregations contributed money toward their purchase, or impugning the fact that these weapons of remote rapid death were in the period humorously (!) being referred to, among the people humorously referred to as “Christians,” as “Beecher’s Bibles.” It has never to my knowledge been corroborated, that actual boxes of these rifles actually were shipped west, actually stenciled with the word **BIBLES** on the outside — it has not to my awareness been substantiated, that this was something more than merely a humorous (!) manner of talking

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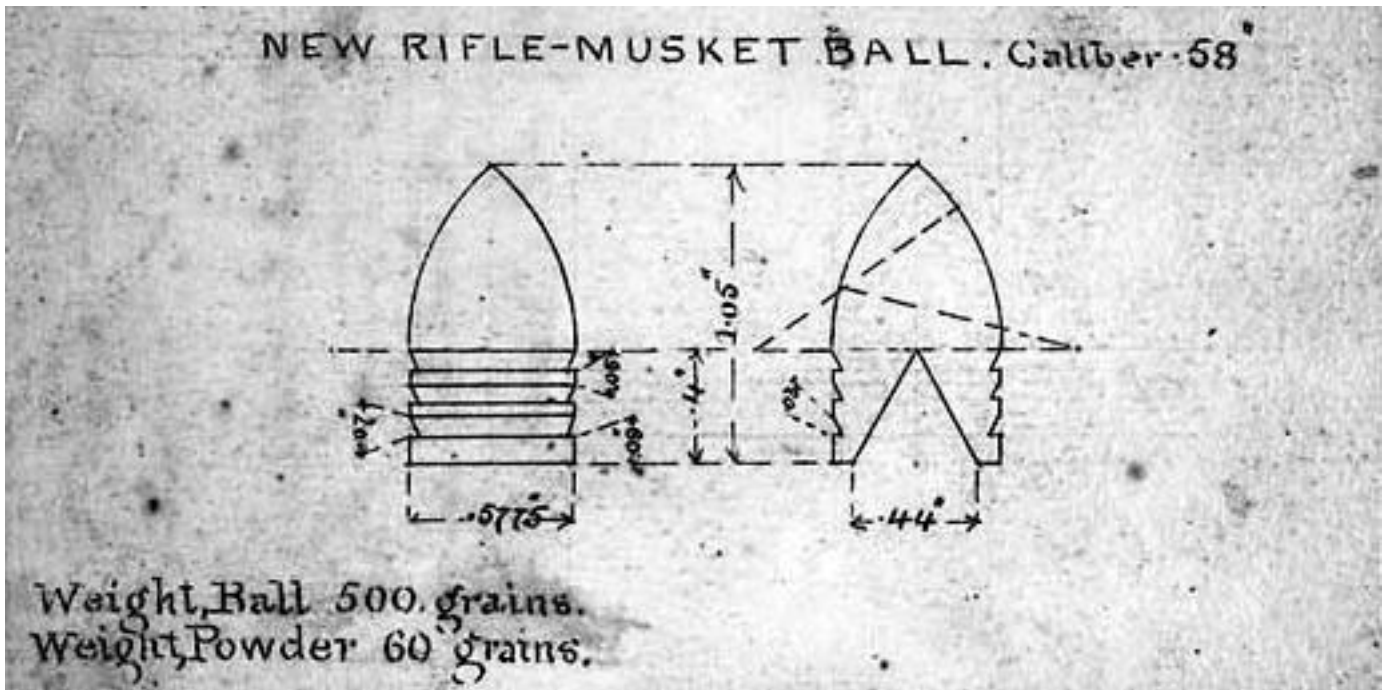
# WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

about this righteous dealing of death.



After they would take Captain John Brown’s Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

This is the Minié .58-inch bullet that was being pioneered during this year at the [Harpers Ferry](#) Arsenal by armorer James H. Burton:



A nice “unintended feature” of this bullet being introduced was that since it was hollow behind, the shooter could prepare for battle by rubbing it in feces. That would ensure that any limb struck by the bullet would need to be amputated, because of the probability of sepsis from even a flesh wound that did not shatter bone. (In other words, bacteriological warfare, but initiated from the bottom up rather than from the top down.)



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### For Righteousness' Sake, by Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#)

THE age is dull and mean. Men creep,  
Not walk; with blood too pale and tame  
To pay the debt they owe to shame;  
Buy cheap, sell dear; eat, drink, and sleep  
Down-pillowed, deaf to moaning want;  
Pay tithes for soul-insurance; keep  
Six days to Mammon, one to Cant.

In such a time, give thanks to God,  
That somewhat of the holy rage  
With which the prophets in their age  
On all its decent seemings trod,  
Has set your feet upon the lie,  
That man and ox and soul and clod  
Are market stock to sell and buy!

The hot words from your lips, my own,  
To caution trained, might not repeat;  
But if some tares among the wheat  
Of generous thought and deed were sown,  
No common wrong provoked your zeal;  
The silken gauntlet that is thrown  
In such a quarrel rings like steel.

The brave old strife the fathers saw  
For freedom calls for men again  
Like those who battled not in vain  
For England's Charter, Alfred's law;  
And right of speech and trial just  
Wage in your name their ancient war  
With venal courts and perjured trust.

God's ways seem dark, but, soon or late,  
They touch the shining hills of day;  
The evil cannot brook delay,  
The good can well afford to wait.  
Give ermined knaves their hour of crime;  
Ye have the future grand and great,  
The safe appeal of Truth to Time!

## THOREAU'S SERMON

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

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

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John Brown reads his Bible:

strangers for a prey, and to the wicked of the earth for a spoil; and they shall pollute it.

22 My face will I turn also from them, and they shall pollute my secret place: for the robbers shall enter into it, and defile it.

23 ¶ Make a chain: for the land is full of bloody crimes, and the city is full of violence.

24 Wherefore I will bring the worst of the heathen, and they shall possess their houses: I will also make the pomp of the strong to cease; and their holy places shall be defiled.

25 Destruction cometh; and they shall seek peace, and there shall be none.

26 Mischief shall come upon mischief, and rumour shall be upon rumour; then shall they seek a vision of the prophet; but the law shall perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancients.

27 The king shall mourn, and the prince shall be clothed with desolation, and the hands of the people of the land shall be troubled: I will do unto them after their way, and according to their deserts will I judge them; and they shall know that I am the LORD.

## CHAPTER VIII.

*The idolatries in Jerusalem.*

AND it came to pass in the sixth year, in the sixth month, in the fifth day of the month, as I sat in mine house, and the elders of Judah sat before me, that the hand of the Lord GOD fell there upon me.

2 Then I beheld, and lo a likeness as the appearance of fire: from the appearance of his loins even downward, fire; and from his loins even upward, as the appearance of brightness, as the colour of amber.

hand; and a thick cloud of incense went up.

12 Then said he unto me, Son of man, hast thou seen what the ancients of the house of Israel do in the dark, every man in the chambers of his imagery? for they say, The LORD seeth us not; the LORD hath forsaken the earth.

13 ¶ He said also unto me, Turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations that they do.

14 Then he brought me to the door of the gate of the LORD's house which was toward the north; and, behold, there sat women weeping for Tammuz.

15 ¶ Then said he unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? turn thee yet again, and thou shalt see greater abominations than these.

16 And he brought me into the inner court of the LORD's house, and, behold, at the door of the temple of the LORD, between the porch and the altar, were about five and twenty men, with their backs toward the temple of the LORD, and their faces toward the east; and they worshipped the sun toward the east.

17 ¶ Then he said unto me, Hast thou seen this, O son of man? Is it a light thing to the house of Judah that they commit the abominations which they commit here? for they have filled the land with violence, and have returned to provoke me to anger: and, lo, they put the branch to their nose.

18 Therefore will I also deal in fury: mine eye shall not spare, neither will I have pity; and though they cry in mine ears with a loud voice, yet will I not hear them.

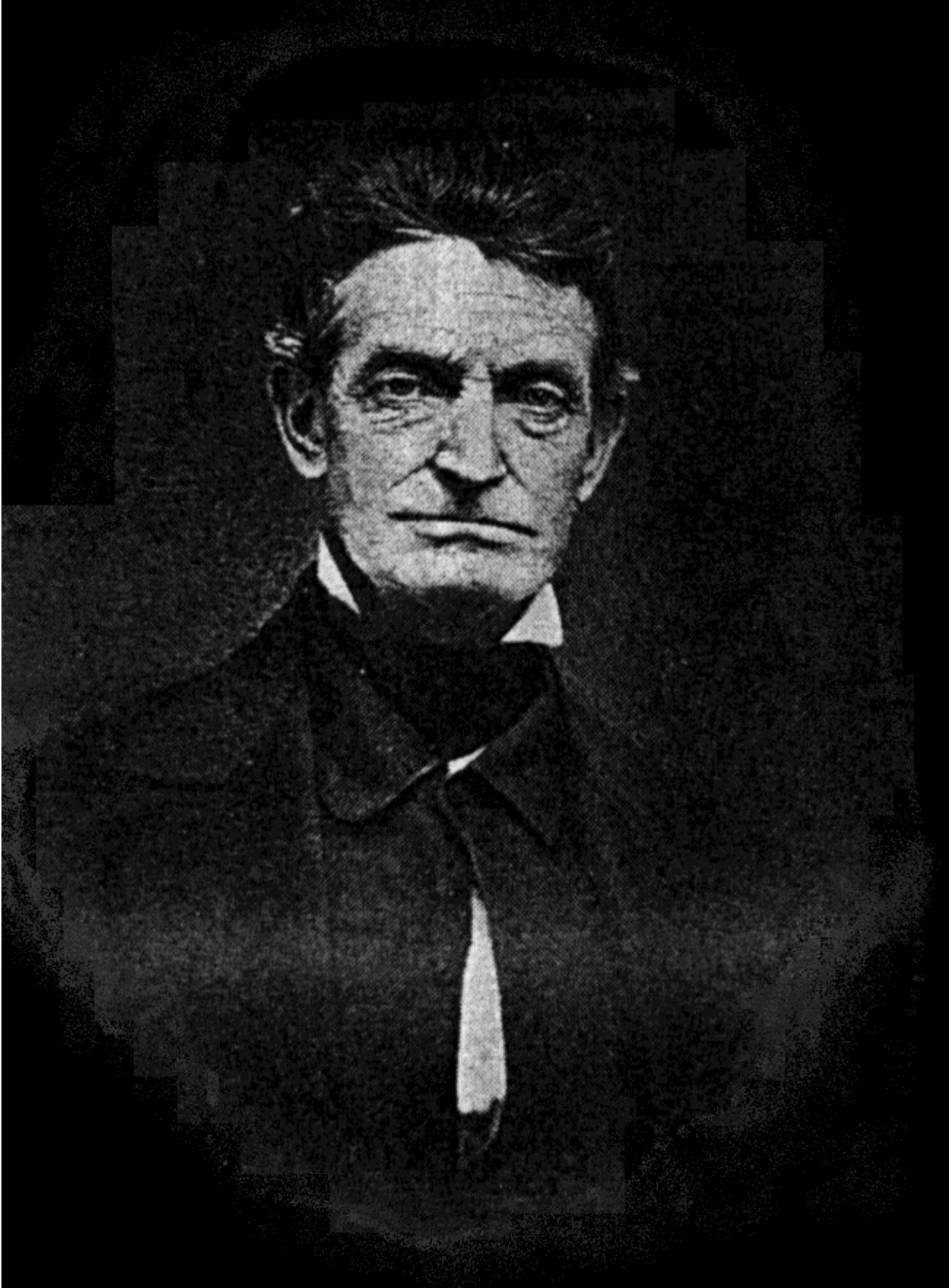
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September 20, Thursday: A “Mass convention” was held at the city hall in [Worcester](#). By acclamation, the crowd passed resolutions denouncing the [Kansas/Nebraska Act](#) and opposing the admission of “any more slave states irrespective of whether they lay north or south of 36°30'.” Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar became the party’s candidate.



THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION





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At the Massachusetts Woman's Rights Convention in Boston, it appeared that the efforts of [Abby Kelley Foster](#) were no longer to be welcomed. Commented [Paulina Wright Davis](#), chairwoman of the Central Committee, "I am determined to do my utmost to remove the idea that all the woman's rights women are horrid old frights with beards and mustaches." Since Abby was not a horrid old fright with a beard and a mustache, we may presume that there was something else about her that the Central Committee did not appreciate, such as the fact that she troubled people's souls. We may presume that, just as certain leaders in the anti-slavery movement of that era, such as [Frederick Douglass](#), were irritated by followers who wanted to place primary emphasis upon respect for human rights and who considered that prejudice against race and prejudice against gender were wrong for the same reason—because they treated people differently who should be being treated deferentially—so also, certain leaders in the woman's rights movement of that era, such as Davis, were irritated by followers who needed to complicate their single issue in such a manner. [Waldo Emerson](#) delivered "Woman" for the benefit of this convention, which must have been an amusing diversion:

Man is the Will, and Woman the sentiment. In this ship of humanity, Will is the rudder, and Sentiment the sail: when Woman affects to steer, the rudder is only a masked sail. When women engage in any art or trade, it is usually as a resource, not as a primary object. The life of the affections is primary to them, so that there is usually no employment or career which they will not with their own applause and that of society quit for a suitable marriage. And they give entirely to their affections, set their whole fortune on the die, lose themselves eagerly in the glory of their husband and children. Man stands astonished at a magnanimity he cannot pretend to.

FEMINISM  
SEXISM

We may regret that [Sojourner Truth](#) was not called in as the cleaning lady to clean up after this particularly unfortunate oration:

When I was a slave away down there in New York, and there was some particularly bad work to be done, some colored woman was sure to be called upon to do it. And when I heard that man talking away there as he did almost a whole hour, I said to myself, here's one spot of work sure that's fit for colored folks to clean up after.

An example, from that era, of the manner in which complex issues were being collapsed into single-issue advocacy would be the way the property issue played in [Rhode Island](#) voting in the year in which the winning candidate was put in prison for treason for having been the winning candidate, for in that election the tactic was that voting for black males with property was traded off against voting for white males without property. An example from our contemporary world would be the leaders who are now ready to lead us forward into a totalitarian world of our own choosing, called "the nuclear security state," if by that we can obtain the decrease in greenhouse gasses upon which they prefer for us to place our focus.



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November 11, Sunday: [Cora Pond Thayer](#) was born in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#), a daughter of [Eli Thayer](#) and [Caroline Maria Capron Thayer](#).

In Copenhagen, Denmark, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard died of “excess of the spirit”:

*The crowd is the lie.*



[Major Jefferson Buford](#) called for fellow southerners to sign up for a colonization effort to ensure that the [Kansas Territory](#), when it eventually entered the federal union, would do so as an additional slave state. He offered free transportation, a homestead of 40 acres of 1st-rate land, and provisions for the 1st year. “Buford’s Expedition” would be made up of some 400 proslavery men for the most part from Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia.

**THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION**

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1856

Slavery advocates were swarming into [Kansas](#) in an effort to stack the territorial legislature with men who would vote to make Kansas a slave state; a move made possible by the “popular sovereignty” principle of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. Olathe was founded. Wide-spread violence was breaking out between pro-slavery and abolitionists groups.

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That spring, after a mass meeting in Illinois calling for recruits to aid “[Bleeding Kansas.](#)” [Luke Fisher Parsons](#) would be one of 6 local men who accepted the bounty of \$25 and pledged to remain in the Kansas Territory until it was made a free state. At the age of 22, Luke would head toward to the [Kansas Territory](#) and his destiny as a gunslinger.

The [Worcester](#) Unitarian reverend, [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), was appointed as agent for the Massachusetts Kansas Aid Committee that was helping recruit and arm people who would emigrate to Kansas and would there vote against the territory becoming a new slave state (the Kansas/Nebraska Act repealing the Missouri Compromise). During this year the Reverend authored “A Ride Through Kansas” [*sic*]. In the “Pottawatomie Massacre,” [John Brown](#) and his followers murdered 5 supposedly pro-slavery men. While the “Chevalier” [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#) was away, heroically leading anti-slavery settlers to the territory, back home the undutiful wife and mother [Julia Ward Howe](#) was publishing poetry and plays. There are references in their correspondence not only to love turning into alienation, but also to familial violence.



In support of freedom voters moving into the [Kansas Territory](#), Friend [John Greenleaf Whittier](#) wrote:

### The [Kansas](#) EmiGRANTS.

WE cross the prairie as of old  
 The pilgrims crossed the sea,  
 To make the West, as they the East,  
 The homestead of the free!

We go to rear a wall of men  
 On Freedom's southern line,  
 And plant beside the cotton-tree  
 The rugged Northern pine!

We're flowing from our native hills  
 As our free rivers flow;  
 The blessing of our Mother-land  
 Is on us as we go.

We go to plant her common schools,  
 On distant prairie swells,  
 And give the Sabbaths of the wild  
 The music of her bells.

Upbearing, like the Ark of old,  
 The Bible in our van,  
 We go to test the truth of God



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Against the fraud of man.

No pause, nor rest, save where the streams  
That feed the Kansas run,  
Save where our Pilgrim gonfalon  
Shall flout the setting sun!

We'll tread the prairie as of old  
Our fathers sailed the sea,  
And make the West, as they the East,  
The homestead of the free!

[Charles Plummer Tidd](#), in search of excitement, emigrated to "[Bleeding Kansas](#)" with the party of Dr. Calvin Cutter of [Worcester, Massachusetts](#).



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(After joining [John Brown](#)'s party at Tabor in 1857 he would become one of the followers of "Shubel Morgan" who raided into Missouri in 1858. Tidd and [John E. Cook](#) would be particularly warm friends.)

June 12, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Sophia Elizabeth Thoreau](#), from [Worcester](#).



[Major George Alexander Hamilton Blake](#) was found not guilty of all charges but one, that he had neglected to discipline Captain Philip Thompson for failing to suppress the mutiny of Company F at Taos, New Mexico, such as by not taking 1st Sergeant Thomas Fitzsimmons into custody. The panel of courtmartial officers sentenced him to suspension without pay, for a year.

[Abraham Lincoln](#)'s speech of June 10th was characterized on this day by his political opponents, in the pages of the [Illinois State Register](#), as "niggerism" of "as dark a hue" as that of [Frederick Douglass](#):



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Mr. Lincoln opened his speech, and for more than an hour he bored his audience with one of the weakest speeches that he ever perpetrated. He was evidently laboring under much restraint, conscious that he was doling out new doctrine to the old whigs about him, and fearful that in keeping within moderate bounds, he would so filter his discourse that it would not in any degree reach the end he desired. He would occasionally launch out and lead his hearers to think that the most ultra abolitionism would follow, when, under the old whig eyes we have mentioned, he would soften his remarks to a supposed palatable texture. In this way, backing and filling, he frittered away anything of argument that he might have presented, convincing his audience, however, that his niggerism has as dark a hue as that of [Garrison](#) or [Douglass](#) but that his timidity before the peculiar audience he addressed prevented its earnest advocacy with the power and ability he is known to possess.

The gist of his remarks were intended to show that the democratic party favors the extension of slavery, that black [republicanism](#) aims to prevent it; by what process we did not learn from him, nor did he furnish any evidence of the truth of his allegation against the democracy. He was opposed to the extension of slavery. So are we. But we desire to see it done in a constitutional manner – by the act of the people interested. For leaving the decision of the question there, by the adjustment of '50, and by the Nebraska act, black [republicanism](#) has raised another furor in the country, and until very lately, they have claimed for congress the power to refuse the admission of any new state recognizing slavery by its constitution. Latterly, this plank of their platform has been suppressed. We heard nothing of it on Tuesday evening from Mr. [Lincoln](#). The same caving in as to the restoration of the Missouri restriction, marks the latter day policy of the sectional party, and he as cautiously avoided it. They seek power, Mr. Lincoln naively told us, by the agglomeration of all the discordant elements of faction, and if obtained, the now suppressed platform of ultra abolitionism will be avowed and acted upon. He boldly avowed, in one of his many escapings, that there could be no Union with slavery. That agitation would be ceaseless until it shall be swept away, but the mode of its eradication he left to inference from his own antecedents and those of the ruling spirits of black-[republicanism](#) – Garrison, Greeley, Seward, Sumner, and others of that genus.

To attain power, by whatever means, was the burden of his song, and he pointed to the complexion of the Bloomington ticket as evidence of the desire of the factions to attain it by any process. Bissell [William H. Bissell, [Republican](#) running for governor], a renegade democrat, headed it. Hoffman, a German nondescript [Francis A. Hoffman, [Republican](#) running for lieutenant governor, who would as a native of Germany lacking the requisite 14 years of citizenship later be replaced by John Wood of Adams County], followed; Miller, ex-whig and probable know-nothing [James Miller, [Republican](#) for treasurer], followed next, while Hatch [Ozias M. Hatch, [Republican](#) for secretary of state], Dubois [Jesse K. Dubois, [Republican](#) for auditor] and Powell [William H. Powell, [Republican](#) for superintendent of public instruction], avowed know-nothings, brought up the rear. With such a medley – such a fusion of opposites, none can doubt that the end and aim of the Bloomington organization is “power”

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– and place, and that its managers would sink any principle, trample upon right, law and constitution to attain their object. Mr. Lincoln's allusion to Bissell's services as a warrior was singularly malapropos, in him, at least; Bissell's laurels having been won in a war, the "identical spot" on which it commenced never could be learned by Mr. L., and consequently had his inveterate opposition during its entire progress, by his congressional action in hampering the democratic administration in its prosecution. In this connection, Bissell may well exclaim – "Save me from such backing!"

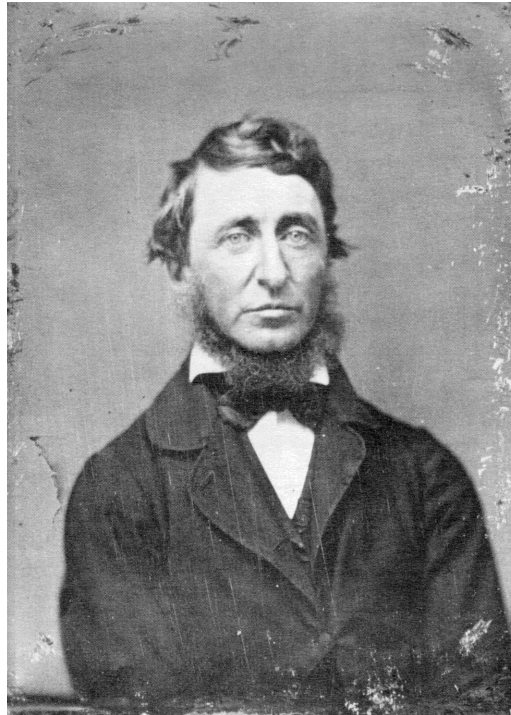
Except from the squad of claquers we have mentioned, Mr. Lincoln's remarks were received with coldness. He convinced nobody of his own sincerity, of the justness of his cause, nor did he elicit any applause except from the drilled few who occupied the front benches.

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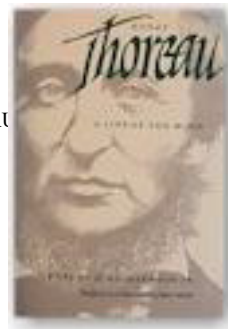
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June 13, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) spent a week in [Worcester](#) with friends and posed for a series of three daguerreotypes at Benjamin D. Maxham's Daguerrean Palace at 16 Harrington Corner in that town.<sup>60</sup> The one that Thoreau gave to his tailor friend [Theophilus Brown](#) of Worcester is now in the Thoreau Society Archives of the [Concord Free Public Library](#). The one he gave to his friend [H.G.O. Blake](#) of Worcester is now in the Berg collection of the New York Public Library. The one he mailed to a Walden reader named [Calvin H. Greene](#) of Rochester, Michigan was lost for many years but was identified in 1972 in a dealer's shop in Vermont, and eventually purchased for \$4,000.<sup>00</sup>—at that time the highest price ever paid for a daguerreotype—by a private individual who donated it to the National Portrait Gallery in [Washington DC](#).



### Theo Brown's copy and Calvin Green's copy of Henry Thoreau's "shadow"

The frontispiece artwork done by Barry Moser for [ROBERT D. RICHARDSON, JR.](#)'s HENRY THOREAU: A LIFE OF THE MIND, although based on this Maxham series of Daguerreotypes of 1856, has the image reversed so Thoreau's hair part will correspond with current expectations. We have become accustomed to looking at photographs made from negatives, rather than at Daguerreotypes, and, since the Daguerreotype was a positive or mirror image, not involving the intermediate step of a negative, if this were uncorrected for many people would be presuming incorrectly that Thoreau had parted



60. At that time it was the custom to expose three plates in sequence at a cost of \$0.<sup>50</sup> each, because the negative/positive technology of current film photography had not yet been developed

An interesting side note is that during this very month, June 1856, the 1st successful underwater photograph was being taken. The depth was three fathoms and the exposure time was ten minutes. The photograph of the bottom of Weymouth Bay, England showed the presence there of rocks and weeds.

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his hair on the left:

The daguerreotype image is normally laterally reversed; the picture appears as in a mirror. In portraiture this reversal was not [at the time] noticed; indeed the sitter found the likeness identical to his own vision of himself, which he knew only from a looking glass. But the reversal was troublesome in views; landscapes did not appear natural, signboards read backwards. To overcome this defect, daguerreotypists commonly fitted a prism over the lens when working out of doors, despite the fact that exposure was thus increased twofold.



"Everything in life is unusual until you get accustomed to it."

— The Scarecrow, in THE MARVELOUS LAND OF OZ  
(L. Frank Baum, 1904)





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In the illustration of this principle which appears below, the Daguerreotype is to the left and shows Henry as he would have seen himself in a mirror, while the “corrected” image to the right had been made to cater to our current photography-trained expectations.



An amusing side note is that one student of handedness, noticing a correlation between handedness and the side of the head on which one parts one’s hair, began a study of handedness in history, basing his study on the inspection of old photographs, and was ready to conclude that just at the time of the transition from positive Daguerreotypy to photography by means of negatives, there must have been a marked decrease in our general levels of left-handedness. Imagine his mortification! (Of course, this student’s preliminary conclusion was entirely spurious, and his research efforts to that point had been entirely wasted. Maybe he started over, maybe he just gave up, I don’t know.)

June 15, Sunday: A month premature, [Ellen Fuller Channing](#) gave birth to [Edward](#), her and [Ellery Channing](#)’s 5th child, and fell ill. As we might have expected, an extra child didn’t save this marriage — soon she would again move away from this feckless husband.

While visiting [Theophilus Brown](#) in [Worcester](#), [Henry Thoreau](#) mentioned in his journal that, in a letter to Theo, [John Downes](#) had remembered “his early youth in Shrewsbury and the pout accompanied by her young.”



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June 17, Tuesday: The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) wrote to Dr. Fuster, a Viennese professor, mentioning news of [Professor Pierre Jean Édouard Desor](#).

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

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



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

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU

ELLERY CHANNING

DUNBAR FAMILY

PROVIDENCE

June 19, Thursday: [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) to his journal, in [Concord](#):



*Walked after breakfast with Mr. Thoreau, Senr., by appointment to the cemetery and over the ridge to see Mr. Hosmer, an intelligent farmer. Purchased the life of Mary Ware, and a framed portrait of Charles Sumner, the former for Mrs. Thoreau, and the latter for her daughter Sophia.*

*H.D. Thoreau and his sister S. arrived home this noon from a trip to Worcester. Passed a part of the afternoon on the river with H.D.T. in his little boat, - discussed Channing part of the time. Took tea and spent the evening at Mr. T.'s (Item) H.D.T. says buy "Margaret."*

EDMUND HOSMER

CYNTHIA DUNBAR THOREAU

SOPHIA E. THOREAU

ELLERY CHANNING

JOHN THOREAU, SR.

DUNBAR FAMILY

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September: [Watson Brown](#) got married with Isabella M. Thompson.



(His son by this marriage would live only to his 5th year but would nevertheless survive both his father and his grandfather, because when sent out of the engine house at [Harpers Ferry](#) by [John Brown](#) to negotiate, Watson would be gunned down by the white citizens. He would drag himself back into shelter and live on, groaning, his head cradled in [Edwin Coppoc](#)'s lap, for a considerable period. He would expire on October 18, 1859. His widow would remarry with his brother [Salmon Brown](#).)

Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art included an anonymous essay, purportedly by a woman but actually by the [Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) of [Worcester](#), about "Going to Mt. Katahdin." Several of [Henry Thoreau](#)'s acquaintances were alluded to in the article. Higginson anonymously distributed copies of the magazine to the various persons who had been on the 1855 expedition to Ktaadn, suggesting that they guess the author. [Theophilus Brown](#), who had been on the jaunt, would loan his copy of this magazine issue to [Henry Thoreau](#), for train reading, and Thoreau would mention it in his letter to [H.G.O. Blake](#) on December 6, 1856.



Thousands of settlers were pouring into [Kansas](#) from the North and from the South, armed for a conflict there over slavery. This Daguerreotype would be presented to the Kansas State Historical Society in March 1878 by [Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), leader of the 1st South Carolina Volunteer regiment of black Union soldiers. Higginson's inscription: "Daguerreotype of one of the first [Free-State](#) batteries in Kansas. Presented to T.W. Higginson by one of the officers, at Topeka, Kansas, in September, 1856."



The "Battle of Osawatimie," according to William G. Cutler's HISTORY OF THE STATE OF KANSAS:

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The troops were guided by the Reverend Martin White, who was one of the most bitter Pro-slavery partisans in the Territory, and had himself fled from the country about the time of the Pottawatomie murders, and claimed to have been driven out. He was with the advance scouting party, which, as it approached the town, came upon David Garrison and [Frederick Brown](#), a son of old [John Brown](#). Both were, without warning or provocation, shot dead. White boasted afterward that it had been he who gave Frederick his quietus, asserting in justification of the act, that Frederick, when shot, was known to him as one of the pestiferous gang of Abolitionists, and was riding at the time a horse stolen from him; and that, this being a time of war, it had been no murder.

The village was reached shortly after this double murder, by the whole force. They were there confronted by a party of about forty Free-State men, under command of that grim, mysterious, unrelenting old hero, John Brown. The town was hotly defended by the little party for a time, but at length, overpowered by numbers, they were forced to retreat and leave it to pillage and destruction. After the sacking of the store and dwellings of all valuables that could be transported, the soldiers set fire to the town and destroyed it. When the conflagration ceased, but four buildings remained among the smouldering [*sic*] ruins of what had been the thriving village of [Osawatomic](#).<sup>61</sup>



The following was Capt. Reid's report of the affair:

CAMP BELL CREEK, August 31.

Gentlemen -

I moved with 250 men on the Abolition fort and town of Osawatomic - the head-quarters of Old Brown - on night before last; marched forty miles and attacked the town without dismounting the men, about sunrise yesterday. We had five men wounded, none dangerously - Capt. Boyce, William Gordon, and three others. We killed about thirty of them, among the number, certain, a son of old Brown, and almost certain Brown himself; destroyed all their ammunition and provisions, and the boys would burn the town. I could not help it.

We must be supported by our friends. We will want more men and ammunition - ammunition of all sorts. Powder, muskets, ball and caps is the constant cry.

I write in great haste, as I have been in the saddle, road 100 miles, and fought a battle without rest.

Your friend,

REID



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Old John Brown, in his modest account of the battle, states that his force consisted-of 'some twelve or fifteen recruits,' which he brought into the town in the morning, together with ten or fifteen mounted men, under Capt. Cline, whom he met just before the battle began, and who joined forces with him in the defense. The whole defensive force did not number over thirty men. Capt. Cline's men got out of ammunition, and were forced to retire across the river. The remaining force kept up the fire until but six or seven remained. Capt. Brown summed up the losses as follows:

We had one man felled - a Mr. Powers, from Capt. Cline's company - in the fight. One of my men - a Mr. Partridge - was shot in crossing the river. Two or three of the party, who took part in the fight, are yet missing, and may be lost or taken prisoners. Two were wounded, viz., Dr. Updegralf and a Mr. Collis.

\* \* \*

The loss of the enemy, as we learn by the different statements of our own, as well as their people, was some thirty-one or two killed, and from forty to fifty wounded. After burning the town to ashes, and killing a Mr. Williams they had taken, whom neither party claimed, they took a hasty leave, carrying their dead and wounded with them. They did not attempt to cross the river, nor to search for us, and have not since returned to look over their work. I give this in great haste, in the midst of constant interruptions. My second son was with me in the fight and escaped unharmed. This I mention for the benefit of his friends.

Old preacher White, I hear, boast of having killed my son. Of course he is a liar.

JOHN BROWN,

LAWRENCE, KAN., September 7, 1856.

Reid, with his command, having destroyed the village, returned with his plunder to the encampment on Bull Creek. News reached [Lawrence](#) and Topeka of the burning of Osawatomie on Saturday evening, and a force of nearly 300 men was rallied, and on the following morning set out in pursuit of the enemy. Col. Lane, still known as Joe Cook, controlled by his advice the movements of the force, although having no open command. The march was during one of the hottest of Kansas' hottest days. The boys had made no preparations for sustenance during the hastily planned campaign. In spite of terrible suffering from hunger, thirst and heat, they made the forced march (the Topeka Company, over forty miles), and appeared in sight of the enemy, still encamped at Bull Creek, before sunset on the evening of the 31st. The cavalry came in sight of the camp while the infantry were some miles in the rear. While waiting for them to come up, they, in reconnoitering, exchanged a few shots with the pickets of the enemy. The boys, in spite of fatigue, were ready and eager to fight it out without rest. Before the infantry had come up sufficiently near to co-operate with the cavalry in an attack on the enemy, Col. Lane (Cook) advised a halt and subsequently had them retire some miles and go into camp, or rather take what rest they could in the open air, with the intention, as was supposed, of attacking the enemy on the following morning. During the night the enemy broke camp and retreated to the Missouri border, and on the following day the footsore and hungry company, disappointed of a fight, and in no amiable mood, commenced the return march, slowly and with laggard steps, until met by rumors of fresh danger and renewed outrages at home.

On its becoming known at Lecompton that a force had set out to meet the invaders, or intercept them in their retreat to Missouri, it was determined by Woodson and his advisers to make a diversion in favor of their friends, by subjecting the Free-State settlers to fresh outrages in the absence of the Free-State forces who had held them thus far under restraint. Col. P. St. George Cooke was ordered by Woodson "to proceed at the earliest moment to invest Topeka, disarm the insurrectionists, or aggressive invaders against the organized government of the Territory, to be found at or near that point, leveling to the ground their breastworks, forts and fortifications, keep the head men or leaders in close confinement, and all persons found in arms against the Government as prisoners, subject to the orders of the Marshal." He was also informed that it was very desirable to intercept the invaders on the road known as "Lane's Trail,"<sup>62</sup> leading from Nebraska to Topeka. In the opinion of Col. Cook, Woodson had transcended his instructions in the orders he had given. He did not believe it a part of his military duty to take the field for the purposes indicated in the Governor's letter, nor to further his well-known design to bring on a collision between the Free-State forces and the Government troops; nor did he propose to do the totally illegal and disgraceful work of making indiscriminate and wholesale arrests of a class of persons not individually



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charged with crime, and holding them subject to charges not yet preferred, and to writs not yet in existence. He was too much of a man and too high-minded a soldier to thus prostitute his high calling. He declined to obey such orders, except they came to him direct from the War Department.

At the same time, Marshal Donaldson and his Deputies, Newsem and Cramer, armed with writs for the arrest of the leading Free-State men, and accompanied by bands of the Territorial militia, were scouring the country with the ostensible purpose of securing their arrest. Some prisoners were taken, but in most cases the persons sought were not found at their homes, whereupon the deserted houses were burned. The business of arson and pillage was thus carried on through Sunday and Monday in all the country within retreating distance of Lecompton, until the return of the men of the Bull Creek expedition made it unsafe to continue field operations. Seven houses were burned, among them those of Judge Wakefield and Capt. Sam Walker, large quantities of provisions seized, and several arrests made. With the booty and prisoners, the raiders had sought covert at Lecompton when the companies arrived at [Lawrence](#). It was immediately decided to make an armed demonstration on Lecompton, and demand the liberation of the prisoners, among whom were Hutchinson and Sutherland, of [Lawrence](#), who were held as spies, as has been before recounted.

The forces were to march in two divisions. One, under Col. Harvey, was to proceed up the north bank of the Kansas River to a point north of the town; the other, under the direction of Gen. Lane,<sup>63</sup> to march on the south bank and occupy the heights which overlooked the village. On the afternoon of September 4, Col. Harvey with 150 men moved up the north bank, and in the evening arrived at the place appointed, which cut off completely all chances of escape from Lecompton across the river. Lane's forces did not, as had been planned, appear on his arrival. He remained in wait all through the cold and rainy night which followed when, hearing nothing from the other division, he concluded that for some reason to him unknown, the attack had been given up, and accordingly himself abandoned the post where he had waited through the stormy night, and returned with his command, to [Lawrence](#), where he arrived in the evening to learn that Lane's division had, after unexpected delay, marched as agreed, and were then at Lecompton.

The expedition of Harvey, though unsatisfactory to both him and his command, was not barren of good results.

62. The route designated as "Lane's Trail," had been traveled by him as well as by his first party who had reached Topeka on August 13, The trail was not laid out by him but by the "conductors" of the train, To them, in a greater measure than to any others, is due the credit of establishing and locating the northern road over the route Lane's men were forced to take when turned back on the Missouri River, The following, published two days after the arrival of the first party in Topeka, explains itself:

A CARD.

TOPEKA, KANSAS, August 15, 1856.

We, the undersigned, conductors of a company of emigrants, into Kansas, would hereby inform the public that we have succeeded in achieving a safe and peaceful passage through Iowa and Nebraska, and on a new road which we and our company have opened, have arrived and are now encamped in Topeka, the seat of Government of Kansas.

Along the road we have established colonies and towns for greater convenience to emigration, viz.,: Plymouth, situated three miles from the line between Kansas and Nebraska, which will be important to immigrants in crossing the frontier, as a post for supplies; Lexington, about twelve miles from Plymouth, and at a convenient distance therefrom for protective purposes and the remission of supplies for immigrants; and Holton, on Elk Creek, three miles from Skinnersville. The roads between Nebraska City and Topeka are generally excellent, and where not so, a small expense now in process of incurrence, will render them safe and easy; and we would hereby invite all emigrants to Kansas to adopt it in the transmission hither of their families and effects.

M. C. DICKEY,

CALVIN CUTTER, } Conductors of emigrants train



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Their presence the night before on the opposite side of the river, where they could successfully cut off retreat from the town in case of an attack, became known soon after their arrival, and threw the Territorial militia encamped there into panic and confusion. Moreover disagreements had arisen among the leaders themselves, a part rebelling against the work of burning and pillaging which Woodson had assigned them to do. A respectable minority absolutely refused to further pursue that mode of warfare. On the appearance of Harvey's troops, and in anticipation of the coming of another force from the other side, several officers having already left the camp and returned home in disgust, Gen. Richardson, having no confidence in his disordered and inharmonious command, decided to resign, which he did on the morning of the 5th. During the day, Woodson dismissed the forces, as of no further use to him either for offensive or defensive purposes, and also arranged to return the prisoners to [Lawrence](#). All this was unknown to Lane's force, then on its way from [Lawrence](#), and had been brought about by the appearance of Harvey's troops and the dissensions within.

About 4 o'clock P. M., the force from [Lawrence](#) took possession of the hill overlooking the town and commanding the foundations of the capitol then in process of construction, which had been utilized by the Territorial troops as a fortress. The disbanded militia made no sign of defense, but messengers were sent by Gov. Woodson in great haste, to the camp of Col. Cooke, calling on him to protect the town against the threatening enemy, who were reported "one thousand strong," and about to bombard and destroy the town.

Mr. Branscomb and Capt. Cline were sent into the town under a flag of truce, and on demanding of Gen. Marshall, the only officer who would acknowledge that he had any command, the unconditional surrender of the Free-State prisoners, were, after a short parley, informed that all the prisoners demanded had been released that morning, that provisions had been made for their escort to [Lawrence](#) on the following day by a company of dragoons, concluding by making a counter demand on Gen. Lane for all prisoners in hands of the Free-State men. The messengers returned to the Free-State camp, which they reached just as Col. Cooke arrived. He (Cooke), addressing Lane and other officers, said: Gentlemen, you have [sic] made a great mistake in coming here to-day. The Territorial militia was dismissed this morning; some of them have left, some are leaving now, and the rest will leave and go to their homes as soon as they can." Hon. Marcus J. Parrott, who had been driven from Leavenworth, had come to [Lawrence](#) for safety, and was with the party of besiegers, replied: "Col. Cooke, when we send a man, or two men, or a dozen men, to speak with the Territorial authorities, they are arrested and held like felons. How, then, are we to know what is going on in Leecompton? Why, we have to come here with an army to find out what is going on. How else could we know?" To this Col. Cooke made no reply. The prisoners<sup>64</sup> came over to the camp of their friends, and returned with them to [Lawrence](#) the following day. There was on Saturday a slight lull in the excitement at [Lawrence](#), and a feeling of satisfaction pervaded the town in contemplation of a good week's work done. During the day, Gen. Richardson passed through [Lawrence](#), when he was courteously received by Gen. Lane, who escorted him a short distance on his way to Franklin. Richardson professed to be on his way to Missouri to disband the border forces.

There were at this time many refugees from Leavenworth and vicinity in the city, who had fled from the fresh outburst of murder and rapine which had as usual burst upon the heads of the Free-State settlers of that part of the Territory, in retaliation for the victories of their better organized brothers south of the Kaw.

Marcus J. Parrott, H. Miles Moore, F. G. Adams, and scores besides, had come to [Lawrence](#), no less for personal safety than to raise a force sufficiently strong to turn the tide against their relentless foes, and to reinstate them in their homes, from which they had fled for their lives, many of them leaving defenseless families behind. A momentary peace having been conquered south of the Kaw, they appealed to the boys still in arms, to march at once upon Leavenworth. They detailed, as only living witnesses could, the horrors from which they had fled -- the murders on the road, the shooting of Phillips in his own house, the driving of defenseless women and children, by scores and hundreds, like sheep aboard the steamers, and out of Leavenworth City, by Emery and his Missouri gang, the expulsion from the county of every man who was suspected of "Abolitionism," the defenseless condition of the women and children, who, unable to flee, remained subject to all the outrages which their defenseless condition might invite -- all these were told in a way to make the appeal irresistible.

On Sunday a council of war was held, at which Lane, Harvey and all the other officers, and many of the soldiers,

63. Authorities differ as to the exact time when Gen. Lane threw off all disguise and ceased to be known as Capt. Cook. If not at this time, certainly two days later, Joe Cook, alias James H. Lane, disappears from the war annals of Kansas.

64. The prisoners here alluded to were those who had been taken for participation in the Franklin affair, and such others as had been, under various pretexts, taken by Woodson's militia and the Marshals, and should not be confounded with the Free-State prisoners -- Robinson, Jenkins and others -- who were all this time in the custody of the United States troops near Leecompton, waiting their trial for high treason.





## WORCESTER

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discussed the situation, and it was then decided to “carry the way into Africa,” or what was the same thing, to cross the river and disperse the bands then prowling through Jefferson and Leavenworth Counties, and march on Leavenworth City. While the consultation was going on, old John Brown, who had not been seen or heard from since the morning when he retreated into the woods after his defense of Osawatomie, rode into [Lawrence](#). His arrival was hailed with shouts by the knot of soldiers and others that gathered around him.<sup>65</sup> A majority of the boys chose Brown as their commander in the proposed march on Leavenworth. He declined the proffered honor, on the ground that to supersede Col. Harvey, who was, under the existing military organization, entitled to the position, would be in ill taste, and might lead to dissatisfaction. So the plans for the campaign were perfected with Capt. Brown left out.

During the following week, under the command of Col. Harvey, with Capts. Hull, of Jefferson County, and Wright, of Leavenworth County, offensive Free-State operations north of the Kansas were begun. The first encounter was at Slough Creek, near the site of the present town of Oskaloosa, Jefferson County, on September 11. It was a complete surprise to the enemy there encamped, and resulted in the capture of nearly the entire force, arms, equipments and baggage.<sup>66</sup> Two days before this occurrence, not known at that time to Harvey and his men, Gov. Geary had arrived at Fort Leavenworth, and Woodson’s administration was at an end. A message from Lane was received by Harvey after the Slough Creek affair was over, which, as recalled by a reliable witness<sup>67</sup> present when it came, was essentially as follows: “Geary has come in -- I advise you to return.” He returned accordingly, reaching [Lawrence](#) at noon of the 12th.

The close of Woodson’s short rule left the whole Territory in a state of absolute anarchy. There was not a place outside [Lawrence](#), Topeka, and the region roundabout, where life or property was safe, and even there, where the Free-State men had forced Woodson to terms, it is the truth of history to state that the Pro-Slavery settlers were subject nightly to unfriendly visits from irresponsible parties of Free-State guerrillas, who rendered their tenure to personal property, especially horses and store supplies, quite uncertain, and their lives a horrid, nightmare of fearful anticipations. North of the river, forces on both sides were in a state of open war in Jefferson County, while further to the east, in Leavenworth, there was no law except that of indiscriminate murder, robbery, or proscription of all Free-State residents. Beyond the border, was encamped the army of Atchison, which had retreated from Bull Creek, receiving re-enforcements from all the Western Missouri counties, preparatory to a fresh and more formidable invasion of the Territory. Thus, in the few days of his rule, did Woodson so manage affairs as, by comparison, to throw a tinge of decency and respectability over the administration of his predecessor, that had otherwise been wanting.



### LIBERATION OF FREE-STATE PRISONERS.

The last notable occurrence before the arrival of Gov. Geary was the examination and release on bail of Gov. Robinson and his companions, who had been held on indictment for treason for the past four months. The counsel for the government was C. H. Grover; for the prisoners, Charles H. Branscomb and Marcus J. Parrott. The day set down for trial was September 8, but on that day neither judge, jury, clerk nor marshal appeared, although the prisoners were ready for trial. On the next day they appeared, and the prisoners were arraigned. Strenuous efforts were made by the counsel for the prisoners for an immediate trial, which were opposed by motions and arguments for postponement on the part of the prosecuting counsel, based first upon the grounds that, owing to the Territory’s being in insurrection, a jury could not be obtained, and that important witnesses were absent. The arguments, pro and con, lasted during the day, and resulted in a denial of all motions for postponement, and on the morning of the 10th Charles Robinson was arraigned for trial, separately, on the charge of usurpation of office. Judge Lecompte, at this stage of the proceedings, decided to continue the case, not on any grounds before urged by Mr. Grover, but upon the ground that “the great excitement prevailing in the country was such as to prevent a fair trial of the prisoners.” The prisoner was thereupon admitted to bail in the sum of \$500. He was again arraigned with the other prisoners for treason, the case being “United States against Charles Robinson and others.” The prisoners under this indictment were admitted to bail in the sum of \$5,000 each, and the cases continued. John Brown, Jr., and H. H. Williams, who had been held prisoners for some months, though not under indictment, were released on bail of \$1,000 each.

Judge Lecompte, apparently anxious to get the prisoners off his hands and out of confinement before the arrival

65. The account of Brown’s appearance in Lawrence at that date was obtained from Hon. F.G. Adams, Secretary of the Kansas State Historical Society, who at that time was in the city, a refugee from Leavenworth, and witnessed his arrival.

66. See history of Jefferson County.

67. F.G. Adams.



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of Gov. Geary, accepted the bail offered without hesitancy, and the last of the political prisoners were thus released September 10. They left the tents where they had been held in confinement for four months, and in company with friends and under military escort departed for [Lawrence](#) that afternoon. They were met and welcomed one mile out of town by the "Lawrence Stubbs," Gen. Lane and staff, and many of their friends, and escorted to Massachusetts street, where crowds of their fellow-townsmen were assembled to greet them. Speeches of congratulation on the happy issue were made by Gov. Robinson and others. The rejoicing was continued in the evening, increased by the arrival of Mr. Nute and other citizens, who had been captured by the Leavenworth brigands under Emery's men, and who had been released the day previous. The treason cases were subsequently nolle prossed. Gov. Robinson was tried on the charge of usurpation of office, before Judge Cato, in August, 1857. The Judge charged strongly against the prisoner, but the jury, believing, as ably argued by his counsel, that there could be no usurpation of an office which did not exist, gave a verdict of acquittal August 20, and the farce thus ended.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

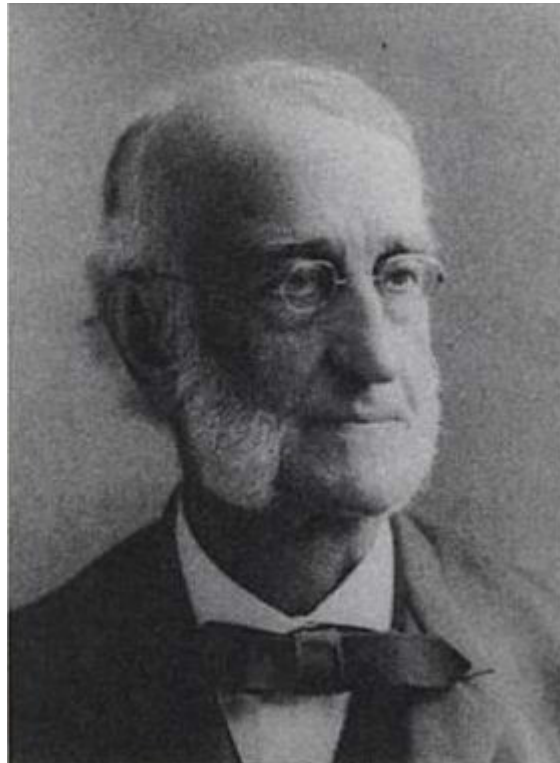
## WORCESTER

## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

December 6, Saturday: A story by [Louisa May Alcott](#) appeared in Boston's [Saturday Evening Gazette](#), entitled "Ruth's Secret."

After making his way back home to Concord and spending the [Thanksgiving](#) holiday with his family, [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote to his friend [H.G.O. Blake](#) in [Worcester](#) about the overwhelming feeling of gratitude which he was experiencing:

*I am grateful for what I am & have. My thanksgiving is perpetual. It is surprising how contented one can be with nothing definite – only a sense of existence –*



In this letter he also attempted to describe the experiences he had had in the train depot in Blake's town in the cold before-dawn hours of Tuesday, November 25th while on his way home from [Eagleswood, New Jersey](#). He had taken a walk up to [Theophilus Brown](#)'s tailor shop, which at the time was in Butman Row (on the site of the present Slater Building), and peered within, deciding not to attempt to return Brown's [Putnam's Monthly Magazine of American Literature, Science and Art](#) by leaving it in the door handle:

*Concord Dec 6 '56*

*Mr Blake, What is wanting above  
is merely an engraving of Eagleswood, which  
I have used. I trust that you got a  
note from me at Eagleswood about  
a fortnight ago. I passed thro' [W]orcester  
on the morning of the 25<sup>th</sup> of November,  
and spent several hours (from 3.30 to 6.20)  
in the travellers' room at the Depot,*



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*as in a dream, it now seems. As the first Nashua train unexpectedly connected with the first from Fitchburg, I did not spend the forenoon with you, as I had anticipated, on account of baggage &c — If it had been a reasonable hour I should have seen you, i.e. if you had not been gone to a horse-race. But think of making a call at half past*

### Page 2

*three in the morning! (Would it not have implied a 3<sup>o</sup> clock in the morning courage in both you & me?) As it were ignoring the fact that mankind are really not at home — are not out, but so deeply in that they cannot be seen — nearly half their hours at this season of the year. I walked up & down the Main Street at half past 5 in the dark, and paused long in front of Brown's store trying to distinguish its features; considering whether I might safely leave his "Putnam" in the door handle, but concluded not to risk it. Meanwhile a watchman ? seemed to be watching me, & I moved off. Took another turn round there, had a little later — , and the very earliest ^ offer of the Transcript from an urchin behind, whom I actually could not see, it was so dark. — So I withdrew,*

### Page 3

*wondering if you & B. would know that I had been there. You little dream who is occupying Worcester when you are all asleep. Several things occurred then that night, which I will venture to say were not put into the Transcript. A cat caught a mouse at the Depot, & gave it to her kitten to play with. So that world-famous tragedy goes on by night as well as by day, & nature is emphatically wrong. Also I saw a young Irish-man kneel before his mother, as if in prayer, while she wiped a cinder out of his eye with her tongue; and I found that it was never too late (or early?) to learn something. — These things transpired*

CAT



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*while you & B. were, to all practical purposes, [nowhere], & good for nothing — not even for society, — not for horse-races, — nor the taking back of a P[utnam's] Mag[azine].*

*It is true, I might have recalled you to life, but it would have been a cruel act, considering the kind of life you would have come back to. However, I would fain write to you now by broad [daylight], and report to you some of my life, such as it is, and recall you to your life, {written vertically through top of letter: Left on the stove too long. }*

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*which is not always lived by you, even by day light.  
Blake! Blake! are you awake?  
Are you aware what an ever-glorious morning this is? — What long expected never to be repeated opportunity is now offered to get life & knowledge?  
For my part I am trying to wake up, — to wring slumber out of my pores; — For, generally, I take events as unconcernedly as a fence post, — absorb wet & cold like it, and am pleasantly tickled with lichens slowly spreading over me.  
Could I not be content then to be a cedar post, which lasts 25 years? Would I not rather be that than the farmer that set it? or he that preaches to that farmer — ? — & go to the heaven of posts at last? I think I should like ~~to be~~ that as well as any would like it. But I should not care if I sprouted into a living tree, put forth leaves & flowers, & bore fruit.  
I am grateful for what I am & have. My thanksgiving is perpetual.  
It is surprising how contented one can be with nothing definite — only a sense of*

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*<Eagleswood again all cut off*

*existence — Well anything for variety.  
I am ready to try this for the next*

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*10000 years, & exhaust it. How sweet to think of! [M]y extremities well charred, and my intellectual part too, so that there is no danger of worm or rot for a long while. My breath is sweet to me. O how I laugh when I think of my vague indefinite riches — No run on my bank can drain it — for my wealth is not possession but enjoyment.*

*What are all these years made for? And how another winter [come], so much like the last? Cant we satisfy the beggars once for all? Have you got in your wood*

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*for this winter? What else have you got in? Of what use a great fire on the hearth & a confounded little fire in the heart? Are you prepared to make a decisive campaign — to pay for your costly tuition — to pay for the suns of past summers — for happiness & unhappiness lavished upon you? Does not Time go by swifter than the swiftest equine trotter or racker? Stir up Brown — [R]emind him of his duties, which outrun the date & span of Worceste[r's] years past & to come. Tell him to be sure that he is on the Main Street, however narrow it may be — & to have a lit sign, visible by night as well as by day. Are they not patient waiters — they who wait for us? But even they shall*

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*not be losers.*

*Dec. 7<sup>th</sup>*

*That Walt Whitman, of whom I wrote to you, is the most interesting fact to me at present. I have just read his 2<sup>nd</sup> edition (which he gave me) and it has done me more good than any reading for a long time. Perhaps I remember best the poem of Walt Whitman An American & the Sun Down Poem — There are 2 or 3 pieces*

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*in the book which are disagreeable to say the least, simply sensual. He does not celebrate love at all — It is as if the beasts spoke. I think that men have not been ashamed of themselves without reason. No doubt, there have always been dens where such deeds were unblushingly recited, and it is no merit to compete with their inhabitants. But even on this side, he has spoken more truth than any American or modern that I know. I have found his poem exhilarating — encouraging. As for its sensuality, — & it may turn out to be less sensual than it appears — I do not so much wish that those parts were not written, as that men & women were so pure that they could read*

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*them without harm, that is without understanding them. One woman told me that no woman could read it — as if a man could read what a woman could not. Of course Walt Whitman can communicate to us no experience, and if we are shocked, ~~and~~ ~~if we are shocked~~ whose experience is it that we are reminded of? On the whole it sounds to me very brave & American, after whatever deductions. I do not believe that all the sermons so called that have been preached in this land put together are equal to it for preaching — We ought to rejoice greatly in him. He occasionally suggests something a little more than human. You cant confound him with the other inhabitants of Brooklyn or New York. How they must shudder when they read him! He is awefully good. To be sure I ~~am~~ sometimes feel a little imposed on — By his heartiness & broad generalities he puts me into a liberal frame of mind prepared to see wonders — as it were sets me upon a hill or in the midst of a plain — stirs me well up, and then[ — ]throws in a thousand of brick. Though rude & sometimes ineffectual, it is*



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*a great primitive poem — an alarum  
or trumpet note ringing through the  
American Camp. Wonderfully like  
the orientals too, considering that when  
I asked him if he had read them he  
answered “No! tell me about them.”  
I did not get far in conversation with  
him — two more being present, and among  
the few things which I chanced to say, I  
remember that one was, in answer to him  
as representing America, that I did  
not think much of America or of politics  
& so on — Which may have been some-  
what of a damper to him.  
Since I have seen him I find  
that I am not disturbed by any brag  
or egoism in his book. He may turn  
out the least of a braggart of all, having  
a better right to be confident.  
He is a great fellow —  
H. D. T.*

One might wonder, on reading this analysis of [Walt Whitman](#)'s poems, whether [Thoreau](#) might have been a closet Puritan. This passage in [WALDEN](#) is often considered to be dyed-in-the-wool Puritanism:

[WALDEN](#): All sensuality is one, though it takes many forms; all purity is one. It is the same whether a man eat, or drink, or cohabit, or sleep sensually. They are but one appetite, and we only need to see a person do any one of these things to know how great a sensualist he is. The impure can neither stand nor sit with purity. When the reptile is attacked at one mouth of his burrow, he shows himself at another. If you would be chaste, you must be temperate. What is chastity? How shall a man know if he is chaste? He shall not know it. We have heard of this virtue, but we know not what it is. We speak conformably to the rumor which we have heard. From exertion come wisdom and purity; from sloth ignorance and sensuality.

It is, however, not. You will note that this passage is bracketed in [WALDEN](#) with a troubling pithy remark above it and another troubling pithy remark below it. Above this passage we find “He is blessed who is assured that the animal is dying out in him day by day, and the divine being established.” Below it we find “Nature is hard to be overcome, but she must be overcome.”

Recognizing the fact that this sort of talk gives a lot of folks nowadays the heartburn — I need to say that I personally agree with Thoreau's analysis of [Whitman](#)'s poetry, and with everything he wrote at this point in [WALDEN](#). The reason is simple: this world we live in is by nature indecent, uncaring, unkind, and unforgiving. The only decency, the only caring, the only kindness, the only forgiveness that we will ever discover in this world, must be the decency, the caring, the kindness, the forgiveness that we ourselves can find it in ourselves to import into it. We are the source of this, we are the donors. If decency cannot come from us -- it cannot be here at all. (That's why it's termed **human** decency.)





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You little dream who is occupying Worcester when you are all asleep. Several things occurred there that night which I will venture to say were not put into the Transcript. A cat caught a mouse at the depôt, and gave it to her kitten to play with. So that world-famous tragedy goes on by night as well as by day, and nature is **emphatically** wrong.

Also I saw a young Irishman kneel before his mother, as if in prayer, while she wiped a cinder out of his eye with her tongue; and I found that it was never too late (or early?) to learn something....

CAT



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Our [Henry](#) was awake, for he had finally had his full *tiandi bu ren, yi wanwu wei chugou* experience:

道德經

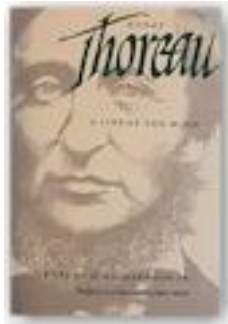


"The natural realm is without/outside human benevolence; it treats everything as mere straw dogs."

天地不仁，以萬物為芻狗

If, that is, we desire this to be a world which includes benevolence, we must ourselves create benevolence within our own human realm — for this is not to be found unless it is created and is not to be created unless it is we who create it.

68. And this is the man whose most recent biographer insists is "probably the greatest spokesman of the last two hundred years for the view that we must turn ... to nature for our morality" (Robert D. Richardson, Jr., page 191), whose "life was far more an imitation



of Apollo than of Christ" and who was "not interested in a religion that strove to redeem man from this world, or to raise him above it" (192), a man who sought "knowledge, not grace" (193). This biographer has only one word for the above incident, and that a derogatory dismissive word: "astonishing" (357). Clearly, Richardson, thinking he is writing biography, has instead been writing autobiography (or, supposing that he had a seance with Thoreau's soul, he has instead been listening to a rapping from Emerson), for this incident bore directly on a disagreement between Friend [Lucretia Mott](#) and [Waldo Emerson](#) in regard to his "The Law of Success" essay —the one that claimed that nature utilized not only the good but also the bad— for Lucretia's reaction to that Emersonian lecture was "human wickedness works only evil, and that continually." Clearly, also, Richardson's got ahold of Thoreau's corpus by a leg and I've got ahold by an arm, and we're going to tug until we see whose piece includes the head and heart of Thoreau.

Emphatically  
Wrong

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In his [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), page 362, our [Henry](#) had asserted<sup>69</sup> that

**A WEEK:** We have heard much about the poetry of mathematics, but very little of it has yet been sung. The ancients had a juster notion of their poetic value than we. The most distinct and beautiful statement of any truth must take at last the mathematical form. We might so simplify the rules of moral philosophy, as well as of arithmetic, that one formula would express them both. All the moral laws are readily translated into natural philosophy, for often we have only to restore the primitive meaning of the words by which they are expressed, or to attend to their literal instead of their metaphorical sense. They are already **supernatural** philosophy. The whole body of what is now called moral or ethical truth existed in the golden age as abstract science. Or, if we prefer, we may say that the laws of Nature are the purest morality. The Tree of Knowledge is a Tree of Knowledge of good and evil. He is not a true man of science who does not bring some sympathy to his studies, and expect to learn something by behavior as well as by application. It is childish to rest in the discovery of mere coincidences, or of partial and extraneous laws. The study of geometry is a petty and idle exercise of the mind, if it is applied to no larger system than the starry one. Mathematics should be mixed not only with physics but with ethics, **that** is **mixed** mathematics. The fact which interests us most is the life of the naturalist. The purest science is still biographical. Nothing will dignify and elevate science while it is sundered so wholly from the moral life of its devotee, and he professes another religion than it teaches, and worships at a foreign shrine. Anciently the faith of a philosopher was identical with his system, or, in other words, his view of the universe.





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And in his Journal for June 30, 1852, our [Henry](#) had asserted that

Nature must be viewed humanly to be viewed at all; that is, her scenes must be associated with humane affections, such as are associated with one's native place, for instance. She is most significant to a lover. A lover of Nature is pre-eminently a lover of man. If I have no friend, what is Nature to me? She ceases to be morally significant.



In a contrast between William Wordsworth's poetry and William Wordsworth's philosophizing or philosophastering, C.S. Lewis has offered:

Nor have many people been taught moral philosophy by an "impulse from a vernal wood." If they were, it would not necessarily be the sort of moral philosophy Wordsworth would have approved. It might be that of ruthless competition. For some moderns I think it is. They love nature in so far as, for them, she calls to "the dark gods in the blood"; not although, but because, sex and hunger and sheer power there operate without pity or shame. If you take nature as a teacher she will teach you exactly the lessons you have already decided to learn; this is only another way of saying that nature does not teach. The tendency to take her as a teacher is obviously very easily grafted on to the experience we call "love of nature." But it is only a graft. While we are actually subjected to them, the "moods" and "spirits" of nature point no morals. Overwhelming gaiety, insupportable grandeur, sombre desolation are flung at you. Make what you can of them, if you must make at all. The only imperative that nature utters is, "Look. Listen. Attend." The fact that this imperative is so often misinterpreted and sets people making theologies and pantheologies and antitheologies - all of which can be debunked- does not really touch the central experience itself. What nature-lovers -whether they are Wordsworthians or people with "dark gods in their blood"- get from nature is an iconography, a language of images. I do not mean simply visual images; it is the "moods" or "spirits" themselves -the powerful expositions of terror, gloom, jocundity, cruelty, lust, innocence, purity- that are the images. In them each man can clothe his own belief. We must learn our theology or philosophy elsewhere (not surprisingly, we often learn them from theologians and philosophers). But when I speak of "clothing" our belief in such images I do not mean anything

69. The poet W.H. Auden has in 1962 brought forward part of this from [A WEEK](#) as:

### THE VIKING BOOK OF APHORISMS, A PERSONAL SELECTION BY W.H. AUDEN...

Pg	Topic	Aphorism Selected by Auden out of Thoreau
259	Science	He is not a true man of science who does not bring some sympathy to his studies, and expect to learn something by behavior as well as by application. It is childish to rest in the discovery of mere coincidences, or of partial and extraneous laws. The study of geometry is a petty and idle exercise of the mind, if it is applied to no larger system than the starry one. Mathematics should be mixed not only with physics but with ethics; <b>that is mixed</b> mathematics. The fact which interests us most is the life of the naturalist. The purest science is still biographical.



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like using nature for similes or metaphors in the manner of the poets. Indeed I might have said “filling” or “incarnating” rather than clothing. Many people -I am one myself- would never, but for what nature does to us, have had any content to put into the words we must use in confessing our faith. Nature never taught me that there exists a God of glory and of infinite majesty. I had to learn that in other ways. But nature gave the word **glory** a meaning for me. I still do not know where else I could have found one. I do not see how the “fear” of God could have ever meant to me anything but the lowest prudential efforts to be safe, if I had never seen certain ominous ravines and unapproachable crags. And if nature had never awakened certain longings in me, huge areas of what I can now mean by the “love” of God would never, so far as I can see, have existed.

Now, C.S. Lewis might be classed as a person who evidently had never been exposed to the *geist* of [Thoreau](#). For I think he never refers to Thoreau in his writings on religion, even in the most appropriate locations. The moral conclusion I derive from the above quotation is that -since even non-Thoreauvian popular writers can “get it,” we should speak firmly, even harshly, to “Thoreauvians” who refuse to “get it” on this point of nature and morality, and continue to credit their Thoreau with some simpleminded nature-worship or with some ethic derived from naturalness or whatever, some shallow belief system derived not from Thoreau’s materials but from their own lack of thoughtfulness.

While Thoreau was undergoing this spiritual upheaval, [John Brown](#) was indulging in unlimited revolutionary scheming with [Frederick Douglass](#) at the Douglass home outside Rochester, New York. How could the black people of the South be induced to rise up in a suicidal violent attempt to produce a circulation of the elites, a replacement of a repressive white ruling caste with a progressive black ruling caste? (—Or die in the attempt—)



## WORCESTER

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1857

[Eli Thayer](#) of [Worcester, Massachusetts](#) sought to create an antislavery town in western Virginia (now West Virginia), naming the town “Ceredo” after the goddess Ceres. Fellow abolitionist [Zopher D. Ramsdell](#) of Maine went there to set up a boot and shoe factory, and it would seem that the basement of his home there was used as an [Underground Railroad](#) waystation to secret escaping slaves before they made their voyage across the Ohio River into Lawrence County, Ohio.

According to Louis Thomas Jones’s *THE QUAKERS OF IOWA* (Iowa City: Iowa State Historical Society, 1914):

Showing the signs of [tuberculosis](#), [Barclay Coppoc](#) went to [Kansas](#) in 1857 for his health, and while there is said to have taken part in some of [John Brown](#)’s expeditions in that state.

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

January 15, Thursday: [The Reverend Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) and [William Lloyd Garrison](#) had helped organize a Massachusetts State [Disunion](#) Convention in [Worcester](#), and on this day the Reverend Higginson addressed that assembly (he also during this year addressed the Antislavery Society on the topic “The New Revolution”).

[THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION](#)

While many children in America were dreaming of growing up to become the President, that seems not to have been the case for this particular family, that had served in the Essex Junto for the British Secret Service as “irregulars” since sometime before 1800 against the nascent United States of America. Determined to bring to an end the American republic that had been so disfavored by his Crown-loyalist ancestors, the Reverend Higginson was attempting to create the infrastructure for the raid on the federal arsenal at [Harpers Ferry](#). A “leftist,” Thomas W. Higginson, writing the biography of his grandfather, the “rightist” Stephen Higginson, would describe that Essex Junto member as follows:

[He] wished for cordial alliance with Great Britain; in a word, [he] was a thorough-going, uncompromising, ardent, steadfast Federalist, and as such a zealous and devoted patriot in every fibre of his frame.... His fireside ... was a centre of earnest discussion of the great practical controversies of the day, and without in the least comprehending the full import of their meaning, my boyish ears drank in and my boyish heart and imagination retained political impressions, which remained unaltered till the widening experiences of life ... gradually modified them.... On the whole, it was a healthful stimulation to a child’s intellectual power of discernment, honorable feeling, and patriotic devotion to great practical principles inculcated by such men as my grandfather and George Cabot and Henry Lee and many men of mark whom [Grandfather] gathered around him as guests; and as all my relatives on my father’s side, as well as on my mother’s, were zealous and uncompromising Federalists, my whole form of thought and feeling took from the first a highly conservative and aristocratic form. These practical associations and convictions, which unconsciously framed ... my character, were rounded out and completed by the social influences spread around me by my grandmother – an English woman by birth and breeding, married to my grandfather in his widowhood....

[The Reverend Higginson](#) told his Disunion Convention:



## WORCESTER

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But give me a convention. of ten men who have drawn the sword for the right, and thrown away the scabbard, and I will revolutionize the world. (Loud applause.) You say, we are "traitors," "fanatics." That is what we came here to be. That is a clear compliment. You say we are "weak," "powerless." Are we? Give us five years, and let us see ... all we ask is, Open the doors of your powder magazine, and let us try!.... I tell you ... that there are men on this platform to whom these thoughts, that are new to many of us to-day, have been the deliberate purpose of years!.... How many years is it since, in the city of Boston, the action of half a dozen men lined the streets with bayonets from Court Square to Long Wharf, and brought the country to the very verge of civil war? Unprepared, unpremeditated, unpracticed, half a dozen men [i.e. abolition-activists] did that; and there has not been a fugitive slave case in Boston since. Give us another one, another chance to come face to face with the United States government, on such an occasion as that, and see if we have not learned something by the failure.... Talk of treason! Why, I have been trying for ten years to get the opportunity to commit treason, and have not found it yet.... No, sir! disunion is not a desire, merely; it is a destiny. It is in vain to talk of difficulties in effecting the process. The laws of human nature are taking care of those difficulties very rapidly. If our calculations are correct, it will be easier to hasten it than to postpone it.... I tell you, let another war come in [Kansas](#), and no power on earth can prevent a border war between Missouri and Iowa. The line will be drawn for us soon enough by the passions of men. The calm deliberations of conventions like these, only prepare the way for it. If we cannot bring it about peaceably, it will come forcibly, that is all. The great forces of nature are sufficient. The vast antagonistic powers are brought into collision —the earthquake comes —and all we disunionists say is, if it is coming, in God's name, let it come quickly!

[The Reverend Higginson](#) had invited to his convention a British soldier of fortune, [Hugh Forbes](#), who had served in Garibaldi's forces and had become in [New-York](#) the editor of an Italian-language newspaper, [The European](#).



January 15: What is there in music that it should stir our deeps? We are all ordinarily in a state of desperation; such is our life; oftentimes it drives us to suicide. To how many, perhaps to most, life is barely tolerable, and if it were not for the fear of death or of dying, what a multitude would immediately commit suicide! But let us hear a strain of music, we are at once advertised of a life which no man had told us of, which no preacher preaches. Suppose I try to describe faithfully the prospect which a strain of music exhibits to me. The field of my life becomes a boundless plain, glorious to tread, with no death nor disappointment at the end of it. All meanness and trivialness disappear. I become adequate to any deed. No particulars survive this expansion; persons do not survive it. In the light of this strain there is no Thou nor I. We are actually lifted above ourselves.



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February 11, Wednesday: Documentation of the [international slave trade](#), per W.E. Burghardt Du Bois: "Slave Trade: Letter from the Secretary of State, asking an appropriation for the suppression of the slave trade, etc." –HOUSE EXECUTIVE DOCUMENT, 34 Cong. 3 sess. IX. No. 70.

A correspondent to the [Worcester Daily Spy](#), probably H.G.O. Blake, wrote:

Last week I had the privilege of hearing at Fitchburg, a very remarkable lecture from Henry D. Thoreau of Concord, Mass. Mr. Thoreau will, by invitation, repeat this lecture at Brinley Hall [in Worcester] next Friday evening. His subject is 'The Wild.' (page 2, column 2)

[Thaddeus Hyatt](#) wrote from New-York to H.B. Hurd, secretary of the [Kansas National Committee](#), explaining that he would be in Cincinnati about March 1st. "I have purchased a steamer (the Lightfoot of Quindaro) to run on the Kansas river. She will leave Cin. March 1-10th passage \$20.00 from Cin. to Quindaro, \$3.00 from Quindaro to Lawrence."

### THE 2D GREAT AMERICAN DISUNION



Feb. 11. Wednesday. The meadows, flooded by the thaw of the last half of last week and Sunday, are now frozen hard enough to bear, and it is excellent skating.

Near the other swamp white oak on Shattuck's piece I found another caterpillar on the ice. From its position I thought it *possible* that it had been washed from its winter quarters by the freshet, and so left on top of the ice. It was not frozen in, and may have been blown from the oak. It was of a different species from that of January 5th, about one and one tenth inches long, with but little fuzziness, black with three longitudinal buff stripes, the two lateral quite pale, and a black head; the foremost feet black, the others lighter colored. It was frozen quite stiffly, as many tested, being curled up like the other, and I did not dare to bend it hard for fear of breaking it, even after I took it out in the house. But being placed on the mantelpiece it soon became relaxed, and in fifteen minutes began to crawl.



February 13, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) delivered "Walking" at [Worcester, Massachusetts](#). (Thoreau warned in a letter to Blake on February 6th that new material had been added, and the lecture divided into two parts.)





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1858

January 27, Wednesday: [Henry Thoreau](#) walked in the afternoon to Hill and beyond. A letter from the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) of [Worcester](#) asked for the details of his latest trip to Maine.



January 28, Thursday: [Henry Thoreau](#) responded to the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) of [Worcester](#).

May 23, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#), [H.G.O. Blake](#), [Theophilus Brown](#), and Dr. Seth Rogers left the center of [Worcester](#) at 5AM, on a hike to Quinsigamond Pond carrying their breakfast.



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1859

February 28, Monday: [George William Curtis](#) wrote from the north shore of Staten Island to Charles Wesley Slack agreeing to read on December 11th a lecture that he had prepared for Philadelphia and elsewhere on "The Recent Aspect of the Slavery Question." In a postscript he made reference to the Reverend [Theodore Parker](#).

Sallie Holley wrote to Mrs. Porter about having attended [Henry Thoreau](#)'s [Worcester](#) lectures in [H.G.O. Blake](#)'s parlor on "AUTUMNAL TINTS":

*The last two evenings we had in Worcester, we were at two parlour lectures given by Mr. Henry D. Thoreau, the author of that odd book, Walden, or Life in the Woods. The first lecture was upon "Autumnal Tints," and was a beautiful and, I doubt not, a faithful report of the colours of leaves in October. Some of you may have read his "Chesuncook," in [The Atlantic Monthly](#); if so you can fancy how quaint and observing, and humorous withal, he is as traveller – or excursionist-companion in wild solitudes. Several gentlemen, friends of his, tell us much of their tour with him to the White Mountains last summer, of his grand talk with their guide in "Tuckerman's Ravine," where they had their camp. He paid us the compliment of a nice long morning call after we heard him read his "Autumnal Tints," and remembered our being once at his mother's to tea, and Miss Putnam's looking over his herbarium with his sister.*

[SOPHIA E. THOREAU](#)

"AUTUMNAL TINTS": Europeans coming to America are surprised by the brilliancy of our autumnal foliage. There is no account of such a phenomenon in English poetry, because the trees acquire but few bright colors there. The most that Thomson says on this subject in his "Autumn" is contained in the lines –

"But see the fading many-colored woods,  
Shade deepening over shade, the country round  
Imbrown; a crowded umbrage, dusk and dun,  
Of every hue, from wan declining green  
To sooty dark."

And the line in which he speaks

"Of Autumn beaming o'er the yellow woods."

The autumnal change of our woods has not made a deep impression on our own literature yet. October has hardly tinged our poetry.

[JAMES THOMSON](#)

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[Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the two volumes of Sir [Alexander Mackenzie](#)'s VOYAGES FROM MONTREAL, ON THE RIVER ST. LAURENCE, THROUGH THE CONTINENT OF NORTH AMERICA TO THE FROZEN AND PACIFIC OCEANS IN THE YEARS 1789 AND 1793. WITH A PRELIMINARY ACCOUNT OF THE RISE, PROGRESS, AND PRESENT STATE OF THE FUR TRADE OF THAT COUNTRY. WITH ORIGINAL NOTES BY BOUGAINVILLE, AND VOLNEY. ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS. (London: Printed for T. Cadell; Jun. and W. Davies; and W. Creech by R. Noble; Edinburgh, W. Creech, 1802).



### VOYAGES FROM MONTREAL

**"A YANKEE IN CANADA"**: I got home this Thursday evening, having spent just one week in Canada and travelled eleven hundred miles. The whole expense of this journey, including two guidebooks and a map, which cost one dollar twelve and a half cents, was twelve dollars seventy five cents. I do not suppose that I have seen all British America; that could not be done by a cheap excursion, unless it were a cheap excursion to the Icy Sea, as seen by Hearne or McKenzie, and then, no doubt, some interesting features would be omitted. I wished to go a little way behind that word *Canadense*, of which naturalists make such frequent use; and I should like still right well to make a longer excursion on foot through the wilder parts of Canada, which perhaps might be called *Iter Canadense*.

SAMUEL HEARNE  
ALEXANDER MACKENZIE

[Thoreau](#) also checked out [John Halkett, Esq.](#)'s HISTORICAL NOTES RESPECTING THE INDIANS OF NORTH AMERICA: WITH REMARKS ON THE ATTEMPTS MADE TO CONVERT AND CIVILIZE THEM (London: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co. Edinburgh; and Hurst, Robinson, and Co. 90, Cheapside, and 8, Pall Mall, 1825).<sup>70</sup>



### RESPECTING THE INDIANS

## WORCESTER

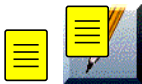
## WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS

[Thoreau](#) also checked out Lionel Wafer (1640-1705)'s A NEW VOYAGE AND DESCRIPTION OF THE ISTHMUS OF AMERICA, GIVING AN ACCOUNT OF THE AUTHOR'S ABODE THERE, THE FORM AND MAKE OF THE COUNTRY, THE COASTS, HILLS, RIVERS, &C. WOODS, SOIL, WEATHER, &C. TREES, FRUIT, BEASTS, BIRDS, FISH, &C. (London: Printed for J. Knapton, 1699).

<http://web.princeton.edu/sites/english/eng321/WAFER.HTM>



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



February 28. To Cambridge and Boston.

Saw a mackerel in the market. The upper half of its sides is mottled blue and white like the mackerel sky, as stated January 19th, 1858.

July 17, Sunday: [Professor Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: “Always and everywhere salvation is torture, deliverance means death, and peace lies in sacrifice. If we would win our pardon, we must kiss the fiery crucifix. Life is a series of agonies, a Calvary, which we can only climb on bruised and aching knees. We seek distractions; we wander away; we deafen and stupefy ourselves that we may escape the test; we turn away our eyes from the via dolorosa; and yet there is no help for it — we must come back to it in the end. What we have to recognize is that each of us carries within himself his own executioner — his demon, his hell, in his sin; that his sin is his idol, and that this idol, which seduces the desire of his heart, is his curse.

Die unto sin! This great saying of Christianity remains still the highest theoretical solution of the inner life. Only in it is there any peace of conscience; and without this peace there is no peace....

I have just read seven chapters of the gospel. Nothing calms me so much. To do one's duty in love and

70. He would put his notes on this reading into his Indian Notebook #12. He would also, in about 1861, read a review of this book by [Lewis Cass](#) and put his notes on this reading of this review into that same Indian Notebook.

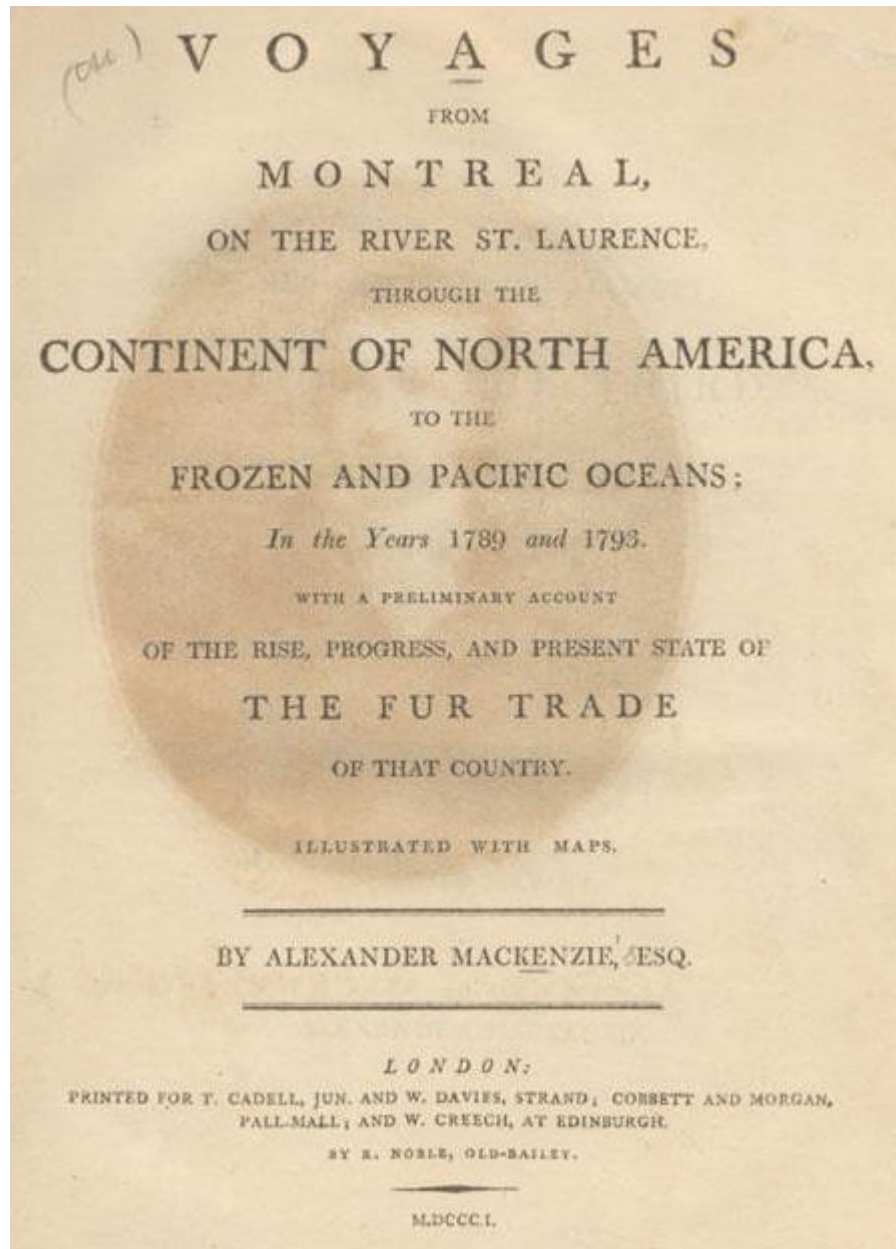
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obedience, to do what is right — these are the ideas which remain with one. To live in God and to do his work — this is religion, salvation, life eternal; this is both the effect and the sign of love and of the Holy Spirit; this is the new man announced by Jesus, and the new life into which we enter by the second birth. To be born again is to renounce the old life, sin, and the natural man, and to take to one’s self another principle of life. It is to exist for God with another self, another will, another love.”

Delegates from Prussia and Thuringia, desirous of German unification along liberal lines, met in Eisenach.

By chance, while [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#) was out for a ride, he encountered [H.G.O. Blake](#) and [Theophilus Brown](#), who had hiked to the coast from [Worcester](#) and were on their way out to the tip of Cape Cod.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR JULY 17th]

October 19, Wednesday: Wilhelm Tempel discovered a diffuse nebula around the Pleid star Merope.

[John Brown](#) was being taken from [Harpers Ferry](#) to the nearby Charles Town jail. (Brown’s white jailer there, John Avis, it seems, had been a childhood friend of Dr. [Martin Robison Delany](#).) Full reports of the event at Harpers Ferry were appearing in this day’s newspapers.

[Henry Thoreau](#) and [Bronson Alcott](#) were visiting [Waldo Emerson](#) when the news was brought in, of Captain [John Brown](#)’s raid at [Harpers Ferry](#). Thoreau immediately began working over his materials about Brown.



“If [Christ](#) should appear on earth he would on all hands be denounced as a mistaken, misguided man, insane and crazed.”



-Thoreau, October 19, 1859

JOURNAL :  
**Here comes Jesus again**  
**mistaken, misguided**  
**insane and crazed**

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When [Julia Ward Howe](#) read in the Boston [Transcript](#) about the raid upon the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia, her husband [Dr. Samuel Gridley Howe](#) would casually remarked to her “Brown has got to work.” The newspapers were beginning to carry an account of an intriguing set of papers that had been discovered where Brown had unaccountably left them behind, when he had gone off on the morning of the 16th to launch his raid on the Harpers Ferry arsenal. Among the papers, in addition to an envelope from Dr. Howe incriminatingly addressed to Brown, were a note from [Gerrit Smith](#) and two letters from [Franklin Benjamin Sanborn](#).



The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) began to plan a rescue of Brown from the jail cell in Charles Town. He actually would succeed in raising aid for the Brown family. He would opinion, much later in life, after having had a chance to compare and contrast his ineffectiveness as a member of the [Secret “Six”](#) with the effectiveness of the revolutionary terror organized by the Communist Party in Russia, that:

The Russian revolutionists, who were so efficient in making the tyrant Tsar Alexander II explode, have much to teach us about practical terror.

[Thoreau](#) was being written to by [Theophilus Brown](#) in [Worcester](#).

*Worcester Oct 19  
Friend Thoreau— The book  
came duly to hand, and  
as it was not for me,  
I intend to send <sup>you</sup> the money*





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*for it in this note—*

*Blake must speak for him  
-self and not for me when  
speaking of that mountain  
walk of ours. I enjoyed it  
well enough, and ought to  
be ashamed of myself that  
I did, perhaps, since it  
yielded me so little.*

*Our Cape Cod walk salts  
down better with me, & yet  
there was 'nt much salt  
in that,—enough to save*

*it perhaps, but not <sup>^enough</sup> of the  
sea & sand & sky. The good  
things I got in it were rather  
incidental—[&]did not belong  
to the sea. But I did get*

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*some glimpses of the sea.*

*I remember a smoke we*

*had on a little <sup>^barren</sup> knoll where  
we heard the plover, in North  
Dennis, in the twilight after  
a long & hot days walk.*

*We heard the pounding of the  
surf against a shore  
twenty miles off[,—(]so said  
the man at whose house  
we passed the night,—)—and  
we were expecting to arrive  
there the next day.*

*I have been in the habit of  
thinking our journey culmin  
-ated in that smoke, if it  
did 'nt end there, for, though  
we arrived at the beach the  
next day according to programme  
& found the thirty miles stretch  
of it, with its accompaniments  
too large to complain of,  
yet—our anticipations  
were immense. But now*

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*in thinking of it the actual  
sea & sky loom up larger,*



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*while our smoke & dreams  
—hold their own pretty  
well—  
Your friend  
Theo Brown*

October 30, Sunday: Franz Liszt was admitted to the Austrian nobility as “Franz, Ritter von Liszt.” On the same day, in Weimar, his setting of the 137th Psalm for alto, violin, and keyboard was performed for the initial time.

The trial of [John Brown](#) concluded, with a finding of guilt. The separate trials of the others indicted, [John Anderson Copeland, Jr.](#), [Edwin Coppoc](#), [Shields Green](#), and [Aaron D. Stevens](#), would begin, and would come to their conclusions, shortly.



Green

Copeland

Haslitt

[Henry Thoreau](#) notified [Concord](#) town officials that he would speak that evening on “The character of [John Brown](#), now in the clutches of the slaveholder.”

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**KILLED OR WOUNDED BY THE INSURGENTS AT HARPERS FERRY**

Heywood Shepherd	black railroad porter	Killed
Fontaine Beckham	white railroad agent and mayor of Harpers Ferry	Killed
G.W. Turner	white resident of Jefferson County VA	Killed
Thomas Boerly	white resident of Harpers Ferry	Killed
Quinn	white <a href="#">U. S. Marine</a> private	Killed
Rupert	white <a href="#">U. S. Marine</a> private	Wounded
Murphy	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Young	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Richardson	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hammond	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
McCabe	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Dorsey	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Hooper	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded
Woollet	white resident in vicinity of Harpers Ferry	Wounded



That evening, [Thoreau](#) delivered “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” in the vestry of the First Parish Meetinghouse in Concord. Emerson was present, and would report to Charles Wesley Slack in Boston that “He read it with great force & effect, & though the audience was of widely different parties, it was heard without a murmur of dissent.” In regard to Thoreau’s impassioned oration, this is what I have to offer. Take it for granite, Thoreau always knows what he is saying. Speaking not only of [John Brown](#)’s sharp tongue but also of his carbine bought and paid for, one of the things Henry said on the evening of October 30, 1859 was

*The tools were in the hands of one who could use them.*



This is now on page 133 of REFORM PAPERS. **But what I need to get you to understand is that it means**

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exactly what it means, not what you maybe thought it would mean were it you who had said it. The thing I need you to notice is that Thoreau's remark is an implicit reference to [Miguel de Cervantes's](#)

*In manos eftâ el pandero que le fabra bien tañer,  
reſpondio Sancho Pança.*



This is an aphorism from Part II, Chapter 22 of *EL INGENIOSO HIDALGO DON QUIJOTE DE LA MANCHA*. In current Spanish: *En manos está el pandero que le sabrán bien tañer*, or “In hands is the drum that it they know well to beat” or, rather, “The drum is in the hands of one who well knows how to thump it.” Thus Thoreau's remark about the *rat-a-tat-tat* of Brown's sharp tongue and Christian carbine is also an implicit reference to the most-quoted passage in *WALDEN* by far, the passage in which an obscure metaphor is drawn apparently on the basis of the drummer-boy *rat-a-tat-tatting* away on [Concord](#) common during the annual militia training!



What is happening in that passage of Cervantes's book is that Sancho Panza was lowering Don Quijote into the Montecinos cave by a rope. And he was using this old Spanish proverb to say don't worry, I know how to handle this rope, I won't let you fall. He was practicality incarnate, all means and no end, while Don Quijote

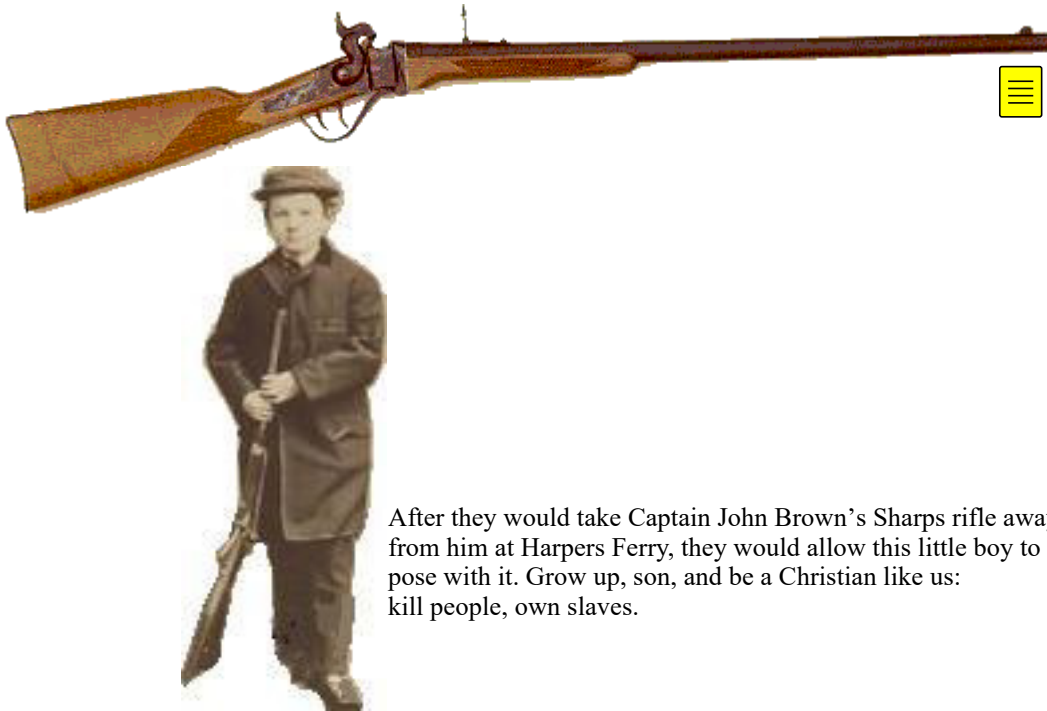
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was impracticality ensouled, on his way to make his central attempt to define the relationship between reality and illusion, all end and no means.

We may well ask ourselves in what way a reference to Don Quijote might be seen as appropriate in this context of Thoreau's defense of Brown. I can think of several right off.

1st, many scholars would insist to us that a study of the work of Cervantes is central to any consideration of the manner in which our representations of the world can, and cannot, modify the contexts in which our lives are embedded. That Sharps rifle was supposed to be the lever by which Brown was rearranging reality, but in actuality in that world of men at arms such a stick was of influence primarily as a symbol, while Brown's primary lever for rearranging the reality of American race relations was –as Thoreau was emphasizing– his sharp tongue. Holding that Sharps rifle in his hand only served to draw attention to that tongue of his, attention that his sharp tongue deserved. We can say Thoreau's problem essentially was, in the case of Brown, that he had decided he could not be satisfied with reality. Refusing to repeat the gestures that custom, tradition, and instinct make so easy, Thoreau was insisting on the coming into being of our myth of equality and fraternity.



After they would take Captain John Brown's Sharps rifle away from him at Harpers Ferry, they would allow this little boy to pose with it. Grow up, son, and be a Christian like us: kill people, own slaves.

2d, Don Quijote was *un hombre exageradamente grave y serio o puntilloso*, and this is a fine and accurate description not only of Concord's own knight of the woebegone countenance, [Bronson Alcott](#), but also of [John Brown](#). If Alcott could be said to have been a Quijote whose favorite reading was the New Testament, Brown was a Quijote whose favorite reading was the Old. Don Quijote said

These saints and knights were of the same profession as myself, which is the calling of arms. Only there is this difference between them and me, that they were saints, and fought with divine weapons, and I am a sinner and fight with human ones.

3d, there is the problem of the ridiculous mismatch of means and objectives about which Brown commented in his note on the morning of his [hanging](#). Brown wanted a world of justice and peace and dignity so he set about enthusiastically to kill us until we got his idea, which is a fine way to get someone's attention but is



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inherently self-defeating.

4th, in associating Brown with Don Quijote, [Thoreau](#) was making an implicit reference to the freeing of slaves as a knightly suspension of the ethical — for Don Quijote’s pity, compassion, and love came to outweigh the rigor of justice in that knight’s liberating of the galley slaves, and in the declaration he made to the guards of the slaves, and in his comments to Sancho and the priest. He said

It is not right that honorable men should be executioners of others.

Finally, this “tool” aphorism extracted from the episode in which Don Quijote descended on a rope into the cave of Montecinos is central to the story’s process of *sanchificación* of the knight’s spirituality and *quijotización* of the squire’s carnality. By virtue of their shared adventures, the righteously indignant northern white American and the desperately indignant southern white American needed to figure out a way to rid themselves of a society based on shackles: they needed to sanchify and quijotize each other. That’d be preferred to our northern Quijotes and southern Panzas using their efficient tools to kill each other standing in rows, which was otherwise the obvious prospect. When Don Quijote emerged from the cave of Montecinos he said to Sancho Panza

Everything that offers some difficulty seems impossible to you.

But he added

Time will pass.

In this writing I will not only attempt to salvage Thoreau’s talk about Christian carbines and sharp tongues by linking it (via its implicit referent in Cervantes’s *rub-a-dub-dub* text about the foolishness of desperate acts of chivalry) to its implicit referent in Thoreau’s *rat-a-tat-tat* text about the foolishness of a life of quiet desperation.

I will also demonstrate that this sound metaphor of Thoreau’s –the distant different drummer– is, itself, an implicit reference to a [Quaker](#) non-violent metaphor of the inner light in common usage among members of the [Religious Society of Friends](#), particularly those of the liberal faction including Friend [Elias Hicks](#) and his student Friend [Lucretia Mott](#), and that such a metaphor cannot be bent –as it is commonly now bent by the unspirited– to sponsor the path of violence. Thoreau left himself an escape hatch and, in his appeal for sympathy for Captain Brown after that man’s desperate attempt to set free the despairing slaves of America, neither explicitly nor implicitly sanctioned any of [John Brown](#)’s violent means. I would maintain that Thoreau’s deportment and his words subsequent to the ill-advised [Harpers Ferry](#) raid in 1859 were precisely

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parallel to Friend Lucretia's deputation and her words after the ill-advised "Christiana Riot" in 1851.



Thoreau said in public, in regard to American slavery, that he did not wish to kill nor to be killed, but could foresee circumstances in which both these things would be by him unavoidable (REFORM PAPERS 133). Playing to his audience, our author elided the vast difference between killing and dying precisely as Richardson elided Charles Baudelaire. It was only in Thoreau's private notes during his lifetime—to his Journal that is, and although as he says there was no lock on the door of his cabin there was in fact a lock on the desk in which he kept his Journal—that he was able to say plainly that **when he said “both these things” he meant precisely “both these things,”** not one and, if he turned out to be a lucky and competent killer, not the other, that if it came to the sacrificing of others to his own principles, this would necessarily involve his own simultaneous self-sacrifice for his principles, that he meant he might decide to not be alive rather than continue to be alive in a world that also included slavery.<sup>71</sup> Now, Søren Aabye Kierkegaard pointed out in a writing that,

71. There is a phrase “noble army of Martyrs” in the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER that came into use in 1549 that may explain [Thoreau](#)'s remark about becoming willing to kill, or to die, to end enslavement. The phrase may have come into the BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER from the *TE DEUM*, quite a bit older.

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although it dates to the same year of 1859, was unavailable to [Thoreau](#),<sup>72</sup> that

Assuming then that a person is the victim of an illusion, and that in order to communicate the truth to him the first task, rightly understood, is to remove the illusion – if I do not begin by deceiving him, I must begin with direct communication. But direct communication presupposes that the receiver's ability to receive is undisturbed. But here such is not the case; an illusion stands in the way. That is to say, one must first of all use the caustic fluid. But this caustic means is negativity, and negativity understood in relation to the communication of the truth is precisely the same as deception. What then does it mean "to deceive"? It means that one does not begin **directly** with the matter one wants to communicate, but begins by accepting the other man's illusion as good money.



I am not saying Thoreau was wrong to elide in this way in that place at that time, for he was doing his level best to communicate with a bunch of people who were getting ready to line up and shoot each other down in windrows, and also I was not there and also I have great respect for his judgment, but I am saying that if there was a time for this sort of elision, it is now past. If not then, at least now, we should face the issue squarely. But unfortunately, as I said, the issue is not being faced squarely. For instance, on the night of July 10th in the Center Galleria of [Worcester](#), an actor employed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, David Barto, sponsored in part by the Massachusetts Department of Environmental Management, re-enacted [Thoreau](#)'s lecture.

Worcester's Mechanics Hall where the lecture was originally delivered was under restoration, but every effort was made for verisimilitude and Barto was able to lean on the wooden lectern that Thoreau had used on November 3, 1859 at Mechanics Hall. My impression is that Barto makes a Thoreau who is entirely too belligerent, for instance humorously threatening to beat children with his walking stick should they ask questions at the wrong times, humorously inviting one fellow to join him outside for a fight after the talk should he fail to follow Thoreau's rules, etc. Therefore, in the question and answer period, I raised my hand

72. Søren Aabye Kierkegaard. THE POINT OF VIEW FOR MY WORK AS AN AUTHOR. NY: Harper & Row, 1962, pages 25-6.



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and posed the following question to Barto in his rôle as [Thoreau](#):

I have heard you, and am troubled, troubled by what would seem to be a studied ambiguity on an issue of the greatest relevance. Tell me, in the dark of the night when you could not sleep, and you scratched these lines frantically across scraps of paper with your pencil - can you recollect that frame of mind?- what was your intention? If it came to kill or be killed, for those are two very different things, if it came to the taking of the life of another for liberty, or giving your own for liberty -for these are two very different things- if it came to continuing your life but as a murderer- if it came to the point of doing evil so that good will come- what, sir, was your secret intention as you scratched out your draft of this speech? Is it your intention to teach us, by your life, how and when to **die** or how and when to **kill**?

In response Barto feigned anger and told me I had no right to inquire as to his private musings. He was unable or unwilling to address the question as posed. Need I mention that this might have got him in trouble with his employer, an agency which also employs a number of armed men in blue and a number of armed men in green, and instructs these armed employees in the fine art of when and how to kill in the name of their employer?

### “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN”

This topic of elision is an interesting topic for those of us who find this sort of topic interesting. While [Thoreau](#) was delivering his “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” at the Concord Town Hall, the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) was delivering a sermon in his Plymouth Church in Brooklyn. Later on he would revise this sermon for publication, so we can credit it with some seriousness of preparation, and yet in the sermon he was portraying the raid on [Harpers Ferry](#) as having been perpetrated by 17 white men who had gone South without any black sponsorship or involvement and, in their whiteness, had created a race panic: “Seventeen white men surrounded two thousand, and held them in duress.”

A black newspaper would need to comment upon this elision, as of course it had been the noticing of men of mixed race among the members of that invading party which had set off the pronounced race panic: “Mr. Beecher must have read the papers, must have read that there were twenty-two invaders, seventeen white and five black. Why does he omit all mention of the latter? Were they not men?”<sup>73</sup>

We note that in this speech [Thoreau](#) made use of the political term of art “Buncombe.”<sup>74</sup>

73. It is very clear from several other things that the Reverend [Henry Ward Beecher](#) had written, that had he been forced to respond to this “Were they not men?” rhetorical question, he would easily have responded that indeed they were men — inasmuch as they were all of mixed race rather than being in that “low animal condition” (his category, his words) of pure blackness.

74. Buncombe is a county in western North Carolina; the representative from that district in Congress had a reputation for blathering on the public record and through the newspapers simply because he thought his constituents in Buncombe County would thereby think he was really some hot potato of a Congressman. “Buncombe” came to mean blowing hot air to little purpose beyond self-aggrandizement, an expression that showed up even in Thomas Carlyle’s LATTER DAY PAMPHLETS because Waldo Emerson had deployed this Americanism when he and Carlyle met: “A Parliament speaking through reporters to Buncombe and the twenty-seven millions, mostly fools.”





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November 3, Thursday: The letter of response from Governor [Henry A. Wise](#) of Virginia arrived with [Lydia Maria Child](#). All the blame for what had happened at [Harpers Ferry](#) was assignable to her and her fellow abolitionists. A few days later, a letter would arrive from [John Brown](#) himself, alerting Child to the possibility that if she or some notorious abolitionist like her were to arrive in Charlestown, and the general public become aware of this, he and everyone associated with him might simply be taken out of the jail and lynched in order to make certain that there would be no rescue.



[Henry Thoreau](#) delivered his lecture "A Plea for Captain John Brown" at Washburn Hall in [Worcester, Massachusetts](#).

Off Nova Scotia on his voyage from England to the US, the Reverend [Samuel Joseph May](#) was made aware of the raid upon the Harpers Ferry arsenal.

Charles Ulrich of Hartford, Connecticut wrote to Governor [Henry A. Wise](#) of Virginia:



*Hartford, November 3 1859*

*Hon Henry A. Wise*

*Dear Sir*

*I hope you will excuse me for troubling you at a time when I presume you are very much engaged with more important matters than mine But I should be very much obliged to you if you would have the kindness to get for me "John Brown's" autograph*

*Yours most respectfully*

*Chas. Ulrich*

*Box 551*

*Hartford Conn.*

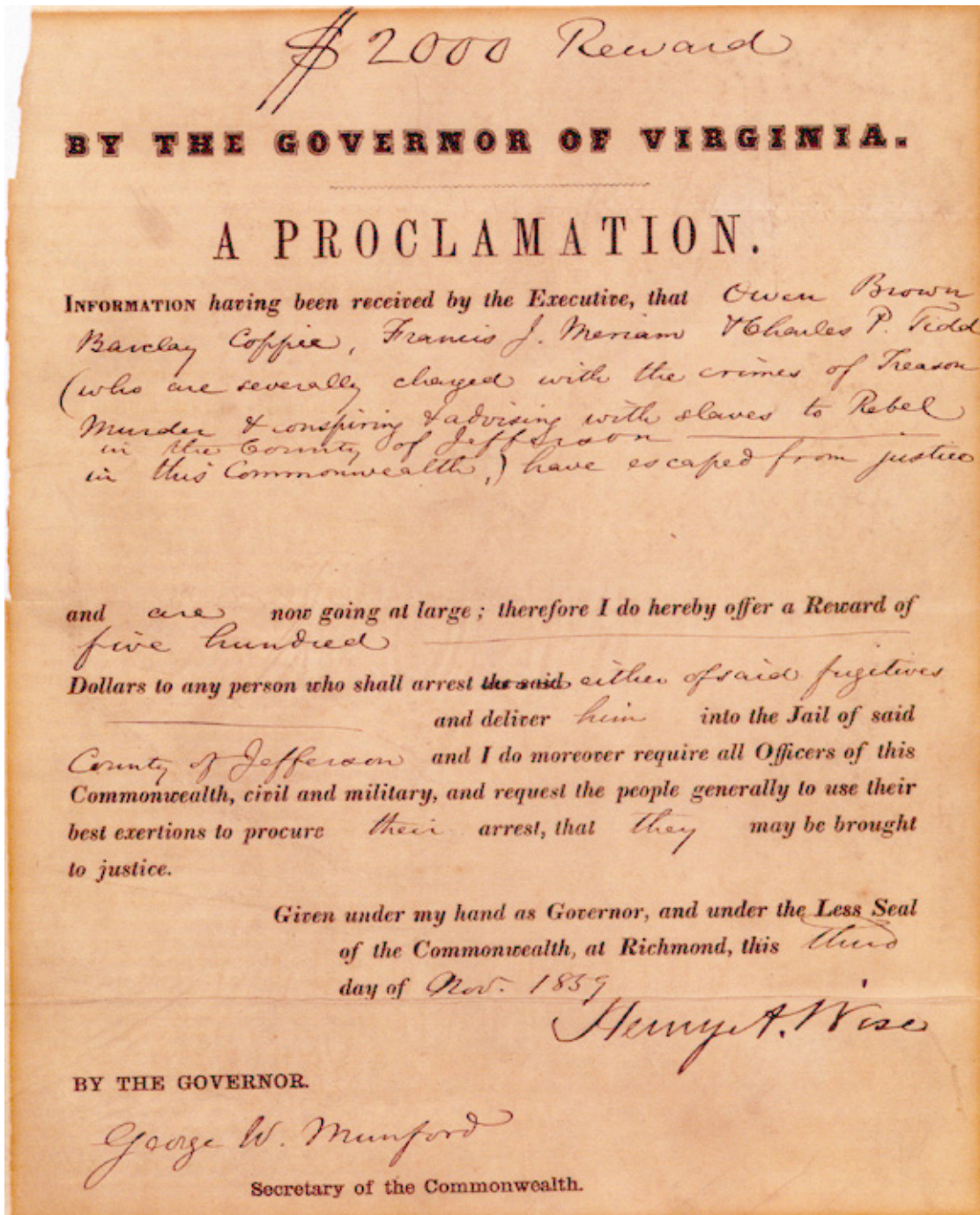
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WHAT?

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[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR NOVEMBER 3d]



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November 7, Monday: According to Caleb Calkins, [Gerrit Smith](#)'s clerk, Smith allowed himself to be coaxed by his friends into an insane asylum in Utica, New York on the supposition that they were taking him to join [Captain Brown](#) in Charles Town, Virginia to suffer hanging there with him. Smith's physician would supply a letter according to which the rich man of the [Secret "Six"](#) conspiracy had become "quite deranged, intellectually as well as morally; and he is also feeble physically." The newspapers would loyally report that the local rich man's mind had become "considerably disordered" and that his present situation was "one of decided lunacy." Rich men don't hang, they are cared for; it is poor men, who cannot afford to be declared insane, who are allowed to dangle and swing and kick and strangle. (But you knew that, right?)

Mary Jennie Tappan wrote to [Henry Thoreau](#) in [Concord](#) from Bradford, New Hampshire, introducing herself by noting that "to me you are not so much a stranger as I to you," in order to thank him for his "brave and true" remarks about [John Brown](#). So who was Mary Jennie Tappan?

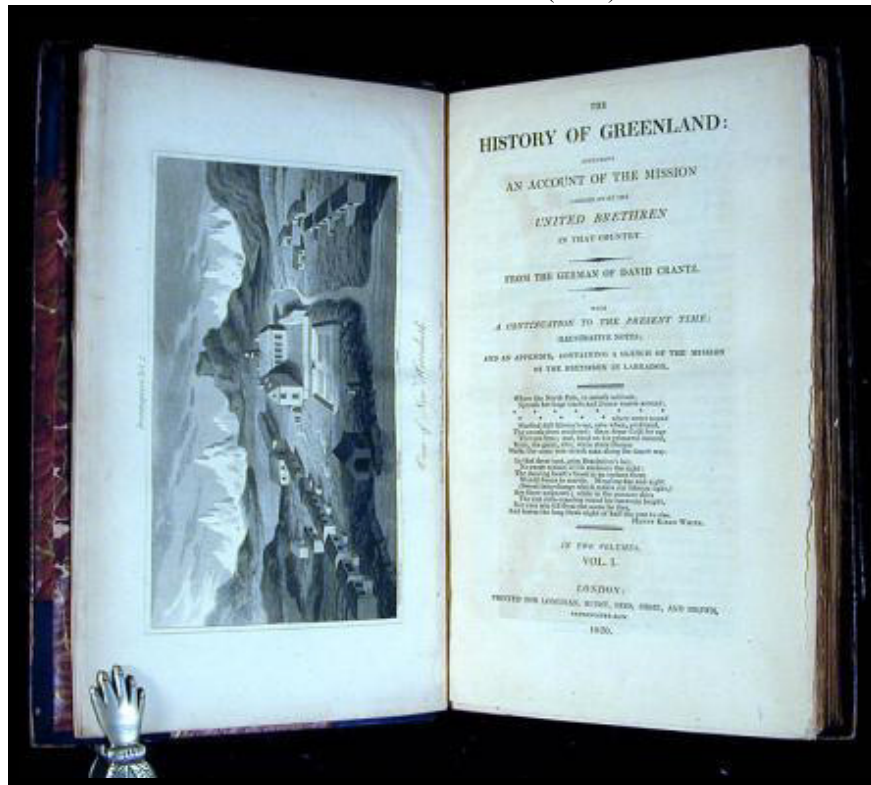
*Bradford, N.H. Nov. 7. '59*

*I wish to thank you for the utterance of those brave, true words in [behalf] of the noble Saint and self-forgetting hero of Harpers Ferry; just the words I so longed to have some living voice speak, loud, so that the world might hear— In the quiet of my home among the hills I read them [tonight] and feel that my thought has found a glorified expression and I am satisfied, and through the distance I reach forth my hand to thank you —bless you— I hope you will not think this note, born of this moments impulse an unpardonable intrusion— I believe you will not—you are not so bound by conventionalisms—to me you are not so much a stranger as I to you.— God keep you!—  
Mary Jennie Tappan.*

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[Thoreau](#) checked out, from [Harvard Library](#), the first two volumes of a translation from the High Dutch of Missionary Brother David Crantz's THE HISTORY OF GREENLAND; INCLUDING AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION CARRIED ON BY THE UNITED BRETHREN IN THAT COUNTRY (1820).



Was it on November 7, 1850 or November 7, 1860 that Thoreau checked out [Thomas Jefferson](#)'s NOTES ON THE STATE OF VIRGINIA. WITH AN APPENDIX (8th American edition; Boston: Printed by David Carlisle, for Thomas & Andrews, J. West, West & Greenleaf, J. White & Co., E. & S. Larkin, J. Nancrede, Manning & Loring, Boston, Thomas & Thomas, Walpole, N.H., and B.B. Macanulty, Salem. 1801)? — a volume in which, incidentally, the author had had a few things to say about the town and geography of Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

**THOMAS JEFFERSON'S NOTES**

[Bronson Alcott](#) wrote to [Friend Daniel Ricketson](#):<sup>75</sup>

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*Thoreau has just come back from reading to Parker's company a revolutionary Lecture on Osawatomie [John] Brown, a hero and martyr after his own heart and style of manliness. It was received here by our Concord folks with great favor, and by the Worcester friends of his. I wish the towns might be his auditors throughout the length and breadth of states and country. He thinks of printing it in pamphlet and spreading it far and wide, North and South.*

75. [Anna Ricketson](#) and [Walton Ricketson](#), editors, DANIEL RICKETSON: AUTOBIOGRAPHIC AND MISCELLANEOUS (New Bedford MA: Anthony, 1910, pages 130-1)



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Governor [Henry A. Wise](#) sent a telegram to Andrew Hunter, his special prosecutor of the case against [Captain Brown](#) and his co-conspirators at Charles Town, urging he bring indictments also against former New York congressman [Gerrit Smith](#) and against famous black newspaperman [Frederick Douglass](#). He assured Hunter confidentially that as governor he would “not reprieve or pardon one man” of those whom Hunter managed to convict.



[THOREAU MADE NO ENTRY IN HIS JOURNAL FOR NOVEMBER 7th]

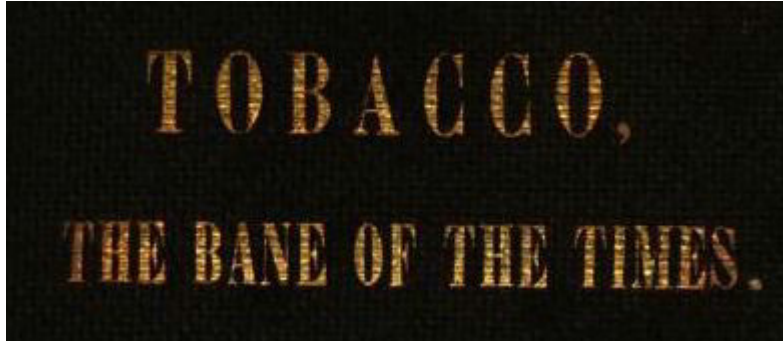


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1861

The [Reverend Joel Hawes](#)'s [TOBACCO](#), THE BANE OF THE TIMES: READ, THINK, BE WISE (Hutchinson and Bullard).



### TOBACCO THE BANE

I don't yet know the details, but during this year the Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#), who had since 1852 been the pastor of the "Free Church" in [Worcester](#), somehow discontinued that affiliation. Presumably this was because he was too busy in his activities of organizing for the civil war. At any rate, during this year he would be producing essays on [Nat Turner](#), Gabriel Prosser, and [Denmark Vesey](#) as companion pieces to his "Maroon" essays of the previous year, a piece about the dangers of tobacco, "A New Counterblast," which mentions that a French surgeon had concluded that [tobacco](#) is carcinogenic, "My Outdoor Study," and other essays.

May 11, Saturday: A boy brought [Henry Thoreau](#) a salamander from S. Mason's and Thoreau sent it on to Horace Mann, Jr.



May 11. A boy brings me a salamander from S. Mason's. Sent it to Mann. What kind?

[Thoreau](#) was being written to by [Waldo Emerson](#), suggesting a number of people he might seek out on his trip west.

*Concord, Mass.<sup>ts</sup>*

*11 May, 1861.*

*My dear Thoreau,*

*I give you a little list of names of good men whom you may chance to see on your road. If you come into the neighborhood of any of these, I pray you to send this note to them, by way of introduction, praying them, from me, not to let you pass by, without salutation, & any aid & comfort they can administer to an invalid traveller, one so dear & valued by me & all good Americans.*

*Yours faithfully,*

*R. W. Emerson*

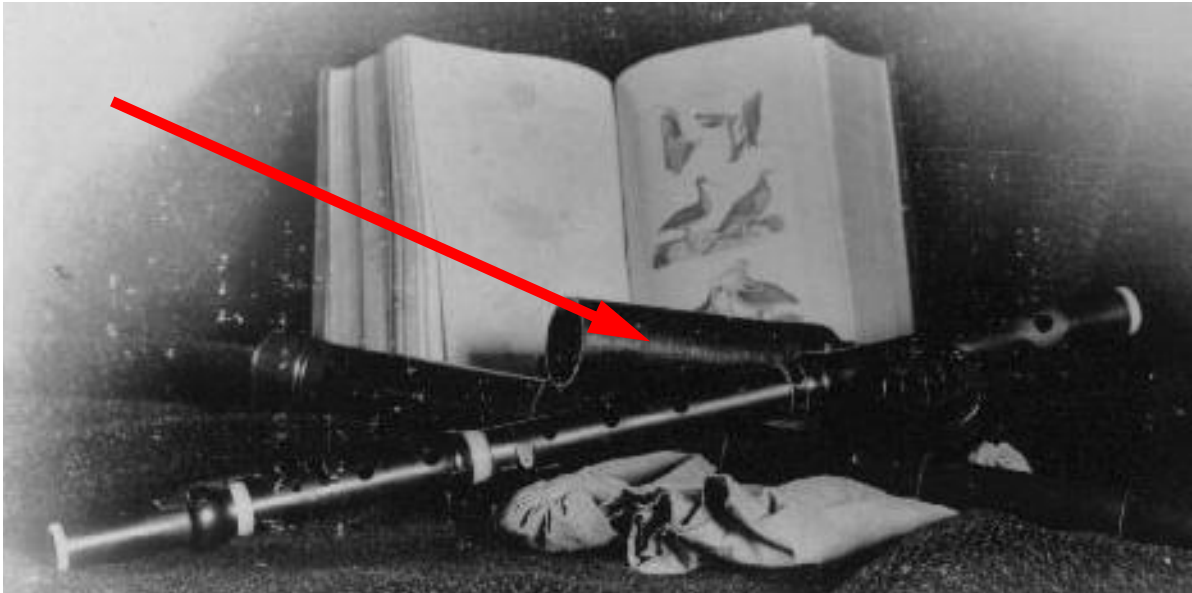
*Henry D. Thoreau.*

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In starting out by rail from Concord to Albany and then to [Niagara Falls](#), [Thoreau](#) was aware that he was generally retracing the “great central trail of the Iroquois,” some 12 to 18 inches in width, that had stretched from Albany to Buffalo. He had once made extensive excerpts from Lewis Henry Morgan’s LEAGUE OF THE HO-DE-NO-SAU-NEE, OR [IROQUOIS](#), and was aware that this path had been “so judiciously selected, that the turnpike was laid out mainly on [its] line.”

He took with him his compass, his microscope, and his telescope.



He set out on this Iroquois Trail with \$178.<sup>10</sup> on his person, about half a year’s income. As a precaution against theft and being left entirely without funds on this journey, he carried \$78.<sup>10</sup> of this in his left pants pocket, \$60.<sup>00</sup> in his right pants pocket, and \$40.<sup>00</sup> in his “bosom” garment. (Bear in mind that this was presumably almost all in gold coins, and that a dollar then was worth a hundred-dollar bill now.) They spent the evening chatting with [H.G.O. Blake](#) in [Worcester](#), and slept at his home. Here is a raw “OCR” scan, which needs to be checked, of the list Thoreau made of things to take with him on his long trip:

.arpet oar & umbrella; 1) half-thick coat; 2) plant book, blot[ tin~l ¥ aper ~ hritin~ dr ittlo; 3) waist coat; 4) smoke cap; 7) boteny; 8) twine & cards, pencils, buttons, scissors, &c.; 8) thin coat; 9) trochees; 8) envelopes; 10) tape; 11) dipper & bo. sles.

In pocket~ 5~c: [word], pins, needles, thread, stamps, & money, Jack[knife, watch, ticket, guidebook &c., shoestring, map of U.S., notebook, matches, letters.

1) best pants; 2) 3 pr socks; 3) flannel shirt; 2) 1 p[air] drawers; 4) cotton batting; 6) 5 handkerchiefs Sc 2; 8) towel & soap; 13) medicine; 14) compass & microscope; 10) spy glass; 15) insect boxes; 11) clothes brush; 15) 1 slippers; 7) 2 neckerchiefs, ribbon; 3



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shirts; 9) 5 (& 1) bosoms.

Left pocket, \$78.10

Right 60.

Bosom 40.

178.10

Send home smoke ~, 1 pair drawers or 2.

According to the Madison, Wisconsin Weekly Patriot:

Now Let Slip the Dogs of War.

The President's twenty days of grace is exhausted, and unless we soon witness the most decided military action against the rebels, the most intense distrust and excitement will prevail. We cannot now afford to permit the rebels, to maintain an armed defensive, to block our commerce, insult and hang our citizens, and annoy us in all manner of ways. No, the President has given ample time for all lawless bands to disperse, and it should not be sufficient for him to know the capital is merely safe, with 30,000 troops, at enormous expense, surrounding it. It will not be enough to keep what forts and arsenals we now holds by force of arms - It will not satisfy the law-abiding north to merely keep the Potomac, the Chesapeake, the Delaware - the railroad and telegraph communications free for government use and occupation by the force of 150,000 troops, at a cost of millions. No, these things are not enough - They must not be the sine qua non of the object for which 153,000 troops were marshaled into service at the tap of the drum.

The great north-west, and the upper Mississippi Valley are in a blaze of excitement. Here we are, cut off from the Gulf by piratical bandits, who not only hinder and menace our commerce, but threaten our lives. This state of thing's cannot - Must not - shall not long continue. If the powers that be do not give the word of command, the Mississippi - Civilians will "assume the responsibility," and in mighty phalanx of 200,000 strong, will swarm like clouds of Saharan locusts, overrunning the lower Mississippi, until every Bayou is free from piratical obstruction. All the captured forts must be retaken - All the stolen property must be restored - all menace must be withdrawn or the southern rebels will see such an outpouring of Hoosiers, Wolverines, Buckeyes, Badgers, Gophers and Hawkeye's as will overwhelm them in dismay.

Our commercial pathway to the Gulf must be kept free from the thorns and debris of rebellion or the Mississippi will be crimsoned from Cairo to the delta. This we believe to be the determined sentiment of every 999 out of a thousand who inhabit the Great West. We all prefer to have the government act - to take the lead, and to say "come, boys" but if we are not called out our volunteers will Go Out. They cannot and will not lie idle, so long as there is a foe in the field.

We must not merely stand on the defensive now - we must





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punch on the aggressive. That is, we must follow up the retreating foe – give him battle until he shall cry enough and be content to live under the good old stars and stripes – We say to the President and Cabinet, that the people of the great north-west are not satisfied with this apparent tardy movement. Our troops are anxious to be led on.

They must and they will go. No power can keep them in check much longer and if the President don't soon give the word of command, the western battalions will put themselves under marching orders, and will be after the scalps of the free-booters.

The Power of the United North

We have during the past three weeks had the most convincing evidence that an army can be assembled in the course of twenty or thirty days of seven hundred thousand men, devoted to the union. Here are the figures:

- Maine 18,000
- New Hampshire 12,000
- Vermont 10,000
- Massachusetts 40,000
- [Rhode Island](#) 5,000
- Connecticut 15,000
- New York 150,000
- New Jersey 20,000
- Pennsylvania 135,000
- Delaware 4,000
- Ohio 100,000
- Indiana 50,000
- [Illinois](#) 65,000
- Michigan 20,000
- Wisconsin 20,000
- Iowa 15,000
- [Minnesota](#) 8,000
- [Kansas](#) 3,000
- [California](#) 10,000

Total 700,000

But a well appointed army of half this number, giving Wisconsin the privilege of furnishing 10,000 good men, would beyond all question be amply sufficient to conquer a permanent peace, and bury secession so deep that it would never be heard of again. We want to see an army called into the field on a scale of such magnitude, that Jeff. Davis and his crew, like Crockett's coon will be willing to come down and stay down, until it shall please the insulted laws to run them up as high as Human's gallows.

The Printers

No trade or craft in the country has turned out an equal number of volunteers with the printers, in proportion to numbers. They are accustomed to the use of the "shooting stick" and no one would be "justified" in questioning their bravery in the "matter" of war. The printers have given a "proof" of patriotism, that all may "copy" after, with perfect "justification" So walk

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up and "register" your names in "large caps."

May 12, Sunday: In [Worcester](#), the travelers [Henry Thoreau](#) and [Horace Mann, Jr.](#) visited the east side of Quinsigamond Pond with [H.G.O. Blake](#) and [Theophilus Brown](#) (and another resident of Worcester) and again slept over at Blake's home. Thoreau being too weak, they took a carriage out from the center of town to Lake Quinsigamond. (The only time before, that they had taken a carriage, was once when they had been accompanied by Sophia Thoreau.) Meanwhile, at a flag-raising ceremony at Ft. Warren, William J. Martland's Brockton Band was playing the tune of the song "Say, brothers, will you meet us on Canaan's happy shore?" while the battalion chorus of the 2d Battalion of Boston Light Infantry, Massachusetts Volunteer Militia was singing the lyrics of the song "John Brown's Body" for the first time at a public event. The lyrics for the song "John Brown's Body" presumably were in reference to Sergeant John Brown of that battalion, rather than to the nationally famous "Captain" [John Brown](#). A smallish Scotsman and a second tenor in the 2d Battalion chorus, Sgt. Brown had evidently been something of a figure of fun among the men. Their commanding officer, Major Ralph W. Newton, was concerned that his command might, by the use of a mis-interpretable name such as "John Brown," implicitly become associated with the politically incorrect cause of abolitionism (identified at the time with an attitude of insolence, sedition, anarchism, free love, disobedience to orders, etc.) and attempted to force a change to the lyrics so that they referred instead to Colonel Elmer E. Ellsworth. Rank has its privileges, and colonels and other superior officers are of course inherently of greater interest than inferior and noncommissioned officers such as mere sergeants — but unaccountably this attempt did not succeed.



John Brown's body lies a mouldering in the grave,  
While weep the sons of bondage, whom he ventured all  
to save ;  
But, tho' he lost his life in struggling for the slave,  
His Soul is marching on.  
Chorus : Glory, Glory Hallelujah !  
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !  
Glory, Glory Hallelujah !  
His Soul is marching on.

John Brown was a Hero undaunted, true and brave ;  
And Kansas knew his valor, when he fought her rights  
to save ;  
And now, though the grass grows green above his grave,  
His Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

He captured Harper's Ferry with his nineteen men so true,  
And he frightened Old Virginia, till she trembled  
through and through.  
They hung him for a traitor : themselves a Traitor crew ;  
But his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

John Brown was John the Baptist of Christ we are to see,  
Christ who of the bondman shall the Liberator be ;  
And soon, throughout the Sunny South, the slaves  
shall all be free :  
For, his Soul is marching on ! Glory, &c.

The conflict that he heralded, he looks from Heaven to view  
On the army of the Union, with his Flagged, white and blue,  
And Heaven shall ring with anthems o'er the deed :  
they mean to do :  
For, his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.

Ye, Soldiers of Freedom, then strike, while strike ye may,  
The death-blow of Oppression, in a better time and way ;  
For, the dawn of Old John Brown has brightened into day,  
And his Soul is marching on. Glory, &c.



May 12, Sunday: In Worcester.



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Rode to east side of Quinsigamond Pond with Blake and Brown and a dry humorist, a gentleman who has been a sportsman and was well acquainted with dogs. He said that he once went by water to St. John, N.B., on a sporting excursion, taking his dog with him; but the latter had such a remarkable sense of decency that, seeing no suitable place aboard the vessel, he did not yield to the pressing demands of nature and, as the voyage lasted several days, swelled up very much. At length his master, by taking him aside and setting him the example, persuaded him to make water only. When at length he reached St. John, and was leading his dog by a rope up a long hill there which led to the town, he was compelled to stop repeatedly for his dog to empty himself and was the observed of all observers. This suggested that a dog could be educated to be far more cleanly in some respects than men are.

He also states that a fox does not regard all dogs,—or, rather, avoid them,—but only hunting dogs. He one day heard the voices of hounds in pursuit of a fox and soon after saw the fox come trotting along a path in which he himself was walking. Secreting himself behind a wall he watched the motions of the fox, wishing to get a shot at him, but at that moment his dog, a spaniel, leapt out into the path and advanced to meet the fox, which stood still without fear to receive him. They smelled of one another like dogs, and the sportsman was prevented from shooting the fox for fear of hitting his dog. So he suddenly showed himself in the path, hoping thus to separate them and get a shot. The fox immediately cantered backward in the path, but his dog ran after him so directly in a line with the fox that he was afraid to fire for fear of killing the dog.

DOG



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1862

January 10, Friday: [Frederick Douglass](#); Rochester NY. To James M. Stone. Agrees to give a lecture from point of view of a former slave. Autograph Letter Signed. 1 page, 20.8 cm.

Richard Wheaton was lost overboard from the schooner *Kit Carson*, as it was on its homeward passage to Gloucester from Newfoundland.

Inauguration of Leland Stanford as Governor of [California](#). In his inaugural address, alleging that “Asia, with her numberless millions, sends to our shores the dregs of her population,” he promised Californians that he would repress the immigration of Asiatic hordes.

Back east, there was fighting on Middle Creek.

US CIVIL WAR

[Henry Thoreau](#) was being written to by [Theophilus Brown](#) in [Worcester](#):



*Worcester Jan. 10. 1862  
Friend Thoreau—  
The demand for your books  
here [seems] to be rather  
on the increase. Two  
copies of the Week are  
wanted & I am requested  
to write to you for them.  
Walden also is wanted  
but I presume you can't  
help us to that.  
You will have to get  
out another edition  
of that[.] I hope the  
next edition of both  
books will be small  
in size [&] right for the  
pocket, & for “field service”  
Is it discouraging to you  
to have me speak thus*





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*of your books?—to see*

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*me sticking at what you  
have left? Have you  
left it?*

*Whether it be discouraging  
to you or the contrary, I  
have long desired to  
acknowledge my indebt-  
-edness to you for them  
& to tell you that through  
them the value of every  
-thing seems infinitely  
enhanced to me.*

*We took to the river  
and our skates, instead  
of the cars, on leaving  
you, & had a good  
time of it, keeping above  
the ice all the way.*

*The little snow-storm  
that we started in grew  
into quite a large one,  
-or fast one, & made the  
day all the better.*

Page 3

*There was a sober cheer  
in the day, such as  
belongs to stormy days.  
But to come back to  
business. I was requested  
to ask you to write your  
name in one of the books,  
& I would like to have  
you write it in the  
other—*

*I have forgotten the  
price of your books but  
I have the impression  
that it is \$1.25 and  
accordingly [will]  
enclose \$2.50. If I [am]  
not right you will  
tell me.*

*Your friend  
Theo. Brown*



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Page 4

Return address: *Brown*

Stamp

Postmark: [ORD R]

*JAN*

*10*

*MASS.*

Address: *Henry D. Thoreau*

*Concord*

*Mass.*

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## WORCESTER

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May 9, Friday: In preparing the body, they had placed a wreath of the local *Andromeda* on its rib cage.



They had missed a fine opportunity: they should also have placed in the body's hand that sprig of wild American crab-apple *Malus angustifolia*, that our guy had just traveled so far to recover. Against the better judgment of surviving members of the family, [Waldo Emerson](#) had insisted that the 3PM funeral service be staged at the 1st Parish Church of [Concord](#) from which [Henry David Thoreau](#) had resigned. (The Unitarians got him at last.) [H.G.O. Blake](#) and [Theophilus Brown](#) came from [Worcester](#). The [Unitarian](#) reverend who had been the 1st person to plunk down one dollar and purchase a copy of [WALDEN; OR, LIFE IN THE WOODS](#), the [Reverend William Rounseville Alger](#), came out to [Concord](#) from [Boston](#) specifically to attend (this reverend would demean him as "constantly feeling himself, reflecting himself, fondling himself,



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reverberating himself, exalting himself, incapable of escaping or forgetting himself"). [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) attended. The Emersons had invited James T. and Annie Fields to their home for dinner. At the funeral, at which the Reverend [Grindall Reynolds](#) officiated, Waldo, being the sort of person who can find a way to turn a profit even in the death of a friend, used the opportunity to deliver himself of a judgmental lecture singularly unsuitable as a remembrance upon such an occasion, and, on the church steps after the funeral, he cut a deal with his publisher guest [James Thomas Fields](#) for its distribution by [Ticknor & Fields](#) as "Thoreau."

Ross/Adams  
commentary

Emerson's charge  
of Stoicism

What [Emerson](#) should have said:

*Son of John Thoreau and Cynthia Dunbar Thoreau.  
He helped us to gain our independence,  
instructed us in economy,  
and drew down lightning from the clouds.*

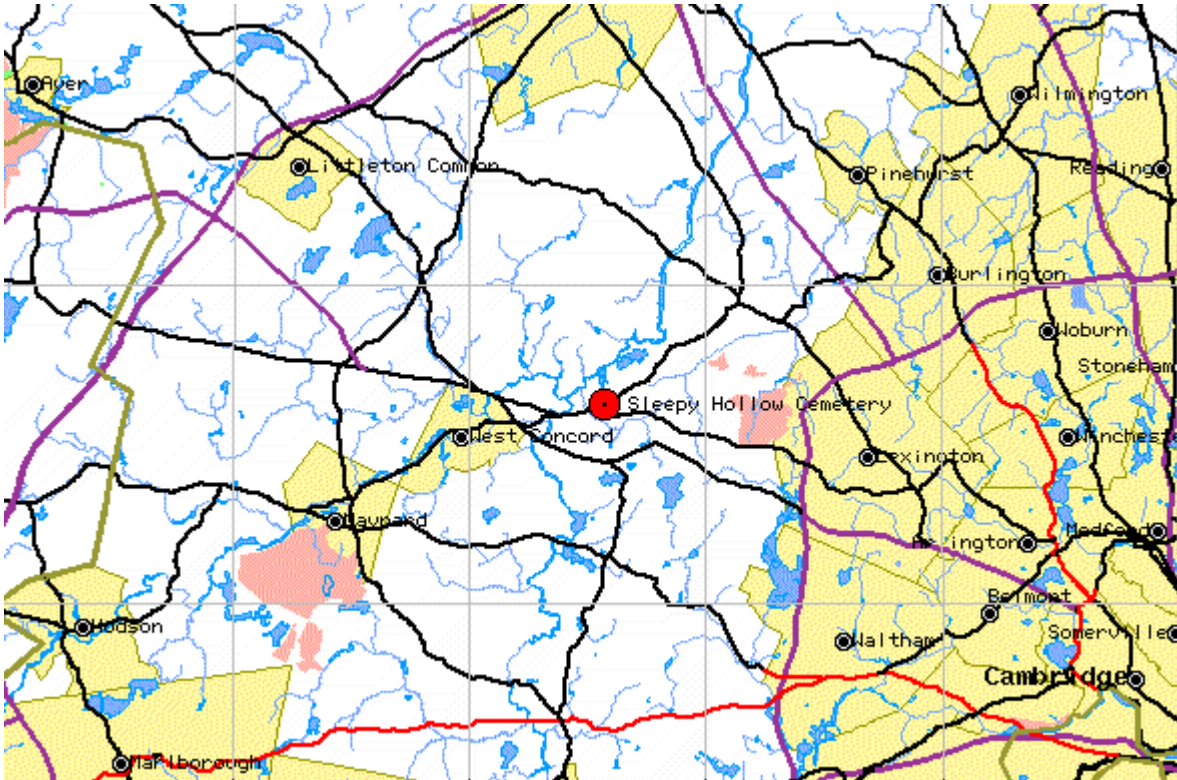
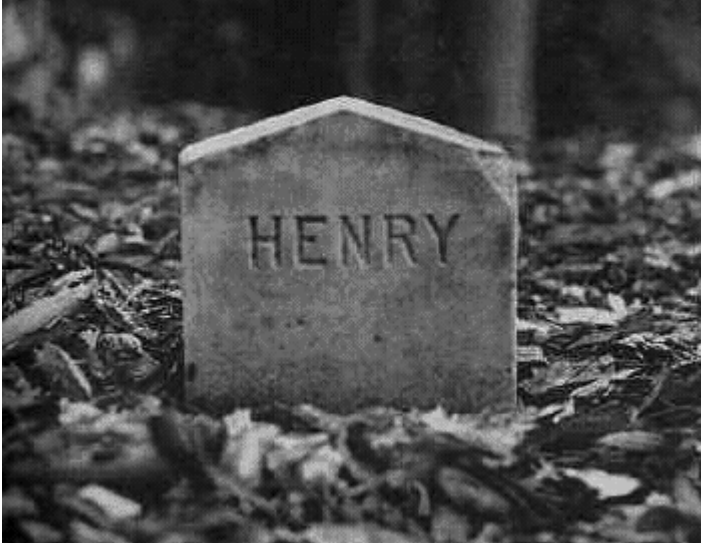
[Bronson Alcott](#), more appropriately, read a few passages from [A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS](#), one of America's 1st treatises on comparative religion: "Does not that which is within make that which is without also? May we not **see** God?"

**A WEEK:** We need pray for no higher heaven than the pure senses can furnish, a **purely** sensuous life. Our present senses are but the rudiments of what they are destined to become. We are comparatively deaf and dumb and blind, and without smell or taste or feeling. Every generation makes the discovery, that its divine vigor has been dissipated, and each sense and faculty misapplied and debauched. The ears were made, not for such trivial uses as men are wont to suppose, but to hear celestial sounds. The eyes were not made for such grovelling uses as they are now put to and worn out by, but to behold beauty now invisible. May we not **see** God? Are we to be put off and amused in this life, as it were with a mere allegory? Is not Nature, rightly read, that of which she is commonly taken to be the symbol merely? When the common man looks into the sky, which he has not so much profaned, he thinks it less gross than the earth, and with reverence speaks of "the Heavens," but the seer will in the same sense speak of "the Earths," and his Father who is in them. "Did not he that made that which is **within**, make that which is **without** also?" What is it, then, to educate but to develop these divine germs called the senses? for individuals and states to deal magnanimously with the rising generation, leading it not into temptation, - not teach the eye to squint, nor attune the ear to profanity. But where is the instructed teacher? Where are the **normal** schools?



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The funeral bell tolled his 44 years and the coffin was lowered into a hole in Sleepy Hollow Cemetery.<sup>76</sup>



Here is how Professor Scott A. Sandage, in *BORN LOSERS: A HISTORY OF FAILURE IN AMERICA*, would describe the scene of this day:

The American Dream died young and was laid to rest on a splendid afternoon in May 1862, when blooming apple trees heralded the arrival of spring. At three o'clock, a bell tolled forty-four

<sup>76</sup> Not in the current family plot on Authors Ridge, as in the photo, nor with the current stone. The original stone was red and bore his name and his date of death. When the body was later moved to Authors Ridge, the stone was put with many another stone to be recycled, and used to cover over one or another drainage gutter in the cemetery. It is probably still there somewhere alongside one of the cemetery paths, with its inscription facing downward: "HENRY / MAY 6, 1862."



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times, once for each year of a life cut short. Dismissed from school, three hundred children marched to the funeral under the bright sun. Those with luck and pluck would grow up to transform American capitalism during the Gilded Age. But on this day the scent in the air was not wealth, but wildflowers. Violets dotted the grass outside the First Parish Church. The casket in the vestibule bore a wreath of andromeda and a blanket of flowers that perfumed the sanctuary with the sweetness of spring. Townsfolk and visiting notables crowded in to hear the eulogist admit what many had thought all along: the dearly departed had wasted his gifts. Neither a deadbeat nor a drunkard, he was the worst kind of failure: a dreamer. "He seemed born for greatness ... and I cannot help counting it a fault in him that he had no ambition," the speaker grieved. Rather than an engineer or a great general, "he was the captain of a huckleberry-party." When not picking berries, the deceased had tried his hand at a variety of occupations: teacher, surveyor, pencilmaker, housepainter, mason, farmer, gardener, and writer. Some who congregated that day in Concord, Massachusetts thought it tactless to say such things of Henry Thoreau at his own funeral, however true Mr. Emerson's sermon about his dear friend was: Henry's quirky ambitions hardly amounted to a hill of beans. Perhaps no one present fully understood what Ralph Waldo Emerson was saying about ambition, least of all the children fidgeting and daydreaming in the pews. Someday they would rise and fall in the world the sermon presaged, where berry picking was a higher crime than bankruptcy. If a man could fail simply by not succeeding or not striving, then ambition was not an opportunity but an obligation. Following the casket to the grave, stooping here and there to collect petals that wafted from it, the children buried more than the odd little man they had seen in the woods or on the street. Part of the American Dream of success went asunder: the part that gave them any choice in the matter. We live daily with Emerson's disappointment in Thoreau. The promise of America is that nobody is a born loser, but who has never wondered, "Am I wasting my life?" We imagine escaping the mad scramble, yet kick ourselves for lacking drive. Low ambition offends Americans even more than low achievement. How we play the game is the important thing, or so we say. Win or lose, Thoreau taunts us from the dog-eared pages and dogwooded shores of WALDEN: "The mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation." We sprint as much to outrun failure as to catch success. Failure conjures such vivid pictures of lost souls that it is hard to imagine a time, before the Civil War, when the word commonly meant "breaking in business" – going broke. How did it become a name for a deficient self, an identity in the red? Why do we manage identity the way we run a business – by investment, risk, profit, and loss? Why do we calculate failure in lost dreams as much as in lost dollars?

In the summation paragraphs to a general derogation of the author and all his works in 1866 (considering Henry, for example, to have led a life that consisted primarily of "fondling himself"), the Reverend [William Rounseville Alger](#) would describe this day's procession, bells, funeral, and interment:

While we walked in procession up to the church, though the bell tolled the forty-four years he had numbered, we could not deem that he was dead whose ideas and sentiments were so vivid in our souls. As the fading image of pathetic clay lay before us, strewn



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with wild flowers and forest sprigs, thoughts of its former occupant seemed blent with all the local landscapes. We still recall with emotion the tributary words so fitly spoken by friendly and illustrious lips. The hands of friends reverently lowered the body of the lonely poet into the bosom of the earth, on the pleasant hillside of his native village, whose prospects will long wait to unfurl themselves to another observer so competent to discriminate their features and so attuned to their moods. And now that it is too late for any further boon amidst his darling haunts below,

There will yet his mother yield  
A pillow in her greenest field,  
Nor the June flowers scorn to cover  
The clay of their departed lover.

Shortly after [Henry David Thoreau](#) had been buried, the Emerson family would feel that an adventure in [California](#) would assist their son in the slow recovery of his health, and [Edward Waldo Emerson](#) would set off on the overland route.

December: The Reverend [Thomas Wentworth Higginson](#) was appointed colonel of the 1st South Carolina Volunteers, a regiment composed of volunteers from South Carolina, the first Negro regiment of freed slaves mustered into the Union Service.



While this husband was off to war, his wheelchair-bound wife Mary would for health and family reasons relocate from [Worcester](#) to the boarding house of [Friend](#) Hannah Dame in [Newport](#) on [Aquidneck Island](#) in [Rhode Island](#).



**WORCESTER**

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**1864**

August 10, Wednesday: [Annie Maria Russell](#) was born at [Worcester](#), Massachusetts, daughter of Isaiah Dunster Russell and Marion Nancy Wentworth Russell.



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**1882**

[Annie Maria Russell](#) graduated from the [Worcester](#) high school (eventually she would marry another graduate of this high school). The Russell family was living at 11 Charleston Street in Worcester.



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**1890**

November 18, Tuesday: [Annie Maria Russell](#) got married with Charles Francis Marble of [Worcester](#), who had attended the same high school that she had attended. Presumably this would have been a Congregationalist wedding. The couple would wind up living at 4 Marble Street in Worcester, Massachusetts. The husband had since his graduation from Amherst College been associated with the Curtis & Marble Machine Company. There would be two adopted children: Anna Bell Marble and Paul Francis Marble.

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1891

January 17, Saturday: [George Bancroft](#) died in [Washington DC](#). The body would be placed in [Worcester](#)'s Rural Cemetery.



HDT

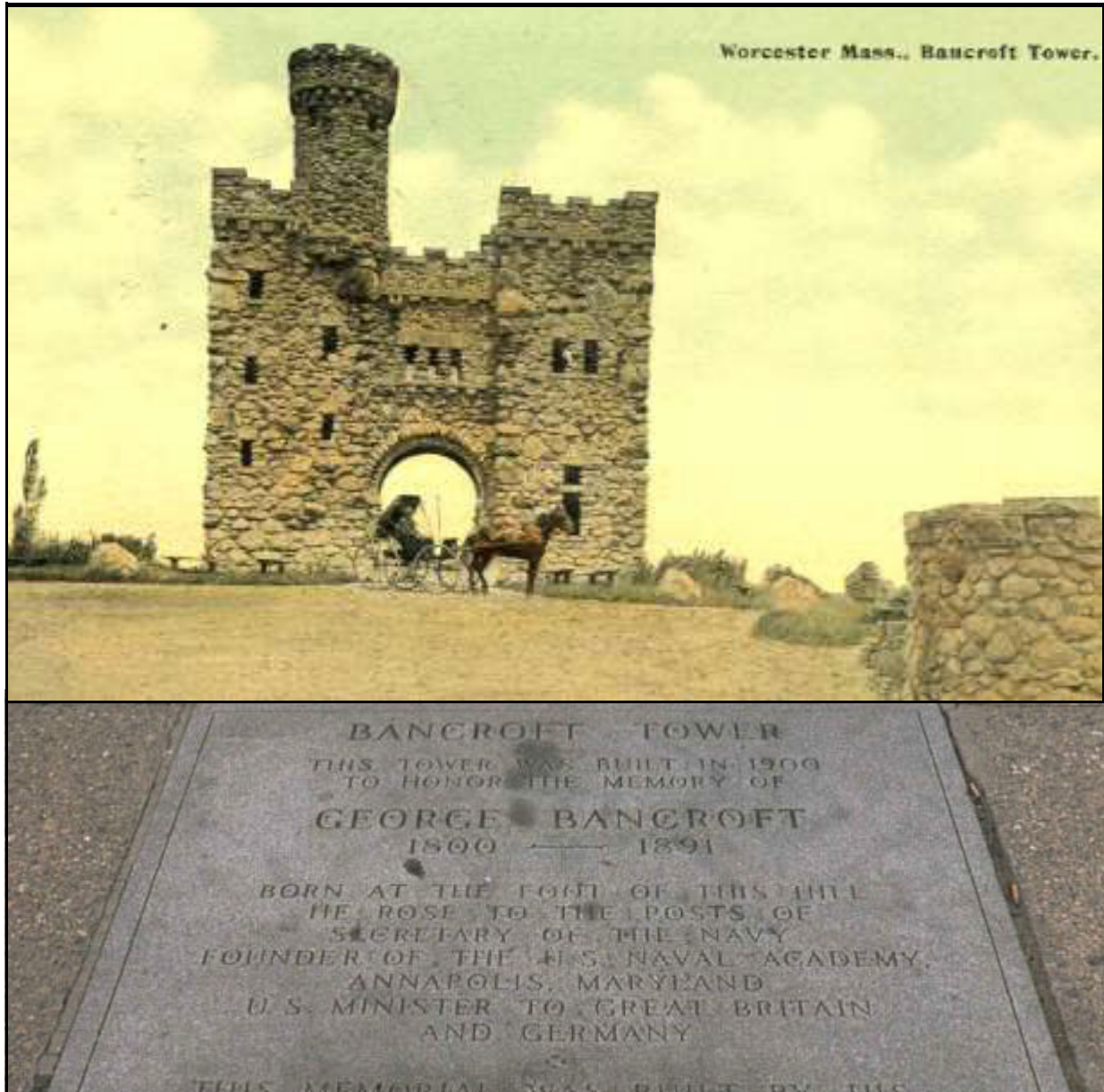
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A stone tower would be erected in his memory (although what precisely the architecture of this tower was meant to indicate about the character of the man honored is not perfectly clear).







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**1896**

October 26, Monday: [Italy](#) and Ethiopia signed a treaty recognizing the independence of Ethiopia.

The Golden Spinning Wheel op.109, a symphonic poem by Antonin Dvorák, was performed publicly for the first time, in London.

An anonymous article appeared in the [Worcester Telegram](#):

### **Early Worcester Literary Days**

His [[Henry Thoreau](#)'s] humorous, sarcastic, but ever entertaining talks, rather than lectures, were received with more favor [than those of Emerson], but with perhaps even less comprehension. It was under the roof of old city hall, and to an audience of less than 100 persons, that his famous lecture on "Beans" was delivered. This was afterwards incorporated in his famous work "Walden."...

Thoreau's few visits to Worcester were made generally at the invitation of his friends, the Browns, Chamberlains, Blakes, John Wyman and Augustus Tucker, who formed the nucleus of what might have been called the literary salon of the infant city of Worcester. His lectures were delivered principally in city hall, Brinley hall (where the new State Mutual building now stands), and in the drawing room of his friend Harrison Gray Otis Blake. These were never well attended. If at the earnest solicitations of his friends an audience of 100 people could be gotten together to hear him, it was considered a compliment to him, and he was well satisfied. For these lectures he asked nothing, only stipulating that his expenses should be paid. He, like Alcott, cared nothing for money, and it was one of his proudest boasts that he had once lived a year on an actual cash expenditure of \$65.99. People could not understand him, and in his secret consciousness he was inclined to be proud of the fact.

He made no effort whatever to pay regard to the conventionalities. On his visits to Worcester he never troubled to bring a trunk or even a traveling bag. His hostess would often be mortified, after his arrival, to find his personal belongings reposing on the table in the hall tied up in a red bandanna, or in a greasy sheet of brown paper.



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1899

April 15, Saturday: [Eli Thayer](#) died at the age of 79 in Worcester, Massachusetts.

In the Indianapolis [News](#), Booker T. Washington evaded the obvious: “My General feeling is that [Cubans](#) ought to be left to govern themselves. In bringing [Cuba](#) into our American life we must bear in mind that, notwithstanding the fact that the [Cubans](#) have certain elements of weakness, they already seem to have surpassed the United States in solving the race problem, in that they seem to have no race problem in [Cuba](#). I wonder if it is quite fair to the white people and the colored people in [Cuba](#) to bring them into our American conditions and revive the race antagonism so that they will have to work out anew the race problem that we are now trying to solve in this country.”





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**1907**

The books of [Horatio Alger, Jr.](#) were banned from the [Worcester](#) Public Library.



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1908

March 21, Saturday: [Roland Wells Robbins](#) was born in [Worcester](#).

Wages at cotton mills in Chicopee and Holyoke, Massachusetts were cut 10%.

Three songs by Frederick Delius for solo voice and orchestra were premiered in Liverpool, England: *Twilight Fancies* to words of Bjørnson, *The Bird's Story* to words of Ibsen, and *The Violet* to words of Holstein.

An Italian auto-racing team had been motoring west from New York for some five weeks in their powerful *Züst* when, in Wyoming, they encountered a road hazard. The New York [Times](#) would report that they needed to honk the horn and blink the headlights to frighten wolves away — killing 20 with their rifles (refer to Antonio Scarfoglio's 1909 *Il giro del mondo in automobile*).

March 23, Monday, 1908: American diplomat Durham Stevens was attacked by the Korean assassins Jeon Myeong-un and Jang In-hwan (a few days later he would die).



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1949

In [Japan](#), although the widespread use of [methamphetamine](#) came to be restricted to cases under a doctor's prescription, intravenous use would spread among bohemians, novelists, artists, and entertainers. They would derive their supplies of the substance from the black market.

English phycologist (a scientist who studies algae) Kathleen Drew-Baker described the complex life cycle of *Porphyra* (*nori* is in this genus). This new understanding allowed commercial farming of *nori* to flourish. A statue of Drew-Baker now stands in a [Tokyo](#) park overlooking the bay.

PLANTS

In [Japan](#), it had never been possible to get away with a statement such as “That government is best which governs least” or “That government is best which governs not at all.” Such statements would be taken to be not only nonsupportive of the current activities of the existing government, and thus treasonous, but also nonsupportive of the role government must play in forcing the people to restrain themselves and behave decently toward one another, and therefore supportive of all sorts of insane excess, cruelty, and abandon. In 1947, when an edition of excerpts titled THOREAU'S WORDS (*THOREAU NO KOTOBA*) had been published, some excerpts from “A PLEA FOR CAPTAIN JOHN BROWN” and “THE LAST DAYS OF JOHN BROWN” were included but “RESISTANCE TO CIVIL GOVERNMENT” was entirely omitted. In 1949, however, Akira Tomita, Thoreau's



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biographer in the [Japanese](#) language, was able to translate and present “Resistance to Civil Government.” However, the president of the Japanese Thoreau Society, Masayoshi Higashiyama, has issued the following statement:



For anyone whose eyes can see what is going on in this evil world and whose brain can understand what his eyes have seen during the two wars, it would be difficult to accept Thoreau’s opinion that “That government is best which governs least” or “That government is best which governs not at all.” Since the age of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, the role of government has become much more important and significant in our lives than it had been before. It has become our belief that unless social and international security are established, the freedom of individual beings is always in crisis, and that unless force backs us up, we cannot maintain a world of justice.

In Professor Higashiyama’s defense, I will add that this seems also to be the attitude of any number of American academic Thoreauvians. I recall in particular one such gentleman who –at the Thoreau *Jubilee* of Summer 1992 in [Worcester](#)– after expressing to me his personal contempt for the principle of nonresistance to evil as expressed by Jesus and for all cowards such as Gandhi who attempt passively to submit to the violence of their fellows, insisted that had our hero Thoreau been in better health in 1862, he would most assuredly have volunteered for the unit which, on the anniversary of the North Bridge battle of the 18th Century, marched to the train station in Concord to fight in the Union army.

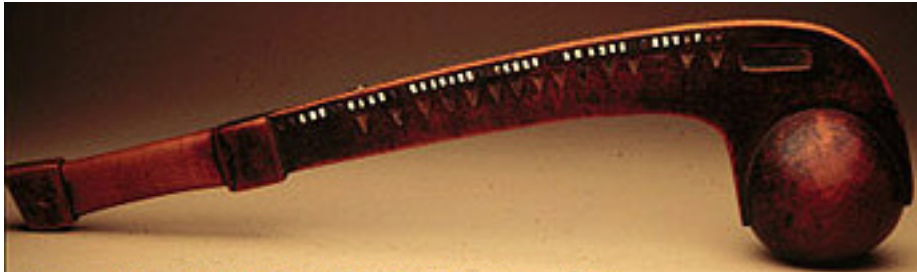


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1994

October: Ned Jalbert purchased, at a Worcester yard sale, for \$125, the war club that would turn out to be the one that had been stolen from Fruitlands Museum in 1970. Afterward, it would be learned that this object had previously been acquired as part of an estate sale.



ALDERMAN  
BENJAMIN CHURCH  
JOHN CHECKLEY  
"KING PHILLIP'S WAR"



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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





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Prepared: March 24, 2017





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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, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.

Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in



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the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.